Chapter 26
Gender Transformative Change With Men:
Lessons From Two Decades of Field Interventions in India

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ABSTRACT

Traditionally, the approach to address gender equality has been to empower women through education, collective organising, legal remedies, electoral participation, and institutional engagement. Empowerment of women undoubtedly increases women's awareness of their rights and their ability to confront discrimination and violence; however, engagement with men can make this process collaborative and address men's accountability towards advancing gender justice. This chapter describes the Centre for Health and Social Justice's efforts to engage men within a gender-transformative framework, in different domains of gender equality such as advancing sexual and reproductive rights, eliminating gender-based violence, addressing men's responsibility in care work, and supporting women's leadership in governance.

GENDER AND WORK WITH MEN: AN INTRODUCTION

Gender equality is an essential component of social transformation. Over the last 50 years there has been an increasing understanding of gender relations within the broader framework of social relations. Gender is understood as a social concept which includes the different socially prescribed roles and relationships of women and men which lead to a set of disadvantages faced by women compared to men. It evolved from the 'feminist' understanding of how 'patriarchy' or male-ordered society creates systematic hurdles and lack of opportunities for women. The UN system adopted the CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women) in 1979 which recognized that women's rights needed to be understood and addressed specifically to achieve the overarching framework of human rights of 'all'. In development parlance the GAD (Gender and Development) approach emerged as a successor to the earlier WID (Women in Development) and WAD (Women and Development) approaches which saw women's development within a narrower framework of improving women's economic, educational or social 'situation' without questioning the overall framework of subordination that women faced, or their 'status' in society. An important hallmark of the GAD approach has been the acknowledgement that any efforts to improve or change women's status or bringing about gender equality needs to acknowledge and reconfigure the different gendered relationships, which are structurally hierarchical and discriminatory, that any girl or woman has at home, in society and in different institutions (Rathgeber,1990).

Gender transformative change has emerged as the new desirable intervention aimed at gender equality (Rottach, Schuler, &Hardee, 2009). These interventions are expected to enable critical examination of existing gender norms and dynamics within social systems and help foster change among those that are gender inequitable.

A call to involving men as supporters of women's empowerment and fulfillment of women's rights agenda was made by Gertrude Mongellain, 1995 at the Fourth International Conference on Women, better known as the Beijing Conference, calling for new partnerships between men and women into the 21st century. As the Secretary General of the Conference, she put things into perspective during her opening address when she said that it was important to look at women's issues in a holistic manner and just like women had struggled along with men for various struggles like the ones against slavery, colonialism and apartheid, it "was now the turn of men to join women in their struggle for equality"(Mongella, 1996). A similar call for involving men and boys in the domain of reproductive health and rights had been made through the Program of Action (PoA) of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) at Cairo a year ago in 1994. While these conferences created an agenda for change, the experiences of working with men and boys were still few and when men had been involved with issues relating to women's development most of the initiatives were in the framework of men as 'decision-makers' or 'authorizers' since men wielded more power in the family and in society.

At the global level work with men on gender issues has intensified after the Cairo and Beijing conferences and has been seen in different dimensions like community-based programming, research and scholarship, activism and advocacy, and policy level interventions at the national and international levels (Flood, 2015). Some of the areas in which such work has focused on included HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment, Sexual and Reproductive Health and Gender Based violence. Community based programming started by Promundo in Brazil, Engender Health in South Africa, SAHAYOG in India, Family Violence Prevention Fund in USA, and by Save the Children, Sweden in Nepal. An evidence review

of interventions addressing men and masculinities in the field of violence and sexual and reproductive health identified 462 interventions, conducted between 2007 and 2018 which had been reported in peer reviewed literature (Ruan-McAteer et al., 2019). A series of studies called IMAGES (International Men and Gender Equality Survey) are now been conducted in over 40 countries (Promundo, 2019).

At the same time men's groups supporting feminism, also called pro-feminist groups, became articulate and visible in different parts of the world like NOMAS, in USA, White Ribbon Campaign in Canada as well as MAVA in India. Men Engage Global Alliance has emerged as an international network of organizations working with men and boys on gender equality and global symposia were organized by Men Engage in Brazil and New Delhi in 2009 and 2014 respectively. The need for working with men on gender issues is now acknowledged by a number of global institutions including the World Bank, WHO, UNFPA and UN Women.

