EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

“Public policies, masculinities and gender: the experience of the Intendancy of Montevideo, Uruguay”
(2006-2014)
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* Original document in Spanish. Translated by Valentina Pérez Nunes.
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Abbreviations and Acronyms

GEC - Gender Equality Commission, Intendancy of Montevideo
CEMyG - Centro de Estudios sobre Masculinidades y Género
(Studies Centre for Masculinities and Gender)
IM – Intendancy of Montevideo
Mides- Social Development Ministry
WGMG - Work Group on Masculinities and Gender
NGO- Nongovernmental organization
SW- Secretariat of Women, Intendancy of Montevideo
UdelaR- University of the Republic
UNFPA- United Nations Population Fund
Prologue

Since the development of the 2nd Plan for Equal Opportunities and Rights between Women and Men, the Secretariat of Woman of the Intendancy of Montevideo in compliance with the international commitments assumed by our country, it proposed integrating men in a protagonist manner in building a society without gender inequalities. So that from the First Men March in 2006 it began to carry out several activities to promote men’s reflection on new forms of masculinity, but also to create a service aimed at those men who wanted to change their violent attitudes against women. This document provides an accurate and insightful analyzes of the path followed and constitutes a crucial material for the evaluation of the process and the definition of new policies.

This publication systematized the strategic masculinities and gender lines developed by the Montevideo Council along the period 2006-2014. The document was elaborated by a consultant with the United Nations Population Fund, UNFPA support a critical analysis of the strategies developed was made and it reached conclusions and recommendations to contribute to decision making as well as illustrated actions with the potential to be useful to replicate in Uruguay and act as models for other countries.

The International Conference on Population and Development Program Action (1994) proposed as one of its objectives the need to encourage men to take responsibility for their sexual and reproductive behavior and assume their social and family roles. The Montevideo Consensus (2013) also approaches the issue and raises the need to promote the construction of new masculinities. The United Nations Population Fund, UNFPA has been fully committed to promoting the participation of adolescents and men in sexual and reproductive health, in the responsibility of care, as well as the creation of programs aimed at adolescents and men to prevent gender-based violence.

This document is a valuable tool for the different actors involved in promoting gender relations more equitable and respectful. In the case of the Women Secretariat it allowed to recover and systematize eight years of work in a specific field. Many of these actions have been attended and supported by UNFPA, so it is an important instrument which would allow to share a local experience, with useful knowledge for decision-making in relation to the inclusion of this line in gender policies.

Elena Ponte  
Executive coordinator  
Secretariat of Women  
Uruguay

Valeria Ramos  
Officer in Charge  
UNFPA
1. Introduction

The objective of the consultancy is to systematize the strategic lines developed in the field of masculinities by the Intendancy of Montevideo (IM)\(^1\) between 2006 and 2014, with focus on the following strategies and actions\(^2\):

- The first manifestation of men against domestic violence (2006)
- Commitments in the field of masculinities and gender in gender equality plans (since 2007).
- Awareness-raising and training activities in masculinities and gender, national and international seminars and colloquiaums (since 2007).
- Work group on Masculinities and Gender (since 2011).
- Program of assistance to men that decide to stop violence against women (since 2012).

1 The Intendancy of Montevideo is the executive branch of the department of Montevideo government’s, a subnational organism that takes part of the second level of government in Uruguay. Montevideo is the most populated department, concentrating 1,319,108 people, 40% of the total population of the country, and is the capital city.  
2 The study used qualitative methodologies such as interviews and documental analysis.

2. Theoretical framework

This work approaches the idea of masculinity from a gender perspective, as a social construction that depends on the context. This point of view states the necessity of a differentiation between the term “men” that refers to subjects considered individually, and the idea of “masculinity” as an institution or gender practice (Madrid, 2011; Sedgwick, 1995). Gender socialization indicates persons marked as males of the specie to recognize and learn certain rights, responsibilities, restrictions, rewards and sanctions defined as masculine and “appropriated” for men in different spheres (political participation, work, family, sexuality, health, etc.). The main mechanism in the construction of masculinities is the struggle to differentiate and impose on the otherness: feminine and all that can be associated with this difference, including the bodies of “biological women” as well as expressions, desires and practices seen as feminine in other men –sexism and homophobia– (García García, 2010; Kimmel, 1998). Each society exalts a particular model of hegemonic masculinity, an ideal that serves as a parameter to arrange, reward, punish and define dominant and subordinated masculinities, and to indicate the mechanisms of subordination of the otherness required for its rising (Connell, 1997).

