Where are the men?

A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF THE ROLE OF MEN AND MASCULINITIES IN BUILDING A CULTURE OF PEACE IN COLOMBIA

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to build on the debate on the importance of gender awareness in peacebuilding and explore the role of men and masculinities in challenging norms of violence and building a culture of peace in Colombia. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in Bogotá with seven organisations working with masculinities and eleven organisations working with women's rights. The data gained was later analysed through a framework combining peace, gender and masculinity theories. This study found that organisations working with masculinities engage men through self-reflective activities to change behaviours and attitudes. The aim is to create new or alternative masculinities as opposed to the violent hegemonic masculinity they find being destructive for men as well as women. Within organisations working with women's rights the role of men and masculinities is fairly absent. By working with individual and collective empowerment of women they aim to eliminate norms allowing for structural, cultural and direct violence against women. Lastly, to balance an increased focus on men and masculinities with the need to maintain autonomous spaces for women, as highlighted by organisations working with women's rights, will be a challenge.

Key words: culture of peace, men, masculinity norms, hegemonic masculinity, new masculinities, women, gender equality, violence

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Sara Marklund and Sanna Rosén

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1. Introduction

Colombia has been suffering from armed conflicts for the last 60 years and is now engaged in peace talks on Cuba with hopes to transform the country into a post-conflict setting and strengthen processes of peacebuilding. The long and devastating conflict has left Colombia with many problems related to gender inequality, militarised masculinity norms and institutionalised violence (Cockburn 2007; Tabak 2011; Castañeda & Myrttinen 2014). The government as well as the international and civil society in Colombia are trying to promote a Culture of Peace, which imply relationships based on respect and equality, essentially, a society free from violence where all human rights are fulfilled (Presidential Advisor for Human Rights 2014). To achieve Culture of Peace gender equality is seen as key (UN 2001: n.p; UNESCO 1995).

The importance of gender equality and gender awareness has long been acknowledged to be an important part in peacebuilding[1] and in post-conflict societies by scholars, the international community and civil society (Myrttinen et al. 2014; Cahn & Ni Aolain 2010). This is firstly because of a positive relation between gender equality and sustainable development (Gizelis & Pierre 2013: 601). Secondly, the transitional phase is considered critically important for gender relations and could serve as a window of opportunity to change societal institutions to address gender inequality (Gizelis & Pierre 2013: 601; UNDP 2002: 1). The Beijing declaration in 1995, followed by the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 adopted in 2000, are important stepping stones to increase gender awareness in development and peacebuilding efforts and to eliminate gender discrimination. Based on the notion that women, men, girls, and boys are affected by conflict in different ways, UNSCR 1325 called for the need include a gender perspective and emphasise the role of women in

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[1] The concept of peacebuilding was established in the UN report "An Agenda for Peace" from 1992. It refers to multidimensional and involves a diversity of actors. In comparison to peacemaking, it aims at addressing root causes of conflict and violence to create a sustainable peace. (Abozaglo 2009: 5). In this thesis peacebuilding is understood as the process, including all activities in favour of reducing violence and in turn building a culture of peace.

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all efforts for peace (UNDP 2002: 11; Strickland & Duvvury 2003: 1; Gizelis & Pierre 2013: 608).

In Colombia the conflict has engaged a vivid and robust civil society where organisations are raising their voices to improve the situation of women (Cockburn 2007: 18). Although gender equality has been part of both development strategies and peacebuilding, the vast majority of interventions have come to equate interventions relating to "gender" with women (Myrttinen et al. 2014: 7; Connell 2003: 10-11). In the Beijing declaration from 1995 men and boys were encouraged to participate to achieve gender equality and in 1997 UNESCO gathered an expert meeting on "Male roles and masculinities in the perspective of a culture of peace". However, it is not until recently men and masculinities have gained recognition. Voices are increasingly being heard on the need to include men and masculinities in the equation, particularly from the international community (Hendra et al. 2013; Flood 2007; MenEngage Alliance 2014). This originates from increased awareness and concerns regarding the linkages between men, masculinity norms and the use of violence (Connell 2003) and how it affects not only women, but men too (Berkowitz 2004). In Colombia men and masculinities have been highlighted as a topic of interest for social interventions and initiated within the sphere of academia and non-governmental organisations (Viveros 2011: 125).

1.1 Purpose and Research Questions

Although studies and interventions aimed at men and masculinities in Colombia have grown over the past decade most initiatives to promote gender equality are yet dominated by and for women. The purpose of this thesis is to build on the debate on the importance of gender awareness in peacebuilding and explore the role of men and masculinities in challenging norms of violence and building a culture of peace in Colombia. This thesis will be guided by the three following questions:

1. *Why and how do organisations work to change masculinities in initiatives to eliminate violence?*
2. *How do organisations working with women's rights approach men and masculinities?*

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3. *What are the challenges and potentials of working with men and masculinities in initiatives to eliminate violence?*

1.2 Limitations

Peacebuilding involves many different actors (governmental entities, NGOs, activists) as well as various dimensions (social, political, economic) and on a number of different levels (national, regional, local). The Colombian government is currently undertaking official peace negotiations and are in the process of carrying out the National Development Plan for 2014- 2018, with the aim to build sustainable peace. While this is an important part of the peace process, these aspects have not been included in the scope of our analysis. Although we have included governmental entities, it is done in regards to our specific research inquiry. The main focus has been on civil society organisations.

1.3 Disposition

Following the introduction, the context of Colombia will be outlined in Chapter 2. This is followed by an outline of previous research in chapter 3, while chapter 4 provides the theoretical framework based on peace, gender and masculinity studies. Chapter 5 outlines the research design as well as the methods used for the collection and analysis of the data. In chapter 6 findings is presented and analysed, followed by Chapter 7 that provides conclusions of the main findings.

2. Context

2.1 Impacts of the Prolonged Conflict

Colombia is situated in the northwest of South America bordering Panama, Venezuela, Brazil, Ecuador and Peru. Colombia is an upper middle-income country with a GINI coefficient of 53,5, displaying high inequalities among the population (World Bank 2015). Since the 1960's, internal armed conflicts have plagued the country. The conflict was initiated between two groups of political opponents but has turned into a complex low-intense war with multiple actors such as paramilitary forces, guerrilla groups, and state military and national elites; all with a range of different reasons for their engagement (Wirtz et al. 2014: 2). The duration of the conflict along with the different motives, the geographic extension and the special features in the regions and cities makes the conflict complex and hard to disentangle (NCHM 2013: 19). All parties in the conflict have committed severe human rights violations (Wirtz et al. 2014: 2; Theidon 2009: 6) including sexual violence with women's bodies as targets (Cockburn 2007: 16; Tabak 2011: 105). The protraction of the conflict has led to millions of internally and externally displaced persons (Wirtz et al. 2014) of which countless have migrated to outskirts of urban areas (Cockburn 2007: 17).

It is obligatory for all young men to undergo military service for one to two years when turning 18 years old. The organisation ACOOC[2] (2015), which is working with young men in marginalised and violent urban areas, stresses the risk of vulnerable young men being recruited by either legal military or illegal armed forces. Altogether this suggests that a large share of the young male population have experiences from military institutions. Although many Colombian men have been involved in the conflict it is estimated that FARC-EP involves as much as 40 per cent women on different positions (Cockburn 2007: 15). According to Castañeda and Myrttinen (2014: 13) the armed conflict, along with related criminal violence in rural and urban areas, has resulted in 'naturalisation' of violence. Waldmann (2007: 73-74) argues that this must be understood in relation to a culture of violence, which comprises "institutionalized violent actors", high homicide rates, predominance of particular

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[2] Colombian Collective Action of Conscientious Objectors

norms and absence of taboos and rules that could limit violence. In other words, violence shapes different dimension of society and social relations extensively and therefore also gender relations (Castañeda & Myrttinen 2014: 8). In regards to gender norms, the concept of *machismo* is often discussed in Colombia as well as in other countries in Latin America. Machismo is often linked to the will to use violence, the sense of being 'hard' and the ability to provide for one's family. Even though there is no single definition, machismo often refers to masculinity norms of hegemonic behaviours or attitudes that praise heterosexuality and privilege of men (Castañeda & Myrttinen 2014: 8).[3]

2.2 Gender Inequalities

Women gained the right to vote in 1958 and the 1991 constitution recognised women as "individuals in their own right" (UNDP 2011: 8). Colombia has since then improved in regards to women's rights with laws and policies to increase political participation and protect women and girls from sexual violence. Despite this, Colombia still struggles with high rates of gender inequalities. In 2011 the law 1475 established a mandatory 30 per cent representation of women in political parties, but political representation of women remains low. According to IPU[4] (2015) women represent 19.9 per cent of the House of Representatives (Lower House) and 22.5 per cent of the Senate (Upper House). Further, sexual and gender based violence is a major problem facing women in particular, which is aggravated by conflict and displacement (Wirtz et al. 2014). Close proximity of combat is shown to significantly increase likelihood of domestic violence, thus exacerbating vulnerabilities of women (Noe & Rieckmann 2013). In 2011, 37 per cent of women reported cases of domestic violence while the number among internally displaced women were 48 per cent (HRW 2012). Wirtz et al. (2014: 2) underscore that gender based violence often is underreported due to stigma and low access to services. WomanStats' (2014) research shows that Colombia is among those countries that lack physical security for women.

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[3] The concept of *machismo* has been of interest for many scholars trying to depict a "typical Latin man". Most scholars investigating in Latin America relate to machismo in some way even though trials to understand what it really entails for most parts have failed. Contemporary understandings of machismo are for most part equated with sexism. Additionally, it is more common among researchers outside Latin America to relate to machismo than among Latin American scholars, where it is more common to relate to concepts of hegemonic masculinities (Kimmel et al. 2005: 123-124).

[4] Inter-Parliamentary Union

Human rights for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) persons are particularly severe. Between the years of 2006 and 2007, 67 LGBT persons were murdered and LGBT persons are in general subjected to high numbers of abuse, discrimination and stigma (Colombia Diversa 2010).

