

Toward a better future for this generation and the next...

A report for the Oak Foundation on male
engagement in the protection of children from
child sexual abuse

Prepared by Instituto Promundo-US, September, 2011



Disclaimer: *The views and opinions expressed in this report are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of Oak Foundation.*

Contents

Background	3
1. Problem analysis	4
2. Creating Political Pressure	8
2.1 Frame child sexual abuse as a social problem	9
2.2 Promote male leadership around vision of safe childhood	10
2.3 Nurture the leadership of the most affected	10
2.4 Expand and apply the evidence base	12
3. Changing Social Norms	14
3.1 Support men in structured reflection and action on norms	15
3.2 Link this work to community dialogues on gender and sexuality	17
3.3 Link to mass media work	17
3.5 Target young men	19
4. Supporting Men's Caregiving and Parenting	22
4.1 Expand gender equitable parenting programming with men	23
4.2 Shape the public discourse on parenting and positive masculinities	24
4.3 Target young fathers	25
4.4 Engage men as 'social' parents	25
5. Focusing on Structural Prevention	27
5.1 Promote safer, gender-equitable school cultures	28
5.2 Develop safer economic development initiatives and workplaces	30
5.3 Develop child protection work within 'institutional' communities	32
5.4 Work with media industries on positive gender representations	33
5.5 Link child protection with social protection	34
6. Strengthening Systems	36
6.1 Work with men as system gatekeepers	38
6.2 Mobilize men for community response	39
6.3 Engage men in the provision of alternative care	39
6.4 Explore the viability of alternative justice mechanisms	40
6.5 Develop innovative work with perpetrators	41
6.7 Support child protection work with marginalized youth	43
References	45

Background

The Oak Foundation commissioned Promundo-US to review and assess Oak's overall strategy in relation to its goal of engaging men and boys in the elimination of sexual abuse of children and comment more specifically on possible priorities and directions for work with respect to its objective that:

Men and boys will have greater opportunities to engage positively in children's lives and to protect them from sexual abuse

This report is the result of this assessment. The report is based on an extensive desk review of published research and program and policy evaluations, as well as the 'grey' literature on work with men and boys on child sexual abuse and other forms of intimate violence in the lives of children. Out of this review, a total of 35 key informants across a range of targeted sectors both internationally and within Oak's priority regions were identified and interviewed in person or over the phone, using a semi-structured interview tool. These key informant phone interviews gathered detailed information on both experiences and lessons from current thinking, policy and practice as well as on opportunities and priorities for future grant-making.

The consultant team conducting this assessment comprised Samuel Tewolde (Africa) and Peter Pawlak (Europe), under the overall coordination of Alan Greig (International), with input by Gary Barker.

1. Problem analysis

Any vision of a world in which children can develop with a “healthy sense of belonging, connectedness, and positive trusting relations with key adults and peers” (Bissell et al. 2008) must envision the many ways in which men can support this development. Yet men still remain marginal figures within the discourses of, and debates on, child rights and child protection. In response to this neglect, the Committee on the Rights of the Child earlier this year made clear that (United Nations 2011):

Men and boys must be actively encouraged as strategic partners and allies, and along with women and girls, must be provided with opportunities to increase their respect for one another and their understanding of how to stop gender discrimination and its violent manifestations.

There is evidence that growing numbers of men are willing to be “strategic partners and allies”. The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), the first comprehensive study to-date of men’s attitudes and behaviors related to gender equality, has found that younger men and men with higher levels of education are increasingly “living” and “getting” gender equality, being more likely to participate in the care of children and less likely to use violence against partners. The study found that men are generally supportive of gender equality in the abstract and think gender equality is good for society in broad terms, but are more resistant when the policy comes closer to home. Crucially, when asked about campaigns or messages they had seen, most men had seen messages about gender-based violence, but far fewer had seen any messages that they viewed as positive about men or that they perceived benefitted them as men, such as those related to men and fatherhood.

The Cairo and Beijing conferences marked a turning point for the international community in recognizing the need to engage men in the struggle for gender equality and sexual and reproductive rights. Since then, a growing body of research, programming and policy development has generated important lessons on working with men “to stop gender discrimination and its violent manifestations,” lessons on which it will be important to draw in efforts to protect children from violence, and especially child sexual abuse. It is clear that growing numbers of men are, and want to be, more involved in children’s lives and in protecting them from violence. Set against this is the continuing reality that the vast majority of physical and sexual violence, whether against children or adults, is perpetrated by men. This duality is sometimes framed as a dichotomy between seeing men “as part of the problem” or “as part of the solution.” Yet such a reductive framing distracts attention from a clear analysis of the conditions that generate violence in children’s lives, men’s complex relationships to these conditions, and multiple roles in addressing them.

This focus on conditions is important in thinking through the challenges of engaging men in the protection of children from child sexual abuse. As with other forms of violence, child sexual abuse is about power; the power that adults have over children, and that older children have over younger. These generational hierarchies are bound up with gender inequalities based on the norms and practices of patriarchy, literally the law of the father. As the former Program Director of Stop It Now in the US has said (Pollard 2007):

So at its heart, preventing sexual abuse involves teaching, modeling, and insisting on respectful use of power. That’s a challenge fathers and men are well suited to take on.

Understanding the dynamics of child sexual abuse in relation to gender and generational inequalities of power is important for understanding the pervasive nature of the abuse, and the extent to which it is normalized. A recent study in Tanzania (UNICEF 2011) has found that nearly 30% of girls and 13% of boys have experienced at least one incident of sexual violence before turning age 18. Similar rates were identified in a 1996 study in Geneva, with 10.9% of boys and 33.8% of girls reporting an experience of sexual abuse

(Halperin et al. 1996). One of the very few meta-analyses of prevalence studies, based on 21 epidemiological surveys from countries in the global North (Finkelhor 1994), found prevalence rates running from 7-36% for women and 3-29% for men. In all countries, the offenders were overwhelmingly male when the victim was female (above 90%), while studies varied on the sex of the offender when the victim was male. Intra-familial abuse was more common for girls than boys, constituting about one third to one half of their sexual abuse experiences. In Swaziland, approximately one in three girls have reported being a victim of sexual violence prior to the age of 18 in a 2007 study (Reza et al. 2009), with three-quarters of their perpetrators being men and boys from the neighborhoods in which they lived, including boyfriends, husbands, and male relatives. Research in Tanzania (JLICA 2009) has found that “sexual abuse is so prevalent that it is hardly even noticed, or is treated as normal.” Children are most at risk of being sexually abused by adults and older youth whom they know.

The normality of the violence and the familiarity of the perpetrator are among the most devastating characteristics of child sexual abuse. Its normalization is in sharp contrast to the prevailing view that such violence is the work of pathological ‘monsters’. To some extent this view is linked to the age of the victim. A South African study (Jewkes and Penn-Kekana 2005) reports that although most people found the idea of an adult man desiring a child to be unthinkable, adolescent girls were not thought of as children in this respect and their bodies were seen as “highly sensual and a ‘natural’ object of male desire.”

Yet at a deeper level, child sexual abuse, irrespective of the age or sex of the victim, is rooted in patriarchal notions of ownership over children’s bodies and sexual entitlement. The same South African study (Jewkes and Penn-Kekana 2005) found that child abuse often seemed to happen “not because the abuser was attracted to children in the classic sense, but just because at that moment they were available, and a consenting adult was not.” Research with incestuous fathers and stepfathers has found that their masculine perceptions of entitlement created the context for incest to happen (Wash 1994).

In this analysis, early child marriage is an institutionalized form of sexual violence against girls and young women, though care must be taken to locate this practice in its prevailing social contexts and cultural logics. However, in the arrangement of early marriages, there is often an element of coercion involved. The multi-country WHO study on women and violence found that in some countries (notably Bangladesh and Ethiopia) high levels of forced first sex were likely to be related to early sexual initiation in the context of early marriage, rather than to violence by acquaintances or strangers (WHO 2005).

The sexual abuse of children is also linked to the commodification of women’s bodies in product advertising and the sexual objectification of women in pornography, reinforcing perceptions that women’s and girls’ bodies are objects of “consumption” for men. Some researchers also report a growing “eroticization of young girls” by the fashion industry in which younger models are presented as if they were adult women.

The pervasive and normalized nature of sexual violence in the lives of children highlights the importance of issues of complicity, and men’s relationship to them. If the demonization of perpetrators is one way in which societies seek to distance themselves from the normative realities of child sexual abuse, then the other response is collusive silence. This silence is underpinned by patriarchal norms of gender and sexuality, inhibiting not only girls from disclosing their abuse for fear of being blamed for sexually provoking men, but also boys for fear of being labeled as feminine and/or homosexual.

Much of this silence also relates to the privatized domain of the family. Social development policies the world over are underpinned by a notion of the family as the building block of society and the primary locus of child protection. Yet the family is one of the most common sites of sexual abuse of children. A discourse of “healthy” and “sick” families is often invoked to resolve this contradiction (JLICA 2009):

The most important policy insight that follows from the family disease label is that family problems are normally left off the public policy agenda and remain in the private domain.

Socio-economic conditions also have a profound effect on the collusion surrounding intra-familial abuse. A recent report on child protection systems and responses in Uganda emphasizes that (Oak Foundation 2010):

With growing urbanization and breakdown of the traditional cohesiveness within communities, there is less involvement of the wider community in the affairs of individual families many of which are also outside the reach of the formal child protection systems.

Rapid urbanization is re-shaping the lives of families and communities the world over. Roughly half of all those who live in the towns and cities of the global South live in “informal settlements”, or slums for short (Davis 2004). The world’s highest percentages of slum-dwellers are in Ethiopia, comprising 99.4% of the urban population. Based on an extrapolation from the age structures of most cities in the global South, at least half of the slum population is under the age of 20 (Davis 2004). Nor is this solely a phenomenon of Africa and Asia. As has been noted, today’s slums often exist in the intermediate zone between a city and its surrounding countryside, and this “in-between landscape can also be found in Eastern Europe, where the Second World has been dissolved within the Third...” (Bremner 2006).

The informalisation of the economy that has accompanied rapid urbanization, and de-industrialization in parts of Europe, exacerbates children’s vulnerability to numerous forms of violence, including sexual abuse, as a recent study of children and resilience in the Merkato area of Addis Ababa makes clear (Yntiso et al. 2009). If child sexual abuse is rooted in patriarchal norms of gender and sexuality, then vulnerability to such abuse is compounded by other forms of inequality, linked to poverty, racial and ethnic discrimination and homophobia. In India, men reported that they might carry out sexual violence against low caste and street-based women and girls simply because they thought that they would be able to do so with impunity (Verma and Schensul 2007).

Poverty and economic inequalities can produce a range of psycho-social stressors within families that may be associated directly with physical and sexual violence, or lead to family break-ups that expose children to heightened risks of abuse in institutional or alternative care settings. An increase in problematic alcohol use, and its links to male violence, have been well documented in the post-Soviet transition in eastern and central Europe. In parts of sub-Saharan Africa, the combined effects of AIDS and poverty are literally re-shaping family formations and sexual relations, with destructive impacts on customary child-rearing and family support practices. Children leaving home in search of a better life, economic advancement and/or to escape violence and abuse at home, face heightened risks of both sexual abuse and exploitation. Children’s exposure to abuse and exploitation in refugee and IDP settings is of increasing concern, and more research is needed to understand and address the risks of child sexual abuse faced by the some 300,000 child soldiers who are involved in armed conflict worldwide, as many as 80% of whom are boys and young men (Foreman 2002; Barker and Ricardo 2005).

Engaging men in efforts to protect children from child sexual abuse must address the many ways in which such abuse is structured within the lives of children. This suggests a need to focus on **creating political pressure** for social change that addresses the root causes of sexual abuse in the lives of children. Addressing these root causes must involve **changing the social norms** of gender and sexuality that enable such abuse, and engaging men in positive ways in children’s lives, in part through supporting their **caregiving to and parenting of** children. Addressing root causes also involves a **focus on structural prevention**; that is, interventions directed toward working with men to change the conditions that allow child sexual abuse to continue. In addition to this prevention work, it is also essential to work with men to strengthen systems in their work

on issues of child rights and child protection. On the basis of the forgoing analysis, the following **directions** are recommended for Oak Foundation's strategic focus on male engagement in children's lives and the protection of children from sexual abuse.

2. Creating Political Pressure

Across Oak priority countries and regions, policy responses to child sexual abuse and child protection issues vary in detail, yet share in common a failure to specify the roles and responsibilities of men. All countries are signatories to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), though translation of CRC provisions into national legislative and policy frameworks continues to be a significant challenge. It has been noted that (Bissell et al. 2008):

Despite recent momentum in bringing children's rights and protection into common focus, violations of children's rights to protection have proved far more difficult to define, prevent and combat than have most other aspects of children's rights.

Such difficulties relate, in part, to considerable differences in understandings of the status of children and the rights pertaining to that status, not only between but also within countries. At the most basic level, while the CRC defines a child as a person under 18 years old, the age of consent is often lower than that. Policy 'on paper' can get ahead of practice 'on the ground'. Corporal punishment is now illegal in South Africa, yet remains widely practiced in the home and in schools. Policy efforts to address the problems of female early marriage and genital cutting in parts of Eastern and Central Africa have claimed success but practice within families and communities varies considerably. In reviewing over 20 years experience of AIDS-related policy and legislative action, the Joint Learning Initiative on Children and AIDS (JLICA 2009) concluded that, "national policies crafted on the basis of wide-ranging aspirational declarations adopted in multinational fora are unlikely to be politically sustainable." On this basis, it is clear that (JLICA 2009):

Process is the key. The process of arriving at a good policy is as important in determining its success as the technical content of the policy itself. The policies that [were] found to be most successful were those that were initiated nationally, with the support and involvement of civil society and which resonated with popular priorities.

This emphasis on political process has important implications for policy efforts to engage men in the protection of children from child sexual abuse and the promotion of children's rights. It suggests a need to understand better the local politics of child rights and child protection and the means by which political pressure can be brought to bear to produce policy outcomes with popular support.

The politics of child protection in the countries of Oak's European portfolio are characterized by a focus on "sick" or "evil" individuals who are abusing and exploiting children. As a result, policy and public discourses on child sexual abuse are framed within a criminal justice paradigm concerned with individual incidents and 'external' threats. Efforts to address the commercial sexual exploitation of children, portrayed as a threat to children posed by individuals and groups outside the community, have gained political traction but it has proved much more difficult to secure political attention for issues of child sexual abuse, especially when those issues are framed as a social rather than individual problem.

In Central and Eastern Africa there is a greater political willingness to discuss the social dimensions of child sexual abuse and its prevention, at least with respect to girls and young women, as is evident from the Together for Girls initiative amongst others. But the demonization of perpetrators, as a way of externalizing the problem and denying its roots in prevailing social norms, remains widespread and can be easily mobilized for politically regressive purposes, as the linking of child sexual abuse with homosexuality in Uganda's anti-homosexuality bill, and its ensuing debate, made clear. The prevailing discourse continues to focus on the perpetrator/victim binary in gendered terms, as male perpetrator and female victim, which both downplays the reality of boys' own experience of sexual abuse and often puts men on the defensive, when masculinity is equated with perpetration.

2.1 Frame child sexual abuse as a social problem

Public education and policy advocacy efforts are required to foster a public and policy discourse that understands child sexual abuse as a social problem requiring collective action for social change. In highlighting the social conditions in which child sexual abuse is rooted, attention can be drawn to men's multiple interests in and contributions to the prevention of child sexual abuse. Respondents in Africa and Europe emphasized the need to engage with men's 'relational' interests, as members of families and communities who are concerned with creating a better future for children in their lives. The new MenCare Campaign is responding to this need. Coordinated by Sonke and Promundo, the campaign includes messages and will support local initiatives that tap into men's sense of connection to their own children to promote reflection about some men's sexual violence and exploitation of other children.