In India men have been involved in efforts around improving women's social status from over 150 years. The efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, JyotibaPhule and Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi are familiar to most through school textbook lessons. However, men have also been known to 'stall' legal efforts at changing women's status. One example is the opposition in the 1890s to raising 'age at consent' or the age at which sexual intercourse could be considered appropriate in girls, from 10 years to 12 years, in the name of culture. It took nearly 40 years for the Child Marriage Restraint Act or the Sarda Act to be passed in 1929 (Tambe, 2000). This shows that both concern for, as well as entrenched social and cultural resistance to change in women's social status, has been part of modern Indian society.

Four strands of work with men on gender issues can be seen as key influences on the contemporary interest around involvement of men on women's issues in India. These four include the work of MAVA (Men Against Violence and Abuse) which was started in Mumbai in 1993 after a case of rape on a moving local train. Some passengers witnessed the rape but made no attempts to intervene (see: http://www.mavaindia.org/about.html). Another set of interventions was started in 1998 by AAKAR, a Delhi based organization, through the 'Let's Talk Men' series of four films on men, gender and masculinities and a series of seminars in colleges discussing these ideas (see: http://letstalkmen.org/). With the HIV/ AIDS epidemic becoming a cause for concern, there was an emerging interest in sexual attitudes and behaviors of men. A series of studies were initiated in slums of Mumbai in the late 1990s by the Indian Institute of Population Sciences in collaboration with international research organizations, and these led to a set of insights about sexuality among young men (Verma, Sharma, Singh, Rangaiyan, & Pelto, 2003). The fourth strand, with which the authors were directly involved, included community-based interventions with male youth in rural Uttar Pradesh in 1998 which evolved into the state-wide men's network against gender discrimination called MASVAW or Men's Action for Stopping Violence Against Women (Das & Singh, 2014). Much of this work continues today and it is the fourth strand that is being discussed in this paper.

While these interventions have drawn attention to the need for and mechanisms through which men can be involved in supporting actions towards gender equality, there have been some groups that started highlighting how gender equality is biased against men. This started with protests and action against the 'arbitrary' detention of the groom/husband and his family under Section 498A in suspected cases of dowry murder and dowry-demand related harassment lodged by the bride/wife. These groups are collectively known as men's rights organizations (MROs) or men's rights associations (MRAs) and one of the most prominent among them is Save the Indian Family Foundation (Basu, 2016).

This chapter explores the lessons that have been learnt through the examination of the experiences from MASVAW and subsequent interventions in which the authors have been involved. Through this process, the authors intend to review the learnings from their work and articulate the various strands of change that have emerged from it, as well as the evolution of the theory of change that informs their interventions.

Exploring Changes in Gendered Relationships at the Community level: Methodologies of Interventions and Sources of Data

This chapter draws on two decades of interventions of which the authors have been a part,and the lessons derived from them. These efforts have been led by SAHAYOG, a social organization based in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, Centre for Health and Social Justice (CHSJ) in New Delhi and their many partners, colleagues and collaborators in MASVAW and the Forum to Engage Men (FEM)network (See https://www.femindia.net/)in various states of India. This work has developed through two streams of interventions. The first includes a series of carefully crafted and studied interventions at the community level which have been implemented in specific locations in different states. Each of these has investigated changes among men and gendered social relationships within separate domains of social concern. The purpose of these interventions has been to understand the nature and process of change in gendered attitudes and actions among men. A separate stream of interventions has included what can be called 'light touch' interventions with network partners to support them to implement activities with men in a larger geographical area with the objective of trying to understand whether one can build larger social support among men for the idea of gender equality and if it can lead to the development of a social movement. The authors have benefitted from a range of learning and research collaborations which have enabled careful documentation of the changes and build a robust theory of change. Some of the interventions that have been implemented with men in different states in India are described below:

1. MASVAW – this network of individual men and organizations which committed to prevent and intervene in cases of violence against women in the state of Uttar Pradesh (UP) started in 2002 and is still ongoing. A range of lessons have been drawn about the nature and process of change among men through a series of studies based on MASVAW's work (Das et al, 2012;Edström, Shahrokh & Singh, 2015; Fuist, Mogford, & Das, 2018; Mogford, Irby, & Das, 2015).
2. The lessons from the networked approach that have been studied among members of MASVAW in UP have been integrated into similar networking approaches in other states like Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Odisha, West Bengal, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand among others. A national campaign for building men's support for gender equality called EkSaath (See https://www.eksaathcampaign.net) has been ongoing since 2017 and over 10,000 male champions for gender equality are being trained and networked to build a strong social movement.
3. Intensive interventions were implemented with the support of community level partner organizations in the states of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Jharkhand over the years 2000–2019 to understand the nature of change around different gendered social domains like men and women's reproductive health, men and gendered accountability, men and domestic violence, men and child care and so on.

4. To understand whether implementations with adolescents and youth could also lead to changes in gendered social norms, intensive and large-scale interventions in Rajasthan were implemented. Important lessons could be drawn from these, about how one can engage with adolescents and about the possibilities of change among them (Freudberg et al., 2018; Jain et al., 2019).

5. While most of these interventions have been specifically focused on men and boys, an intervention with men and women in four locations in Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal is currently ongoing to understand how these complementary approaches can help to prevent and support women facing domestic violence.

Implementation of interventions has been supported by extensive research and documentation before, during and after the end of bounded "projects" in some cases, and through retrospective studies and evaluations in other cases. Typically, the learning component of the interventions involved development of a program theory and testing it through the duration of the project using both qualitative and quantitative methods. The objective of "learning" was not just to understand what works, why and in which conditions, but also to guide the intervention team in tailoring the inputs and actions based on emergent field realities.

In general, interventions have drawn learnings from the following sources of data:

1. A baseline or formative investigation – comprising of qualitative and quantitative components. The objective of the baseline is to understand social, political and economic realities of the field area as they relate to gender, masculinities and social norms. This helps to inform the intervention design, and content of inputs such as capacity building and campaigns. The quantitative component of the baseline also provides a benchmark for measuring change.

2. A Management Information System (MIS) – that tracks activities of the intervention, the number of men engaged in group discussions, actions taken by individual men as well as collectively, interactions with stakeholders and so on. The MIS is analyzed on a quarterly basis and fed back to the intervention teams during review meetings, to inform any course correction if required.

3. A database of "stories of change" – which may be at the individual, relationship, family/household, or community level. These are documented throughout the intervention by field staff, and they help to understand the domains in which changes are occurring.

4. Mid-line investigations/evaluations – in several projects, mid-course investigations have been deliberately conducted to understand the changes taking place in the project areas, and especially the perspectives of ultimate beneficiaries (women and girls), as well as other stakeholders in the communities. These investigations typically adopt a participatory methodology involving group discussions and interviews with different actors and stakeholders.

5. External evaluations – in some projects, evaluations by third parties have been carried out at the end of the project, mid-way in the project or even some years after the formal intervention has ended.

Table 1 provides a snapshot of the different interventions in different states, their duration, spread and focus, as well as the documentation and outputs that have already been processed. This chapter is a meta-review of these already published reports and papers, which form the evidence base for the findings and conclusions analyzed here.[1]