2.3 Building Peace

During the decades of conflict in Colombia, there have been many negotiations and attempts for peace. Governments over the years have used different strategies to build peace, ranging from 'only' aiming at disarming armed groups, to including social and economic programmes aiming towards a broader concept of peace (Cockburn 2007: 17). The current peace-negotiations between the Government and FARC-EP, one of the largest guerrilla groups in Colombia, were initiated in 2012 with the aim to finally end the armed conflict. The civil society has been involved in numerous peace initiatives on national, regional and local levels (García-Dúran 2004) and together with international actors they play an important role in building peace in Colombia (Abozaglo 2009). The civil society movement became significant important in the early 1990s, but has only recently been allowed to participate in the official peace processes (Cockburn 2007: 17). There is also a vibrant civil society fighting for women's rights and gender equality. The first coalition of organisations was formed against the war in 1993, organisations in which both women and men were engaged. The women's organisations have later grown much in importance, a success that has been compared to the reform of women's right to vote in the 1991 constitution. Many women's organisations are engaging in the official peace processes but the foundation for why the women's movements exist have emerged from the everyday sufferings of the Colombian women (Cockburn 2007: 17-18).

3. Previous Research

3.1 Gender and Peacebuilding

The focus on gender, and women's rights in particular, emerged in the field of development during the 1970s. This came to be known as Women in Development (WID) and since then two other 'waves' have followed, namely Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD). Although GAD was a movement that opposed the idea of addressing women as one unit, they have been intensely criticised for equating gender with women (Chant & Gutmann 2000: 6-10; Connell 2005: 1805).

Gender has also gained attention in peacebuilding and security issues since the UN Security Council resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security was adopted in 2000 (El-Bushra 2012: 5). The resolution is said to have encouraged social scientists to increase interest in the links between gender and peacebuilding (Gizelis & Pierre 2013: 608). It has resulted in numerous initiatives and policies to promote rights and protection for women and girls in conflict settings (Peacebuilding Initiative 2007). There is extensive research on the issue of women, violence and peace (Cockburn 2007; Moser & Clark 2001; Goldstein 2001; Confortini 2010). Several researchers have investigated the link between level of gender equality[5] and the risk for a society to experience armed conflict or use violence to settle conflicts (Ekvall 2014; Gizelis & Pierre 2013: 605; Melander 2005a; Melander 2005b; Caprioli 2005; Hudson et al., 2008/2009; Stephenson 2009).

In addition, Ekvall (2014: 275-276) and Caprioli (2005: 162) underscore that there is a correlation between norms surrounding gender equality and the use of violence. Previous research has also looked at the impact of war and militarism in relation to women (Sjoberg & Via 2010: 232) and the importance of women's empowerment for sustainable development and peace as well as the role of women in peacebuilding (Gizelis 2009; Cockburn 2007). For instance, Cockburn (2007), a well-cited gender researcher, has examined women's movement and activism for peace in Colombia

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[5] Measured by, for instance, fertility rates, labour force, and women in parliament and women with higher education.

and Tabak (2011) has researched on transitional justice in Colombia from a gender perspective where she challenges the dichotomy of victims (women) versus perpetrators (men).

3.2 The Upswing of Research on Men and Masculinities

Research on men and masculinities arose in the 1980s and the academic field have since then steadily grown. The research emerged from social scientists interest in a diverse set of social concerns. The 1990s brought further research on for instance masculinities in relation to power, violence, crime, child abuse and law (Hearn 1996: 206 in Cornwall et al. 2011: 2). Early research on men was informed by the sex role theory but was later challenged by R. W. Connell's (1995) theories of hegemonic masculinity, a concept that is very influential in current studies on how masculinities relate both to 'being a man' and to power (Cornwall et al. 2011: 3).

Even though violence against women has historically been treated as a women's issue (Cooks et al. 2007: 218), scholars started to highlight thoughts on men and development around year 2000 (Chant & Gutmann 2000). The notions that men also have to be a part of the solution in initiatives to reduce violence are increasingly being discussed among scholars (Crooks et al. 2007; Pease 2008; Connell 2003; Breines et al. 2000; Flood 2007). The field of men and masculinities in Latin America is rooted in the 1970s and is being developed by feminist researchers in the region (Viveros & Gutmann 2005: 114). During the last years issues of masculinities have been developed in Colombia, alongside similar progress in other Latin American countries (Viveros 2011: 126).

Since the field of masculinity studies has grown there is a greater awareness on how men and masculinity norms are closely related to violence against women and non-men as well as the violence that men are using against other men (Breines et al. 2000: 14-15; Flood 2011). Connell (2003: 3-4) argues that men, who are having power over social, political and economic resources have a moral obligation to engage for gender equality, but stresses that man too suffer from living in societies with rigid gender roles. Hendra et al. (2013: 112) describe men as an "untapped resource" and that men

have a *"duty to lend their voices and their energies to the attainment of equality"* (Hendra et al. 2013: 117).

The 1990s brought a series of international conferences on men, masculinities and peace (Breines et al. 2000: 9). Issues of men and masculinities in relation to war and peace have however quite recently been brought to the fore. Chan and Ni Aolain (2010) used a gender lens to look at conflicted societies. They stress that not only is there a need for implementing laws on women's rights but also to highlight the link between violence and masculinities and address masculinities in peacebuilding. In the Colombian context Kimberly Theidon (2009) is the most commonly cited researcher in regards to masculinities and peacebuilding. Her research on Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) programmes of former combatants has shown that violence against women has stagnated around women as victims and men as perpetrators and that men and women's roles seldom are analysed in conjunction with socioeconomic and political factors. She argues that including men and masculinities in the definition of gender can help building peace on the front line as well as in the private sphere (Theidon 2009: 34). Strickland and Duvvury argue that one reason behind limited results of gender approaches within peacebuilding is that "underlying norms that define gender relations and power dynamics" (2003: 2) are not addressed. According to Castañeda and Myrttinen's (2014) study in Colombia, a broader understanding of gender is needed, with an emphasis on gender-relational approaches including other identity markers such as age, class, and disabilities. This report provides new insight to the peacebuilding debate in Colombia that often focuses on women as victims and men as perpetrators, leaving out persons of transgender or sexual minorities.

Literature on the inclusion of men as actors of change to eliminate violence is in majority focused on reflections, conversations and anecdotes with overweight on subjective arguments rather than empirical perspectives on why and how men should be involved to reduce violence. While we have found several texts calling for the need to highlight the role of men in peacebuilding, social interventions targeting men in Colombia is simultaneously increasing. Still there is limited research on men, masculinities and peacebuilding and systematization of men's engagement for reduction of violence and gender equality in Colombia (Viveros 2011: 125). As a result of noting the lack of studies on this matter, this study aims to add to the debate

on the role of men and masculinities in building a culture of peace in contemporary Colombia.

4. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework presented in the sections below is based on a combination of perspectives that have emerged from peace, feminist and masculinity studies.

4.1 Construction of Gender

This section provides an opening discussion of gender theories and lays the foundation for an understanding of why violence needs to be approached with a gender perspective. Using a gender lens as an analytical tool allows the capturing of "the complex matrix of social relationships within society" (Caprioli 2005: 165) and unfolds issues of discrimination, injustice and inequality.

In theoretical work on gender, a common understanding of the distinction between "sex" and "gender" is that sex is biologically determined and gender is socially constructed (Butler 1999: 9-10). According to the gender theorist Judith Butler (1999: xiv- xv), gender is constantly constructed and performed in interactions with expectations relating to sex. This process she names as 'naturalisation', a process of repetition where gender eventually becomes consolidated as natural, even though it was initially created. Thus, when talking about masculinity and femininity one refers to the social construction of gender shaped by social codes and expressed by context-specific accepted behaviours (Beynon 2002: 2,7-10). While gender is context-specific, power, aggression and rationality are often associated with men and masculinity whereas passiveness, irrationality and sensitiveness are associated with femininity and women (Tickner 1992: 3; Harders 2011: 142). Femininity and masculinity are constructed as dichotomies (Cockburn 2013: 435) and characteristics associated with masculinity are given value over 'feminine' characteristics in political as well as social spheres, which shape relations of power (Sjoberg & Via 2010: 3). While gender contributes to determining one's ability to access and or exercise power, other factors also intersect, such as ethnicity and class (Tickner 1992: 15; Castañeda & Myrttinen 2014: 5), which is commonly referred to as intersectionality (Connell 2009: 86-86). This mean that a person can be privileged by gender but suffer from other structures, such as being marginalised because of sexuality.

Connell (2009: 109), one of the most cited authors within gender research, underlines that societies recognize different categories of gender, which undermines notions of gender essentialisms, meaning that women and men are born with certain characteristics and that behaviours of women and men are linked to biology. Connell (2009: 109) claims that gender should be seen as existing as a spectrum rather than as purely binary. For instance, third genders and non-binary genders challenge the binary way in which people live and experience their lives. Expanding on this, Cockburn, in reference to Connell, concludes: *"the body is an arena, a site where something social happens"* (Connell 2002: 47-48 in Cockburn 2007: 6).

4.2 Building a Culture of Peace

In 1969, Johan Galtung brought the concepts of negative and positive peace to the fore, which broadened the conventional understanding of peace. While negative peace means the absence of direct violence, often understood as the lack of armed conflict, positive peace implies the absence of structural and cultural violence (Galtung 1969; Galtung 1990). The concept of positive peace was later embraced by the UN resolution 53/243 in 1999 where the General Assembly in article 1 expanded on positive peace and provided an explanation of the Culture of Peace as "[...] *a set of values, attitudes, traditions and modes of behaviour and ways of life* [...]". In other words, a culture of peace implies the encouragement of dialogue, respect for human rights and diversity of values. The stereotyping of one group of individuals as inferior is thus not compatible with a culture of peace (Stephenson 2009: 134-136; Breines et al. 2000: 13). Gender equality is considered an essential goal in itself as well as an important mean to achieve a culture of peace (UN 2001: n.p.; UNESCO 1995; Stephenson 2009: 136; Breines et al. 2000).

To achieve gender equality, cultural factors that allow for women to be violated, for instance through discrimination in different forms, need to be eliminated. Therefore, yet another step to achieve a culture of peace is to re-conceptualise violence, security and power (Stephenson 2009: 135) and must be built by local, regional and national initiatives together (Breines et al. 2000: 12). Moser (2001: 36) highlights how narrow categorisations of violence make violence towards women only partly visible. Therefore a broader definition of violence is needed to understand how to achieve a

culture of peace. Galtung's theories on violence in combination with gender theories, offers such an approach. This is presented in the section below.