Many respondents saw the benefit of building on and learning from the success that the Violence Against Women (VAW) movement has had in bringing public attention to what was previously seen as a private concern and in mobilizing men as allies to women in the struggle against the patriarchal norms that promote such violence. In the same way, it is important to emphasize the role that men can play as allies to children in challenging the same norms that foster child sexual abuse.

At the same time, men from poor and marginalized communities have 'political' interests in addressing the social, economic and political marginalization of their communities, around which they can be engaged in efforts to confront the ways in which this increases the vulnerability of children from their communities to sexual abuse and exploitation. In this regard, it is essential that work on child sexual abuse and on child sexual exploitation is clearly aligned. The prevailing distinction made between abuse and exploitation is important for delineating the commercial dynamics at play in the latter. But it is also clear that in the lives of children, and especially children from poor and marginalized communities, abuse and exploitation often co-exist, and are best understood as lying on a spectrum of violence, underpinned by the inequalities of power discussed in the Analysis section. Similarly, it is important that responses to child sexual abuse and sexual exploitation are conceptualized in relation to each other as part of a spectrum of responses to the community conditions and social injustices in which violence against children is rooted.

It is recommended that Oak support efforts to foster much closer relationships and programmatic links between the child rights/protection field, the Violence Against Women movement and organizations working with men on gender equality in order to develop shared policy agendas and joint campaign platforms. The move by the African regional MenEngage network to invite and include child rights/protection advocates within its regional and national structures is welcome in this regard. In countries where organizations addressing the rights of Gay, Lesbian and Transgender people exist, it is recommended that Oak support efforts to engage these organizations in coalitions and campaigns on shifting the public and policy discourse on child sexual abuse, given the silence that surrounds Gay, Lesbian and Transgender youth's experience of both abuse and exploitation, and the role of homophobia in deterring disclosure of abuse, especially for boys.

It is further recommended that Oak support closer collaborations between work on sexual abuse and work on sexual exploitation, and that both be linked more closely not only with organizations working with men on gender equality but also with community organizations and social movements (and their male leaderships) concerned with broader issues of social, economic and political marginalization.

2.2 Promote male leadership around vision of safe childhood

Re-framing child sexual abuse as a social problem, requiring political pressure for social change takes leadership. Male leaders in the political, economic and cultural domains have critical roles to play in promoting a vision of safe childhood for their communities and societies, and in advocating for the social changes that are needed to make this vision a reality. This is not so much a question of formal policy statements as much as declared personal commitment. There are examples of such personally committed leadership from other fields, such as the work of President Museveni in galvanizing a national response to AIDS in the early years of the epidemic in Uganda. *The Elders* initiative in Africa is bringing together female and male leaders across the continent to bring pressure to bear on national governments and the international community to tackle major social problems affecting people across the continent. Gender equality is one of its priorities, and *The Elders* initiative is focusing on the particular role that male political, religious and civil leaders must play in challenging and changing those practices and attitudes, however long-established, which foster discrimination and unfair treatment. Elsewhere, the work of former Vice-President Al Gore on environmental issues and his 'personal' documentary "An Inconvenient Truth" demonstrates the importance not only of visible leadership, but also of creative use of media through which leaders can share their vision and messages.

It is suggested that Oak explore ways to foster visible male leadership on child sexual abuse as a social problem, perhaps linking with existing efforts such as *The Elders*. Consideration should be given to the possibilities of harnessing the power of documentary film to help male leaders in communicating their vision.

Working more closely with religious leaders and faith-based organizations is an area of work that also warrants more attention. In many parts of the world, and not least the countries Oak prioritizes, many people look to their religious leaders (usually male) for guidance on issues such as gender and sexual relations, as well as seeking their support when dealing with crises, such as incidents of child sexual abuse within the family or community. More work is needed with male religious leadership to engage them in efforts to challenge harmful norms and practices.

This work must confront the highly conservative voices and positions on gender and sexual matters within many faith-based organizations, but also reach out to support and expand progressive initiatives. Examples of this include the *World Day of Prayer and Action for Children*, which last year organized the first inter-faith national Day of Prayer and Action for Children in Swaziland, as well as the work of the *African Council of Religious Leaders*, the *Global Network of Religions for Children* and the global *Plea to Faith Leaders*, in which signatories encourage religious leaders to bring "an end to all forms of maltreatment of children." The Ethiopian Evangelical Church, through its fellowship and Sunday School programs, is addressing child protection issues, and was identified as a potential ally in the prevention of child sexual abuse through engaging men and boys.

It is recommended that Oak support efforts to engage religious leaders and regional and national faith-based networks and organizations in taking visible leadership on promoting the changes in norms of gender and sexuality that are needed to prevent child sexual abuse.

2.3 Nurture the leadership of the most affected

Addressing child sexual abuse as a social problem is part of a broader re-conceptualization of child protection, which, as some have argued (Bissell et al. 2008):

must be comprehended within a broader understanding of local cultural strategies for mediating risk, promoting resilience and the positioning of children's agency in this process.

Many respondents commented on the failure of the child protection field to support, or sometimes even recognize, the importance of children's agency, and called for greater attention to be given to strengthening child participation initiatives, in line with Article 13 of the CRC. Good progress in this regard has been made in Ethiopia, where respondents noted the establishment and functionality of child-led initiatives, community-based child advisory units, child clubs, and child-led parliaments in many parts of the country. The work of Yefeka Berhan Child Club in Addis Ababa is an inspiring example of young people taking action and leadership on preventing and responding to child sexual abuse and other forms of violence, through education on issues of gender, sexuality, child development and violence, and through discussion with community members and local government to support the expansion of 'model parent' groups.

The importance of drawing on young people's creativity has been demonstrated by the Youth Expression Project in South Asia, which trained groups of young people in journalism, photography and video to support them in producing learning materials for parents, teachers and other adults on the issues that most significantly affect them (Youth Expression Project 2006). Supporting the wider dissemination of lessons and tools from such child/youth participation initiatives is an important priority in order to scale up this work in relation to child rights and child protection.

At the same time, there is a need to give more attention to building the capacity of child/youth participation initiatives to not merely participate in but also take leadership within public debates and policy forums on child sexual abuse and its prevention. Sonke is working to support youth participation in local Child Care Forums. Boys and girls are being supported to elect their own representatives for a local children's representative body, which in turn will elect its own representatives to serve on the multi-sectoral fora and related bodies. In focusing on strengthening such leadership capacity, there is an opportunity to link such initiatives with the women's movement and organizations working with men on gender equality in order to support the development of gender equitable leadership by young men within these efforts.

Many respondents noted the gap between child rights/protection policy 'on paper', which in most countries is in process of development, and severe problems of implementation on the ground. Child/youth participation initiatives can also play an important role in monitoring the implementation of policies that affect their lives and thus maintaining political pressure to ensure that such policies are adequately resourced. Tools and capacities to undertake policy monitoring need to be shared more widely, as Sonke is beginning to do with its organizational partners in MenEngage networks across the Africa region. Useful lessons in this regard can be learned from the pioneering work done by Men's Action for Stopping Violence Against Women in its monitoring of and campaigning around the implementation of India's Domestic Violence Act (MASVAW 2008).

Promundo's experience with Youth in Movement, in which groups of youth from three cities in Brazil were trained in community and national advocacy and in carrying out research on violence of various kinds (including sexual violence) in their communities is also illustrative of this.

It is recommended that Oak scale up support to gender transformative youth leadership initiatives, and link them with policy advocacy and policy monitoring efforts in relation to child rights and child protection. Potential partners for this work include youth development organizations, as well as the youth components of organizations working on women's empowerment and with men on gender equality. It is further recommended that Oak facilitate regional and global learning exchanges on tools and processes for gender transformative youth leadership development in relation to child rights and the prevention of child sexual abuse.

2.4 Expand and apply the evidence base

The overwhelming sense from the interviews and desk review conducted for this report is of the lack of evidence on which to base good policy. Too little is known about the nature, extent and gendered dynamics of sexual abuse in the lives of children in Oak's priority countries within Africa and Europe. In both regions, there is a lack of research on the impacts of trauma on individuals, families and communities, the factors that support resilience in the face of such abuse and the ways in which families and communities do and do not deal with sexual abuse.

Even less is known about the efficacy of prevention and intervention approaches. There is a dearth of evaluation data, not least with regard to male engagement strategies where very little work has been done. Much of the data that does exist come from the global North. A recent review of efforts to engage men in work to end gender-based violence makes clear the current limits of our knowledge (Flood 2011):

First, there has been very little evaluation of primary prevention strategies, including efforts of engaging men in violence prevention. Second, existing evidence regarding the effectiveness of any kind of intervention is sparse. To the extent that impact evaluations have been undertaken, often they are poorly designed, limited to retrospective reports of participants' satisfaction, or only assess proxy variables associated with violence against women rather than this violence itself. In most cases, post-intervention assessments are made only immediately after the program or only weeks later and there is no long-term follow-up. Evaluations often assess only attitudes, not behaviors or social and sexual relations, and do not address the intervention's impact on perpetration or victimization. Evaluations rarely examine the mediators of changes in attitudes, behaviors, or other factors, that is, of the causal processes through which the program achieves change.

These limitations notwithstanding, there have been attempts to assess the effectiveness of violence prevention and gender equity work with men, with implications for the design and evaluation of strategies for male engagement in child rights and child protection work. A WHO review (Barker et al. 2007) of interventions with men and boys in a range of fields (sexual and reproductive health, parenting and MCH programming, and gender-based violence) is a rare example of an attempt to assess the international evidence base. Noting the limitations identified above, the review defined effectiveness in relation to both evaluation design and level of impact. The objective was to combine an assessment of the rigor of the evaluation design (and thus its replicability and reliability) with the level of impact, referring to how much change was measured and what kind of change was measured. Ranking criteria were designed to give greater weight to change in behavior, followed by change in attitudes and then change in knowledge. Greater weight was also given to the evaluations that sought to triangulate data: including the perspectives or reports of important others, including partners of men, their children or health service providers. Subsequently, these two sets of criteria – evaluation design and level of impact – were combined into an overall effectiveness ranking of “effective”, “promising” or “unclear”. Of the 58 programs that had sufficient evaluation data to be included in the review, 17 (29%) were assessed as being effective in leading to change in attitudes or behavior and a further 22 (38%) were assessed as being promising.

A more recent review of primary prevention work with men internationally on gender-based violence has made a similarly creative attempt to assess effectiveness within the data constraints that prevail (Flood 2011), using a slightly different tripartite model. Effectiveness here is defined in terms of strategies and programs that have a theoretical rationale, show evidence of implementation, and have some evidence of impact on intended intervention outcomes. Programs are assessed as “promising” if they have a theoretical rationale, have been implemented, but do not yet have evidence of impact. Other strategies are characterized as “potentially promising” when they do have a theoretical rationale, but they have not been tried or evaluated.

This report will draw on the thinking of and conclusions from these two reviews, and will discuss models and strategies as “effective” or “promising” on the basis of a combination of their criteria (theoretical rationale, implementation monitoring, evaluation design and level of impact on intended outcomes.) At the same time, however, the complexity of child sexual abuse, as a social problem rooted in harmful norms and inequalities of power, suggests that answers to the question “what works?” will be complex, and certainly not confined to a set of discreet, time-bound project interventions. As well as building the evidence base for such interventions, much more attention is needed to processes and structures for sharing and learning lessons between the diverse constituencies that must be involved in a collective response to the social problem of sexual abuse. Learning Collaboratives, such as the Joint Learning Initiative on Children and AIDS, MenEngage, the GBV Prevention Network (in Africa) and the Sexual Violence Research Initiative can play a useful role, not only in marshaling available evidence in ways that can be translated into policy and programmatic action but also serve as opportunities for convening constituencies to develop shared agendas for political action on child sexual abuse.

It is recommended that help to build the evidence base for male engagement in child rights work and the prevention of child sexual abuse through funding the provision of technical support to their program partners on formative research and program monitoring, evaluation and lessons learning. Consideration should be given to supporting regional Training Institutes, as formal mechanisms through which programming lessons can be shared and the field of work on male engagement in child rights work and the prevention of child sexual abuse be strengthened.

3. Changing Social Norms

Men have an essential role to play in the prevention of child sexual abuse by challenging and helping to change the patriarchal norms of gender and sexuality in which the abuse is rooted. Over the last 15 years, a field of work with men on gender equality and violence prevention has emerged as a global phenomenon, producing a growing evidence base testifying to the impacts of this work.

Although rigorous evaluations remain rare, a WHO review (Barker et al. 2007) of the evidence from 58 programs around the world identified impacts in terms of reductions in self-reported use of physical, sexual and psychological violence in intimate relationships and of more equitable treatment of sons and daughters. Other evaluations and reviews have highlighted the effectiveness of primary prevention work with men (Pulerwitz et al. 2006; Solórzano et al. 2008; Bertrand et al. 2005). A current multi-country intervention and impact evaluation study in Brazil, Chile, India and Rwanda, funded by the UN Trust Fund, using rigorous evaluations to identify effective strategies for engaging men in ending violence against women and girls, is soon to report on its findings.

The policy dimensions of work with men on violence prevention and gender equality are now being recognized. A recent review (WHO 2010) of “Policy approaches to engaging men and boys in achieving gender equality and health equity” noted that “most work with men has tended to be local in scale and limited in scope” and that “policy processes and mechanisms are key elements in any effort to engage men and boys in achieving gender equality.” This policy emphasis has been taken up by the MenEngage Alliance, and its regional and national networks. One of the four policy priorities identified by the MenEngage Africa regional conference in August 2010 related to men’s involvement in children’s lives and the care economy, and the global MenEngage Alliance is also focusing on men, caregiving and fatherhood as a complement to its work in gender-based violence prevention.

Specific work has been done with men on changing harmful social norms within particular settings, such as schools and colleges, which suggest promising directions for this work (Berkowitz 2007). Lessons are also being learned from other norms change initiatives, which can be usefully applied in work with men on child sexual abuse prevention. A recent report on the success of work on FGM/C abandonment in Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Senegal and the Sudan emphasizes that programs and policies must “address the complex social dynamics associated with the practice and challenge established gender relationships and existing assumptions and stereotypes” and “propose alternative mechanisms to signal adherence to shared community values and to frame the discussion surrounding FGM/C in a non-threatening way.” The report concludes (UNICEF 2010):

When programs are holistic and community-based and incorporate human rights deliberation, and when they create an environment that enables and supports change, transformation of social norms and conventions can occur.

It is also clear that norms of gender and sexuality are never static, but dynamic. Profound changes are underway in gender and sexual relations as a result of urbanization, the spread of education for girls and employment opportunities for women, the globalization of culture, and in particular youth culture through satellite TV and the internet. Notions of gendered and generational roles and responsibilities are shifting and the subject of intense debate within many societies. A rise of male unemployment and its undermining of the breadwinner role has given rise to talk of a “crisis in masculinity” in countries of Europe and Africa. Exposure to different images and practices of masculinity is inspiring some men and threatening others. HIV/AIDS has opened up public conversations on sexuality that were previously taboo. These changes provide important opportunities for expanding work with men on preventing child sexual abuse.

3.1 Support men in structured reflection and action on norms

Group educational activities continue to be one of the most common program approaches with men and boys, and are, by process and qualitative accounts, useful in promoting critical reflections about the harms of current gender norms and how to challenge them. Evidence from the WHO review (Barker et al. 2007) confirms that in reasonably well-designed studies, such activities can lead to significant changes in attitudes (some of which are correlated with key behavioral outcomes) and behavioral intentions. Post-workshop evaluations with men who participated in Men As Partners workshops in South Africa were less likely than non-participants to believe that it is acceptable to beat their wives or rape sex workers (White, Greene, and Murphy 2003).