Table 1. Snapshot of interventions with men and boys by CHSJ

	Name of Intervention	Year	Geographic coverage	Focus of change	Publications/Reports
1	MASVAW	2002 onwards	Uttar Pradesh (20 districts)	Gender Based Violence, Gender Equality, Institutional transformation	Das, A., Mogford, E., Singh, S.K., Barbhuiya, R.A., Chandra, S. & Wahl R. (2012). Das, A. & Singh, S. K. (2014). Edström, J.,Shahrokh, T. & Singh, S.K. (2015). Mogford, L., Irby, C. & Das, A. (2015). Edström, J., Singh, S.K. &Shahrokh, T. (2016). Fuist, T. N., Mogford, E. & Das, A. (2018).
2	Samajdar3odidar: Enhancing Male Participation for Improving Gender Equality in Maharashtra	2010-14	Maharashtra (3 districts, 100 villages)	Gender Equality, Reproductive health, Violence Against Women	Roy, A. and Das, A. (2014). Edström, J., Shahrokh, T., Singh, S.K. &Jamdade, S. (2015). Edström, J., Singh, S.K. &Shahrokh, T. (2016). Gautam, S. (2016). Jain, R. (2017). Sridharan, S. (2017)
3	Sajhedar: Accountability for Change	2011-14	Madhya Pradesh (2 districts, 30 villages)	Maternal and reproductive health, citizenship action for health rights	Contractor, S.; Shakya, S.; Singh, S.K. &Singh, M.K. (2018). Das, A., Pinto, E.P., Contractor, S.Q., Shakya, S.& Singh, M.K. (2016).
4	Enabling Men As Responsible Partners, Caring Fathers	2015-18	Jharkhand (3 districts, 30 villages)	Burden of care work, parenting and fatherhood	Murthy, R. (2019).
5	Yuva Samanta Ke Oor	2013-16	Rajasthan (2 districts, 30 villages)	Adolescent and gender rights, girls education and choice, early marriage and right to education	Freudberg, H., Contractor, S., Das, A., Kemp, C.G., Nevin, P.E. Phadiyal, A., Lal J. & Rao, D. (2018)
6	Kishor Varta	2017 onwards	Rajasthan (2 Districts, 90 villages)	Gender social norms – early marriage.	Jain, R., Shakya, S., Das, A., Singh, S.K., Lal, J.& Contractor, S. (2019).

Can Men Change?

Through the initial work with young men in rural Uttar Pradesh it was learnt that male youth do develop an interest in the disadvantages that women and girls face in society and this did lead to action to promote and sanction measures to prevent discrimination and violence by men against women. However, when starting to work with members of MASVAW an area of concern was whether men would be willing to give up their own privileges to make space and opportunities for women in their own families. Through a series of studies, both qualitative and quantitative cited earlier, the authors came to the following understanding:

There are men in the community who are uncomfortable with the violence and gross discrimination faced by many women and girls. They are open to examining social values which drive such discrimination and violence. There is a process of self-selection of such interested men into interventions related to gender and thus a group of men of similar interest engage with these interventions. These men are open to examining their own beliefs and practices around violence and social hierarchies and changing them. Men's perception of the 'threshold' of what is 'acceptable' within a relationship changes through their participation in group awareness raising activities. Through a process of collective analysis of their own

relationships within intimate relationships in the family viz. mother, spouse, sister, daughter, these men provide each other support to develop and practice a new set of values (Murthy, 2019).

Men are open to taking greater responsibility in various domestic chores including cooking, washing clothes, fetching water - actions they were not comfortable doing in public earlier. Supporting in childcare related activities like feeding children, changing nappies, preparing them for school, playing with children are activities men engage in relatively easily. Men also participate in maternal health related support like pregnancy and post-partum care and assuming greater contraceptive responsibilities (Contractor, Shakya, Singh, & Singh, 2018).

In addition to such practical help men also support women in the family for their empowerment viz. support greater educational attainments, income opportunities, political participation and also acknowledge their share in property. Greater respect for spouse leads to more time spent together, greater empathy, shared aspirations, shared decision making about sexuality and contraceptive use. Women have confirmed that when their partners became involved in these men's groups there was more romance and greater intimacy in the relationships (Gautam, 2016).

Many of the men who were involved in such activities started assuming formal and informal leadership roles in the community and also started becoming role-models for other young men, especially those who had new marriages or young children (Roy & Das, 2014).

Through their interventions in community institutions these men were able to influence the social actions which were being endorsed by these institutions. In some places these influences led to changes in gendered practices in the temple leading to increased women's participation in temple activities (Pai, 2016). In other places this has led to increased participation of women in panchayats (Edström, Shahrokh, Singh, & Jamdade, 2015) as well as joint registration of property. Village level institutions wereactivated in favour of gender rights. In Maharashtra when the work with men started, almost none of the institutional structures meant to empower women were functional in the program areas. Women members of Akkalkot block's gramapanchayats (village council for local self governance) committee, for instance, never attended the monthly meetings. The Mahila Grama Sabhas (village-level women's platform) had not even been constituted. After a men's group member was elected Sarpanch (village head) he insisted that panchayat meetings would not start till the women members joined; in addition, the Mahila Grama Sabha was constituted and its meetings held regularly. Studies show that there is an environmental effect and men who live in the same villages but who may not have any direct exposure to the activities of the intervention also show changed awareness on gender (Das, Mogford, Singh, Barbhuiya, Chandra, & Wahl, 2012).