4.3 Expressions of Violence Through a Gender Lens

According to Galtung (2013), the most definite obstacle to achieve a culture of peace is, of course, a culture of war and violence. Therefore, to understand how to achieve a culture of peace we must understand the construction of a culture of violence. Galtung's (1969; 1990) definitions of violence are commonly illustrated as a triangle, as displayed in Figure 1, Galtung's Conflict Triangle, with three components: direct, structural and cultural violence. Galtung (1975) explains direct violence as visible violence with an evident subject, for instance, someone being victim of domestic violence. Structural violence is indirect, systematic and embedded in society. It involves marginalisation and unequal distribution of material and nonmaterial resources (i.e. education, medical or financial), which result in unequal chances in life (Galtung 1969: 171). In this understanding of violence, women's limited access to political power is one type of structural violence.
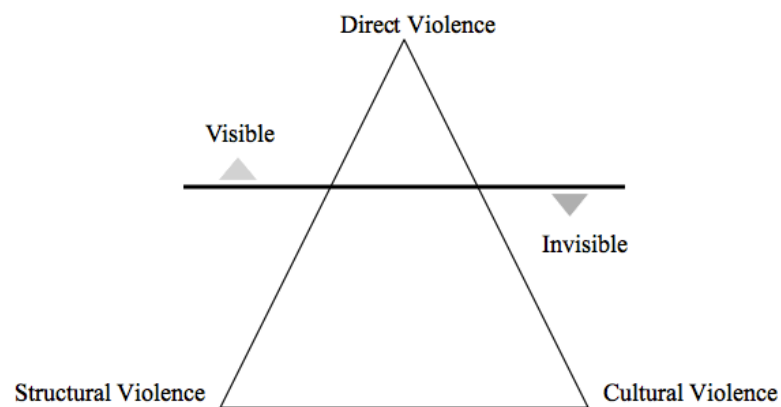
Figure 1. Galtung's Conflict Triangle. Source: illustration by the authors based on Galtung (1990).

The construction and reproduction of gender relations must be understood in the light of institutions that uphold society at large and how these relate to individual agency. The state as a gendering institution becomes evident when looking at where men and women (have been allowed) to take place in society through mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion (Connell 2009: 120). Galtung (1996: 33) includes gender as one variable in his analysis and recognizes patriarchy as one form of structural violence.

However, this does not provide a thorough analysis of how gender functions to uphold inequalities on different levels (Confortini 2006: 340; Caprioli 2005: 164). Many feminist scholars would instead argue that gender as a social construction divides society in hierarchies of domination and subordination and that these gender relations are interlinked with the construction, justification and reproduction of violence (Confortini 2006: 335; Caprioli 2005: 165; Ekvall 2014: 277).

The third component presented by Galtung (1990) is cultural violence. Cultural violence legitimises direct and structural violence, through language, ideology, religion etc. and makes violence appear acceptable, or at least not unacceptable. Cultural violence allow for structural violence to become institutionalised and thus act as the foundation of structural violence. Confortini (2006: 339) argues that Galtung's explanation of cultural violence can serve as an entry point for a gender approach as it is in line with feminist theories on gender that perceive cultural violence as a process that enable oppression. Hence, as gender represents the foundation of structural inequalities, it is integrated in both structural and cultural violence (Caprioli 2005: 164). Lastly, Galtung present object and subject as dichotomies, which has been problematized by Confortini (2006: 356-357). In this case, she underlines how such categorisation provides an assumption of the object (i.e. women) as passive, which lessen women's agency and empowerment. She further stresses that breaking such binary dichotomies and focusing on the complexity of social relations can enable pathways for change.

4.4 The Link Between Masculinity Norms and Violence

When discussing violence it is essential to talk about masculinity norms as the link between the two has been acknowledged by several researchers (Gill 1997; Caprioli 2005; Theidon 2009; Flood & Pease 2009; Poteat et al. 2011: 425; Chan & Ni Aolain 2010; Ekvall 2014; Demos & Segal 2014).

While scholars stress the existence of a diverse set of masculinities opposed to one type of masculinity alone, dominant types of masculinities have been conceptualised together as "hegemonic masculinity" by R. W. Connell in 1995. In essence, the concept builds on gender theories of gender roles but expands the understanding of

gender roles with a new dimension. The term 'hegemony' refers to the gendered cultural components, which makes a group able to claim a certain position in society, which is not defended by direct violence but authority. Connell (1995: 115) stresses that hegemonic masculinity exists when there is a connection between cultural ideals and institutional power collectively. The military and the State often promote the collective ideal of the hegemonic masculinity. When conditions within these spheres change, hegemonic masculinity is said to do the same. Hegemonic masculinities are diverse from time and place and made natural through repetition of cultural practices. Therefore hegemonic masculinities are a historical construction (Connell 1995: 71). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 844-846) stress how a hegemonic masculinity is not self-producing but needs to defend itself towards other types of masculinities as well as the dishonouring of women. They further argue that the plurality among masculinities can be understood as a system of hierarchy where dominant masculinity norms serve as the norm on which all other masculinities are measured. However, the hegemonic masculinity is situated at the top of the hierarchical chain and consists of ideals of a man that most men, or perhaps no one, live up to.

Departing from Connell's (1995) conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity, Demetriou (2001: 341) argues that the concept of hegemonic masculinities includes two dimensions, firstly dominance over women and patriarchal power (external hegemony) and secondly hierarchy of masculinities and the power relations between them (internal hegemony). While this definition provides a simplified explanation, Christensen and Jensen (2014: 70-71) argue that one could benefit by treating the two dimensions separately as the hierarchies not necessarily coincide. For instance, changes towards positive masculinities internally may not consequently translate into challenging the external hegemony, that is the institutionalised oppression of women. In short, allowing interplays of power relations could provide a more complex picture of domination and subordination between men and women, but also among men as a group.

5. Methodology

This section outlines the field study's research design and methods utilised to enable the reader to easily follow how the data have been collected and later analysed.

5.1 Research Design

The framework for the collection and data analysis was inspired by a case study design as described by Yin (2009). A conventional case study seeks to thoroughly understand one or multiple contemporary social phenomenon or activities (Yin 2009: 4) bound by certain parameters such as time and place (Creswell 2013: 97). This thesis does not follow the exact criteria of a case study, but do apply similar approach by seeking to deepen the understanding the role of men and masculinities in current peacebuilding initiatives in Colombia. As such it can be described as a case bound to the process of building peace within the borders of Colombia. Although the peacebuilding process is not explicitly limited by time, the aim with this thesis is to foremost understand the role of men and masculinities in the current initiatives evidently connected to history and a wider context. Similar to a case study design (Yin 2009: 11; Creswell 2013: 98) we have used different sources of data in order to gain in-depth understanding of the questions at hand.

In social research it is common to either have a deductive or inductive research design. This study has employed neither, but rather an iterative approach. Bryman (2012: 26) describes that an iterative research design entails relating theory and data back and forth, throughout the process. For us, this have meant that theory informed our themes to be covered in data collection and that initial analysis of the data was explored by going back to theory to be able to develop and deepen our understanding of the empirical findings, and so on. The theoretical framework was later defined and refined to depict the meaning of our findings.

5.2 Sampling

The site for our research was Bogotá, as the majority of organisations we wished to include in the study have their head offices there. This allowed for us to meet with more organisations than if we would have travelled. As the majority of organisations studied have programs or affiliated organisations across Colombia, this approach serves a holistic perspective of the questions at hand.

In this thesis we used purposeful sampling, which is commonly used in qualitative research (Creswell 2013: 156). The sampling of informants was initially done through mapping of organisations in accordance to certain criterion, namely organisations working with all or one of the following themes: a) gender equality, b) women's rights, and c) masculinities. Within the organisations we intended to interview persons well versed about the organisation's overall work. In addition, we aimed at talking to organisations working on different levels and with different target groups. This approach, maximum variation sampling is according to Creswell (2013: 157) ideal for qualitative research, as it makes different perspectives visible. While our initial mapping helped us to find entry-points, our informants proved to be invaluable in guiding us further to other organisations and informants. Consequently, our informants sometimes evolved into gatekeepers. A common critique to the use of gatekeepers is that they let you access only certain persons (Bryman 2012: 151). While having this in mind, we are convinced that we would not have been given opportunity to talk to some of the organisations without this help. Also it helped us getting in contact with organisations that we had not identified in our initial mapping.

One interview was held with a key informant. A key informant is a person with specific knowledge within a certain topic (Mikkelsen 2005: 172). In our case, the key informant was a Colombian scholar within the field of gender and masculinities. This interview was held in-between other interviews and proved to provide us with valuable insight on the context, as well as giving an opportunity to reflect on issues that had been raised by other informants.

5.3 Interviews

We chose to conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews. This meant that we developed interview guides with purpose of covering certain themes, an approach primarily employed to give the informant possibility to have an impact on the content (Bryman 2012: 471). This we found important as the direction of the interview also could provide valuable insight to our research problem. Another advantage of this, as highlighted by Ackerly and True (2010: 168), is that it allowed the informant to bring up issues which perhaps did not conform with both our known or unknown expectations. Before developing interview guides[6] we learnt about the organisations if there were information available online, such as websites, Facebook pages and published documents. By doing this, we wanted to grasp as much as possible to be able to tailor themes to each interview. A few organisations do not have websites and in those cases we had to focus more on specific topics during the interview, to be able to cover our areas of interest. Lastly, when time allowed in-between interviews, we would return to notes and recordings to adapt and improve our interview guide as well as interview techniques along the way.

5.4 Conducting Interviews

When deciding where to conduct the interview, the informant has in all cases chosen location. Two interviews were conducted through Skype due to time restraints during our stay in Colombia. The Skype interviews had only minor disturbances related to the internet-connection. Using Skype is similar to face-to-face interviews (Bryman 2012: 666-667) and we do not feel that it compromised the quality of the content.

As one of us is fluent in Spanish we conducted the interviews on the language our respondents felt most comfortable with. All together, 14 interviews were held in Spanish and five in English. With the informants consent we recorded each interview. This made us able to later listen to interviews repeatedly in order to correctly hear, understand and interpret. It helped to, as Bryman (2012: 482) highlights, correct and clarify flaws in our memory. It also allowed for us to transcribe the interviews, which

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[6] See Appendix A, Example of Interview Guide

became particularly important when there were limited time in-between interviews and we therefore could not go through and discuss the material immediately and thoroughly. Lastly, during the interviews we took notes to capture valuable information and observations that otherwise could be lost.