Several important lessons have been learned from this work, which should be used to guide its expansion and development in relation to child rights and child protection. The first is the importance of undertaking extensive baseline work to establish the current situation, priorities for target groups, and to inform the materials and format of the program (IPPF 2010). The WHO review cited above also drew attention to the importance of a “positive masculinities” approach that recognizes the important role men can play as partners and allies with women in preventing violence against women and children and of creating a safe space where men and boys can question inequitable ideas or notions of masculinity and not be censured or ridiculed by peers. Research suggests that skilled facilitation in such group-work is critical to its effectiveness. As the WHO review concludes:

The experiences of the effective and promising group education examples included in this review confirm the need for facilitators who have extensive training, have reflected about their own attitudes about gender and masculinity and are confident in their ability to deal with complex issues associated with conflict, such as sexual violence, male–female relationships, sexuality, personal feelings and experiences.

This finding also relates to the importance of a pedagogy for such group-work that seeks change at both the affective as well as the cognitive level. In particular, there is a need to strengthen the capacity of group-work with men to create an emotionally supportive space, which can explore experiences of trauma and resilience in men's lives, not least with respect to their own experiences of violence, including child sexual abuse. Given the significance of homophobia in maintaining oppressive norms of masculinity and femininity that harm both men and women, and in deterring boys from disclosing their own experiences of sexual abuse, more attention should be given to strengthening links between men's work and groups working to challenge homophobia, and promote the rights of gay, lesbian, queer and transgender people. It is also clear from evaluations of such work that there is a need to balance the creation of an emotionally supportive space with tools and processes that help men in confronting their own and each other's harmful behavior.

Making the link between reflection and action is also critical. In this regard, it will be useful to build on and learn from Sonke's experience in supporting the work of men's Community Action Teams, formed as a result of their One Man Can workshops, which are intended to enable men to take their learning from these workshops into action in their communities. The importance of connecting men's activism on harmful norms with ongoing work on women's empowerment is also borne out by the International Rescue Committee's (IRC) mixed experience with Men's Action Groups in Liberia (IRC 2009). While some changes in men's gender attitudes and practices were observed, the project also experienced problems relating to a replication of gender inequalities in group dynamics, a focus on men's needs which lost sight of the rights of women and girls and a haste toward mixed-gender groups and cross-gender dialogue which overlooked the continuing value of female-only spaces for women and girls. Lessons learned from this experience in terms of technical support and mentoring as well as monitoring and

accountability processes need to be applied more widely. The work of Men's Action for Stopping Violence Against Women (MASVAW) in India provides a good example of such accountability processes in action, growing as it did out of and being institutionally affiliated with SAHAYOG, a women's empowerment organization.

MASVAW's work in India also provides an important example of directing men's activism toward change at the level of institutions, and the role they play in reproducing harmful norms of gender and sexuality that enable sexual violence. MASVAW mobilizes men to hold the police and other state agencies accountable for implementing existing laws on violence against women. Elsewhere in India, the Centre for Health and Social Justice, in its Mobilizing Men project, is working with male students and faculty in college campuses in Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra to ally with women in ensuring that policies on sexual violence and harassment on campus are strengthened and implemented. In Kenya, Men for Gender Equality Now (MEGEN) is working with motorcycle taxi drivers to challenge the sexual violence that is known to be perpetrated by drivers against female passengers. MEGEN has supported motorcycle taxi drivers associations in developing a Code of Conduct on sexual violence for their members, which puts in place a zero tolerance policy for such behavior, and thus seeks to change the prevailing norm that condones such violence.

In a few settings, groups working with men on harmful male norms have been able, at least initially, to work in the public school system, in the case of the Program H adaptation in the Balkans (together with CARE and local partners), in India (in a partnership with the International Center for Research on Women), and in Brazil, where Promundo has worked to develop an online, continuing education initiative for teachers in the public school system in the use of its Program H and M materials on gender equality and sexual diversity. In Ethiopia, HIWOT is currently building the capacity of 18 Oak partner organizations to mainstream male engagement strategies in their ongoing efforts. Feedback from respondents interviewed for this report suggests that this mainstreaming strategy has been effective in equipping civil society groups to engage men in a gender transformative way in their work.

In Africa, it is recommended that Oak support efforts to expand the reach and improve the quality of strategies for working with men on structured reflection and action on harmful norms, especially as they relate to child rights and child protection. MenEngage national and regional networks provide ongoing opportunities for strengthening capacities in relation to the lessons from promising practice identified above. HIWOT's mainstreaming strategy shows promise, and it is recommended that this be expanded within and beyond Ethiopia, with an emphasis on mainstreaming male engagement work within the child rights and child protection fields.

In Oak's priority countries within the European region, work with men on harmful norms of gender and sexuality is much less developed. It is recommended that Oak support efforts to develop this work in this region. The MenEngage Europe network, together with the Global Secretariat, can provide support to this initiative. Potential partners include national affiliates of the White Ribbon Campaign (where they exist), and, crucially, groups working on issues of violence against women and children who are interested in expanding their work to engage men. Particular settings (such as schools or sports contexts) for engaging young men in reflection and action on harmful norms should also be targeted, and these are discussed in more detail in section 3.5.

3.2 Link this work to community dialogues on gender and sexuality

As noted above, concerns are sometimes expressed that male engagement strategies lose touch with or are too disconnected from ongoing women's empowerment initiatives. Developing work with men on harmful norms that engages with women as well is critical, in part to ensure that gender work with men remains accountable to the women's movement but also because women, too, are involved in reproducing the harmful norms of gender and sexuality that expose children to the risk of sexual abuse.

A very practical way to link male engagement strategies with ongoing work with women on gender equality and child rights is to support an expansion of community dialogue interventions. Rigorous evaluations are rare in this field, but one such evaluation of *Stepping Stones* in South Africa has demonstrated the potential for community dialogue interventions, working with both women and men, youth and adult, to shift norms and practices on gender and sexuality (Jewkes et al. 2008). The Community Conversations on gender equality and sexual and reproductive health in Ethiopia, and Raising Voices' SASA! community mobilization methodology that was developed in Uganda but is now being rolled out across and beyond the African region, show similar promise. A significant challenge facing these and similar interventions is the intensity of resources (people, money, time) required, thus limiting the scale of implementation.

One response to this may be to link these structured dialogues with ongoing women's empowerment initiatives, such as income generation work, as IRC did with its *Economic and Social Empowerment* program for women (EASE) in Burundi, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, and DRC, which worked through Village Savings and Loan Associations to engage women and their spouses in dialogue on gender relations and inequalities in the household (IRC 2011a). In Burundi, half of all the participating VSLAs were engaged in *Healing Families and Communities* discussion groups that raised awareness about issues including child protection, child participation within the family and community, and health, education, family budgeting and positive discipline. Impact evaluation found that improvements in child wellbeing indicators were seen for children who had a parent who participated in the VSLA groups, regardless of their participation in the Healing Families and Communities discussion groups. On the other hand, significant improvements in child discipline practices were associated with those who participated in the VSLA groups and the Healing Families and Communities discussion modules (IRC 2011b). CARE is beginning similar work in Rwanda, combining discussion groups with men focusing on GBV prevention and promotion of joint and equitable household decision-making with their women-focused VSLA groups.

In Africa, it is recommended that Oak support the expansion of community dialogue interventions on gender and sexuality, and explore ways in which to link these interventions to ongoing women's economic empowerment initiatives. In Europe, it is suggested that Oak commission formative research to identify communities in which it would be possible to develop this work; close-knit immigrant communities and other communities marginalized from the mainstream may be likely targets for such work.

3.3 Link to mass media work

Another way to leverage greater scale from community dialogues and group-work with men is to link these initiatives with 'edutainment' and mass media interventions. An evaluation of the *Somos Diferentes, Somos Iguales* (We're Different, We're Equal) multi-media campaign designed to empower youth, promote gender equality and reduce violence and STI/HIV risk, confirmed that there was a cumulative effect, with longer exposure associated with greater likelihood of youth reporting a 'positive' attitude towards equity issues. At the core of the campaign is a nationally broadcast TV soap opera, 'Sixth Sense', which addresses sensitive and complex issues such as sexuality, HIV/AIDS, reproductive rights and domestic violence through dramatization within realistic story-lines (Solórzano et al. 2008).

An impact evaluation of the TV-based *Soul City* program in South Africa identified similarly encouraging results, specifically in terms of decreased self-reported use of physical, sexual and psychological violence in intimate relationships and increased communication with spouse or partner about child health (Peltzer 2003). Use of community radio to foster discussions on gender and sexuality norms and practices, underway in South Africa and Ethiopia, also show promise. Linking these initiatives to organized community dialogues and group-work with men is the next step to take, building on *Soul City*'s efforts to host focus group discussions in the aftermath of specific TV episodes and Sonke's efforts to train radio DJs to facilitate phone-in conversations on gender and sexuality issues.

Respondents in Europe noted the importance of media campaigns not simply on child abuse education but on gender and sexual norms more generally. The well-received "The Entire Poland Reads Children" campaign, using TV spots, billboards, posters and newspapers ads, made effective use of some Polish male celebrities to get its messages across and was identified as a good example of the role that media campaigns can play in shifting norms. Lessons from Promundo's experience with low-tech, community-based media campaigns highlight the importance of doing formative research prior to test messaging and specifically targeting 'men of influence' such as coaches, father or religious leaders.

Globally, advertising for social change is a multi-billion dollar business. In 2002, the US Congress funded a multiyear effort by the Center for Disease Control to promote exercise among 9 to 13 year olds with \$125 million in funding for marketing activities in the first year alone. Anti-drug advertisements aimed at kids have been supported by \$600 million in tax dollars in the last few years. In addition to paid advertising, the US National Association of Broadcasters estimates that in 2001, member stations provided time worth \$6.6 billion to public service announcements. Yet, commentary from experts within the advertising industry notes that (Crimmins and Calahan 2003) "billions of dollars are spent in advertising for social change yet much of it is reported to be ineffective because of a lack of insight into the target audience" and that "public communication campaigns have achieved a mixed record of effectiveness in influencing health and prosocial behavior" (Atkin and Freimuth 2001). According to Andreasen (1995), understanding the target group's needs and wants is what separates social marketing programs that really work from those that should work.

In addition to formative research, it is essential to consider the particular challenges that public service advertising and social marketing campaigns on issues relating to child sexual abuse face (Horsfall et al. 2010):

Social marketing campaigns that utilize hard-hitting content to address child sexual abuse are especially fraught, as they have the potential to expose children to traumatic themes and images and re-traumatize child sexual abuse survivors.

One of the few reviews of social marketing campaigns on child sexual abuse and other forms of child maltreatment, focusing on lessons learned from Australian campaigns, concluded that (Horsfall et al. 2010):

Social marketing campaigns can bring about an increase in help-seeking behaviors for adults who are perpetrators of abuse, adults who believe that abuse is occurring and children and young people who are the victims of abuse. Social marketing campaigns may bring about an increase in self-reported behavior change amongst parents.

In general, the review found that mass media campaigns, usually TV-based, were more effective when paired with support services, usually targeted at parents, and with some community-level strategy for strengthening community capacity to respond to sexual abuse.

On the basis of the above, it is recommended, with respect to the Africa region, that Oak support efforts to link community dialogue interventions with mass media social marketing and edutainment strategies, using radio, TV and mobile phone technologies. Consideration should be given to convening relevant stakeholders (edutainment experts from Africa and beyond, child rights/protection groups, VAW groups, and groups working with men on gender equality) in an African symposium on Social Marketing for Social Change for Child Protection, to identify an agenda for research and action to develop this work in Africa. In Europe, it is recommended that Oak work with similar stakeholders in respective national contexts to explore the possibilities of nationally-specific mass media campaigns on norms of gender and sexuality in relation to child rights.

3.5 Target young men

Young men are an important target group for male engagement strategies on child rights and child protection. Experience from gender equality work with men suggests that adolescence presents a significant opportunity for this work, given that this is a time when identities and attitudes about gender roles and relationships are being formed. Targeting young men is also essential simply because in many societies, especially in Africa, they constitute a significant and growing proportion of the overall population.

Evidence from the field of gender-based violence prevention highlights the importance of working with young men. The most extensive body of evidence in the evaluation of primary prevention efforts concerns educational programs among children, youth, and young adults (Flood 2011). From a series of evaluations of violence prevention education, delivered in schools and universities in particular, it is clear that such interventions can have positive effects on males' attitudes toward violence against women (Whitaker et al. 2006). For example, male (and female) secondary school and university students who have attended rape education sessions show less adherence to rape myths, express less rape-supportive attitudes, and/or report greater victim empathy than those in control groups (Morrison et al. 2004).

A recent desk review of sexual violence prevention programs with young men aged 12-19, currently being carried out by Promundo in collaboration with SVRI, provides further evidence for their effectiveness (Promundo 2011). The review found 63 evaluated studies, 85% from the Global North (mostly the US), with 21 of the studies were carried out on university campuses in the US. The most common methodologies used were group educational workshops, some based on participatory learning styles, while others were more didactic. Some involved only boys and young men, while others were mixed sex. Forty-two of the studies evaluated the effects of the intervention on attitudes towards violence, 25 of which (60%) reported statistically significant ($p < .05$) positive effects on attitudes towards violence, compared to no treatment, alternative or delayed treatment. Twenty one of the studies evaluated the effects of intervention on attitudes towards gender roles and/or intimate relationships with women, with twelve (57%) reporting statistically significant ($p < .05$) positive effects on attitudes towards gender roles and/or intimate relationships, compared to no treatment, alternative or delayed treatment. Nine of the studies evaluated the effects of intervention on perpetration of sexual violence against women, with only one reporting statistically significant ($p < .05$) positive effects on boys' and/or young men's self-reported use of sexual violence. Six of the studies evaluated the effects of intervention on bystander behaviors, and only one reported statistically significant ($p < .05$) positive effects on boys' and/or young men's self-reported bystander behaviors.

Overall, the review found that a fairly coherent set of interventions across cultural settings – group education with some reinforcement or broader messaging usually included – showed impacts on attitudes when the interventions were based in strong formative research, followed a coherent theoretical model and were implemented consistently. A recent evaluation of the Male Norms Initiative in Ethiopia bears this out, indicating that the

intervention for young men, focused on promoting gender-equitable norms, has successfully influenced participants' attitudes toward gender norms and led to positive health outcomes. The evaluation provided empirical evidence that a group education and community engagement intervention, focused on combating inequitable and risk-supporting gender norms, was associated with reductions in partner violence and improvements in HIV/STI risk outcomes.

As the above suggests, changing young men's (self-reported) behavior faces more challenges. In this respect, it is important to disaggregate the category of "young men" and address the specificities of young men's situations, based not only on their gender but also their experience of privilege, oppression and vulnerability in relation to their class position, racial/ethnic identity, sexual orientation, and nationality status among other factors. This suggests the need to develop programs of work with young men on norms of gender and sexuality that also take account of issues that may affect young men's gender and sexual practices, such as unemployment, alcohol and drug use, delinquent behavior and depression. The need to combine work with young men on norms with targeted support services for at-risk youth is highlighted by program experience. In Namibia, for example, participatory research, community plays, resource centers, and family visitors' programs have produced shifts in attitudes and behaviors relating to gender and sexuality, including a decline in boys' ritualized sexual violence against girls in hostels (Kandirikirira 2002).

It is also important that interventions with young men should be complemented by other strategies aimed at addressing particularly intensive forms of support for violence in the peer cultures and group norms of some boys and young men, such as peer education and mentoring. Among males, there is consistent evidence that peer support for intimate partner violence is an important predictor of men's perpetration of sexual and physical abuse. Men with "rape-supporting social relationships" (that is, with male friends who give advice, for example, that girls owe them sex and who approve of or use violence against girls and women) are more likely to use sexual and physical abuse themselves. In violence prevention education, programs for young men are more likely to be effective if they use peers in leadership roles, and non-violent men can play a powerful role as peer educators (Flood 2011).