International instruments such as the Program of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994) and the Beijing Platform for Action that emerged from the IV World
Conference on Women (1995) have been central to promote the attention to men and their role in achieving gender equality. In Latin America and the Caribbean the issue of masculinity has been developed mainly from the 90’s. Three factors made possible the installation of the subject in the academic, social and governmental agenda: the creation of local groups of discussion and action about masculinities; the rise of a field study on the topic in academic institutions and the incipient promotion of public policies toward men and masculinities reflection on gender policies. In Latin America, many of those initiatives were sustained and pretended to contribute to the feminist struggle (de Keijzer, 2011; Mora, 2001; Viveros, 1997).

This line of work on masculinities, men and gender public policies tries to contribute in two ways: i) the development of actions toward men in order to address the vulnerabilities to which they are also exposed by the sex-gender system; ii) promote men’s commitment and participation in the transformation of gender inequalities. However, these agendas pose challenges and tensions to governments:

- Fear that the inclusion of men and masculinities in gender policies would reverse the meaning of subordination imposed by sex-gender system in contemporary societies, affecting women principally.

- Concern that it dissipates the few existing public resources for policies towards women and their needs

- Ensure that work driven by the approach on masculinities truly adheres to gender perspective and accelerates the advent of equality between men and women, not reproducing the current system and the privilege of men in it.

- Skepticism about the efficacy of working with men to make changes towards gender equality.

Public policies advanced in this area in Latin America and the Caribbean have been criticized for being specific programs and projects, of short range and duration, disconnected with each other and based on different approaches. Besides, existing policies often have weaknesses in terms of monitoring and evaluation. There is not much information about their efficacy, efficiency and impact (Barker and Greene, 2001; de Keijzer, 2011).

3. Background

In Uruguay, the subject has had some development in the academic field and to a lesser extent in civil society. Gender policies usually do not account for masculinities and the specificity of men (Güida, 2011), although the current tendency of working from a gender mainstreaming approach has helped to move toward in this direction. The most relevant precedents in this regard occurred in the field of health and domestic violence³. The IM has been a pioneer institution in gender policies in general⁴ and in the development of actions in masculinities in particular. Two actions deserves to be remarked. First, at the beginning of the 2000s, initiatives were recorded sensibly on this line in working with adolescents and violence. Second, the “1st Plan for Equal Opportunities and Rights for the City of Montevideo 2002- 2005” included the idea of an experimental program for men who exercise violence against women. Also, from 2000 to 2007 operated a service of this kind under the Program “Comuna Mujer” of attention to women in situation of domestic violence.


⁴ It has early installed- a gender mechanism and elaborated the first Equality Plan of the country.
4. The line of masculinities and gender of the SW-IM

The objective of the line of masculinities and gender of the SW has been to incorporate men as protagonists in the struggle for gender equality. This approach is in line with the positioning of the instruments of the United Nations, which consider the collaboration of men and their change as essential to reverse the inequalities between men and women, especially in areas such as health, sexual and reproductive rights, co-responsibility in care activities and violence. It also conforms to the latest approaches related to the inclusion of men and masculinities in gender policies, considering them in its active and positive role, with great emphasis on prevention (Baker, 2013). Although there are not institutional documents that embody the meaning and direction of the line of masculinities and gender as a whole, from the actions studied it can be inferred the following expected results:

1. Incorporate the perspective of studies on masculinities in gender political agenda.
2. Rethinking the role of men in gender policies, not as “opposites” or as a “problem” but as potential allies in the fight for equality.
3. Contribute to a real gender mainstreaming, that requires to consider gender in its relational dimension and therefore contemplate men in the reflection and the development of programs and actions.
4. Promote “ideological and attitudinal” change in men that impact positively on women’s lives.
5. Convene men to fight for gender equality and support the initiatives they display for it.
7. Promote personal and institutional commitment of men, especially in the prevention, reporting, treatment and eradication of domestic violence.
8. Visualize gender vulnerabilities affecting men in areas such as road safety, health prevention, risk exposure, etc.