5.5 Document Analysis

In addition to the interviews we used first and secondary data containing documents and written material. We undertook a comprehensive literature review of academic articles, reports and other documents to situate our research problem and provide a rich context. When using secondary data we have had a critical approach by whom, to who and for what purpose, the material has been written. Further, most organisations provided us with printed brochures, posters and documents, which we complemented with written material from their websites when available. According to Mikkelsen (2005: 188), this can serve as an important complement to interviews. In our case it allowed us to cross-check our interview material and gain a richer understanding and analysis of their work.

5.6 Transcribing and Analysis of Data

The process of transcribing has gone through two phases, mainly because most interviews were done very close in time. In the first phase we aimed to briefly transcribe what we believed was most important, to get an overlook and to grasp the data. This was done as soon as possible after an interview and allowed us to connect themes from one interview to another. In the second phase we returned to the material and transcribed the material that we found specifically relevant. This meant that we carefully transcribed the majority of the recordings, but left out discussions we perceived being less important.

Inspired by Mikkelsen (2005: 183) we used successive coding to analyse the data. Successive coding implies that the coding procedure in essence went through the following three stages: 1) open coding 2) axial coding and 3) selective coding. At the first stage of the process we identified broad concepts and categories. Even though the concepts were not explicitly formulated before this phase, we had in some way

already established themes when constructing our interview guide. Concepts from the first phase were during the second phase related to sub-categories in order to identify relations and phenomena. At the third stage, our understanding of the themes was integrated with the theory to identify core categories to deepen the analysis. While being inspired by this three-step approach, the process has not been as linear as Mikkelsen suggests. For instance, sometimes sub-categories was developed or thought of simultaneously with the broad concepts and categories and when doing the axial coding we found new elements and therefore some of the first identified categories were adjusted. Nonetheless, this approach enabled us to structure the analysis. Throughout the process we have written down potential conclusions or concepts worthy of further exploration in a field diary.

5.7 Quality Assurance

To ensure the quality of studies various measures can be applied. These measures should rather be considered as good practice that guides one's research rather than an application of strict rules (Mikkelsen 2005: 196). To ensure the quality and trustworthiness of our study we have used several measures.

Firstly we have been taking notes throughout the process, listening to the recorded material repeatedly and been going back and forth between our recorded material and the transcripts to limit misinterpretation of material. Being two has benefitted this process as it has given us the possibility to discuss how we understood and interpreted the data. This enhanced the accuracy as we were able to cross-check understandings with each other (Creswell 2013: 177). Further, when needed a native Spanish speaker has been consulted in order to confirm correctness of quotations.

Using different methods to describe the same issue or confirm the researchers is a common practice to strengthen the validity (Mikkelsen 2005: 197). In this study we have combined the data collected through interviews with written and printed material from the organisations and secondary sources to confirm or contest our understanding. Further we have aimed to carefully document and describe the procedure, including how, when and where the data has been gathered as well as methods for analysis to promote transparency (Mikkelsen 2005: 197). In addition we

have aimed at providing a thick description of the context and results, which allow the reader to draw their own conclusions (ibid). A description of each organisation and guidance on where to find more information have been included to allow for the reader to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the organisations.[7]

5.8 Ethical Considerations

When doing fieldwork consisting of interviews and interaction with people, researchers need to consider the ethical aspects to not harm the respondents or informants (Mikkelsen 2005: 342). Further, as Sultana (2007: 376) highlights it is important to be attentive and reflexive about one's positionality and the power relations in construction of knowledge throughout the research. Along the process we have been attentive to the relation between our informants and us. To honour their contribution while also acknowledging the distance between our research and the possible lack of direct benefit it might have for the organisations, we have aimed to achieve a situation of mutual learning with each informant, as common in feminist studies (Sultana 2007: 375). In practice, this have meant that we have shared experiences and exchanged knowledge regarding different perspectives on gender. In line with Ackerly and True (2010: 247) the informants have been approached as audiences for our thesis and not solely as sources of data or knowledge. Thus, we have offered to share the final thesis with the informants and their organisations as an acknowledgement of their efforts and for them to feel involved. In order to not fail our promise we made a list of particular requests. One weakness is however that this thesis is written in English, which hinder many of the informants to take part of their contribution and our findings. This we consider a flaw in regards to our aim of mutual learning.

As previously mentioned our informants have themselves decided where to meet to reduce issues of safety. There is however other ethical issues relevant to discuss. Informed consent is one important aspect (Mikkelsen 2005: 342; Bryman 2012: 135) that has guided our interaction with the informants. Most of our informants have been contacted by email where we explained who we are, the purpose of the study and what the material will be used for, to contextualise their participation. On these

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[7] See Appendix B, Presentation of Organisations

grounds, the organisation or informant could decide whether they wanted to participate or not. In addition, these aspects were repeated before initiating the interview to remind the informant and ensure that it had been covered. Confidentiality is another important consideration (Mikkelsen 2005: 342; Creswell 2013: 174) that was discussed before the interviews. The informant was asked if and to what extent their organisation's name could be used, particularly in regards to citations. This has certainly been important for all interview situations, but perhaps more important when interviews were held with younger persons. Upon request the citations were sent to informants for them to approve before publishing this thesis. However, since we did not receive confirmation from one of the organisations' we have chosen to let the informants remain confidential. The informants are therefore presented as M1, W2, and so on, where M indicate informant working with masculinities and W imply informant working with women's rights.[8]

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[8] For complete list see Appendix C, Record of Informants

6. Analysis

Based on the theoretical framework this chapter outline an analysis of the organisations in this study. The first section outlines the findings from organisations working with masculinities, whereas the second section provides further insight how organisations working with women's rights approach men and masculinities. Section three offers a discussion on the potentials and challenges, in regards to the role of men and masculinities in building a culture of peace.

6.1 Why and How Organisations Work With Men and Masculinities

Organisations in Colombia who work with masculinities is a small community, compared to organisations working for women's rights. Their work includes not only men but also women, as they emphasise on how relations among men as well as between men and women shape and are shaped by gender. These organisations cooperate at times, sometimes in networks, sometimes in demonstrations or with funding. Four of our seven interviewed organisations are part of national networks that in turn are part of the international network MenEngage Alliance[9]. While they are diverse in approaches they all address problems with men's violence and unequal gender relations mainly with men on an individual level. Through discussion groups and workshops they aim to spur a self-reflective process on how gender norms affect them. This is done to stimulate internal changes and relations to others. Following this presentation, the organisations' reasons, motivations and methodologies are discussed.

6.1.1 Notions of Violent Masculinities
To understand why organisations work with men and masculinities we asked the informants what their personal motivation was, as well as what they perceive their members' motivations to participate are. We found that main reasons for engaging men and masculinities are that they have identified masculinity norms as a core problem in relation to violence and they want to break patterns of traditional gender

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[9] MenEngage Alliance is an international network of NGOs working together with men and boys to promote gender equality. Read more on their work at their website www.menengage.org.

norms or, as identified by them, *hegemonic masculinities*. In these changes they view men as stakeholders but also acknowledge that gender roles and norms are produced and reproduced in social relations among all and therefore they often have more than one target group.

Only one organisation was born out of recognising the link between men, masculinity norms and violence. For the rest, working with masculinity norms have not been their initial aim but have come to be an important component of their work to eliminate violence and create peaceful coexistence. For instance, one organisation started working with men and question machismo ideals after conducting an investigation on child abuse in the neighbourhood where they are situated. In most cases, it was men - fathers, brothers and other male adults, who abused children. This led them to question why this pattern existed. As a response they started talking and engaging with men and from that engagement they also started discussing masculinities and machismo. Another organisation, working in a very violent neighbourhood in Bogotá, wanted to understand violence occurring towards vulnerable groups, such as transgender persons and sex workers, which led them to question issues of masculinity norms and the violence it carried with.

In response to the connection between masculinity norms and violence, a common understanding and motivation among the organisations driven by younger persons was that they did not wish to repeat the same mistakes that their parents, notably their fathers, did. Informant M4 explained how their group members wanted to live in "their own epoch" created by themselves and not follow the dreams of their parents. Informant M4 illustrated: *"I simply want to be myself, learn to love, value and accept myself without feeling bad or sad"* (M4 2015[10]). They expressed how they are socialized into being something they perceive being destructive, that they do not want to conform to, and that it is possible to change.

First and foremost a majority of the organisations have turned to their close surrounding, starting from visible and direct violence to identify attitudes and behaviours informed by cultural patterns. In line with our theoretical discussion on

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[10] Translated from *"Simplemente quiero ser yo, aprender quererme, valorarme y a como sentirme aceptado, sin la necesidad sentirme malo o triste"*.

masculinity norms most organisations have identified a hegemonic masculinity attached to expressions of violence and "toughness". Informant M3 highlighted the connection between masculinity norms and militarism: *"A man should have a gun and use it"* (M3 2015). To this organisation, working with transmen[11], it is important to challenge masculinity norms to eliminate violence and to not reproduce the oppression that they have been targets of. Informant M3 expressed it like this:

> "I have been violated by that system. So we are trying to make a change about that, to construct a world with peace, a better one. That's why we work with them, even if they are not recognised as men all of them, we have a very machista country, so I think that is the reason" (M3 2015).

The informant explained that these masculinity norms have involved serious physical and psychical threat for himself as well as other members of their organisation, hindering their enjoyment of basic human rights and life in peace. Transgendered persons are often perceived to deviate from binary norms on sex and gender, therefore they face further discrimination and oppression (Girshick 2008: 46).