While the influence of the individual role model is significant, one important lesson was that peer support was very important for these men to collectively examine their values and share their confusions as they experimented with change. Forming the groups was not easy however. Men engaged in interventions in Maharashtra reveal how difficult it was to overcome indifference to a program that did not promise any direct benefits, "we were not building toilets or developing skills for better livelihoods or giving jobs or saying leadership would be built. In fact, it was a situation of comfort for men and this situation was being disturbed" (Jain, 2017).

The men's groups also provided the men with a platform to engage with different community level institutions both informal and formal. Men's groups who have a new understanding of gender relations can have considerable influence on the functioning of various public systems like the health system, the anganwadi system, schools as well as the panchayat. The influence on the health system includes increased support to the ASHA (Accredited Social Health Activist or Community Health Worker) leading

to better reproductive and child health services. In one block the men's groups came together to successfully petition and advocate for the change in the physical location and set of services being provided through the local primary health centre or PHC. This required coordinated action of different government departments related with allocation of resources for land and building, public works department for sanctioning and building the access road, the electricity department for sanctioning and installing the transformer and the health department to post additional staff. The entire effort was coordinated to improve reproductive and child health (RCH) services available through the National Rural Health Mission(Das, Pinto, Contractor, Shakya& Singh, 2016).

The authors have also tried to understand factors which promote or create barriers to such changes among men. It was found that if any community derives a strong sense of collective identity from one source of social power which is endorsed through patriarchy then it is difficult to have conversations around intersectional identities (Edström, Singh & Shahrokh, 2016). Some divisions or layering among the men within any community on the bases of caste or religion or due to allegiance to local saints and social reformers (heterodoxies) allow men the opportunity to reflect on social inequalities and injustice.

Benefits, Costs and Processes of Change

One of the earliest questions the authors were faced with in their work was related to the reasons and motivations for men to change. Within a 'transactional' model of power it is understood to be exercised to derive benefits for the powerful groups with an underlying threat of coercion or violence. Since patriarchy power provides men with a host of privileges, one needed to understand why men were willing to reflect and re-examine the social arrangements which provided them with these benefits. One of the consistent answers that was received from men across different locations in India relates to the deeper 'connect' or a more satisfying relationship and a 'feeling' of reciprocity, both within relationships with women and girls at home and with peers in the community. The benefits of this relationship are mostly within the personal space where the change in power balance does not immediately threaten the 'man'. This space is also endorsed within patriarchy as 'paternalism', it's the benevolent face of the good father who wields power not only in the best interest and to do good, but does so in a caring way. Thus, the initial changes in behavior are also perceived by the women concerned within a framework of benevolence but implied authority and not challenged.

The improved relationship with male peers leads to a less competitive or combative relationship between the men in a group. This group becomes a collective laboratory for learning about alternative social values, challenging their own notions and confusions as they try new behaviors and face fresh challenges. The collective starts gaining recognition as it supports others, both women and men, in different social challenges that they face. Each woman who faces domestic violence has a father, brother or husband who is pained at her experience, but seldom has a space to share or even grieve. The men who have undergone some form of collective analysis and reconfiguration of their beliefs and practices become a source of support and this creates a new non-competitive model of leadership among men.

Improved relationships at home and less combative relationships in the community have reduced stress among men. Some men have acknowledged that they have given up consuming alcohol. Others have shared that they had contemplated suicide but had abandoned the idea. Women have said that their husbands are now more caring and less violent.

However, such change is not without costs. The area where the greatest tension has been noted is the relationship of the men with their fathers and in some cases their mothers as well. Parents are unable

to reconcile with the improved relationship between their son and daughter-in-law within the socially acceptable framework of intimacy and concern allowed to a married couple. Indian society traditionally compartmentalizes men and women into different social compartments from puberty onwards and this increased intimacy even between brother and sister or husband and wife can be considered too forward.

Men also face a lot of public 'push back' in the form of jibes for being 'unmanly' from other men as they adopt new more 'feminine' roles at home. The local terms for being 'unmanly' are the same as being 'impotent' or feminine and are often emasculating. However as mentioned earlier once this 'stage' is overcome there is grudging admiration which can also grow over a period.