Table 1 provides an overview of IM activities that contributed to realize the objective and expected results. The following sections describe some of the most important measures promoted by the SW.
Table 1. Actions of the IM in the line of masculinities and gender (2006-2014)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of action</th>
<th>Actions implemented</th>
<th>Actors Involved</th>
<th>Result to which contributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public policy (elaboration of plans and programs, gender mainstreaming of plans, policy evaluation)</td>
<td>Commitments in the Equality Plans</td>
<td>Equality Plan Team-SW, Gender Equality Commission (GEC)-IM.</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masculinities and Gender Program in the 3rd. Equality Plan (2014)</td>
<td>Equality Plan Team-SW, GEC-IM.</td>
<td>1, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Program of attention to men that decided to stop perpetrating violence (since 2012)</td>
<td>SW, UNFPA, NGO.</td>
<td>3, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consultancy of systematization of the line of masculinities and gender (2014)</td>
<td>Equality Plan Team-SW, UNFPA.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Violence in question: Montevideanos to the Council” (2007)</td>
<td>SW, Equality Plan Team, Division of Culture.</td>
<td>6 y 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public campaign “Male practice safe sex” (since 2011)”</td>
<td>Health Division-IM.</td>
<td>3, 4, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Round Tables of the Work Group on Masculinities and Gender (WGMG), workshops in Municipalities, conferences and workshops, almanac, etc. (since 2011).</td>
<td>SW, Equality Plan Team, WGMG.</td>
<td>4, 5, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Groups of Reflection on Masculinities” (2011).</td>
<td>SW, Studies Center for Masculinities and Gender (SCMG).</td>
<td>4, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affirmative actions/measures aimed specifically to men</td>
<td>Invitations to events directed specifically to men and women; this is aimed at promoting men’s presence in spaces associated with “women”.</td>
<td>SW, WGMG.</td>
<td>3, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rapid test for HIV and syphilis targeted to men, seeking the early detection and promoting self-care and partner-care habits through the use of condom.</td>
<td>Health Division-IM.</td>
<td>3, 4, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance/public management (public policies’s coordination, improvement of organizational management mechanisms)</td>
<td>Work Group on Masculinities and Gender (inter-agency coordination intra and extra IM)</td>
<td>SW.</td>
<td>1, 5, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creation of a sub-committee specialized in masculinities under the GEC.</td>
<td>GEC.</td>
<td>1, 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regarding regulations</td>
<td>Facilities for male staff of the IM to fulfill caring tasks in order to promote co-responsibility.</td>
<td>IM.</td>
<td>3, 4, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Related to infrastructure</td>
<td>Baby-changing tables in men’s bathrooms in “Colon” Bus Station, and regulations for public pools in relation to changing rooms and toilets for children, so that parents can participate on equal terms and not reinforce children’s changing rooms in women’s bathrooms.</td>
<td>IM.</td>
<td>3, 4, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aimed at promoting the generation of knowledge</td>
<td>Seminars, colloquiums and meetings.</td>
<td>SW, Equality Plan Team, WGMG, other institutions punctually related to different activities.</td>
<td>1, 6, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultancy of systematization of the line of masculinities and gender (2014)</td>
<td>Equality Plan Team, SW, UNFPA.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Aimed at install participation areas and channels of dialogue with civil society and citizenship. | Work Group on Masculinities and Gender. | SW. | 1, 5, 6 |

| Participatory process of building the 3rd Plan for Equality (that included consultations with stakeholders, WGMG and masculinities sub-committee-GEC). | GEC, Equality Plan Team. | 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 |

1 The typology follows Rodríguez Gustá (2012).

2 Posters were made that were distributed in different places (e.g. Sports clubs) with the image of a young football player of the Uruguayan Football Team.

3 Instances of reflection among men on gender stereotypes and the experience of “being a man” in Uruguay, co-organized by the Centre for Studies on Masculinities and Gender and the SW-IM.

4 The typology of reference includes the category “affirmative action” in the classical sense, as “temporary measures specifically aimed at remedying the situation of the members of the group to which they are intended in one or several aspects of their social life to achieve real equality” (Bossuyt, 2002) The IM obviously has not developed measures to “compensate men for the disadvantage” because it recognizes that the main affected by the sex-gender system are women. But it has taken actions exclusively for men, necessary to account for the results expected by the line of work.
The first good practice to note is the implementation of different strategies and activities that are mutually reinforcing, appealing to different public policy tools and addressing different target-populations. However, there is a slight predominance of activities aimed at academic and institutional spaces; even considering what has been done in cultural promotion/diffusion, events not yet acquired a “massive” citizen character, reaching most of the times people associated academically, institutionally or in their work with the matter. Besides, initiatives aimed at teenagers and young people to achieve fundamental cultural changes have not been developed. The issues addressed are many, although there is a special emphasis on violence, followed by sexual and reproductive health care.