Several informants have stressed the importance of recognising also men as victims of the same structures that harms women and they therefore conclude that changes in gender norms will benefit men's well-being as well. This relates to internal hegemonic masculinities, which refer to the structure of hierarchy within masculinities. Those men that do not conform, or avoid contributing to the attributes of hegemonic masculinities will lower in status and are thereby threatened by violence (Christensen & Jensen 2014). This is a core component of the organisation's experiences and understanding of why their male members benefit from gender equality, of where different masculinities can co-exist without hierarchy. While most organisations relate masculinity norms to individuals' attitudes and expressions of interpersonal violence, many informants suggest that these masculinity norms are close related to larger societal structures as well. For instance, informant M1 explains how patriarchal masculinities have favoured both the armed conflict and every-day violence. Thus challenging masculinity norms and working with men are considered important to break cycles of violence. As expressed by informant M7: *"We are convinced that in order to break these systems that breath violence, and to really*

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[11] Experiences among transmen cannot be equalised with all men's experiences from violence, as transmen are a particularly vulnerable group, subjected to a large amount of violence in Colombia. We have chosen to present them in this section, as it is their work with masculinities that is of interest and additionally, to capture diversity of work with men and masculinities.

address the issue of gender equality, it is crucial to work with men" (M7 2015[12]).
How the organisations work with men and masculinities will be continued in the next section.

6.1.2 Creating New Masculinities

The organisations working with masculinities have expressed strong will to change destructive behaviour and attitudes. They believe that the process of change starts within the private sphere through a self-reflective process. When their members interact with others and make their work visible in the public sphere, their change is assumed to transmit awareness on alternative behaviours and have a spin-off effect to other persons and to society at large. The organisations all have in common the wish to transform the hegemonic masculinity to equal and respectful masculinities. When discussing this with our informants, a wide range of descriptions appeared of what the change would entail. First and foremost, their goal is described as being something vast different than the hegemonic masculinity norm they have identified. In this regard, a concept of *new masculinities* was commonly mentioned. As described by informant M1, new masculinities involve changes in physical expressions as well as in thoughts and behaviour:

> "For example, a teenager who wears earrings, a pink shirt or red shoes, colours the hair, has long hair could be a person that is embodying a new masculinity because he confront his father. There are also other practices, for example we have seen teenagers that are more sensitive, they hug more easily, or a young father carries his child [...] this is important because they defeat the myth of what makes a man" (M1 2014[13]).

In sum, new masculinities in this perspective works to distance oneself from previous practices, but also to demonstrate how there are diverse sets of masculinities and different ways of 'being a man'. However, most informants argued that this is not enough, and that we need to go beyond this. Informant M6 expressed that these masculinities must *"go beyond simple everyday actions, it goes in terms of changing*

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[12] Translated from *"Estamos convencidos de que para poder romper estos esquemas que respira la violencia y poder manejar realmente el tema de la equidad de género, es indispensable trabajar con los hombres".*

[13] Translated from *"Por ejemplo, un joven que se pone aretes, usa una camiseta rosada o zapatillas rojas, que se pinta el pelo, que tiene pelo largo, es una persona que puede ser una nueva masculinidad porque se le confronta con su padre. […] Pero también son algunas prácticas por ejemplo hemos visto que los jóvenes son más afectivos, pueden abrazar más fácil, uno ve un papá joven que carga a su hijo […] Entonces, eso lo consideramos importante porque ya esos jóvenes derrumbaron el mito de que ser un hombre".*

cultural behaviour" (M6 2014 [14]). Additionally, informant M1 claimed: *"The domestic work is your duty, you do not help your girlfriend or wife, the domestic work is mine too"* (M1 2014[15]). More profound changes away from new masculinities have been described as alternative or liberating masculinities. The change is then assumed to have public impact and transform also other men.

Categorizing masculinities as 'old' and 'new' is mentioned as an issue since 'new' does not necessarily mean 'good' and vice versa. Regardless of what concept they use, they all have in common what they want to distance from. Sometimes informants expressed that it has been easier to define what the new/alternative/liberated masculinities take distance from, rather than what they seek to become. As informant M3 stated: *"The idea is that you can construct a man without violence, dominance and repression of emotions"* (M3 2015). In short they seek to go beyond superficial change and transform cultural behaviour and issues of power based on unequal relations among men as well as between men and women. Despite some uncertainty in defining what the new, libertarian and or alternative masculinity is, they still provide a picture of what they want to achieve: space to be anything you want in opposition to violent hegemonic masculinities. Regardless of what they name this non-hegemonic masculinity, it is most important to recognise that they all describe a process of change of breaking norms and taboos that legitimize direct violence and oppression.

6.1.3 Men: Agents for Change

Working with men and women around gender stereotypes and challenging socially accepted behaviours is considered as a method to increase tolerance between persons on an individual level. Several informants highlighted that it is important to include women in the process, since gender is produced in interaction and relations. Informant M6 explained that it is important to them to not only work with the person who is vulnerable, but with all individuals in that persons surrounding to bring changes in gender stereotypes. Nonetheless, organisations working with changing masculinities particularly emphasise men as agents for change. By actively working on individual

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[14] Translated from *"Estas nueva masculinidades van mas allá de simple de hecho cotidiana, van en términos de cambiar comportamientos culturales"*.
[15] Translated from *"El trabajo doméstico es tuyo, no es que ayudes a tu mujer o esposa, que también el trabajo doméstico es mío"*.

attitudes, perceptions and language they are aiming to change the existing norms of violent masculinities. As Galtung (1990) has highlighted, the informants explained that language is powerful in reproducing violence and power imbalances. Therefore they, for instance, engage men in reformulating sexist language. Another method, expressed by informants, has been for men to visually challenge gender stereotypes on the streets of their cities or communities. One example of this is "The march with skirts"[16] where men wear skirts to challenge cultural images of power that reinforce the "macho" role of men and boys. Methodologies based on the body have been mentioned as a tool for change. As informant M4 explained:

> "The idea is that from the body we can transform many things and break many ideas about gender and the patriarchal machista culture [...] Through the body and a different mind set one can change many social problems" (M4 2015[17]).

By arranging and participating in manifestations, organisations aim to encourage others to change. The body is as such used as a platform to challenge the social construction of gender stereotypes. According to Butler (1999), gender is closely related to the body and appearance, therefore using skirts challenge traditional notions of male characteristics and what is endorsed by the society being appropriate for men.

One reason of why organisations engage men in efforts for gender equality is that men and boys suffer from rigid notions of stereotypic gender roles and having to relate to hegemonic masculinities. That men also suffer from gender inequalities has been acknowledged by earlier research relating to both risk-taking behaviour and risk at being subjected to violence from other men (Flood 2007; Courtenay 2000). This approach is said to offer an entry-point for men to reflect on how gender norms affect themselves and in extension also others. According to the informants, this has been useful to make men motivated and able to understand the relationship between gender and violence. They highlight the importance of providing a space, that has not previously been available for their members, to reflect and discuss how hegemonic masculinities affect everyone and in particular themselves. The primary goal is not

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[16] In Spanish: *Marcha de las faldas*

[17] Translated from "*La idea desde el cuerpo pues tomamos el cuerpo de transformar muchas cosas y romper muchas imágenes sobre género, la cultura patriarcal machista [...] Desde lo corporal y a través de un pensamiento diferente sí se pueden cambiar muchas problemáticas sociales*".

necessarily for the benefit or advancement of women's rights as such, but rather for their own well-being. Informant M7 explained it like this:

> "For us it is also very important to link men also as victims of the whole cultural process and that it has had high costs. So in these types of meetings we are looking to sensitize them" (M7 2015[18]).

Informant M1 offered another illustration of this approach:

> "We don´t say that the men are bad or violent […] we say to the men that when we change, we win. Recognising that the men can change [...] we are in solidarity with women, my work is derived from that, but it is not the meaning of the work" (M1 2014[19]).

The informants suggest that building equal relationships between men and women will benefit all. Their thought is that by reaching out and listen to men, with the aim to understand their concerns about their own lives, changes will arise in cultural patterns that shape perceptions of masculinity and femininity. This way of approaching men shows that the organisations recognise men first as agents, and secondly as allies to the women's rights movement. However, even if the entry-point to engage men to eliminate violence is the above-mentioned, they recognise that neither the importance of women's rights, nor men also being subjects of rights, can conceal one another. Although they aim to achieve gender equality these organisations' efforts to address structural components, such as laws and policies, as means of changing men's domination and reproduction of unequal power relations, are very limited.

6.2 Women's Rights Organisations Approach to Men and Masculinities

Organisations working for women's rights are presented together as they share many similarities in regards to focus, strategies and target group. It is a diverse group,

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[18] Translated from "*Para nosotros también es muy importante vincularlos a ellos, como también víctimas de todo el proceso cultural y que ha tenido costos altísimos*".

[19] Translated from "*No digamos que los hombres son malos o hombres violentos* […] *decimos a los hombres cuando cambiamos, ganamos. Reconociendo que los hombres pueden cambiar.* [...] *Somos solidarios con las mujeres, es el derivado del trabajo pero no es el sentido del trabajo*".

however, common denominators for these organisations are that they attend to the issues of gender equality and reduction of violence as a question of empowerment of women on an individual as well as on a structural level. Further, all proclaim "women" as their target group while a few also include LGBTI-persons. Although they, for most part, are presented in conjunction, we have highlighted when there is a distinction between them. The three sub-categories within the group of organisations working with women's rights are national, international and governmental organisations. The main difference between the international and the national organisations is that the international organisations have a declared gender approach rather than a feminist standpoint. Also, the mandate and programmes for the governmental organisations differ from both the national and international organisations. This chapter elaborates on how these organisations approach the role of men and masculinities in their work.

6.2.1 Women in the Centre, Men in the Periphery

The informants discussed violence in both the public and the private sphere. In this case, a majority of the informants defined violence as not being able to exercise power or participate in decision making in these two domains. In response to this, several informants expressed that changing the position of women and strengthening her capabilities through empowerment would consequently change the relations between women and men and the structures that oppress women's agency. Women's increased status can affect gender hierarchies (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 848) and therefore, this type of rhetoric focus on what women's agency can change. Informant W10 claimed that the focus must be on women's empowerment to end violence against women because change will not happen the other way around, meaning that male dominance will not voluntarily decline if women do not challenge it.