The other lesson that was learnt about such change is that it doesn't proceed smoothly over time. There can be an initial phase of acceptance of the new ideas, but this can also be followed by periods of resistance and roll-back. Communities are now familiar with NGO interventions and there is a phenomenon akin to 'elite capture' which has been described in economic development projects. It is necessary to screen or deliberately select the men who are engaged in the collective awareness raising interventions so that those with a genuine interest become involved rather than those who are seeking some practical benefits. It is seen that there can be a 'tipping point', as described in management literature, when changes start accelerating in different directions.

Understanding Men and Masculinities

The authors had started interventions with men with the primary interest in improving the status of women, but it was soon realized that men's lives are a maze of relationships predicated upon multiple and simultaneous power hierarchies. Thus, men not only relate to women within gender-power hierarchies, but relate with other men through social hierarchies built upon class, caste, religion, linguistic affinities and so on. The authors understood that the idea of 'intersectionality' that had been described in the context of the multiple disadvantages faced by women of color in the United States[2] worked in different ways with men. The men they worked with were mostly from among the rural poor. So, they had advantages or privileges accruing from the male gender identity but had the disadvantages of poverty, of being from the backward or dalit caste groups. While the idea of 'hegemonic masculinity' created an imperative to dominate or wield power over others including other men, it was also seen that it was possible for men from subordinate social groups to understand 'oppression' and 'privilege' simultaneously. Patriarchy created advantages for men but at the same time it meant that men had to comply with a set of rules and codes. These compulsions meant men were socialized to think, feel and act in certain ways. It was seen that men experienced a sense of 'freedom' when they challenged their own assumptions regarding what they thought meant being 'a man'.

South Asia is one of the more complex social regions of the world. It is home to one of the oldest civilizations' and includes old religions like Hinduism and Buddhism. It has been colonized repeatedly over the centuries and borders have been drawn and redrawn many times. Taken together it is home to the largest number of people in the world who speak many languages, pray to different gods, have lived together or separately at different points of time, and continue to share many common cultural and social symbols and practices. This complex set of factors influences gender relations as well as the relationship men have with each other across countries or linguistic or religious affinities in many ways.

At a practical level it is seen that these complex interactions between different social influences play out in different ways. Caste is a unique form of social discrimination in the region and is based on birth. It orders relationships between men and through its association with pollution, purity and lineage, it also

circumscribes marital relationships and defines 'honor'. Even in the twenty first century marriages in India (and other countries of the region) are regulated through caste. Masculinities and honor are closely related in South Asia and 'honor killings' and 'acid attacks' are common phenomena in the region. There have been instances where 'community rape' has been used to teach lessons to women for their transgressions. Some other social phenomena related to gendered discrimination and masculine anxieties in South Asian societies are dowry, early marriages, early pregnancy to prove fertility, son preference and discrimination against daughters. The ownership of land and property by men and their inheritance by men is also common in the region. Most of these social phenomena receive multiple endorsements through religion, culture and tradition and have persisted despite being illegal for a long time.

While the many gender discriminatory social norms are deeply entrenched and create very large gender asymmetries, men are not free from social and gendered constraints. Men's sense of honor is tied with success as a provider and protector of the family. The phenomenon of 'farmer suicides' has been related with a sense of masculine 'failure'. The increasing incidents of violence both against women as well as between men can be seen as a consequence of the failure of 'ordinary' men to adjust to the changing realities of modern life within a globalised neo-liberal economy.

The attempt was to understand whether the interventions that are being developed with such 'ordinary' men can help them understand and deal with their own masculine compulsions.

RECONFIGURING POWER RELATIONSHIPS: TRANSFORMATIVE CHANGE AND MEN

An intersectional understanding of gender power and identity has been crucial for the authors to continue conversations with men on equality, justice and accountability. While patriarchy was an important ideological framework, it may not be sufficient to understand and explain men's relationship with themselves and with other men and all men's actions towards women. Using a framework of intersecting power axes allows men to understand the power asymmetries embedded in various relationships and how they lead to differences in access to and control over different kinds of resources, including material and political resources as well as opportunities. The asymmetries are maintained through a network of subtle and coercive system of community endorsement and sanctions, or social norms, leaving an individual with little autonomy to 'change'. Transformative change processes need men to individually and collectively understand this dynamic equilibrium and intervene at the appropriate space and build an equally compelling but countervailing logic and practical arrangements.

Patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity in its most oppressive form is expressed as social control of women through discriminatory social norms reinforced by coercion and explicit violence. However patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity can also coexist in a 'milder' form of protectionism, which while abhorring violence and expressing 'concern' for women's safety exercises invisible but absolute control. In this state, men and by extension society abhors violence on women by others but keeps the power to discipline with itself. Thus, while expressing disapproval of violence, protectionism also calls for stricter vigilance and stronger punishment while calling for greater care and caution by women at the same time. The authors' work leads them to deduce that the state of patriarchy which manifests as protectionism is probably a good enough place to start their work of extending the concept of 'concern'. The idea of 'concern' can lead to a further exploration of the relationship with women in the family. Since the relationship of men with women as mother, spouse or sister is often 'idealized' there is a possibility of

some comparative analysis of the existing and the ideal, building to a more respectful relationship with the women in the family.

Individual changes in behaviors at the family level have led to a new level of emotional connect with women in the family, which has been one of the most valuable but intangible gains that men pointed to. To leave the analysis at this stage runs the risk of stalling the intervention at the stage of 'paternalism'. The authors have found the adoption of an intersectional approach helps to develop this analysis further, leading to men appreciating the 'value' of equality, women's comparative disadvantage and male 'privilege' in an intersecting system of social hierarchies. This appreciation is fundamental to the understanding of justice and equity and the development of an alternate 'consciousness' or morality. Individual change in 'consciousness' when supported and embedded within a collective reflective learning process leads to what the authors have earlier discussed as the development of a new 'community aspiration' which is built upon a host of new experiences of fruitful and satisfying relationships with women in the family. Changes in relationships with women within families have a lesser opportunity of being disturbed by social sanctions because of the existing 'ideals'. At the same time the new community aspirations are further strengthened by the group's collective actions and reactions against violence and discrimination, building support for a new set of transformatory social norms.

When the authors started their work two decades ago, they did so with a strong belief that men should change, but with no evidence that they could. Over the years they have tried to collect evidence on the dimensions and processes of change which have been discussed above. One of the early areas of focus was violence prevention and the authors had done so with the understanding that the idea of 'protection' would appeal to men's paternalistic inclinations. But with time, discussion with the men in the group education sessions cautiously pushed them to reflect on equality, privilege and discrimination. It was found that men were open to extending their own understanding of violence beyond 'deliberate' actions and started interpreting discriminatory social 'norms' as violence and as such unacceptable. Men also realized that 'consent' was a key imperative in sex even though sexual relations specifically were not discussed in the curriculum at that point in time. This was a key component in the process of transformation, where men were independently interpreting and changing their own behaviors and consequently their relationships according to a new and learned value system. Subsequently it was seen that young men were teaching their younger sisters to cycle and through this simple act supporting many of the girls who had dropped out of education to rejoin school (Centre for Health and Social Justice, 2012). The first time this happened it was planned and executed by the young men themselves and later it became part of planned interventions.

'Transformative' change requires developing the ability to independently interpret one's own actions and its consequences on relationships with women and how this affects women's autonomy. This was seen repeatedly in the work in UP, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. This change in interpretive ability can be called 'consciousness' change, and when this takes place at a collective level one can see the seeds of a change in community 'aspiration'. Changes in social norms is thus made possible through a process of 'consciousness' change at the individual level buttressed by a new set of 'community aspirations'. It was found that these two dimensions of transformative change lead to the far larger process of structural transformation which is way beyond the original expectation of the 'project'. Thus, in the intervention in Maharashtra, communities were seen coming together to activate a dormant legal provision for 'joint registration' of property giving women equal property rights (Sridharan, 2017). In Madhya Pradesh, communities across several villages came together to jointly petition different departments of the government to allocate resources to build a replacement Primary Health Centre at an alternative

and more accessible location with water and electricity which were not available at the first site (Das et al, 2016). This was done to facilitate women's ability to access better maternal health services, but the mechanisms identified and implemented by the community went way beyond what was conceived in the initial project formulations.