There is also a need to expand the innovative use of digital media (photo-voice, digital stories) as well as theater for social change techniques (forum theater) in work with young men. Important lessons can be learned from ECPAT's work with male adolescents in Peru, which emphasized the need to nurture young men's emotional 'literacy' in order to be able to talk about issues of sexuality, including their own experiences of sexual abuse. ECPAT identified a clear need for more work to support young men who suffered violence and abuse as a result of their non-normative sexual orientation and gender identity.

The work of Uganda's Refugee Law Project on the rights and needs of gay, lesbian and transgender young refugees is inspiring in this regard and warrants expansion.

The resurgence of interest in culturally-specific transition-to-manhood processes across the African continent present an opportunity for constructive work with young men on gender and sexuality issues. Indeed, leading researchers and practitioners in the child rights/protection fields (Bissell et al. 2008) have noted that, "initiation ceremonies can be powerful social mechanisms that foster a sense of social belonging, self-identify, and learning of cultural skills." More attention is needed to support progressive work on gender issues within such transition-to-manhood settings.

Sports contexts also provide a useful entry point. Initiatives such as International Center for Research on Women's (ICRW) Coaching Boys into Men program in India have used sports settings with some success to work with young men on promoting more gender equitable attitudes. It is clear that sports clubs and activities present an important opportunity for work with young men in Europe, not merely because of the adolescent transitions described above, but also because they are, from anecdotal evidence, some of the most frequent sites of sexual abuse outside the home. The lack of gender and sexuality work with younger boys is also emerging as a significant gap. The WHO review of gender equality work with men and boys found that most of the programs targeted older adolescents and adult men, generally 15 years and older. Only two programs identified were trying to reach boys younger than 15 years. Furthermore, none of the interventions followed men or boys for more than two years and few if any were applying a life-course approach and assessing their impact in these terms.

In Africa, it is recommended that Oak support the expansion of current efforts to work with young men on norms of gender and sexuality, and enable these interventions to receive appropriate technical support that reflects the lessons learned from program experience to date, as described above. Schools, sports contexts and transition-to-manhood rituals and processes are likely settings for such work, and potential partners will be drawn from existing MenEngage country networks as well as youth development and child rights organizations. Such interventions provide valuable opportunities to learn how to influence and support change over the 'youth life-course' of boys and young men; it is recommended that Oak support the integration of longitudinal studies of intervention effectiveness into a selected number of these programs.

In Europe, it is recommended that Oak support the development of interventions to work with young men on norms of gender and sexuality, and ensure these interventions receive appropriate technical support that reflects the lessons learned from program experience to date, as described above. Schools and sports contexts are likely settings for this work, and potential partners will be drawn from youth development and child rights organizations, as well as organizations working with marginalized communities, including gay and transgender youth.

4. Supporting Men's Caregiving and Parenting

Family life is changing as a result of profound demographic, socio-economic and cultural transformations that have occurred over the past several decades. As women enter the labor force in growing numbers, and male unemployment rises, notably in Central and Eastern Europe, men are being confronted with demands that they become more engaged in family responsibilities and the 'care economy' more generally. Women continue to bear the largest burden of family and care-taking responsibilities and men, not least in Oak's priority countries, continue to be seen mostly as economic providers, disciplinarians and protectors within their families. Yet there are signs of change, with increasing numbers of men taking on child-rearing and care-taking responsibilities, a situation that presents clear opportunities for Oak to support the positive engagement of men in children's lives. As a recently completed review of studies on parenting and the prevention of child maltreatment in low- and middle-income countries emphasizes (Knerr, Gardner and Cluver 2011):

In short, parenting interventions are an important and potentially fundamental approach to the prevention of child maltreatment and promotion of safe, nurturing, non-violent home settings – both in the immediate family and in the next generation.

A range of studies highlight the benefits of positive male engagement in parenting. It can increase the likelihood that sons grow up to be more gender equitable (and involved fathers themselves), and that daughters will have more flexible views about gender and a greater sense of equality within relationships (Barker and Nascimento 2003). There is also evidence that girls whose fathers are involved in their lives tend to be better nourished in places where discrimination in feeding takes place, and in most every setting, have higher self-esteem (Prather 1995; Yeung and Duncan 2000). Several studies show that men involved in the nurturing of young children are much less likely later on to engage in violence against their female partners, with important consequences for children and their mothers (Foumbi and Lovich 1997; Morrell, Posel, and Devey 2003). Some evidence suggests that in contexts where men currently have little engagement with child-rearing and care, expanding and increasing the involvement of men as parents in the lives of their families will lead to a change in the men's gender behaviours and attitudes more generally (Plantin, Månsson and Kearney 2003).

It is true that too many men remain comfortable with women bearing the brunt of family care-taking responsibilities, and that when men take on more care work they may still characterize it as "helping" or avoid tasks they consider to be "women's work". But it is also the case that many men lack the support to get more involved. South African research has revealed that many men are beginning to live more gender equitable lives with their partners and with their children, but that these activities often remain unacknowledged by service providers and policy-makers and hidden by the men themselves for fear of ridicule from other community members (Montgomery et al. 2006).

Social policies continue to focus on men mainly as economic providers (or their failure to act as such), thus perpetuating the very constructions of masculinity that help reproduce gender inequalities. Qualitative research carried out by ICRW, Promundo and partners (called the "Men Who Care" study to be published later in 2011) interviewed men in five countries who were involved in progressive caregiving roles, whether in the home or in caregiving professions, such as nursing or early childhood care work. For many of these men, their experiences of interacting with the most important institutions in children's lives, including schools, health centers and Early Child Development centers, were often not positive. Men reported that they were perceived as being potentially violent, sexually predatory or irresponsible when it comes to family care-giving and child-rearing roles. Working to change institutional cultures, and associated policies and procedures, to make them more receptive to men's positive engagement in children's lives is clearly a priority.

Some progress has been made in the countries of Oak's African portfolio, notably with respect to policy statements on male involvement in maternal child health and sexual and reproductive health programming, though translation into practice remains weak. Fatherhood was identified as a 'hot' topic by some respondents in Europe, though concern was expressed about this being equated with "being a modern man" rather than being guided by a deeper commitment to taking on the responsibilities of child care. Very little is known about the pathways between supporting men's parenting practices and protecting children from child sexual abuse. The above-mentioned review of studies on parenting and the prevention of child maltreatment found that only one (out of the 12 reviewed) measured outcomes for both mothers and fathers (Knerr et al. 2011). It did report that:

there is evidence of the potential contribution of parenting interventions to preventing violence among boys throughout the life cycle, but overall gender socialisation in parenting interventions remains largely unexplored.

4.1 Expand gender equitable parenting programming with men

Respondents in both Europe and Africa identified a need to expand the number and improve the quality of parenting programs with men. As Sonke's work in the Eastern Cape has shown, such programming can be linked to existing initiatives such as OVC and PMTCT interventions. The Sexual and Reproductive Health field has over 15 years of experience in piloting male involvement interventions, and some of the most successful have focused on men's roles as parents in MCH settings. A meta-analysis of published studies on work with men in antenatal settings found that men's engagement in antenatal classes can increase both the emotional and practical support that they provide to their partner, which in turn enhances the overall quality of their relationship with both their partner and newborn infant (McMillan and Barlow 2011). The review recommended that more attention be given to participative learning processes and a focus on the transition to parenthood and early parenting, as well as encouraging men to focus on their own experiences, on changes in their relationship, and on the preparation for fatherhood. In Europe, there is a need to explore the potential for locating fatherhood programming within family support services that typically target women, as well as within community-based services for under-served communities. As the Oak review of studies on parenting and the prevention of child maltreatment urged (Knerr et al. 2011):

Researchers should consider integrating gender socialization components or outcome measures into parenting interventions and trials, with particular focus on boys' socialization and behavior over time.

Early Child Development programs are an important entry point for ensuring both healthy child development as well as fostering more gender equitable attitudes among both mothers and fathers. Yet there are few examples of well-documented, carefully evaluated Early Child Development interventions targeting fathers as well as mothers. One such model is the Centro Bienestar Infantil (Early Years Well Being Center) project in Cabanas, El Salvador, part of Plan El Salvador's 'A Good Start to Life' / 'Gender Equality in the Early Education of Boys and Girls' program. The program provides gender training for nursery staff, and ensures that the educational and play materials do not reinforce stereotypical gender assumptions. In addition, Plan also works with both parents of children attending the nurseries to understand the aims of the gender sensitive approach adopted by the program. In order to extend the impact of gender equity within early education and increase its influence, Plan El Salvador is training individuals and government institutions in gender and early education and working with them on a national gender policy for the early years.

In Chile, the government's Protection System for Early Childhood (Chile Crece Contigo/Chile Grows with You), provides psychosocial support for parents and children from 0-4 years, a large number of free day care centers and nursery schools nationwide,

and promotes the increased participation of fathers in childcare. Sharing lessons and tools from these initiatives will be essential in improving the quality of parenting programming with men, and calls for closer collaborations to be fostered between the Early Child Development field and organizations working with men on gender equality.

Research from Latin America is also highlighting other issues on which to focus in parenting programming with men, including the importance of supporting men to strengthen their emotional attachment with their children. Attachment experiences have been shown to enable men to reject violence as a normative practice (McMillan and Paul 2011). At the same time, studies of children's resilience to sexual abuse and other threats to their safety and well-being have highlighted the significant role played by the presence of at least one supportive primary carer, and/or a committed mentor who can hold the possibility of establishing (or re-establishing) secure attachment (McMillan and Paul 2011).

Working with parents to shift the gendered division of labor within the household is also important. Research indicates that such interventions result in benefits for both boys and girls: boys who have grown up sharing domestic responsibilities are more likely to be part of households with more equitable decision-making, lower levels of physical violence, and decreased divorce rates (Kabeer 2007).

It is recommended that Oak, possibly in conjunction with other funders, convene practitioners, researchers and policy advocates from relevant fields (Early Child Development, Child Rights, Child Protection, Violence Against Women and Gender Equality work with Men) in global or region-specific Learning Collaboratives to establish and implement an agenda for research and action on male involvement in gender equitable early child development work. In conjunction with the Learning Collaboratives, it is recommended that Oak support the expansion of gender equitable parenting programming with men in both Africa and Europe, drawing on lessons learned as described above. Potential partners for this work will include family support services, early child development centers, MCH/FP clinics and, in Africa at least, OVC and PMTCT programs.

4.2 Shape the public discourse on parenting and positive masculinities

The impact of profound social and economic changes on families and their functioning in both Europe and Africa are, in some cases, reflected in men's growing involvement in domestic and child-care work, yet this involvement is too rarely acknowledged or documented in order to inspire other men to get similarly involved. A study of caring patterns in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa revealed that men were involved in care giving activities (Montgomery et al. 2006). These included caring for patients and children, financially supporting family members and being present at home, thereby enabling women to work or support other households. However, these activities were seldom acknowledged by community members or by research field workers who continued to hold the perception that "men are not caring for their families because they are irresponsible and profligate".

The UN has also called for more work with public and private sector employers to shift their view of the ideal worker as an "unencumbered male", and instead promote images of the caregiving and providing father. The Men in Families report calls for more research on models that reconcile work and family life, especially in the context of men in low-wage, non-professional jobs (UN-DESA 2011).

Similarly, the Fatherhood Institute in the UK has noted the ways in which gender stereotypes are reproduced and not challenged within social work training and key textbooks, and that more attention should be devoted to developing social work students' skills in engaging with men as parents.

The MenEngage *Men Care* campaign seeks to address some of these needs, with its emphasis on shifting the public discourse through a media campaign, as well as capacity building for parenting programs and organizations working with men on gender equality, as well as advocacy on men and parenting policy issues. The paternity leave quotas in the Nordic region are examples of how perceptions of fatherhood and equal parenting can be transformed during the course of a single generation with institutional support and incentives. While the progress made in terms of fatherhood policy in Scandinavia, particularly in relation to “use it or lose it” paternity leave arrangements, may not be easily replicable in many of Oak’s priority countries, even raising public discussion of such policy options serves a powerful educative purpose in highlighting the need for and benefits of engaging men more closely as parents of their children.

The MenEngage *Men Care* campaign will go regional within Africa in the coming months, and is already being adapted in Brazil. It is recommended that consideration be given to a similar initiative for the European region, as well as in South Asia. In doing so, it will be important to work closely with representatives from the women’s movement, as experience from the UK and North America highlights the danger of policy work on fatherhood being co-opted by politically conservative fathers’ rights groups.

4.3 Target young fathers

The importance of targeting work at young fathers emerges strongly from the literature. As regards youthful fatherhood, most professional support for adolescent parents, particularly from health services, has been concentrated on adolescent mothers, although this pattern has started to shift, after decades of critique. Across the world, fathers are beginning to be included in some teen parenting assessment and family support packages, although developments are still patchy.

Evidence is emerging about effective approaches to working with teenage fathers, notably in US populations (UN-DESA 2011). Such fatherhood training programs for young men and first-time fathers have been successfully implemented in Brazil, Trinidad and Tobago, Canada, the Nordic countries and the USA and Australia, usually through community-based settings in order to reach out to young men. In one evaluation of a US-based program, it was reported that the intervention was successful in achieving higher perceived paternal competence and increased time with children (within non-work time) compared to the control group (UN-DESA 2011). Instituto Papai in Brazil has developed effective processes and tools for engaging socially marginalized young men in parenting support interventions.

It is recommended that Oak support the expansion of programming with young fathers, both in Europe and Africa. In Europe, potential partners for this work include youth development initiatives, family support services and possibly harm reduction agencies working with young drug users. In Africa, potential partners include youth development initiatives and family support services, as well as groups working with young men on gender equality and transition to adulthood. The potential for involving faith-based groups in the provision of support to young fathers should also be explored.

4.4 Engage men as ‘social’ parents

In recognizing that families are changing, and thus ideas about fatherhood, it is important not to limit definitions of ‘family’ to biological constructions. The term “family” should be considered as referring to social aggregations that are the basis for support and identity of more than one generation of individuals. This distinction between biological paternity and social paternity is important because in the absence of the biological father, other men (grandparents, uncles, older brothers, and other adults) may assume fatherly duties. Research suggests that these relationships contribute to resilience in the sub-Saharan African context, because biological parenthood is not regarded as the only basis of

parental responsibility. Social parents, such as senior and junior mothers and fathers, grandparents, and older siblings are recognized. Focusing on this extended group of men in parenting roles is particularly important in relation to child protection, as there is some evidence to suggest that it is men from this group who are more likely than biological parents to be the perpetrators of intra-familial abuse (Jones and Jemmott 2009).

It is also important to focus more broadly on men's roles as mentors and 'social' parents to children and youth in their communities. Sonke's fatherhood programming in the Eastern Cape in South Africa has worked with this broader concept, and engaged men in Community Action Teams, who are reaching out to support young people in their communities in a range of ways. Engaging men as mentors to boys in their community can be a powerful way to promote positive masculinities for young men. An ethnographic study investigating pathways by which young men became involved in gender equity volunteer work found that not only fathers but also uncles and coaches played an important role in facilitating such engagement (Coulter 2003). As one review of men's roles in the prevention of gender-based violence concludes (Crooks et al. 2006):

The other, and possibly more difficult challenge, is for fathers and father figures to take on a more active bystander role and challenge violence and sexism in the larger community. The bullying literature provides a useful analogy in identifying the importance of bystanders.

It is recommended that Oak support efforts to strengthen the capacity of family support services, both governmental and non-governmental, to outreach to men involved in the 'extended' family to engage them in gender equitable parenting of the children in their care. It is also recommended that Oak support the expansion of efforts to involve men in community mentoring schemes for young people, especially in the Africa region. Potential partners for this work include groups working with men on gender equality, such as members of MenEngage national networks, as well as civil society organizations involved in youth development work and OVC programming. As described in section 3.5 of this report, there are also opportunities to expand men's involvement in the positive mentoring of young people in sports settings.