When asking if these organisations include men or work on masculinities in the empowerment process all informants except one concluded that they do not work with men and masculinities in their organisations. However, the organisation that work with men, do not work with them in regards to masculinities. Informant W5 and W6 highlighted how processes of women's empowerment on an individual level sometimes causes conflicts in their societies, and therefore they work with informing

men about their work to create awareness on why they work with empowerment of women. This approach indicates that men are included as allies to their work of empowerment, rather than individuals who themselves should transform. Sometimes informants referred to men as supporters and positive bystanders to women's empowerment, but more likely do organisations relate to men primarily as a part of women's social reality in a context analysis. UN Women's approach of engaging men in their campaign HeForShe, mirrors this logic. The campaign, launched in 2014, is stated as a men's "solidarity movement for gender equality". The goals are unspecified and without any considerable claims on transformation on the side of men and masculinities. From this perspective, achieving gender equality becomes something that *women do* through being empowered, and *men support*. Informant W6 reflected upon this approach and suggested that a formulation like HeAndShe (as oppose to HeForShe) would serve to perceive men as equal actors and agents of change. While these organisations aim to strengthening women's individual capacity, they emphasise change on the side of women only.

Several informants expressed that it is important to work with men and masculinities, as they have recognized men as being socialised into dominance and violence but highlighted difficulties of working with men who do not see themselves as gendered individuals. They further explained how women and men's lives are not separated, but how targeting women directly on an individual level, results in changes of gender relations and consequently transformation of men and masculinities. Their understanding of the cultural component of violence let them conclude that also men need to change, or violence will not end. While several informants encouraged initiatives focusing on men and masculinities, informants from the national women's rights organisations as well as the government entities claimed that it should not be done by them. Perhaps not surprisingly, most organisations express how they wish for the Colombian state to act and change structures that allow for men's violence, that limit women's agency. By claiming the responsibility of the State to create change and enforce laws, they are recognising the state as a gendering institution with the ability to sustain or change gender relations (Connell 2009: 122-123).

6.2.2 Do You Attend the Perpetrator or the Victim with Limited Resources?

A few organisations highlighted the issue of limited resources and how this affects their priorities. Informant W8 underscored how organisations aiming at strengthening vulnerable groups compete over very limited assets. The informant continued by explaining that issues of gender equality is first and foremost not seen as a socially important issue, and secondly, that limited resources leads to competition between sectors who work with women, children and other marginalised groups. Thus it is hard to motivate why resources should be allocated to work with men, as perpetrators. Other informants echoed similar notions, such as M1 and M5 that are both working with men and masculinities. These informants explained how men who commit gender-based violence are likely to commit the same violent actions repeatedly. They argued that despite this awareness it is considered more logic to protect women in acute need rather than focus on the issue of violent masculinity norms and preventive measures with men. Informant W9 highlighted the responsibility of donors who they claim to be interested in assistance rather than prevention efforts.

When discussing resources, the scope of what is perceived as violence was reduced to direct violence and protection thereof. This discussion further seemed to encourage informants to quickly adopt the victim versus perpetrator-discourse, which is highlighted by Confortini (2006: 348) to be problematic when aiming to eliminate structural as well as cultural violence. Breaking dichotomies and binaries in gender stereotypes is considered being an important component to end violence as it suggests challenging power relations and opening up pathways for change (Confortini 2006). However, one cannot deny a widespread vulnerability and lack of responses for women's rights in Colombia (HRW 2012) as emphasised by all organisations working with women's rights. As a result, most organisations uphold and remind of women's vulnerability to legitimize resources in that direction.

Although limited resources may be one reason for not working with men and masculinities, we question if there are other explanations too this. Having policies saying that an organisation should work to strengthening women does not necessarily have to imply that the target group must be women. One of the organisations has developed strategies to broaden their work for women's rights. Informant W4 explained that they have developed manuals on how to engage men and work with

masculinities a few years back. Still, the informant explained that this is currently not implemented in their work in Colombia. One reason for this is that there were disagreements within the organisation on how it was to be implemented. It is, however, difficult to further understand *why* it has not been done, when they have identified the issue as an important component in work to reduce violence. One explanation could be what other informants have highlighted: that it is perhaps too hard.

6.2.3 Is it Too Hard to Include Men and Masculinities?

It is evident that the organisations perceive men's violence towards women on all levels as the biggest obstacle to achieve a culture of peace. When discussing with organisations on their work to eliminate violence, they often mentioned the target of "root causes". They perceived root causes to men's violence against women as emerging from gender inequality. As previously discussed, it is not approached as a question about men and masculinities, but rather as a question about women and their empowerment. Evidently, the combination of the two approaches is absent. When we asked why it is perceived as being a 'women's issue', informant W6 expressed it like this:

> "It is so challenging to change masculinities and the way masculinities are built that they prefer to not touch upon it, because it is so complicated. That could be another reason. And then of course as the situation with women and violence is so bad, the other reason is, I think, that you have to attend what seem to be more severe […] than the other part. And actually I would say there we could have a problem because we are viewing men as perpetrators and victimizers, and we are not doing enough analysis about why, where they come from, why they are doing it, how this masculinity is built in Colombia, and the different format, so if we continue to work here with women, which is very important, we won't solve the situation. Never. [...] If you make an analysis of the patriarchal culture in Colombia, throughout the history, we have gained a lot, women's rights and so on, but the structure of masculinity has not changed. I think that is the problem" (W6 2015).

According to informant W6, women have advanced, but men's role and masculinity norms have remained static. It is too challenging perhaps, the informant concluded. Informant W1 explained that they try to broaden their scope of work:

> "Now we are trying to broaden this scope. It is not just women, it is women and men and the differential impacts, but this is very hard. When you try to address that on an agreement, it becomes something that is very hard to handle because it is something that is very big, and we are not trained to do that. Or we just don't know how to do it properly" (W1 2015).

However, 'to broaden the scope' points toward a more holistic gender analysis of where they should discuss how violence have different impacts on men and women, such as being victims of sexual violence, but nothing is mentioned about solutions targeting both men and women. When raising this issue, the magnitude of the problem is yet again being brought up as the explanation. Working with women as means to achieve gender equality is perhaps a result of how gender inequality traditionally have been seen as a women's issue. As elsewhere, programmes and policies have been targeting women and very limited initiatives have been encouraging men to work on the relationship between masculinity norms and violence (Chant 2006: 6-10; Connell 2005: 1805). While awareness has grown on the side of women, initiatives have not simultaneously focused on men and masculinities.

Whenever informants raise concerns beyond women this often include children, elderly, LGBTI persons and different ethnicities within these groups. As highlighted by Theidon (2009: 4), men are treated as the default human, only included if they are to be found within another category than men, such as children (boys) or LGBTI (for instance as homosexuals), reminding of the very recent entrance of men and masculinities as of interest for scholars, practitioners and activists. However, it also suggest how organisations, although not intentionally, reproduce norms of men being the non-gendered in relations between women and men. As described by Hearn, men's practices are not seen as having anything to do with "*making gender relations and gender divisions more or less equal or unequal*" (2011: 159). Informant W1 shed light on this *problematique* of where men are seen as 'neutral', and from there try to increase men's understanding on how everyone relate to gender norms. Informant W1 expressed it like this: "*It is also difficult because it is hard to broaden the scope of gender when it is culturally hard to make men understand that they are also gendered individuals*" (W1 2015). Having, or perceiving this, as point of departure for their work, may hinder organisations to challenge cultural stereotypes of men *with* men.

6.2.4 Do Men Have to be Included Everywhere?

While all organisations highlighted that men are needed as agents to challenge gender norms, they also underscored the need of *having autonomous spaces,* to fulfil women's rights. The majority of the national women's rights organisations support, or work, with 'women-only'-strategies. This is not because they explicitly want to

exclude men, or because men's problems are seen as less important, but rather this is part of a political strategy. In this regard, several informants made the distinction between working with gender and working with feminism as a political position. While they perceived 'working with gender' as working with the relationship between men and women, their feminist position was explained as putting women's needs first. Provide the possibility for women to freely express their thoughts, in a space not shaped by gender power relations, was expressed by the informants as aiding empowerment of women. An autonomous space is said to enable women to speak about issues that relate to their experiences of violence, without having to relate to men. This was for instance exemplified by informant W5:

> "Sometimes you just have to take those women out of their house, where their husband and three children, men, or sons, and talk to her, empower her, so that then she has something to say when she gets back" (W5 2015).

The organisations working for women's rights argued that individual and collective empowerment is important to increase women's agency and to further enable women's engagement in spheres dominated by men. According to our informants, men and masculinities already dominate many spheres and positions of political and economic power. This was for instance, mentioned to be apparent in regards to the official peace process, which was claimed by informant W11 to be greatly dominated by men. They perceived increased influence by women in these spheres to challenge norms that allow for marginalisation and structural violence of women. Cockburn (2007: 216) concludes in her thesis on why women organise in 'women's only'- groups, that the reasoning behind this was that the women expressed a need of developing their own ideas, as well as 'having autonomy' from men and their leadership. This resembles also what have been expressed by the national women's rights organisations in this study. Though the majority of informants underlined the need for women to have autonomous spaces, they also emphasised that men need to have their own space, to reflect about gender norms and their relation to violence. This echoes that women and men relate, and are affected by violence differently and therefore might have different needs (Myrttinen et al. 2014: 7).

6.3 Challenges and Potentials of Working with Men and Masculinities

In the following section we argue that while there are great potentials in working with men and masculinities it does not pass without certain challenges.

6.3.1 Doing Gender From a Donor Perspective

The international organisations ask from their partners to have a gender approach or carry out a gender analysis, with the overall goal of strengthening women, in line with their own policies. Informant W6 explained how many of their partner organisations are "gender blind", meaning that these organisations do not have sufficient knowledge or awareness of how gender is produced and reproduced and in extension how gender roles and subsequent inequality is related to different types of violence. Incorporating 'gender' is conditional for both W6's and W4's partners, and therefore they ask them to reflect on and clearly show how they will work with gender throughout their projects. Consequently, the partner organisations have to conform to the gender approach promoted by the donor.

UN WOMEN is an international champion of gender equality that provides technical support in this area to their member states. It is thus evident that their worldviews are influencing and will continue to influence their partners' perceptions of how gender equality should be achieved. Attention on work with men and masculinities to reduce violence has emerged among the international organisations, though to a limited extent. Although all international organisations highlight that working with men and masculinities is important, none of them are currently involved in such initiatives or partner with organisations working with men and masculinities. Nevertheless, these organisations have power over which organisations that is eligible to receive their support. As such, they can be important actors in influencing how to achieve gender equality and in extension, the role which men and masculinities can and will play within the civil society in Colombia. Although changes in approaches of how to achieve gender equality by no means are determined only by a few international organisations, previous emphasis on certain approaches, such as during the 'waves' of

WID, WAD and GAD have had great influence on organisations formulations of programs and policies (Chant & Gutmann 2000: 6).