Since gender works at multiple levels and structures, true transformative change requires individuals and collectives to jointly re-interpret current structural relationships of power and take action to change them and these can be recognized only if one looks for instances of change beyond the individual and in domains beyond the original mandate of the project. This analysis can and should move beyond gender relations and incorporate analyses of social justice based on the intersection of multiple axes of social hierarchy. This was seen to happen when men's groups moved to facilitate the entry of women in temples in Maharashtra (Pai, 2016). In order to be truly transformative gender equality has to be part of a broader social justice framework.

Limits and Caveats

The experiences and processes on which the analyses have been developed are specific to rural areas in northern, western and central India which share many commonalities. These societies, and especially gender relations in them, are still governed by traditional values though changes due to modernization and globalization are also underway. Thus, the authors advise caution in drawing universal lessons from their analyses. As described earlier, the interventions are not only time-bound limited projects and have allowed to continue a learning relationship beyond the project period. The description of processes and interactions does not include a listing of the challenges faced, as the authors have tried to draw upon those features and results of their intervention which allows them to tell a coherent story. This is not to deny the challenges faced. Finally, the authors' interventions and these stories have men as the key characters, even though changes were seen in 'gendered' circumstances. The authors do not believe this should necessarily be the way to approach the situation of gender disparity. However, the reason that interventions led to these results was because some level of enabling conditions for women and girls had already been created through laws and policies and other opportunities in recent years.

CONCLUSION

This meta-review of the authors' work, that draws on their theory of change, shows that in order for the work with men to be meaningful, changes must and can in fact move beyond individual reflection and action, to transformation of social and institutional norms. As the recognition that working with men and masculinities is of critical importance in the project to advance gender equality and dismantle patriarchy, both opportunities and dangers pose themselves before one. Practice in the field appears to be growing faster than the evidence, and it is at this juncture that it is imperative that practitioners, researchers and policy makers reflect on what has been learnt from almost two decades of this work. Far from being a "magic pill" that can tackle long standing problems that feminist movements the world over have dealt with for decades, in this chapter the authors' have attempted to draw out the complicated nature of the terrain of working with men, making sense of their own work in the field to understand how change occurs, why it occurs, in which circumstances it occurs and the application of which lenses has made the work more valuable and sustainable. The authors have looked at both the immense gains that are

possible if it is practiced within the right frameworks, and the potential dangers of paternalism and co-option. The theory of change within which the authors anchor their work is a dynamic one and will change as contexts evolve. In a rapidly changing political and social context, it is therefore important that one keeps revisiting and refining this theory to address new challenges that pose themselves in the dismantling of hegemonic masculinities and patriarchy.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Collective Identity: A person's sense of belonging to a group or community, which determines their assimilation of and adherence to social norms followed by the group.

Gender Transformative: Moving beyond individual change to altering unequal power dynamics between genders in order to change gender norms.

Hegemonic Masculinity: Socially constructed male behavior and practice that dominates over and subordinates women and also other men who do not follow typical gender roles.

Honor Killings: Murder of family members, often girls and women, generally for violating sexual norms of the community to which the family belongs. Male honor is invoked to patrol the family's women and norms of masculinity play an important role in provoking such killings.

Male Privilege: Advantages, opportunities, rights and power that males are given in society by virtue of their sex. These privileges are not available to women and are often invisible to men.

Masculinities: A set of behaviours, roles, and attitudes that men and boys imbibe in society as a function of their gender; even though it is not biological there is the widespread belief that males are born with attributes of masculinity. Multiple kinds of masculinities are practiced, mostly as gender identities that are differentiated from the feminine.

Paternalism/Protectionism: The benevolent face of patriarchy, whereby men in authority impose restrictions on freedom and choice on those dependent on them in their supposed interests.

Post-Partum Care: Typically, the first 6 weeks after a woman delivers a baby is a crucial time of physical and emotional changes for her and also for the baby's well-being. Termed as the post-partum period, it is extremely important for the woman's partner and family members to ensure proper care of the mother and child including medical checkups and proper rest and nutrition. In India maternal deaths frequently occur due to complications in the post-partum period.

ENDNOTES

[1]   For further information on the components of the interventions and quantitative and qualitative outcomes, please refer to the reports mentioned in Table 1.

[2]   'Intersectionality' was first used by Kimberly Crenshaw to describe the difference in experiences of oppression of white and colored women in the US.