As for the actors involved, stands out the role of men and women committed to the topic, with an explicit feminist conception of gender inequalities. Having “gender focal points” with these features enabled the involvement of other men of the institution and at the same time, the dialogue and empowerment of women who work in gender mechanisms. Second, the advancement to the approach was facilitated by the open attitude of the Executive Coordinator of the SW. Also the SW has a strong technical team with extensive experience, commitment and expertise in gender and women’s rights. Both are critical elements to achieving conceptual and strategic innovations. A third point to highlight is the involvement of two strategic areas of the IM: Health Division and Culture Division. However, proactivity of these sections have been highly dependent on the presence of individuals committed to this agenda. In Health Division, the sustained participation of these actors allowed a remarkable accumulation, institutionalizing the working line and becoming less dependent on specific individuals and on the accompaniment of SW. On the contrary, in the Culture Division, the release of initial referents generated a decrease in its activity on the topic. The weak link between the Culture Division and the SW in the most recent period is problematic, considering that many of the results sought by the line on masculinities and gender refer precisely to cultural change. Besides, the 3rd Equality Plan locates the Masculinities and Gender Program in the strategic guideline on culture.

The lack of resources of all kinds (human, time, economic, technical, etc.) is an obstacle to advancing the agenda. This constitutes a risk to the sustainability and the legitimacy of the line of work, in a context of emerging social, political and academic theming of it. Achieving quality interventions is essential for other actors to visualize the relevance of incorporating the perspective and especially for national gender policies to take it into account. One of the strategies developed to get around it was to involve more actors in the field and achieve an oiled coordination between them.

On one hand, stands out the creation of areas of interagency participation with referents from the IM and externals, for example, the Working Group on Masculinities and Gender”. This is also recommended for the institutionalization of the line and to facilitate the mainstreaming efforts both internally and to the outside of the IM. The creation of a sub-commission of masculinities within the Gender Equality Commission (GEC) also contributes in this direction. On the other hand, was key the role of counterparts such as international cooperation. UNFPA’s technical and financial support was determinant for the possibility of many of the activities to be implemented. The IM, in turn, managed to translate this collaboration into effective and innovative measures, which were then assumed economically by the institution itself.

But the actors by themselves are not enough. Their strategies and activities are conditioned by the appearance (or not) of contextual factors that open “windows of opportunity” (Kingdon, 2003) that facilitate and catalyze their implementation. In the case study, the following elements in particular need to be highlighted:
A number of conditions that have made the IM a “laboratory of gender policies” (Rodríguez Gustá, 2012), enabling the development of this and other innovative lines as sexual diversity: its long accumulated in gender policies; a conception of gender emphatic in its “relational” dimension; the presence of many administrations of a leftist government that included early gender in its agenda and promoted social participation; the smaller scale of the organization in relation to national structures; etc..

Political and institutional junctures that allow the introduction of new topics and promote the discussion, highlighting the processes of evaluation and construction of equality plans.

5. March of Men Against Domestic Violence

It sought to promote a commitment of men in the prevention, reporting, treatment and eradication of domestic violence. It is identified as the founding moment of masculinities and gender agenda, being an unprecedented experience in Uruguay and the world. It arose from a public declaration of the famous writer José Saramago in which he posed such an initiative as a “utopia”. This was assumed as a challenge for many men with political responsibilities in the IM, including the highest authority of the organism. Its organization joined the efforts of men in positions of decision in the IM associated with culture and including the Mayor, and the SW. It was a march exclusive for men, who were received at the end by groups of women. It was accompanied by the collection of accessions of more than 500 personalities and groups of politics, culture, media, unions, academia, and other spaces

5 UNFPA is included in the list of collaborative institutions.
Results

- Unique experience in Uruguay and the world; it is considered the founding milestone of the line of masculinities and gender of the SW.
- Generated great public impact.
- Motivated IM internal actors to do more activities.
- Constitutes a reference for subsequent attempts to mobilize men.
- Enabled the discussion about masculinities, men and gender with feminist and women’s organizations.