6.3.2 Is Including Men Really Enough?

While increased focus on men and masculinities would indicate a broader scope of how to work with gender equality, solely 'adding men' in policy and action maintain the binary system of gender and leaves little room to discuss the diversity within the groups of women and men. Informant M3 explained that even if organisations work with masculinity norms it does not necessarily translate into increased tolerance and respect toward LGBTI persons in practice. The informant illustrated it like this: *"[…] some defend women's right but when they see us they say 'go away marica[20]!'"* This shows the importance of approaching gender beyond the relationship between 'women and men'. As Connell (2009: 10) underlines, our perception of gender is dichotomous, the reality does not function as such. For instance different factors intersect and affect people's roles (Cahn & Ni Aolain 2010: 104; Harders 2011: 138-139). While it seems reasonable to question the consequences of approaching gender as a binary system, informant W8 express worries that the increased focus on working with gender relations might reduce the focus on securing women's rights, which is still a great issue in Colombia.

6.3.3 Individual versus Structural Solutions

Among many organisations, there is an emphasis on individual change: both on the side of women, who should be empowered, and even more on the side of men. As outlined, violence is an intricate web of structural, cultural and direct violence (Galtung 1990), affecting women disproportionately. By focusing on the individual's possibility to change, in a system of economic, political and social inequality, power is seen as something that can easily be acquired or given. Focusing on the attitudes and the minds of men as the problem to solve, may in turn fail to recognise gendered power, as questioning gender roles does not necessarily translate into also questioning external power structures (Christensen & Jensen 2014: 70-71).

Initiatives to work against the collective subordination of women on a structural level are yet very limited among organisations working with men and masculinities. This seems to follow an overall tendency among organisations working with men and

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[20] The English translation would be sissy. In this case used to humiliate.

masculinities in other countries, where few speak up to change male privilege in the public sphere (Cornwall et al. 2011: 1). In this study, the organisations working with men and masculinities have adopted approaches, which lean more towards changes of internal hegemonic masculinity while engaging men to challenge external hegemonic masculinity remains a vision. Viveros (2011: 138) has found similar results relating to public policy on health and fatherhood. When investigating initiatives with men she noticed a pattern where men were targeted on the basis of male gender characteristics, rather than attempting to overcome inequalities originating from men's domination.

According to our informants from organisations working with men and masculinities, changing hegemonic masculinities is promoted as benefitting men, as it allow for diverse behaviours. While there is an overall emphasis on how men can benefit from gender equality, it will perhaps be less logical to engage men in activities where men (as a group) will lose power over resources to women (as a group). According to Pease (2008: 11), it is common to approach men with potential benefits to motivate men's engagement for gender equality. However, Pease argues that it is not obvious that structural changes entail benefits for men, as cultural traditions allowing for men's privilege would change. In this regard, the challenge remains to involve men where they might not directly benefit by the change.

6.3.4 Adopting Accountability for Cooperation and Partnership
Applying a gender lens on violence implies looking at the full array of how gender is produced, reproduced and how it penetrates the whole spectrum of society, from the public to the private sphere (Caprioli 2005: 165). This study suggest that there is potential in combining knowledge from organisations working with masculinities and organisations focusing on work with women's rights, as system of legitimising violence needs to be addressed from all different angles. As highlighted by informants from the national women's rights organisations, empowerment of women sometimes causes women to be further violated, as changes in gender norms causes friction when someone does not conform with expectations of how to behave (read more on this in UN 2008: 8). In fact, changes in legal norms may not automatically translate into being practised on a community level (Cahn & Ni Aolain 2010: 108; Hearn 2011: 158). This suggests that working with men and masculinities on changing attitudes,

perceptions and behaviours is needed in addition to structural changes and focus on women.

This thesis departed from the fact that men and masculinities inclusion to achieve gender equality is widely debated and stressed as an important part to build peace, but lack empirical evidence on what men and masculinities role and potential are, in Colombia. Although we have shown that the organisations have different entry-points, strategies and purpose for their work they do also share certain ideas and goals. They all wish to eliminate different types of violence, create a gender equal society and in extension, build a culture of peace. When including men in efforts to achieve gender equality, several scholars and activists claim that it needs to be framed within a feminist agenda and aim towards feminist goals and that men's work needs to be accountable to the women's rights movement (see for instance Flood 2007; Pease 2008; Berkowitz 2004; Men Engage 2014). In this study, most organisations working with men and masculinities did not explicitly express that their work relate to feminism and it is apparent that the words feminism or feminists are provoking terms among several informants. This does, however, not necessarily mean that their work does not support a feminist agenda. For organisations working with men and masculinities, to acknowledge leadership and adopt accountability could serve as a potential to mitigate worries among the national women's rights organisations. Organisations working with masculinities are yet very limited both in numbers as well as in size in comparison to organisations working with women's rights, but along with increased focus on men and masculinities this may correspondingly become more important. According to Berkowitz (2004: 4) it is important that men's work on violence does not oppose or diminish the efforts of the women's rights organisations, such as having their agenda diluted and competing over resources, before gains for women have been consolidated; worries that were expressed by the informants from the national organisations working for women's rights. This approach would also allow for the request of *not* always including men and masculinities in all parts of work, as highlighted by organisations working with women's rights an important strategy, which remain relevant.

7. Conclusions

In this thesis we have sought to expand the understanding of the role of men and masculinities in changing norms on violence and building a culture of peace in Colombia. This has been done by combining three dimensions of violence (i.e. direct, structural and cultural violence) with theories on gender and masculinity. This section will discuss how the chosen approach has enabled insight on the role of men and masculinities in initiatives to eliminate violence, as well as the limitations of the chosen framework. Lastly, we will summarize our main findings and provide suggestions for future research.

7.1 Reflections on the Theoretical Framework

As highlighted by Moser (2001: 36), conventional understandings of violence and peace are limited to certain spheres and mainly consider direct, visible, violence. With that understanding of violence, the role of men and masculinities would mainly have been a concern linked to conflict zones and demobilisation and disarmament programs in Colombia. By broadening the concept of violence, our theoretical framework has enabled us to situate the role of men and masculinities in regards to violence that are more subtle and embedded in society shaping all relations.

However, the chosen theoretical framework also poses relevant questions of operationalization. On the surface, it might seem easy to distinguish the different types of violence, yet they are intertwined and function in relation to each other resulting in a vicious circle of where gender is integrated in all dimensions. Galtung's theory on violence entail everything from peace of state to peace of mind and consequently, with this understanding of violence, it is not easy to unfold specific ways forward when the three dimensions of violence are inseparable.

In regards to the organisations working in the field, it could potentially inhibit subversive actions for change when a straightforward path towards a culture of peace remains unclear, or too broad to handle. Nevertheless, achieving a culture of peace remains a goal in Colombia. From a gender perspective, our approach has been important as it allows to highlight inequalities and visualise violence that otherwise

would not have been considered. We have in turn gained more profound understanding of different initiatives to challenge norms of violence and build a culture of peace. Notably, the theoretical framework has aided us in situating the role of men and masculinities in initiatives to eliminate violence in the context of Colombia.

7.2 Concluding Remarks

In this section our main findings will be presented to answer our research questions; 1) Why and how do organisations work to change masculinities in initiatives to eliminate violence, 2) how do organisations working with women's rights approach men and masculinities? And 3) what the challenges and potentials of working with men and masculinities in initiatives to eliminate violence? Finally, suggestions for future research are provided.

This study shows that work with men and masculinities is mainly found in relation to challenging individual behaviour, attitudes and perceptions, which have been identified by the informants to spur direct violence. As outlined in the theory, and confirmed by our informants, male characteristics and cultural patterns of hegemonic masculinities are closely related to violence, toughness and the use of force in the Colombian context. The initiatives that actively work with changing gender stereotypes therefore challenge the link between violence and masculinities.

Further, the informants from organisations working with masculinities approach men as victims of violence and oppression based on the same structures that lay the foundation of women's subordination. In essence, theories of hegemonic masculinity help to identify the hierarchy among men and vulnerability among those men that do not wish to live up to the hegemonic masculinities. By promoting *new* masculinities that are being supportive to gender equality they challenge the internal hegemony. In addition, the organisations working with men and masculinities highlight that gender is constructed in relations and interactions, thus initiatives cannot target solely one group. While they emphasise gender relations their work is based on individual changes and do not directly challenge structural violence that allows for gender inequalities to be maintained.

By targeting structures through collective and individual empowerment the organisations working with women's rights believe that norms upholding men's domination and violence can be eliminated. From this approach men and masculinities are being targeted, even though not directly. Further, creating autonomous spaces and empowering women is considered to change perceptions and stereotypes of women that inhibit their agency and access to power. Men and masculinities are in this case situated in the periphery and, at most, considered as possible allies to their work.

Despite the notion of gender being relational, gender divisions enables organisations working with women right's to enforce structural and individual changes. Maintaining perceptions of women as victims, or as a homogenous group, is not preferred but evidently necessary for some organisations to create and sustain momentum around issues that are considered as urgent. Gathering in groups with those who experience and identify similar experiences of violence does, according to these organisations, spur change.

However, one challenge will be to balance increased focus on men and masculinities, and the need to maintain autonomous spaces for women as highlighted by organisations working for women's rights. Staying within the realm of femininity and masculinity does not challenge binary perceptions of gender, and fails to unfold inequalities beyond those of men and women. We suggest that there are great potentials of combining experiences from the organisations different approaches to eliminate violence and build a culture of peace.

This thesis has aimed to shed light on the role of men and masculinities in building a culture of peace in Colombia. Outside the scope of this thesis is however to investigate *actual* changes that the initiatives on men and masculinities could have in regards to violence. Therefore we suggest future research to engage in questions relating to the impacts from working with men and masculinities in such initiatives.

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9. Appendices

9.1 Appendix A, Example of Interview Guide

Kindly note that the nature of the interviews allowed the informant to decide the direction of the interview and questions were adjusted depending on how much previous knowledge we had about the organisation. Further, the informants explored some questions without us interrupting the conversation. The interview guide should therefore be seen as examples of questions and indicative of the topics covered.

