Overview
- Research on men's non-violent trajectories amidst contexts of high levels of urban violence.
- Part of the Safe and Inclusive Cities Program of the International Development Research Center (IDRC).
- Goals:
  - Adapt IMAGES to new urban violence/conflict-affected settings;
  - Strengthen research design based in the global south;
  - Collaboration with local and global partners; use findings to inform gender transformative initiatives from favelas and the changing political landscape that promotes non-violent masculinities.

Research Questions
1. In what ways do a) experiences during childhood and adolescence and other socialization experiences, b) attitudes and behaviors related to gender, c) the levels and types of exposure to violence – influence the construction of maleness as a social category?
2. Which factors facilitate trajectory less toward non-violence as a result of exposure to and incentives to participate in violence?
3. What is the relationship between the forms of violence that men use (or reject) in the street (public spaces, male-on-male violence), and forms of (non-)violence involving in private spaces and family members (often in private spaces, male-on-female violence)?

Men: overwhelmingly the victims and perpetrators of armed violence in cities, yet much less attention is paid to looking at the factors that lead men to pursue non-violent trajectories.

Methodology
- Adaptation of IMAGES in a context of urban violence: Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- Parallel study in a post-conflict setting (Maputo, Mozambique), carried out by CENTRO de Estudos Sociais (CES), Portugal.
- IRB approval by the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.
- IMAGES household/qualitative survey - in progress.
- Qualitative (methodology) (featured):
  - Literature review
  - Interviews with key informants (15)
  - In-depth interviews/life histories (45) – see below;
  - Fieldwork completed by the end of Dec. 2014.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Qualitative Interviews</th>
<th>Rio de Janeiro</th>
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<td>Key informant interviews</td>
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<td>In-depth Life History interviews</td>
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Men
- Men formerly involved in drug trafficking gangs
  - 13
- Activists and community leaders who are from and/or work in promoting peaceful/ non-violent alternatives in communities of high urban violence (at least two fall into the former trafficker category)
  - 7
- Men who participated in a group education intervention for men who have used violence against an intimate partner
  - 4
- Male police officers (both each of high and lower ranks, who promote non-violent techniques such as mediation and conflict resolution over excessive use of force)
  - 6

Women
- Women who are in or were previously in an intimate relationship with a man involved in drug trafficking who has since left the faction in which he was involved
  - 4
- Women formerly involved in drug trafficking gangs
  - 4
- Female police officers
  - 2
- Women married to police officers
  - 2
- Family members (of police officers (son and daughter), and former traffickers (mother))
  - 3

Preliminary Findings
Common themes across groups:
- Trajectories: non-linear, multiple ‘entering and leaving’; dynamic
- Men may lessen or abandon their use of violence in one form, but not in another, i.e., a former trafficker who has given up his arm used on the street
- Respondents: re-gaining dignity, respect and power after loss of power (for traffickers, shown via arms; women, name brand clothing and shoes) – non-violent trajectories require alternative ways of securing this respect, or fostering men’s valuing of other norms.
- Men as providers for mothers, families
- Inter-generational flows of transfers of violence, i.e., fathers often referred to as using violence (including when they drank too much, or as disciplinary or absent)
- Formal or informal family members live, bear burdens of men’s experiences of urban violence

Factors promoting non-violent trajectories – among all groups
- Replacing intergenerational transfers of violence with caregiving
- Men had a positive father (or otherwise male mentor) figure
- Gave greater priority to an active/caring fatherhood role for their own children (consistent with previous IMAGES data), beginning with spending less time on the street as trafficking required

Non-violent trajectories - Men formerly involved in drug trafficking
- Development of job skills, education, i.e., via an NGO that supported reintegration into citizen life
- Avoidance of spaces and people that could draw them back into trafficking
- Transforming responsibility as tied to use of arms/control in trafficking, to responsibility as a more equitable and active caregivers, partners, community members, workers
- Foster alternative non-violent identities, i.e., in various/ethnic dance (Brazilian street funk mixed with hip-hop, breakdancing), that are attractive to men and women; sports; the church; as legal ‘workers’, as fathers
- Encouragement/pressure from family members to leave due to security risks (traffickers became notably distant during their involvement and wished to reestablish relationships)
- Wanting to avoid risks associated with prison, injuries, death (this constant fear often caused insomnia, anxiety, stress, anger)
- Greater ease to leave for younger/entry level traffickers: important intervention window

Non-violent trajectories - Police who used non- or less violent approaches
- Seeking training in mediation, conflict resolution (not currently provided to all officers in training)
- Influence from a parent(s) or mentor(s) who used dialogue over use of force/violence
- Ability to handle stress, including avoiding bringng stress and violent attitudes/behaviors to the home environment
- Strategies to ‘cool down’, i.e., riding a bike, talking with the doorman and having a coffee before entering the house
- Discouraging ‘macho’ attitudes and displays of arms among new/young officers

Non-violent trajectories - Activists
- Social and political aspirations to change the communities in which they lived
- Overt-looking perspective, mobility in the greater city rather than looking solely to opportunities in a favela, such as trafficking; exposure to alternative non-violent masculinities and broader job and education aspirations, outside peer networks, middle-class institutions
- Rejection of violent norms / forms of masculinities
- Staying neutral, avoiding or mediating conflicts in school and from a young age
- Rejection from groups that used violence (i.e., becoming known by traffickers as men not to recruit into trafficking, i.e., a ‘fearless worker’ or activist)

Program and policy Implications
- Implications for other contexts of urban violence, i.e., Latin America, Africa
- Adapting Promundo programs such as Living Peace, Program H
- Influencing policies that promote prevention of and non-violence – given focus on confrontation and use of military/police force as primary approaches to urban violence
- Opportunity moment to generate dialogue with partners in Rio de Janeiro – many eyes on the city’s security situation, i.e., Pacification Police Units (UPPs), which have had dwindling success; Olympics/major events
- Bridging research, policy and practice
- Paradigm shift: concepts of masculinities and gender as relevant to urban violence (gender seen as relevant to domestic violence)

1. Communities and neighborhoods represented in the greater metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro include Alemao Complex, Andarai, Caju, Cabilo, Cero Cero, Formiga, Madureira, Maté Complex (from different factions/levels within), Morro dos Nativos, Morro do Borel, Morro do Prego, Morro da Queixa, and Vila Velha. They include a mixture of areas, UPP and non-UPP communities, and geographic locations and distance from the center of the city.
The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)

IMAGES is one of the most comprehensive studies ever on men’s practices and attitudes as they relate to gender norms, attitudes toward gender equality policies, household dynamics including caregiving and men’s involvement as fathers, intimate partner violence, health, and economic stress. As of 2014, it had been carried out in more than 10 countries, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Chile, Croatia, Democratic Republic of Congo, India, Malawi, Mali, Mexico, and Rwanda. Between 2009 and 2013, household surveys were administered to more than 16,000 men and 5,000 women, ages 18-59. Promundo and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) created and co-coordinate IMAGES.

IMAGES data provides insights on men’s use of violence against partners, participation in caregiving, and men’s reactions to the global gender equality agenda, among other themes. The IMAGES questionnaire includes items from the World Health Organization multi-country study on violence against women, the Demographic and Health Surveys, the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale – a validated instrument to assess attitudes about gender that has been adapted and validated in household research in more than 20 countries – and other field-tested and validated questions on men’s attitudes and practices related to gender equality. The first IMAGES results were also published with an accompanying qualitative study, *Men Who Care*, about men’s non-traditional roles as caregivers.