Best practices

- Involved important men leaders nationally and internationally.
- Active engagement in the organization of the highest political hierarchy and several male directors of the IM.
- It convenes NGO’s of women specialized in violence to discuss the organization of the event.
- A predominance of a feminist discourse that questions the absence of men in the struggle and recognizes women’s movements.

Weaknesses/ Limitations/ Risks

- Did not manage to replicate or keep track of the commitments made by the adherents and participants.

Recommendations

- Institutionalize the realization of a similar march every year as a moment of accountability of the commitments assumed. It could be included in the IM’s agenda of activities “November: month of fighting violence against woman.”

6. Masculinities in equality plans

The “2nd Plan for Equal Opportunities and Rights for Women and Men 2007-2011” convened the active involvement of men in building a democratic and inclusive department. It also realized a critical evaluation of the 1st plan because men only appeared as “opposites” or as a “problem”. This approach was justified in that “gender is a category of relational analysis [therefore] is essential to generate strategies and methodologies that involve women and men”, and in the possibility of involving men as allies in the struggle for equality. Its inclusion was driven by a member of the technical staff of the Plan with knowledge and awareness on the issue; facilitated by the adoption of a mainstreaming approach, which emphasizes the relational understanding of gender6; and allowed by the Executive Coordinator of the SW, even though it was an issue virtually absent from the national gender policies. The incorporation implied, in particular:

- Changing the name of the plan to visualize men.
- Presenting diagnoses and solutions for some gender vulnerabilities of men (especially in relation to health and road safety).

6 Unlike de 1st Plan focused on the empowerment of women (Rodriguez Gustá, 2012)
Try to promote “ideological and attitudinal” changes in men in order to obtain a positive impact on women’s lives.

Summon them to fight for gender equality (especially against domestic violence) and support their initiatives in this regard.

The “3rd Plan for Gender Equality. Montevideo move forwards in rights without discrimination, 2014-2017” keeps this line, but insists in not neglect women’s rights as a horizon. Modality of inclusion was similar to the 2nd plan, but specific commitments were added at a departmental level in the IM and municipalities. Also, the plan provides the first definition of masculinity in a public document of governmental institution. However, the approach of masculinities does not permeate the different strategic guidelines of the plan, but it is focused in the one referred to cultural change and in the Health Division and the Secretariat of Women commitments. The actions proposed do not show great innovations in relation to what the IM is doing, except in relation to promoting fair and non-hegemonic parenting and to involve men in the care of their children. The creation of the “Masculinities and Gender Program” is also highlighted, as until now there was no umbrella to articulate existing lines of work on the subject.

Results

The 2nd Plan opened an opportunity to channel the motivation that the March bequeathed.

Its processes of evaluation and elaboration enable the reflection on the subject.

Institutionalize and legitimate the line of work.

Contribute to mainstreaming the topic inside the institution.

Provides a model for other governments (departmental and national).

Best practices

Participatory elaboration of the 3rd Plan, including actors specialized in masculinities and gender.

Creation of the sub-commission of work on masculinities within the GEC, key player in the elaboration of plans.

Establish a clear conceptual framework for tuning the different initiatives.

References to masculinities and men permeate the document and assume different forms (conceptual framework, objectives, actions, etc.).

Weaknesses/Limitations/Risks

The quality of the inclusion of the line in the equality plans is highly dependent on the protagonist presence of a “gender focal point” sensitized to this issue specifically.

Concentration of actions on the SW and in the Health Division.

Recommendations

To increase human and financial resources invested in the line.

Footnote: Municipalities are the third level of political and administrative government in Uruguay; they were created as local authorities in 2009 (law Nº 18.567 of Political Decentralization and Citizen Participation)
• Desarrollar programas de formación y sensibilización para comprometer a los funcionarios públicos y hombres en posiciones de toma de decisiones con la agenda.

• Diversificar el tema de la agenda para que no se asocie la masculinidad con la violencia; apostar a su desarrollo en el contexto del paternidad y la co-responsabilidad, considerando la existencia de un contexto adecuado para ello.

• Fortalecer la relación entre la SW, la División de Cultura y el Secretariado IM’S para el jocimiento, para poner en marcha campañas de desconstrucción de estereotipos en adolescentes y jóvenes.