5. Focusing on Structural Prevention

The widespread nature of child sexual abuse, and the ways in which it is both minimized and demonized, call attention to the social conditions that structure its patterns, dynamics and impacts. It is a social problem, rooted in patriarchal norms of gender and sexuality, and exacerbated by other forms of disempowerment, linked to economic inequalities, racial/ethnic discrimination and homophobic attitudes and laws. Yet, the child protection field remains focused on individualistic models of prevention, often directed toward children themselves in the form of “stranger danger” and “good touch, bad touch” educational approaches. While useful in themselves, any strategy for the prevention of child sexual abuse cannot rely on those who, by definition, have least power within the context of that abuse, or appear to hold children, rather than the adults in their lives, responsible for their own protection. At a deeper level, an effective strategy must focus on structural prevention to address the structural determinants of children’s vulnerability.

In this regard, the child protection field can learn useful lessons from prevention work on HIV/AIDS. A special edition of *The Lancet*, devoted to issues of structural HIV prevention, emphasized that (Gupta et al. 2008):

[A]lthough some individually oriented interventions have shown results in reducing risk behavior their success is substantially improved when HIV prevention addresses the broader structural factors that shape or constrain individual behavior, such as poverty and wealth, gender, age, policy, and power.

The HIV/AIDS field has come to define structural prevention in terms of prevention efforts that address the underlying drivers of HIV risk and vulnerability, including the physical, social, cultural, organisational, community, economic, legal, or policy features of the environment that affect HIV infection. These factors operate at different societal levels and at different distances (from proximal to distal) to influence individual risk and to shape social vulnerability to infection. Proponents of structural prevention approaches emphasize that focusing on the “structural” is not to be understood as precluding work at the individual level (Gupta et al. 2008):

When a structural approach is taken, it can result in activities or services being delivered to individuals, but the approach is different from more individually oriented behavior change efforts because it addresses factors affecting individual behavior, rather than targeting the behavior itself.

Examples of such an approach, when applied to HIV prevention, include income generation efforts targeting women’s economic empowerment and initiatives aimed at creating a policy and legal environment allowing syringe and needle exchange. Lessons from the field of alcohol control policy are also instructive. Efforts to reduce alcohol consumption have included behavioral and structural approaches. In general, structural approaches have proven more effective. Strategies with evidence of effectiveness include alcohol taxes; legal measures (such as raising the minimum legal drinking age); reducing legal blood alcohol concentration limits for drivers; installing breath-testing checkpoints; banning alcohol advertising; reducing the availability of alcohol; and community mobilization to educate the broader community about the health consequences of alcohol, and to demand that local authorities and government implement liquor laws and policies (Anderson 2009; Holder 2002).

The implications for male engagement strategies in children’s lives are clear. On the basis of its review of AIDS programming and policy-making related to children, the Joint Learning Initiative on Children and AIDS urged (JLICA 2009):

Structural prevention is the way ahead. The focus of [our] analysis was on safe livelihoods, safe schools, safe transport to school, safe employment and safe marriage.

The interviews and desk review conducted for this report indicate several targets for structural prevention efforts concerned with child protection. These include:

- **Safer schools:** Schools are a critical site for educating children on sexual abuse and, more fundamentally, for their socialization in to, and critical reflection about, norms of gender and sexuality. In the countries in Oak's portfolio, schools are also a common site of violence against them, including child sexual abuse.
- **Safer economic development:** Infrastructure and construction projects, as well as mining industries, "continue to pose real risks of exploitation and abuse to children both in the communities where the projects are sited and in surrounding communities where the projects act as a magnet for children and families" (Wanduragala 2011b).
- **Safer 'institutional' communities:** Communities that form within or nearby institutionally-managed settings, such as refugee camps, prisons and other detention facilities, as well as in certain work-places (such as cash crop plantations) are frequently sites of sexual violence against both children and adults. It has been noted that prisons can reinforce some of the most harmful notions and practices of oppressive masculinity and submissive femininity when more powerful inmates take other inmates as their "wives" and routinely rape them (Gear 2004; Gear 2007).
- **Positive media:** There is growing concern about the proliferation of sexualized images of girls and young women in advertising, merchandising, and media, and its potential links with sexual abuse and sexual exploitation (Zurbriggen et al. 2007). At the same time, the absence of media representations of non-traditional, positive masculinities, not least in relation to men's roles in children's lives, has also been noted (UN-DESA 2011).
- **Link child protection with social protection:** Approaches such as VSLA and IMAGE in South Africa have found that economic empowerment and reducing economic stress can reduce men's use of violence against female partners. While as yet "untested" as a means to reduce other forms of violence, research clearly confirms the association between economic stress and more violent caregiving and other forms of violence. Income support for mothers and fathers may be a key structural factor to consider.

5.1 Promote safer, gender-equitable school cultures

A recent review of primary prevention strategies in relation to gender-based violence has concluded that the largest body of evidence for effectiveness concerns education programs delivered in schools and universities, with the level of evidence supporting their use reflecting both their widespread adoption and their genuine effectiveness (Flood 2011). More specifically, child sexual abuse education in school settings has been identified as one of the few promising directions for prevention efforts ((Mikton and Butchart 2009).

Respondents in both Europe and Africa called for more work on child sexual abuse prevention in educational settings. A review of evaluations of such programs in the US has noted that young people can and do learn how to identify dangerous situations, refuse an abuser's approach, break off an interaction, and summon help. The programs may also promote disclosure and help children not to blame themselves. But the review concludes that studies are inconclusive about whether education programs reduce victimization and calls for further research and development of this approach (Finkelhor 2009).

One direction for this development, arising from the analysis presented in this report, is to locate child sexual abuse prevention efforts within the broader context of work to create safer and more gender-equitable school environments. Educational curricula can reinforce gender inequalities through encouraging segregation, especially in secondary and tertiary education, between 'masculine' courses considered more appropriate for

young men (technical and science based) and 'feminine' courses considered more appropriate for young women (arts and humanities). A gender equality strategy for boys must address these curriculum issues and challenge stereotyped views of gender difference by discouraging segregated education and encouraging inclusiveness. Work within the fields of HIV prevention and Sexual and Reproductive Health has developed curricula and teacher training materials on gender and sexuality issues for young people, which provides a foundation of tools and lessons that can be applied more broadly.

The Gender Equality Movement in Schools (GEMS) initiative in India is an example of a promising practice. The GEMS program has developed and implemented a curriculum to encourage equal relationships between girls and boys, examine the social norms that define men's and women's roles, and address different forms of violence and how to intervene. Based in large part on the evaluation results from Program H/M in Brazil and India, the program uses extracurricular activities, role-playing and games, beginning in the sixth grade and working for two years with boys and girls ages 12-14 in public schools in Goa, Kota and Mumbai. A recent survey of participants shows that many students' impressions of traditional gender roles have shifted during the course of the program, particularly among girls. The findings also suggest that schools are perhaps the most appropriate places to intervene for a lasting impact. In the next phase of the project, ICRW hopes to involve teachers on a deeper level, as well as to engage the fathers of girls in the program.

With support from the Nike Foundation, Promundo has been working with the state governments of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro to embed Program H/M activities within the public school setting, using a web-based, continuing education program for teachers. Since teachers are required by Brazilian educational policy to teach sexuality education (and receive pay increases by participating in continuing education courses), the initiative seeks to provide both. Initial evaluation results have confirmed attitude change among students reach in schools where teachers were trained in a gender-based sexuality education curriculum, that includes discussions of sexual violence. By including the public education sector, Promundo aims for public funding to assume the project within the next year.

Experience in using such curricula to promote behavioral and attitudinal changes among both learners and teachers has highlighted the need to work more broadly to shift problematic aspects of school 'culture'. Research on schools has shown that gender inequalities are embedded in the whole organizational pattern of a school, including the division of labour among its staff, the hierarchies in its curriculum, its physical education program, its dress codes and its policies and practices with regard to violence and sexual harassment within the school. To change the gender education of boys (and girls), it is important to think in terms of a "whole school" approach that reassesses, and changes, all aspects of its functioning as they relate to the maintenance of gender inequalities. There is evidence to suggest that if a school fails to consider whole-school issues, a smaller specific-purpose program within it may be ineffective.

"Whole school" approaches, such as USAID's Safe Schools program currently being implemented in several sub-Saharan African countries, are being used to address the problem of gender-based violence within schools. Raising Voices in Uganda is also beginning to implement a community mobilization project within schools, which engages different groups within the school community (learners, teachers, parents) in a group-work process of reflection, discussion and action on norms that will promote gender equality and prevent violence. In Switzerland, the US 'Safe Dates' program addressing dating violence has been adapted for use in the context of Swiss schools.

Issues of bullying as well as disciplinary practices within schools have also provided entry points into discussions of what a safer school culture comprises. The Learn Without Fear program in Vietnam has worked with teachers, parents and district education authorities to develop a teacher training manual on positive discipline, which sets out practical ways

for teachers to deliver quality education using positive discipline methods. Studies have shown that teachers receiving training on alternative discipline methods are more favorable to abolishing corporal punishment than teachers who have not received training.

It is recommended that Oak support the collation and dissemination of lessons and tools from these and other similar initiatives and fund the expansion of Whole School interventions on gender, sexuality and violence in both Europe and Africa. Potential partners for this work include a range of civil society groups working on issues of youth development, violence prevention, and sexual health, as well as local and national government education departments.

5.2 Develop safer economic development initiatives and workplaces

The growing evidence that infrastructure development projects are increasing the vulnerability of children in local communities to sexual abuse and exploitation has resulted in an emerging agenda of child rights/protection work with the private sector companies involved in such projects, and the financial institutions that fund them. A meeting held earlier this year, bringing together a range of stakeholders, clearly outlined the nature of the problem and charted a course of action for working with the private sector on developing corporate standards and protocols for dealing with child abuse and exploitation, and putting in place monitoring mechanisms and complaints procedures (Wanduragala 2011a).

In Mozambique, this agenda is being put into practice through work with the National Highways Administration, which has introduced social clauses and, in turn, applied these clauses to all contractors (both national and international) working on road and bridge construction. As a result, contractors have been required to promote awareness raising activities with their employees relating to the standards. There is interest in expanding such efforts to the mining sector and other industries, whose male labor force may pose a threat to the well-being of children (and adults) in local communities.

Given the scale of infrastructure investment and development in the Africa region, such initiatives appear promising. Perhaps the greatest challenge facing such work is to ensure that it pays sufficient attention to understanding and addressing the dynamics of sexual cultures within communities themselves, and how these are impacted by local development projects. While the risks of abuse and exploitation are real, it is also true that there may be powerful economic incentives for women (adult and youth) from the community to get involved in sexual relationship with male project staff.

There is a need for more fine-grained ethnographic work to better understand these dynamics. The integration of such work into child-focused social impact assessments, using methodologies such as the Child Poverty and Social Impact Analysis or Child Rights Impact Assessment (CRISA), provides one way in which this might be conducted, with the involvement of young people themselves.

Applying such assessment methodologies in relation to economic development initiatives and child protection issues faces a number of challenges, not least the fact that, as a recent review has made clear (Hanna and Mason 2010), the “published literature on child impact assessment is still not advanced enough to provide a blueprint for success” and that “there is typically little published material in English evaluating either the process or the outcomes, including the ultimate aim of improving conditions for children.”

One of the few evaluations available, of a CRIA on the electricity price increases in the context of the proposal to privatize electricity in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH), concluded that the assessment process had been beneficial in exposing the negative impact of the proposed reforms on children, especially the reduced quality and access to health, education and social protection, but had been ineffective in relation to changing the thrust of development policy. The evaluation noted that:

The greatest challenge is to strengthen the research-policy link that would ensure the direct or indirect use of CRIA's outcomes in actual formulation of policies in BiH. [...] To expand CRIA's potential influence beyond the social sector reforms, methodology would need to include impact assessment and comparison of different economic policy options.

This conclusion is borne out by experience from the field of Health Impact Assessments, which have been useful in helping to mobilize local communities to discuss and assess the impacts of development initiatives on their health and well-being, and in establishing baselines and monitoring tools for continual assessment of ongoing impacts, but less successful in altering the development projects themselves, at least in the short term. A system of external reviewers was established by the World Bank Group to promote a thorough environmental and health impact assessment for the US\$3.5 billion Chad Oil Export Project, based on a loan request from Chad, Cameroon and a consortium of oil companies. The environmental and health assessment process showed evidence of its ability to minimize the number of deaths from malaria, traffic accidents and construction accidents and the occurrence of minor sexually transmitted diseases and respiratory diseases. However, the international panel of experts appointed by the World Bank Group was largely ignored by the project proponents, and had little success in minimizing the most serious impacts or in improving the social equity of the project (Jobin 2003).

The lesson to be drawn from the above experience with respect to work on safer economic development is that impact assessments provide opportunities and create tools for holding the development 'industry' to account, if they emphasize the use of participatory methodologies that mobilize community involvement and if they include human rights assessments within their remit. As has been urged with respect to Health Impact Assessments (HIA) (Scott-Samuel and O'Keefe 2003):

Governments, multilateral bodies and transnational corporations need to be held to account for the health impacts of their policies and practices. One route towards achieving this objective involves the inclusion of human rights assessments within HIA. International commitments to human rights instruments and standards can be used as a global auditing tool.

Findings from these assessments can then be used in structured dialogs with community leaders and stakeholders, together with private sector and local and national government representatives, on setting agreements about acceptable and unacceptable conduct of the labor force working on the development project, and putting in place monitoring mechanisms involving community advisory boards and civil society groups to act as effective watchdogs. There is also a need to facilitate joint educational activities that bring together communities and company staff as well as setting up complaints mechanisms that are transparent, involving local judicial processes as well as internal company processes.

More generally, the Global Business Coalition on Health (GBCHealth) has long worked to engage member corporations to implement and provide evidence-informed HIV/AIDS prevention and support. Recently GBCHealth began a "Healthy Women, Healthy Economies" initiative that broadens their work to include GBV prevention and men and caregiving. With GBCHealth and other partners, it may be possible to expand this agenda to include other forms of violence, including sexual violence and abuse against children.

5.3 Develop child protection work within ‘institutional’ communities

The need for child protection work within emergency settings and the humanitarian sector has long been recognized, and a body of experience exists from which lessons can be drawn to deepen this work. Focusing on putting in place accountability mechanisms for humanitarian agencies themselves, as HAP International is doing, has proved effective in ensuring that such agencies take on the responsibility for ensuring that their staff do not abuse or exploit adults and youth in their care within refugee camps. The next step for this work is to use the accountability mechanism as an entry point into doing workplace-based education on gender and sexuality issues, and in particular moving beyond an awareness-raising orientation to address aspects of organizational culture that allow or encourage such abuse to take place. It is also essential that representatives from refugee communities themselves be involved in these accountability mechanisms and educational efforts.

In this regard, useful lessons can be learned from the work of the Refugee Law Project (RLP) and its Mobilizing Men project, in which RLP is working with a youth group founded several years ago as a self-help initiative by members from different communities of forced migrants. RLP has trained these youth activists to participate actively in the Sexual and Gender based Violence Coordinating Committee for humanitarian agencies working in Kyangwali settlement in Uganda. They have been able to draw attention to the responsibilities of such agencies to ensure adequate protections for both female and male migrants from the threat of violence. Holding duty bearers to account for their failure to fulfill institutional responsibilities remains an important strategy for the Mobilizing Men program.

It is recommended that Oak develop its child protection work with the humanitarian sector by supporting capacity building initiatives within humanitarian agencies to address sexist organizational cultures that allow child sexual abuse and other forms of sexual violence to be perpetrated by agency staff. Such initiatives should also seek to strengthen the involvement of affected communities within accountability and monitoring mechanisms.