- Introduction of ourselves, the study and the purpose of the interview
- Information about the interview and discussion around confidentiality
- Request to record the interview

- Could you tell us a little bit about the background of the organisations and your work?
- Do you collaborate with other organisations/networks? Who are they?
- What problems do your organisation aim to solve?
- Do you see your organisation being a part of a movement? Which one(s)?
- What are the core components of your programs relating to gender/gender equality?
- What is the greatest problem/obstacle towards achieving gender equality/ culture of peace?
- Are there groups that are more critical than others to work with?
- Who are your members?
- What do you perceive to be the members motivation to participate your different programs/projects/groups?
- Do you work with both men and women? How/when/why/why not?
- What is the reason for your chosen method?
- How do you know when/if you achieve change?
- Do you perceive your organisation to work on a structural or individual level?
- Do you perceive men and women as having different roles and/or responsibilities when working towards a culture of peace?

- Is there anything you would like to add?
- Do you have any questions in regards to the interview, the study or us?
- Making sure the informant know how to reach us, should any questions arise or the informant wants to add something later on

9.2 Appendix B, Presentations of Organisations

All presentations are based on the organization's own websites, Facebook pages or their own presentations during the interviews.

Alianza Iniciativa de Mujeres Colombianas por la Paz - IMP
Alianza Iniciativa de Mujeres Colombianas por la Paz - IMP is an alliance of women's and mixed organizations working on national, regional and local level. Their network consists of 246 organisations covering 54 municipalities in Colombia. They work to defend human rights, with a gender perspective and focus on women, through development and promotion of political and civic participation of women, construction of peace and transitional justice.
Read more on http://alianzaimp.org (website currently under construction)

Sisma Mujer
Sisma Mujer, founded in 1998, work with strengthening the women's movement, targeting women who are victims of violence and discrimination, both in the public and private sphere, as well as in conflict areas. Their main areas of work are violence against women, access to justice, political representation as well as highlighting how women are disproportionately affected by conflict. Their vision is to make Colombian women able to fully enjoy their citizenship, and ensure that the state guarantees and respects women's human and societal rights.
Read more on www.sismamujer.org

Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres
Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres consist of over 300 organisations and women's groups in nine regions in Colombia. They were born out of mass mobilisation for women's rights in 1996. Ruta Pacifica declares themselves being a feminist organisation, working for a negotiated solution of the armed conflict in Colombia, by raising awareness on the affects on women. Fundamental principles are pacifism, anti-militarism and a construction of a society free from violence with justice, peace, equality, autonomy, freedom and recognition of diversity.
Read more on http://www.rutapacifica.org.co/

FUNDAC
FUNDAC started their work with providing childcare for women in the 70's, for women to have possibility to receive education. In 1981 they started as a community foundation in Bogotá and today, FUNDAC support women's empowerment in their everyday work as a strategy of giving possibilities for women to access public spaces on more equal terms with men who, according to them, more easily can access these places.
FUNDAC does not have a website or Facebook page.

Red Nacional de Mujeres
Red Nacional is a network, covering 4 regions, consisting of women's organisations as well as independent women who work for the full realisation of women's human rights, with a feminist approach. Red Nacional is founded in 1991 and their mission is to work towards realising full implementation of laws and policies. Additionally, they promote education as well as supporting local women's organisations to achieve a fair and equal society for women. Their goal is to change cultural and social practises, which they claim generate inequality and discrimination of women.

Casa de Igualdad de Oportunidades para las Mujeres
Casa de Igualdad is a governmental entity located in Bogotá, with the mission to prevent violence against women. They provide a space for women and provide different type of support with the aim to strengthen women's capacity. For example they offer legal advice with a gender perspective, education/courses, social workshops, support to women who want to organise themselves, and much more.
Casa de Igualdad de oportunidades para las Mujeres does not have a website or Facebook page.

Consejería Presidencial para la Equidad de la Mujer
It is the office, within the national government, in charge of Equity for Women. Its main purpose is to coordinate implementation of policies for women and to serve as technical adviser on women's rights, gender mainstreaming and violence against women.

Informant with governmental experience
The informant has experiences from gender and peace within a government entity
Due to the informant's wish to stay anonymous no closer description of the organisation is provided.

Diakonia
Diakonia is a Swedish aid agency working in 30 countries around the world, supporting about 400 local organisations. Diakonia's thematic areas are human rights, democracy, gender equality, social and economic rights, and conflict and justice. In Colombia, Diakonia have identified human rights defenders, victims of the armed conflict, ethnical groups and women as the most vulnerable in society, and give certain attention to violence against women. Diakonia therefore support organisations that focus their work on democracy and women's, LGBT persons and indigenous populations rights. Through networks, Diakonia aims to influence public policy on the national level.

Forum Syd
Forum Syd is a Swedish NGO founded in 1995 with offices in six different countries, working with local civil society partners. Forum Syd works within three areas: democracy and human rights, gender and equality and sustainable use of natural resources. Forum Syd started to work in Colombia in 2001 with programs supporting UN Volunteers.

UN WOMEN
UN WOMEN is the UN organisation dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of women. As a global champion for women and girls, UN WOMEN was established in 2010 to accelerate progress on elimination of discrimination against women and girls, empowerment of women and achievement of equality between women and men as partners and beneficiaries of development, human rights, humanitarian action and peace and security. In 2014, UN WOMEN launched their campaign HeForShe, an initiative to increase awareness and commitment from men to achieve gender equality.

El Colectivo Hombres y Masculinidades
El Colectivo was founded in 1996. Their mission is to advance research, training and advocacy on various aspects of gender and particular with a focus on the construction of "new masculinities". El Colectivo are working in Bogotá and other cities with a relational perspective of gender, as means to work with the before-mentioned themes. El Colectivo seeks to contribute to rethink gender patterns, in particular on masculinity norms, to address aggressions and abuse, gender based violence, sexism, homophobia and violation of the rights of women. They are part of the Colombian network of masculinities for gender equality (Red Colombiana de Masculinidades por Equidad de Género)

Casita Bíblicas
Casitas Bíblicas is a church located in the urban outskirts of Bogotá. They are part of the Colombian network of masculinities for gender equality (Red Colombiana de Masculinidades por Equidad de Género) and are currently the focal point for the Colombian participation in the international MenEngage. Within the church they have a group working with men and masculinities, and another with women and empowerment. As part of the network, they work with activism for and promotion of gender equality.
Casita Biblicas does not have a website or facebook page.

Fundación Social Colombiana CedaVida
CedaVida is a NGO who for the last 25 years have been promoting development and the full enjoyments of human rights in Colombia. They are working with women, men, youth and children who have suffered from social or political violence or violence within families. CedaVida works with research and advocates for public policy, care and training of victims, perpetrators, officials, community members, etc. CedaVida engages both women and men in gender equality issues, actions to eliminate violence against women and with "new masculinities". They are part of the Colombian network Masculinities Without Hegemony (La Red Masculinidades No Hegemónica)

Corporación Ágoras
Corporación Agoras is a non-profit organisation working with education and research on human rights with a gender perspective. The organisations started working with men and masculinity norms as they noticed that there was a lack of gender awareness within the juridical system. They are working with law school students to educate on gender, violence and masculinity norms and will in the close future start developing a rehabilitation centre for men who have been convicted of domestic violence, with focus on consultations and support.
Corporación Ágora does not have a website. To learn more about them, visit their facebook page by searching for "Corporación Ágoras".

Fundación Procear
Procrear is an organisation born out of a medical clinic in 1998. They work in neighbourhoods characterized by high rates of violence, drugs and illegal activities. Their work started with offering sexual and reproductive rights and youth but are

currently working with a community based approach aiming at strengthening local communities, prevent and reduce vulnerability and suffering, and to improve the quality of life in high-risk communities. They are part of the Colombian network Masculinities Without Hegemony (La Red Masculinidades No Hegemónica).
Read more on www.procrearfundacion.org

Colectivo Sin Fronteras Tras Fronteras
Colectivo Sin Fronteras is a youth initiative born out of the need to lower rates of teen pregnancies, reduce violence between different groups and lower the acceptance of sexism with the overall intention to transform relations based on violence and to create healthier coexistence among all. Colectivo Sin Fronteras Tras Fronteras is working with both young men and women, with a methodology based on the body including activities such as dance, theatre, massage, and activism. They are located in Bogotá and cooperate with different schools.
Colectivo Sin Fronteras does not have a website. To learn more about them, search for 'Colectivo Sin Fronteras' on Facebook.

Colectivo Entre - Tránsitos
Colectivo Entre - Tránsitos vision is to better the lives of transmen in both the public and private sphere by trying to position them in the debate on national and regional level, to defend their human rights. Their mission is to change perceptions of what it means to be a man, both in social, cultural and political domains.
Read more on www.entretransitos.org

Javier Pineda (Key Informant)
Javier Pineda is an associate professor at Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá. He is specialised in labour, gender and development and local and regional economical development.
Read more on http://jpineda.uniandes.edu.co

9.3 Appendix C, Record of Informants

RECORD OF INFORMANTS			
Date(s)	**Organisations Working with Masculinities**	**Language**	**Gender**
141216	M1	Spanish	Male (1)
141219	M2	Spanish	Female (1) Male (2)
150106	M3	English	Male (1)
150109	M4	Spanish	Female (1) Male (1)
150113	M5	Spanish	Female (1) Male (1)
150114	M6	Spanish	Male (1)
150120	M7	Spanish	Female (2)
	Organisations Working with Women's Rights		
150106	W1	English	Female (1)
150113	W2	Spanish	Female (1)
150114	W3	Spanish	Female (2)
150115	W4	Spanish	Female (1)
150115	W5	English	Female (1)
150116	W6	English	Female (1)
150116	W7	Spanish	Female (1)
150120	W8	Spanish	Female (1)
150120	W9	English	Female (1) Male (1)
150213	W10*	Spanish	Female (1)
150203	W11*	Spanish	Female (1)
	Key Informant		
150115	Javier Pineda, Universidad de los Andes	Spanish	Male (1)
All interviews were held on locations chosen by the informant. ** Interviews were held on Skype* **Table summary** Number of interviews: 19 Number of interviews in Spanish: 14 Number of interviews in English: 5 Number of informants: 26			

Number of female informants: 15
Number of male informants: 11