7. Reuniones, seminarios y coloquios

Desde 2007 se han organizado instancias de sensibilización y formación sobre masculinidades y género en diferentes campos, así como en seminarios y coloquios nacionales e internacionales con un estilo académico, particularmente en las agendas de actividades en el marco del Día de la Mujer en marzo y el Día Internacional de la Mujer contra la Violencia en noviembre. El evento inaugural fue “Violencia en cuestión: ‘Montevideanos’ a la Cámara”; nació del impulso de la Marcha de los Hombres en el marco del 2º Plan, buscando crear un espacio de reflexión y debate sobre el papel de los hombres y su compromiso personal e institucional con la violencia doméstica, en un espacio simbólico como es la Cámara de Montevideo.

8 Un grupo de trabajo sobre el tema ha sido creado en el IM. A nivel nacional, el gobierno está diseñando un programa nacional de cuidado. Paralelamente, muchas actores sociales llevan a cabo﻿using más atención a la cuestión (por ejemplo, la campaña MenEngage en Uruguay y las actividades de Red ProCuidados).

9 El Día de la Mujer en marzo y el Mes de la Mujer y el Día Internacional de la Mujer contra la Violencia son agendas anuales de distintas actividades (culturales, académicas, políticas, etc.) organizadas por la SW, con la participación de muchos actores sociales y entes gubernamentales.

Academic activities have achieved greater consistency in their organization. In 2009 the “National Meetings on Masculinities and Gender” and “Masculinities and Gender Seminars” were installed, performing more than one edition of each format. Through a methodology that combines exhibitions with workshops, multiple issues are addressed, notably: violence, identity, involvement of men in gender equality, stereotypes and socialization, adolescence and youth, and health. They have been promoted and supported by SW, equality plans’ teams, Health Division, GEC, WGMG, Intendancy of Maldonado, Faculty of Psychology (University of the Republic-UdelaR), social organizations, government agencies such as the Ministry of Social Development (Mides) and international cooperation (especially UNFPA and UN Women). It should be noted that in 2011 Montevideo hosted the Fourth International Colloquium about Studies on Men and Masculinities, organized by the Faculty of Social Science and Faculty of Psychology (UdelaR) and two social organizations (“Espacio Salud” y “Mujer y Salud en Uruguay”), with a key resource support from the IM and UNFPA. It attracted more than 300 participants from across the continent and achieved a publication as a result.

Results

• Hicieron visible la agenda de masculinidades y género de la SW.
• Útiles para involucrar a más hombres en el tema.
• Generaron ansias para nuevas instancias de formación y intercambio.
• Contribuyeron a la institucionalización y difusión del campo de estudio.

• Enabled the dialogue and articulation between the civil society, academia and State.

• The IV international colloquium allowed the generation of international networks. It allowed bringing this prestigious event for the first time to the Southern Cone.

Best practices

• Interdisciplinary and inter-institutional convocation.

• Its free character, making easy the approach of new people to the agenda.

• Continuity over time installed it as a benchmark space.

• Invitation of foreign experts, enriching the national production.

• Combined methodology (exhibitions and workshops).

• They were recognized in the gender equality plans of the IM.

Weaknesses/Limitations/Risks

• Lack of financial resources has led to cancel and postpone events.

• They captured an audience with limited profile and already sensitized.

• Because they are very punctual (lasting only days or hours), they inhibit a deeper debate.

Recommendations

• Promote competitive funding for research, publications and dissemination of materials about relevant issues to policy making.

• Organize exchanges between scholars and IM departments on specific topics of masculinities and gender\textsuperscript{11}, in order to identify public problems and political solutions to them.

• Linking up with the Thematic Network of Gender of the UdelaR\textsuperscript{12} to exchange with scholars studying traditional gender issues.

• Publish the presentations of the events on the internet and create an electronic magazine about masculinities or gender, both of which are low cost strategies for diffusion of knowledge.

\textsuperscript{11} For example: persons deprived of their liberty, road safety, use of psychoactive substances.

\textsuperscript{12} UdelaR’s Thematic Network links services, institutes, departments and individual scholars in order to coordinate teaching, investigation and relationship with society activities on one specific topic.
8. Working Group on Masculinities and Gender

It was created by the SW as a space of collective participation, for exchange, debate, coordination of wills, diffusion and production of knowledge and activities in the theme. Its objectives are: “to involve men anti machismo” and “mainstreaming masculinities studies on gender agendas”13. It was made with the purpose of articulate with actors from outside the IM and to create a mechanism that help to make the agenda present and dynamic14. It is open to the participation of different sections of the IM, organizations and social groups, governmental agencies, academia and individuals interested in the subject, both men and women. Operates on two monthly meetings. It performs multiple tasks (support for the organization of academic instances, awareness workshops, outreach materials, etc.).