Prisons and other detention facilities fuel the problem of child sexual abuse. Young people detained in such facilities, whether juvenile or adult, are extremely vulnerable to sexual violence. A 2005 survey of some 450 male juvenile offenders at the Boksburg Youth Correctional Center in South Africa (Gear 2007) found that nearly 3 in 10 respondents (29%) said they had been “assaulted/attacked/physically hurt while imprisoned,” with sexual assaults constituting 7% of these assaults. As the WHO (2002), in its landmark report on violence and health, noted:

“Unfortunately, there are few reliable statistics on the number of boys and men raped in settings such as schools, prisons and refugee camps. Most experts believe that official statistics vastly under-represent the number of male rape victims. The evidence available suggests that males may be even less likely than female victims to report an assault to the authorities.”

A National Inmate Survey of 146 State and Federal Prisons carried out in 2007 (Beck and Harrison 2007) in the US found that 4.5% of inmates reported sexual victimisation while in prison. In some correctional facilities, the proportion of inmates reporting abuse exceeded 10%. Over half of this victimization was carried out by members of staff. A survey of prisons and public health in Europe (WHO 2001) reported that “violence between prisoners – and particularly sexual assault – is vastly underreported, as an internal kind of “omertà” is common in the prison milieu.” The reality and risk of sexual violence within prisons detracts from the ability of prisons to engage positively with inmates, and many men leave prison victimized or with harmful practices reinforced rather than corrected. As research in South Africa concluded (Gear 2004):

Indeed, prisons reinforce some of the most harmful notions and practices of oppressive masculinity and submissive femininity when more powerful inmates take other inmates as their “wives” and routinely rape them.

It is suggested that Oak, in its European countries in particular, explore the possibilities of developing work with human rights, social welfare and harm reduction groups working within prisons and other detention facilities to strengthen their capacity to support prisoners and prison staff in both preventing and responding to sexual violence ‘inside’.

5.4 Work with media industries on positive gender representations

Consideration should also be given to working with media industries in developing positive gender images, messages and representations that will help to challenge harmful norms of gender and sexuality. The advertising industry constitutes one of the most significant forces shaping contemporary societies and their dominant values. In 2006, it was estimated that \$423 billion were invested in advertising products, and shaping the values that support consumption (Ciochetto 2011). As long ago as the 1980 MacBride Report, the adverse cultural impacts of this advertising onslaught on countries of the global South were being highlighted. More recent work has drawn attention to the gender dimensions of the advertising industry, and the implications for shaping norms of gender and sexuality within society. Research on major international advertising agencies has revealed (Nixon 2003):

an agency culture driven by the ideals of creativity, youth and competitiveness, very male dominated, and motivated by the demands of insecure career paths where success is measured by advertising awards.

Besides the patriarchal culture of the advertising industry as a whole, there are specific industries and their associated advertising that have a particular salience for work on sexual violence, whether against adults or children. Alcohol advertising is an important target for this work. There is a good deal of research highlighting the links between alcohol consumption and harmful behaviors, including unsafe sex, intimate partner violence and sexual violence (Abbey et al 2011; Kalichman et al 2007). A recent study of a sample of 3,422 women aged 15–24 from Rakai district in Uganda found that men’s alcohol use before sex was associated with physical violence and sexual coercion, and both were jointly associated with HIV infection risk in young women (Zablotska et al 2007). The relationship between the use of alcohol and the use of violence is clearly complex. But it is also clear that alcohol use and society’s expectations about it contribute to myths about sexuality, power, and control, which in turn can reinforce a climate of violence against women and children. Indeed, these very myths about sexuality and power are often the focus of alcohol advertising, which exploits the associations between alcohol use and masculine identity by equating drinking with virility and men’s heterosexual potency.

One example of work to challenge the use of sexist imagery and messaging in alcohol advertising is the US *Dangerous Promises* Campaign. Comprising more than more than 80 community and political groups in California, the goal of the campaign was to convince alcohol companies to eliminate sexist alcohol advertising and promotions. The campaign targeted the three major alcohol trade associations in the US (the Beer Institute, the Wine Institute, and the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States - DISCUS), and specifically their existing codes of advertising ethics that guided the promotional practices of their members and none of which, prior to the campaign, addressed the depiction of women or violence (Woodruff 1996).

Using the tools of community organizing and media advocacy, the campaign has pressured the alcohol industry to change the ways in which women are portrayed in much of their advertising. After these successes in the mid-90s, campaign coalition members have shifted their attention to taking on a watchdog role, monitoring new alcohol

promotions and pressuring the trade associations to address any breaches of the code. Other coalition members have expanded the campaign's efforts to address sexist imagery in advertising for other products. An evaluation of the campaign concluded that (Woodruff 1996):

The strategies and tactics of media advocacy have been integral to the campaign's success to date, both in advancing the policy agenda and in furthering community advocacy. Media advocacy builds advocates' skills and increases their efficacy to address the environmental factors that influence health and well-being in their communities.

Another example of media advocacy to challenge negative portrayals of women and girls in the media, is the recently established *Sexualization Protest: Action, Resistance, Knowledge* (SPARK) initiative in the US, begun as a response to a report on the sexualization of girls in the media and advertising. Efforts such as the Geena Davis Foundation's media-watch program that follows trends in sexist imagery in media, also provide ideas that might be expanded to include sexual violence and abuse.

It is recommended that Oak support global and/or region-specific meetings of relevant stakeholders (child rights/protection, violence against women and men & gender equality organizations) with international expertise in monitoring and challenging sexist advertising to explore the potential for developing campaigns and media advocacy work in this area, with a particular emphasis on targeting the alcohol industry. It is also suggested that Oak sponsor research to better understand the portrayals of masculinities in the media in Oak's priority countries, and the trends in and impacts of such portrayals. Enlisting the support of the private sector, through corporate social responsibility programs, in developing and disseminating portrayals of positive masculinities across a range of media platforms will be a useful direction for this work.

5.5 Link child protection with social protection

Approaches such as IRC's work with Village Savings and Loan Associations (VLSA) in Burundi and the IMAGE study in South Africa have found that economic empowerment work with women and reducing economic stress in families can reduce men's use of violence against female partners. While as yet "untested" as a means to reduce other forms of violence, research clearly confirms the association between economic stress and more violent caregiving and other forms of violence (Pronyk et al. 2006). Income support for mothers and fathers may be a key structural factor to consider.

Income support grants have become an important component of social protection policy. In some low and middle-income countries, such as Brazil, Mexico and South Africa, conditional cash transfers constitute large social assistance programs, reaching millions of households. In AIDS-affected areas, social protection policy debates are increasingly taken up with the question of the viability of conditional cash transfers, often within the context of OVC programming.

One of the major findings to have emerged from gender analyses of household dynamics has been the lower proportion of income dedicated to their families by men compared to women. As a result, poverty alleviation programs often target women as beneficiaries or as "administrators" of their benefits. The fact that conditional cash transfers are, with a few exceptions, given to mothers is a further reflection of the efficiency argument which maintains that women are more likely to be living with children and to use additional income to benefit the household.

But concerns are being expressed that, while men in aggregate contribute a lower percentage of their income to the household and to children than do women, conditional cash transfers and other women-focused poverty alleviation strategies based on these findings may inadvertently reinforce gender stereotypes (UN-DESA 2011). Research from the United States and Costa Rica suggests that social policies that focus on women as

heads of households may inadvertently deter men from assuming family responsibilities, thereby serving in effect to engender self-fulfilling prophecies (Chant and Gutmann 2002; National Center on Fathers and Families 2002).

It is suggested that Oak consider the establishment of a global or region-specific Learning Collaborative on Social Protection and Child Protection, comprising practitioners, researchers and policy advocates, to set and implement an operations research agenda to guide programming and policy-making that links child protection with social protection within a shared gender equality framework.

6. Strengthening Systems

A recent assessment report on child protection systems in Uganda makes for bleak reading (Oak Foundation 2010):

Given the general inadequacy of most child protection services at community level, in many communities it is not possible to access the full range of required services for abused children. This challenge is particularly most evident when it comes to child sexual abuse.

Respondents in Ethiopia welcomed the leadership taken by government in child protection matters through the establishment of the Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs (MoWCYA), its draft National Children Policy and the move to establish child-focused structures up to district level. Yet the policy itself says little about child sexual abuse specifically, and even less in relation to men's roles and responsibilities. Legal, health and welfare services for survivors are lacking, severely so in many areas, and there is an absence of coordination. This situation is replicated across the Central and Eastern African region and many interviewees noted the fragmentation of responses across differing departments and policies, with children being 'siloed' in bureaucratic categories (e.g. OVC, MVC, trafficked child) rather than getting their needs met in an holistic manner.

In Oak's European countries, child protection services are typically better resourced than their African counterparts, but the same problems of fragmentation and poor coordination recur. Respondents noted a critical lack of technical and organizational skills among both service providers and managers, and an orientation toward individually-focused crisis response rather than strategic prevention and intervention mechanisms. Child protection efforts in Switzerland remain focused on the criminal justice sector, rather than the multi-sectoral response that is needed. Once again, there is little to no articulation of men's potential contributions to such a response.

The move to adopt a systems approach within the Child Protection field continues to be undermined by a lack of consensus within the field as to what such an approach should comprise (Wulczyn et al. 2010). In Africa at least, a broader view of child protection systems, encompassing all social sectors, especially social welfare, education, health, security, and justice, appears to be prevailing. Such a broader conception opens up more possibilities for male engagement, while imposing further challenges in terms of system functioning and coordination.

Available evidence suggests that the inadequacy of services noted above severely deters people from disclosing and reporting abuse. The Uganda assessment report notes the impact that public education efforts have had in raising awareness of child sexual abuse, but comments that "substantial barriers" still limit children's access to needed services (Oak Foundation 2010):

The barriers include non-responsiveness by the formal systems due to financial and logistical constraints as well as corruption. Other significant barriers include the unfriendly nature of the response systems especially the police, justice and health systems as well as the costs involved in accessing these services , for example transport to police and court.

The report notes that these structural barriers to reporting mean a failure to hold perpetrators accountable, which "greatly contributes to the culture of impunity among communities manifested for example by out of court settlements in cases of child sexual abuse" (Oak Foundation 2010). Across the countries in both regions, children who have experienced abuse are trapped in silence, often lacking information on where and how to report, and fearing further physical and emotional abuse by family and perpetrator as a result of reporting. Prevailing homophobic attitudes in both regions make it particularly difficult for boys to disclose the physical and sexual abuse they have suffered.

The violence within system responses themselves provides a further deterrent to disclosure. Placement in institutional care as a result of reporting sexual abuse within the family can place children at further risk of abuse. The widespread extent of such emotional, physical and sexual abuse within institutional child care settings is now well documented (Pinheiro 2006). While efforts to de-institutionalize the provision of alternative care are underway in many countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the number of unregulated child care residential institutions appears to be growing in the Africa region. According to the ANPPCAN Uganda chapter, children in such institutions are one of the categories of children at the highest risk of abuse.

A further significant challenge confronting efforts to strengthen child protection system responses to child sexual abuse is that, for many children, such abuse is only one of many forms of violence that they may be experiencing or to which they are exposed. Many of the respondents in Ethiopia, for example, and in particular young people themselves involved in Child-Led Interventions questioned the efficacy of a narrow focus on child sexual abuse, while children in their areas are facing a number of other problems including physical and psychological abuse. Such a narrow focus is particularly problematic for children facing social and economic marginalization, linked *inter alia* to poverty, ethnic/racial discrimination and homophobia. In many communities within the countries served by Oak, such children constitute the majority of the under 18 population.

In relation to children's social and economic marginalization and their vulnerability to violence, internal and cross-border migration, whether 'voluntary' or 'forced', emerges as a significant issue from the literature. As both cause and consequence of such marginalization, such migration not only exposes children "on the move" and "outside of the family context" to greater risks of abuse but also further limits their access to formal systems and informal community support mechanisms. This double vulnerability of these children is well documented in reports of work with young people in the Northern Corridor of Ethiopia, as well as in informal settlements within Addis Ababa. Nor is this simply a case of violence perpetrated by adults. Research in the Merkato district of Addis Ababa (Yntiso et al. 2009) found that the, "threats came not least from fellow street kids, who were usually male senior children who gang raped the girls and perpetrated other forms of sexual abuse on them." The impact of social and economic marginalization on children within minority communities within the European region and their lack of access to needed child protection services was also noted by respondents, especially in relation to the Roma community.

Reflecting on the above has led some child protection experts to observe that (Bissell et al. 2008):

It has not been demonstrated that bureaucratized protection models that work only through organized programs are more effective for children than are informal approaches that build on family and community child-rearing practices.

As the Uganda assessment report found, it is mainly family and community support systems that provide the first line of response when abuse occurs. Yet, reliance on informal community systems brings its own dangers, as the report makes clear (Oak Foundation 2010):

Given the varied perceptions of what constitutes child abuse, self interest imperatives, the inclination to prioritize harmonious co-existence within families and communities as well as the limited appreciation of the adverse impact of child abuse on the children, many community level structures tend to mishandle serious violations against children such as sexual abuse in a manner that compromises the rights of the affected children.

In light of the forgoing, the following **strategic directions** in relation to system strengthening are recommended for Oak's consideration.

6.1 Work with men as system gatekeepers

Notwithstanding the fact that the majority of work within child protection systems is still done by women, and remains feminized, men play key gatekeeper roles, especially in relation to the criminal justice system. Gender-based work with (mostly male) police officers and magistrates on their roles in and attitudes toward child sexual abuse is a neglected area of capacity building with child protection systems. To date, criminal justice sector reform has focused on general education on child abuse issues for officials, and, in some cases, policy changes, such as the establishment of child protection and sexual abuse units within police stations in Swaziland, whose functioning is yet to be evaluated. In Switzerland, valuable work has been done with police and magistrates to shift their attitudes toward child sexual abuse. In Poland, dedicated “children hearing” rooms have been established in some courts, in which children can give evidence of their experiences of abuse with appropriate authorities, only once, and in a supportive comfortable, supervised by a child-psychologist.

Important as these initiatives are, the evidence from similar efforts to improve the response of the criminal justice system to violence against women is limited. A review of such efforts noted the need for more sensitivity training for police officers, incentives to put reforms into practice and the provision of a wider range of services to meet the needs of survivors of violence (WHO 2002).

A pioneering example of such sensitivity training is provided by the work of Rozan, an NGO in Islamabad, Pakistan, which has run gender and violence sensitization workshops with police and court officials (Rashid 2001). This initiative is unusual in the emphasis it gave to exploring police officers’ own experiences of, and feelings about, the gender and sexual norms and roles in which they have been raised. Beginning with this discussion of police officers’ own experiences made it easier then to work with them on their attitudes toward women and gender-based violence. An evaluation of the pilot intervention reported marked improvements in attitudes towards gender and violence against women and children as well as an 18% decrease in the number of participants reporting that they “lost control when angry.” As the example of Rozan demonstrates, civil society organizations can play an important role in working with male system gatekeepers, such as the police.

It is recommended that Oak support partners in Africa and Europe in developing and deepening work with male gatekeepers, especially within the criminal justice system. In addition to a focus on child rights and survivor needs, this work should address the gender dimensions of sexual violence against children in order to improve system responses to both female and male survivors. As noted above, work on such gender issues should include a greater emphasis on male gatekeepers’ own experiences of masculinities and violence.

Integrating a focus on masculinities and sexual violence into the work of the International Society for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect’s International Training Program of ISPCAN (ITPI) could be one way to build the capacity of the field more broadly to engage men in strengthened system responses. Potential partners for this work in Africa include MenEngage members in conjunction with women’s rights groups. In Europe, likely partners include groups working on child rights and child protection, as well as organizations working on violence against women who, with appropriate technical support could take on this work with men.

6.2 Mobilize men for community response

Increasing priority within the child protection field is being given to linking community and state structures in order to both extend the reach and improve the effectiveness of child protection systems. In response to alarming data about the extent of child sexual abuse in the country, Swaziland has established a community child protection program *Lihlombe Lekukhalela* (A Shoulder to Cry On), comprising 11,000 child protectors who provide material and emotional support to orphaned children, and spending time with families whose children might be at risk of abuse. Volunteers work closely with the Swazi police to identify and report cases of abuse.

Community structures created by OVC and MVC programs in Central and Eastern Africa are performing similar functions. Men are under-represented as volunteers within these community-volunteer programs. Sonke's pioneering work in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, provides a model of how to mobilize men in a strengthened community response to child sexual abuse and the conditions that allow the abuse to continue. The project has reached over 1200 men, deepening their understanding of the linkages between masculinities, fatherhood, violence, HIV/AIDS and OVC issues, and building their capacity to address problematic behavior (their own and other men's), as well as contribute to individual and community efforts for better care and support for orphans and vulnerable children. Crucially, the project has sought to institutionalize this work, not only through partnerships with local CBOs working on OVC issues but also through collaborations with local government to ensure that this male engagement work is formalized within local Integrated Development Plans.

It is recommended that Oak support partners in mobilizing men to participate in community child support and child protection structures in the Africa region, in part through building on Sonke's example in working through OVC programs. Potential partners for this work include the range of civil society groups working on OVC issues, together with groups working with men on gender equality issues. In Europe, where immigrant and other marginalized communities are often unwilling or simply unable to access public systems which frequently discriminate against them, it may be more strategic to target this work at men within such communities, and in particular male community leaders. Developing work with such men on child rights and gender justice is an important priority. Potential partners for this work include organizations working with marginalized communities on the issues of injustice that they face, together with groups with expertise in child rights and child protection.

6.3 Engage men in the provision of alternative care

The move to de-institutionalize the provision of alternative care in countries of Central and Eastern Europe has been on-going as part of the post-communist transition.

Governments and civil society have worked to create and expand foster care and kinship care systems in order to get children out of state-run orphanages, where violence and abuse was acknowledged to be a problem.

The work of EveryChild in Georgia provides a model of this de-institutionalization at work. It has supported the establishment of a Child Protection referral system, strengthened the capacity of a cadre of social workers to manage the system and provide a range of family support services, as well as expand the provision of alternative care services. Men are under-represented in the social work cadre and in the kinship care program. In the foster care program, in which a couple manages a family-like group home for a small number of children, men are equally represented. However, EveryChild has observed that the child-care and household responsibilities undertaken by the men and women within these couples tends to reflect the traditionally gendered division of household labor characteristic of Georgian society.

The need to not only recruit more men into the provision of alternative care but also build their capacity to be, and hold them accountable for being, positively involved in children's lives is evident from the work of EveryChild in Malawi. High levels of HIV and migration mean that many children are cared for by relatives, including aunts, uncles and older, married siblings. In these arrangements, experience suggests that girls are vulnerable to sexual abuse at the hands of uncles and brothers-in-law. To help overcome these problems, EveryChild offers parenting support and practical help to extended family carers and has established community-based child protection schemes, which enable community members to monitor and support vulnerable children.

It is recommended that Oak prioritize support to the foster care and kinship care systems in both Africa and Europe, in particular supporting groups within such systems to not only recruit more men into the provision of alternative care for children, but also to strengthen the capacity of such men to provide gender-equitable parenting for the young people in their care. In the Africa region, where there is growing concern about the proliferation of un-regulated alternative care providers, it is recommended that Oak support coalitions of child protection, family support and men's work groups to advocate for, and monitor the implementation of, more effective regulation of the alternative care sector.

6.4 Explore the viability of alternative justice mechanisms

As already noted, current child protection systems are failing to meet the needs of many, if not most, survivors of child sexual abuse. There are many reasons why survivors, and their families, do not choose to use formal systems. A significant barrier is the fact that many do not experience the criminal justice sector response as "just", both because of its inaction and, when it takes action, its focus on punishing the perpetrator rather than on the safety and healing needs of the survivor. Nor can a criminal justice-led approach, with its focus on individual cases, be expected to bring about the social changes that are needed to prevent abuse in the first place. A recent commentary on conventional and innovative justice responses to sexual violence has identified some of the key problems in current justice approaches (Daly 2011):

If we listen closely to the many sources of dissatisfaction that victims have with the criminal justice system, they are about how system officials, the accused or convicted offender, and others do not fully acknowledge and recognise the harm caused (i.e., a lack of vindication and validation), the inability for a victim/ survivor to tell the story of victimisation on her own terms (lack of voice), and loss of power in the justice process (lack of participation). These elements can be addressed by responses that are more dialogue-based and interactive and have a greater degree of active participation and decision-making by victim/survivors.

This emphasis on survivor participation and decision-making was borne out by a study of three community dispute resolution processes in India (ICRW 2002). Its evaluation of this work noted the importance of organizations supporting these processes being committed to "values that would democratize gender relations within the family" and concluded that "social accountability is more effective than mere legal punishment." The study identified key elements of such social accountability, which included the ongoing threat of community ostracism as well as action by formal authorities as well as appeals to masculine traits of responsibility and control as ideal values of behavior.

Recognizing the importance of social accountability has resulted in a growing interest in the use of alternative or restorative justice mechanisms, which seek to make use of 'traditional' processes, indigenous to specific communities, for addressing harms done to individuals as also being harms done to the community. A recent assessment of child sexual abuse and child protection responses in the Eastern Caribbean has recommended the adoption of the Family Group Conference model (a Maori problem-solving method that has been enshrined in the child protection legislation of New Zealand) as an element of law in the Caribbean (Jones and Jemmott 2009). Plans are being developed to apply

this model in Grenada, with its focus on confronting families with the reality of abuse and supporting them in producing and implementing a child protection plan. Other models, such as the Mennonite Circles of Support in Canada, have facilitated processes of perpetrator accountability, which use family and community members in a group-work process to hold individuals accountable for the violence they have done as well as for taking action to prevent the recurrence of violence and to begin to heal the harms they have caused.

There is a growing body of research and programmatic experience, gathered together under the rubric of Restorative Justice, from which can be learned important lessons in applying these approaches to child protection. Pioneering work in this regard is being done by the International Institute for Child Rights and Development (IICRD). As Restorative Justice processes for addressing domestic violence have found, the issue of perpetrator compliance within a process of social accountability is key. Perpetrator compliance is perhaps even more of a challenge in relation to child sexual abuse, where the stigma of the abuse is often so profound as to deter many perpetrators from being willing to confront their own behavior. One response to this, being developed by a US-based NGO Generation Five, is to emphasize perpetrator accountability in the context of community reflection and action on the community dynamics that allowed the abuse to continue. The focus is on transformation rather than restoration, because it is not simply enough to 'restore' the community, when aspects of community norms and dynamics are implicated in the abuse. This Transformative Justice approach emphasizes the development of community tools and processes to engage men, individually and collectively, as active bystanders in refusing to be complicit in the continuation of child sexual abuse within their social networks, families, organizations and movements as part of a larger effort to work for greater justice in and for their communities (Generation Five 2007).

It is recommended that Oak support the rigorous trialling and testing of such alternative justice mechanisms, and the different ways in which men can be engaged in supporting them. This will require formative research on existing community responses to child sexual abuse, local understandings and processes of seeking justice and how these could be applied to child sexual abuse, as well as partnering with groups that can support community-level justice mechanisms. Potential partners include groups working on issues of violence against women as well as child rights/protection, together with organizations with expertise in Restorative/Transformative Justice approaches (e.g. IICRD).

6.5 Develop innovative work with perpetrators

A number of respondents raised the issue of treatment work with perpetrators of child sexual abuse, and Oak has identified this as a priority area of concern. A recent review of work with perpetrators within system responses to child sexual abuse has noted the limitations of the current emphasis on offender management initiatives (including registering sex offenders, notifying communities about their presence, conducting background employment checks, controlling where offenders can live, and imposing longer prison sentences.) Although these initiatives often win approval from both the public and policymakers, little evidence exists that they are effective in preventing sexual abuse. Moreover, these initiatives, cautions Finkelhor (2009), are based on an overly stereotyped characterization of sexual abusers as strangers who prey on children in public and other easy-access environments and who are at high risk to re-offend once caught. In reality the population is much more diverse. Most sexual abusers are not strangers or "pedophiles"; many are themselves juveniles, and have relatively low risks for re-offending once caught. A review this year (Birgden 2011) of sex offender treatment concludes that "social science evidence indicates that treatment-as-management is not effective in reducing reoffending." As a result, there is increasing interest in delivering (Birgden 2011):

[T]reatment-as-rehabilitation underpinned by international human rights law and universal professional ethics. An effective and ethical community–offender balance is more likely when sex offenders are treated with respect and dignity that, as human beings, they have a right to claim.

Examples of such an approach include the The Good Lives Model of Offender Rehabilitation, with its emphasis on balancing the reduction of offending risk with the promotion of strengths-based approaches that focus on offender capabilities for leading a “good life” and contributing to his or her family, community, and society. While we still lack rigorous evaluation data on the effectiveness of such approaches, there have been promising results from preliminary research (Ward et al 2007).

The larger body of evidence on perpetrator treatment in relation to violence against women suggests caution, however. Even here, the evidence is limited, with evaluations primarily carried out in high-income countries and often lacking rigor. A meta-analysis of 40 published “batterers’ treatment” program evaluations from the US found evidence of marginal or moderate success in preventing further violence, with this success being predicated on participants completing the program (typically 12-52 weeks of structured group intervention) and on the program being located within a highly functional system of timely police responses, court action, probation supervision, protection orders, and services for survivors (Gondolf 2004).

In most of the national and community settings in which Oak supports child protection work, such “highly functional systems” do not exist. Treatment program models as used in the global North require levels of resourcing not available in Oak priority regions. Issues of compliance are even more pressing for sexual abuse perpetrators, given the severe stigma attached to being labeled a “sex offender”. But more fundamentally, much of the sexual violence in the lives of children is not regarded as “abusive” by the adults who perpetrate it as a result of patriarchal norms of gender and sexuality. A first step in any form of behavioral ‘treatment’ is to acknowledge the harm of that behavior, and in the case of child sexual abuse, this necessarily involves a broader effort to challenge harmful norms and set, or reassert, a norm around the unacceptability of such behavior.

In this regard, useful lessons can be drawn from culturally-based treatment initiatives, which seek to reconnect perpetrators with aspects of their ‘culture’ that prohibit violence against women and/or children (Kim 2005). Other initiatives emphasize working with adolescents, which have the potential to prevent both peer and dating violence in the present, but also to prevent a trajectory of violence. Programs working with adolescent perpetrators of sexual violence (usually male) frequently find a history of abuse in these young people’s histories. One study of more than 1600 juveniles in treatment programs for sexual offenses in the US found that 42% had been physically abused, 39% sexually abused, and 63% had witnessed family violence (Ryan, Miyoshi, and Metzner 1996). There is some evidence to suggest that treatment work with young people who have been abusive has more potential for success, given that attitudinal and behavioral patterns are less entrenched. At the same time, ECPAT’s experience indicates that much adolescent sexually abusive behavior is opportunistic and stops when revealed to a significant adult, further reinforcing the importance of engaging men more actively as ‘social parents’ and mentors in the lives of young people.

Another valuable approach, pioneered by Stop It Now!, is to use public education to highlight the social conditions underpinning men’s sexually abusive behavior, thus countering the demonization that does so much to deter men who may be abusive from reaching out for help. Naming the legitimate role in prevention that people who may abuse children can play is a radical step toward a transformative vision of accountability, which distinguishes individuals from their behaviors and connects with their concerns to act differently in the world. The helpline modality used by Stop It Now! may not be easily replicated in low-resource settings, but an approach to ‘perpetrator’ work that is oriented toward secondary prevention, addressing males at risk of sexually harming children, is an

important direction for this work. In relation to this, 'bystander' interventions that mobilize men to engage with other men around confronting their actual or potential abusive behavior are important. Efforts to scale up such interventions can learn lessons from existing models, such as the Sonke Red Card campaign and the US-based MVP intervention with young men in educational and sports settings (Katz 2003).

It is also important to link this secondary prevention and bystander work with similar efforts in the gender-based violence field. There is a good deal of evidence highlighting the relationship between intimate partner violence and the abuse of children. Studies have found that children from families in which domestic violence occurs are at increased risk of being sexually abused (Bancroft and Silverman 2002) and that violence and abuse in the home – witnessed and experienced by children – is a cause of later violence by men both against children, women and other men, as well as increasing the likelihood that girls will subsequently become victims (Abrahams and Rachel Jewkes 2005).

Historically, the gender-based violence field and work on child sexual abuse, and other forms of child abuse and neglect, have evolved separately, and continue to remain disconnected, in part because women have often been blamed for failing to protect their children from their male partner's violence. Envisaging a better integration of work on intimate partner violence with child sexual abuse prevention and intervention through the lens of work with men to address their own and other men's violent behavior in the context of patriarchal norms is a promising direction to take. There is great potential for this integration, for example in the work that Raising Voices is doing in Uganda and regionally on community responses to gender-based violence, as well as in men's programs attached to community-based services on violence against women, as in the case of the South London African Women's Organization.

As a first step, it is recommended that Oak support region-wide and country-specific processes in Africa for setting an agenda for program development and capacity building in culturally-grounded accountability and rehabilitation work with male perpetrators. Such processes should convene groups working on child rights/protection, violence against women and with men on gender equality together with international expertise in order to identify gaps, opportunities and priorities for developing this work in the region. In Europe, it is suggested that Oak play a similar convening role, but that the emphasis be on developing accountability and rehabilitation work with young perpetrators, given the greater resources within the juvenile justice systems in the region on which to build this work.

6.7 Support child protection work with marginalized youth

Child protection systems face particular challenges in protecting the rights and meeting the needs of young people within socially and economically marginalized communities. Immigrant communities within Oak's priority countries in Africa and Europe may be unable to access services because of their immigration status and ethnic discrimination, and often fear, for good reason, the intrusion of public systems into their lives. Issues of child sexual abuse may be especially hard to talk about openly because of the shame that attaches to the family and whole community as a result of disclosing such abuse. As Stop It Now!-UK is finding in its work with the Somali community, access to outsiders is often mediated by male-dominated community leadership structures, whose patriarchal values can preclude them from either acknowledging the abuse or men's roles in preventing it. Similar challenges face those seeking to develop child protection work with Roma communities across Central and Eastern Europe.

It is recommended that Oak support be used to bring together practitioners from the fields of child rights/protection and men's work together with community leaders, community organizations (especially those working on women's and child rights) and projects serving the broader needs of these communities (e.g. the Open Society Institute's Roma Health

initiative) to explore and refine programming tools for working more effectively with immigrant communities, and especially their male leadership.

As already noted, children 'out of the family context' face heightened risks of abuse and exploitation and usually reduced access to needed services. There is some evidence to suggest that, given the often gendered nature of public space, it is boys who are more vulnerable to sexual violence in 'public' settings (Finkelhor 1994). As work in Ethiopia indicates, and research in South Asia confirms (Frederick 2010), civil society groups (such as those working with "street kids") have a critical role to play in providing 'safer' spaces and shelter for youth on the move and/or on the street, in which needed services and psycho-social support can be provided. The particular role that men as adult mentors within such programs can play has been under-explored, despite research highlighting the importance of trusted adults in nurturing young people's resilience in the face of abuse they have experienced.

It is recommended that Oak support the integration of gender transformative child rights/protection programming into outreach work and service provision for socially marginalized youth. Potential partners for this work in Africa will be organizations providing psycho-social support to "street kids"; in Europe, strategic partners could include harm reduction programs working with young drug users, whose social marginalization increases their vulnerability to sexual abuse and exploitation. In both cases, it will be important to build in a strong research component in order to better understand the dynamics of vulnerability and resilience among youth on the street in both Europe and Africa, and more generally to develop a clearer picture of boys' exposure to and experiences of child sexual abuse in both regions.

Even less well understood are the patterns and dynamics of violence and resilience among gay, lesbian and transgendered youth, whose sexual orientation and/or gender identity can often result in their exclusion from or rejection of family and community support structures. The Refugee Law Project (RLP) in Uganda is doing pioneering work to provide material and psycho-social support to gay, lesbian and transgendered youth and adults within refugee communities. Many of these youth and adults have become refugees in order to escape the homophobic violence and abuse they experienced or were threatened with in their 'home' community, and may face risks of further abuse within refugee camps in which they are re-settled. In a similar vein, Promundo, Papai, Salud y Genero and partners have worked to broaden their original Program H work to include work to reduce homophobia among youth.

It is recommended that Oak sponsor formative research to better understand the vulnerability and resilience of gay, lesbian and transgendered youth in relation to child sexual abuse in both Africa and Europe, as first step in generating knowledge to inform an expansion of programming for these young people. Potential partners include gay, lesbian and transgender community organizations, as well as human rights and HIV/AIDS groups working with such communities.

References

- Abbey, Antonia, Lisa Thomson Ross, Donna McDuffie, and Pam McAuslan. 1996. "Alcohol and Dating Risk Factors for Sexual Assault Among College Women." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 20(1):147–169.
- Abrahams, Nancy, and Rachel Jewkes. 2005. *What is the impact of witnessing mother abuse during childhood on South African men's violence as adults?* Am J Public Health.
- Anderson, P, D Chisholm, and D C Fuhr. 2009. "Effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of policies and programmes to reduce the harm caused by alcohol." *The Lancet* 373(9682):2234–2246.
- Andreasen, Alan R. 1995. *Marketing Social Change*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Atkin, Charles K. and Vicki S. Freimuth. 2001. "Formative Evaluation Research in Campaign Design." In *Public Communication Campaigns*, 3rd edition, Ronald E. Rice and Charles K. Atkin, eds. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Bancroft, Lundy, and Jay G Silverman. 2002. *The batterer as parent: Addressing the impact of domestic violence on family dynamics*.
- Barker, G, and M Nascimento. 2003. *Men's participation as fathers in the Latin American and Caribbean Region: a critical literature review with policy considerations*. World Bank.
- Barker, Gary, and Christine Ricardo. 2005. *Young Men and the Construction of Masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS, Conflict and Violence*. Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction.
- Barker, Gary, Christine Ricardo, and Marcos Nascimento. 2007. "Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: Evidence from programme interventions." 1–76.
- Beck, A., and P. Harrison. 2007. *Sexual Victimization in State and Federal Prisons Reported by Inmates*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2007, available at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/abstract/svsfpri07.htm>.
- Berkowitz, Alan. 2007. "An Overview of the Social Norms Approach." 1–28.
- Bertrand, J T, Kevin O'Reilly, Julie Denison, Rebecca Anhang, and Michael Sweat. 2005. "Systematic review of the effectiveness of mass communication programs to change HIV/AIDS-related behaviors in developing countries." *Health Education Research* 21(4):567–597.
- Birgden, A, and H Cucolo. 2011. "The Treatment of Sex Offenders: Evidence, Ethics, and Human Rights." *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment* 23(3):295–313.
- Bissell, Susan, Jo Boyden, Philip Cook, and William Myers. 2008. "Rethinking Child Protection from a Rights Perspective." 1–28.
- Breman, Jan. 2006. "Slumlans." *New Left Review* 1–8.
- Chant, Sylvia and Matthew Gutmann. 2002. "Men-streaming" gender? questions for gender and development policy in the twenty-first century. *Progress in Development Studies* 2(4):269-282.
- Ciochetto, L. 2011. "Advertising and value formation: The power of multinational companies." *Current Sociology* 59(2):173–185.
- Coulter, RP. 2003. "Boys doing good: Young men and gender equity." *Educational Review*.
- Crimmins, Jim and Chris Callahan. 2003. "Reducing road rage: the role of target insight in advertising for social change." *Journal of Advertising Research* 43(4):381-390
- Crooks, Claire V, George R Goodall, Linda L Baker, and Ray Hughes. 2006. "Preventing Violence Against Women: Engaging the Fathers of Today and Tomorrow." *Cognitive and Behavioral Practice* 13:1–12.
- Davis, Mike. 2004. "Planet of Slums." *New Left Review* (26):1–30.
- Daly, Kathleen. 2011. *Conventional and innovative justice responses to sexual violence*. A report by the Australian Centre for the Study of Sexual Assault.
- Finkelhor, David. 1994. "The international epidemiology of child sexual abuse* 1." *Child abuse & neglect*.
- Finkelhor, David. 2009. "The Prevention of Childhood Sexual Abuse." 19(2):1–26.

- Flood, Michael. 2011. "Involving Men in Efforts to End Violence Against Women." *Men and Masculinities* 14(3):358–377.
- Foreman, Martin. 2002. *Combat AIDS: HIV and the World's Armed Forces*.
- Foshee, Vangie A et al. 2001. "The Safe Dates Program: 1-Year Follow-Up Results." 1–4.
- Foumbi, J, and R Lovich. 1997. *The Role of Men in the Lives of Children: A Study of how Improving Knowledge about Men in Families Helps Strengthen Programming for Children and*
- Frederick, John. 2010. "Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Boys in South Asia: A Review of Research Findings, Legislation, Policy and Programme Responses." 1–173.
- Gear, Sasha. 2007. *Fear, Violence and Sexual Violence in a Gauteng Juvenile Correctional Centre for Males*. CSVR Criminal Justice Programme, Briefing Report No. 02, September 2007.
- Gear, Sasha. 2004. "Rules of engagement: structuring sex and damage in men's prisons and beyond." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 1–15.
- Generation Five. 2007. "Toward Transformative Justice: A Liberatory Approach to Child Sexual Abuse and other forms of Intimate and Community Violence." 1–86.
- Gondolf, EW. 2004. "Evaluating batterer counseling programs: A difficult task showing some effects and implications." *Aggression and Violent Behavior*.
- Gupta, Geeta Rao, Justin O Parkhurst, Jessica A Ogden, Peter Aggleton, and Ajay Mahal. 2008. "Structural approaches to HIV prevention." *The Lancet* 372:1–12.
- Halperin, DS, P Bouvier, PD Jaffe, and RL Mounoud. 1996. "Prevalence of child sexual abuse among adolescents in Geneva: results of a cross sectional survey." *BMJ*.
- Hanna, Kirsten and Nic Mason. 2010. *Putting Children at the Center of Policy Development*. A report by AUT University's Institute of Public Policy, New Zealand.
- Holder, Harold D. 2002. The Role and Effectiveness of Alcohol Policy at the Local Level: International Experiences. Presented at "Debating Public Policies on Drugs and Alcohol" Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland 26 September 2002.
- Horsfall, Briony, Leah Bromfield, and Myfanwy McDonald. 2010. *Are social marketing campaigns effective in preventing child abuse and neglect?* Australian Institute of Family Studies: National Child Protection Clearinghouse.
- ICRW. 2002. "Women-Initiated Community Level Responses to Domestic Violence." 1–92.
- IPPF. 2010. *Men are Changing: Case study evidence on work with men and boys to promote gender equality and positive masculinities*.
- IRC. 2011a. "Economic and Social Empowerment (EAS\$E) Program for Women." 1–2.
- IRC. 2009. "Part of the Solution: Engaging Men as Partners to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls." 1–12.
- IRC. 2011b. "Urwaruka Rushasha (New Generation): Improving the wellbeing of vulnerable children in Burundi." 1–4.
- Jewkes, R et al. 2008. "Impact of Stepping Stones on incidence of HIV and HSV-2 and sexual behaviour in rural South Africa: cluster randomised controlled trial." *BMJ* 337(aug07 1):a506–a506.
- Jewkes, R, and L Penn-Kekana. 2005. "If they rape me, I can't blame them." *Social Science & Medicine*.
- JLICA. 2009. "Social and Economic Policies." 1–31.
- Jobin, William. 2003. "Health and equity impacts of a large oil project in Africa." *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 81(6):420–426.
- Jones, Adele D, and Ena Trotman Jemmott. 2009. "Child Sexual Abuse in the Eastern Caribbean."
- Kabeer, Naila. 2007. "Marriage, Motherhood and Masculinity in the Global Economy: Reconfigurations of Personal and Economic Life." *IDS WORKING PAPER* 290 1–71.
- Kalichman, SC, LC Simbayi, M Kaufman, and D Cain. 2007. "Alcohol use and sexual risks for HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa: systematic review of empirical findings." *Prevention Science* 8(2):141–151.
- Kandirikirira, N. 2002. "Deconstructing domination." In *Masculinities matter!* ed. F. Cleaver. New York: Zed Books.
- Katz, Jackson. 2003. "Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP)." *Unpublished* 1–5.

- Kim, M. 2005. *The community engagement continuum: Outreach, mobilization, organizing and accountability to address violence against women in Asian and Pacific* Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence.
- Knerr, Wendy, Frances Gardner, and Lucie Cluver. 2011. "Parenting and the prevention of child maltreatment in low- and middle-income countries." 1–74.
- MASVAW. 2008. "Documentation of a Campaign to end Violence against Women and Girls and to Promote Gender Equality in India." 1–39.
- McMillan, Anita Schrader, and Jane Barlow. 2011. *Listening to Fathers: A Review of the Evidence about Antenatal Education*. Unpublished.
- McMillan, Anita Schrader, and Moli Paul. 2011. "It was good to learn how to show affection': Central American men who reject hypermasculinity." *Community, Work & Family* 14(3):367–382.
- Mikton, Christopher, and Alexander Butchart. 2009. "Child maltreatment prevention: a systematic review of reviews." *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 87(5):353–361.
- Montgomery, Catherine M, Victoria Hosegood, Joanna Busza, and Ian M Timæus. 2006. "Men's involvement in the South African family: Engendering change in the AIDS era." *Social Science & Medicine* 62(10):2411–2419.
- Morrell, R, D Posel, and Richard Devey. 2003. *Counting fathers in South Africa: Issues of definition, methodology and policy*. Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies.
- Morrison, S., J. Hardison, A. Mathew, and J. O'Neil. 2004. *An evidence-based review of sexual assault preventive intervention programs*. Washington, DC: National Institute Justice. U.S. Department of Justice (NCJ #207262).
- United Nations. 2011. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*.
- National Center on Fathers and Families. 2002. *The Fathering Indicators Framework: A tool for quantitative and qualitative analysis*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: NCOFF.
- Nixon S. 2003. *Advertising Cultures*. London: Sage.
- Oak Foundation. 2010. *Assessment Report on Development of a National Child Protection System and Community Child Protection Responses in Uganda*.
- Peltzer, K. 2003. "Evaluation of Soul City school and mass media life skills education among junior secondary school learners in South Africa." *Social Behavior and*
- Pinheiro, PS. 2006. "Report of the independent expert for the United Nations study on violence against children." 1–34.
- Plantin, Lars, Sven-Axel Månsson, and Jeremy Kearney. 2003. "Talking and Doing Fatherhood: On Fatherhood and Masculinity in Sweden and England." *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers* 1(1):3–26.
- Pollard, Peter. 2007. "Reflections on the Controversy Surrounding the Virginia Stop It Now! Ad Campaign." 1–3.
- Prather, CJ. 1995. *Improving the Quality of Life of Girls*. Women Ink.
- Promundo. 2011. *Engaging boys and young men in the prevention of sexual violence: A systematic and global review of evaluated interventions*. Draft document in progress. Literature review supported by SVRI.
- Pronyk, Paul M et al. 2006. "Effect of a structural intervention for the prevention of intimate-partner violence and HIV in rural South Africa: a cluster randomised trial." *The Lancet* 368(Dec):1973–1983.
- Pulerwitz, Julie, Gary Barker, Márcio Segundo, and Marcos Nascimento. 2006. "Promoting More Gender-equitable Norms and Behaviors Among Young Men as an HIV/AIDS Prevention Strategy." 1–49.
- Rashid, Maria. 2001. "Giving Men Choices: A Rozan project with the Police Force in Pakistan." *INSTRAW Working Paper Series on Men's Roles and Responsibilities in Ending Gender Based Violence: Working Paper No. 2* 1–23.
- Reza, A, MJ Breiding, J Gulaid, JA Mercy, and C Blanton. 2009. "Sexual violence and its health consequences for female children in Swaziland: a cluster survey study." *The Lancet*.

- Ryan, G, TJ Miyoshi, and JL Metzner. 1996. "Trends in a national sample of sexually abusive youths." *Journal of the American Academy of Child Adolescent Psychiatry* 35(1):17–25.
- Solórzano, Irela et al. 2008. "Catalyzing individual and social change around gender, sexuality, and HIV: Impact evaluation of Puntos de Encuentro's communication strategy in Nicaragua." 1–82.
- UN-DESA. 2011. "Men in Families and Family Policy in a Changing World." 1–209.
- UNICEF. 2010. "The Dynamics of Social Change: Toward the abandonment of Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting in five African countries." 1–68.
- UNICEF. 2011. "Violence Against Children in Tanzania." 1–152.
- Verma, R, and S Schensul. 2007. *Cultural, community and clinical approaches to HIV/STI prevention among men: results from five year male sexual health intervention study in urban India*. Intervention in Sexual Health: Theory to Action.
- Wanduragala, Randini. 2011a. *Global Meeting: Exploitation and Abuse of Children in Infrastructure and Construction Projects*.
- Wanduragala, Randini. 2011b. *Infrastructure and Construction Projects – The Hidden Cost to Children*.
- Ward, T, T Gannon and R Mann. 2007. "The Good Lives Model of Offender Rehabilitation: Clinical Implications." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 12:87-107.
- Wash, Gayle, and Carmen Knudson-Martin. 1994. "Gender identity and family relationships: Perspectives from incestuous fathers." *Contemporary Family Therapy* 16(5):393–410.
- Whitaker, D., S. Morrison, C. Lindquist, S. R. Hawkins, J. A. O'Neil, A. M. Nesius, A. Mathew, and L. Reese. 2006. "A critical review of interventions for the primary prevention of perpetration of partner violence." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 11:151-66.
- White, V, M. Greene, and E. Murphy. 2003. *Men and reproductive health programs*. Washington, DC: Synergy Project.
- WHO. 2010. "Policy approaches to engaging men and boys in achieving gender equality and health equity." 1–42.
- WHO. 2005. "WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women." 1–38.
- WHO. 2002. "World report on violence and health: Summary." 1–54.
- WHO. 2001. *HIV in Prisons: A reader with particular relevance to the Newly Independent States*, Geneva: World Health Organization (Regional Office for Europe).
- Woodruff, K. 1996. "Alcohol Advertising and Violence Against Women: A Media Advocacy Case Study." *Health Education & Behavior* 23(3):330–345.
- Wulczyn, Fred et al. 2010. *Adapting a Systems Approach to Child Protection: Key Concepts and Considerations*.
- Yeung, WJ, and GJ Duncan. 2000. *Putting fathers back in the picture*. Marriage & Family Review.
- Yntiso, Gebre, Ayalew Gebre, Rahel Shiferaw, and Hiwot Workineh. 2009. *The Bamboo Project: Resilience in Children Exposed to Sexual Abuse and Sexual Exploitation*. Draft report - unpublished.
- Youth Expression Project. 2006. "Our Concerns: Youth and Adults Comment on the Issues that Affect Young People." 1–129.
- Zablotska, Iryna B et al. 2007. "Alcohol Use, Intimate Partner Violence, Sexual Coercion and HIV among Women Aged 15–24 in Rakai, Uganda." *AIDS and Behavior* 13(2):225–233.
- Zurbruggen, Eileen L et al. 2007. "Report of the APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls." 1–12.