Results

- It is the only specific institutional actor of the State on masculinities and gender.
- A platform for channeling the efforts of men committed to the equality and institutions concerned with the issue.
- It formed a core of committed members who donate time and effort to the space without being obliged to do so.
- Continuity in time.

Best practices

- At the beginning, it convened referents on masculinities and gender from the country who had already worked together, giving the space legitimacy and dynamism.
- Its location in the SW and the participation of women encourage a framing of the issue nurtured in the gender perspective and the women’s human rights paradigms.
- The mixed convocation is consistent with the understanding of gender as relational.
- Its diverse integration enriches it in terms of knowledge of the subject, professional insertions, trajectories of militancy, etc.
- The participation of other actors of the IM contributes to the internal mainstreaming.

13 Cite from the institutional presentation of the table. The mode “work table” was adopted in the 2nd Plan for different subjects, as a strategy for implementation and monitoring (Rodríguez Gustá, 2012).
14 In a context in which in the IM there was no longer the “gender focal point” that led the subject originally and the new leadership was being constructed.
Weaknesses/limitations/risks

- The convening for government agencies did not have the expected answer.
- Maintain the participation and avoid the rotation of members.
- The different degrees of awareness and knowledge of people sometimes generates noise and slows the dynamics.
- The presence of public institutions also make the actions “difficult to move”, involving bureaucratic timings and procedures.
- The institutional representations are held more by the individual commitment from the referents than by the organization to which they respond.
- Lack of resources leads to frustration and consequent dissociation.
- Poor visibility on the citizenship.

Recommendations

- Repeat the convening to public institutions considered strategic, generating political meetings with their managers.
- Assess whether the schedule and/or workload inhibit the assistance; in that case install complementary/alternative mechanisms of participation.
- Discuss the possibility of inviting feminist organizations and groups of women. This contributes in two ways: first, to encourage the perspective of masculinities and gender in women and feminist organizations; second, to strengthen the gender-transformative perspective of men who are involved in the subject within the WGMG.
- Identify and invite groups of young people who are active in social and political issues (such as abortion, sexual diversity, afro-descendant militancy, etc.). Many of them have a gender perspective open to the inclusion of male and masculinities. They can operate as allies in the social field and also help to give dynamism to the table.
- Design strategies to promote the presence of different subjects, avoiding the reproduction of hegemonic models and the association of the agenda to “a type of men”.
- Define an annual-work agenda with goals to achieve, favoring the evaluation and monitoring of the space and offering clear incentives for the assistance.
- Reorientation of activities to cultural promotion and diffusion, considering that a space of citizen participation has the conditions for it (for instance, report to the public opinion when facing the facts of domestic violence).
9. Program for men who decide to stop using violence

In Uruguay, the SW has been a pioneer in policies against domestic violence in general and in attention to men that perpetrate violence in particular. Its strategic plan for the period 2011-2016 included an intervention line in this matter, in order to address the phenomenon comprehensively and as preventing-action, trying to recognize “micro machismos” (Bonino, 2004) and inhibit other forms of violence. It is set in the Domestic Violence Law, which encourages the development of “rehabilitation and social reinsertion” policies for men who use violence. The program initiated as a pilot project in 2012, following the proposal of the NGO “Centro de Estudios en Masculinidades y Género” (Center of Studies on Masculinities and Gender, CEMyG) and with the technical and financial support of UNFPA. In 2013, it was incorporated as an IM program receiving genuine budget. The main nodes in the design and implementation of the program were: to ensure a conceptual framework in terms of gender and women’s human rights, following the international recommendations on such programs; to determine the link with the judiciary system and the program; the scope of the target-population, defining the adequacy of including the men reported in justice, prosecuted and/or with “precautionary measures” (who usually have higher rates of failure and disconnection with this type of actions); the existent of “users demand”, in an environment of skepticism about men recognizing their use of violence and the need to attend voluntarily to the program.

The service is provided by an NGO15 awarded by public call. The SW carries out its monitoring, supervision and evaluation, is in charge of following the family members and articulating with other governmental institutions, such as family courts. The program focuses on intra-family violence and works with the CECEVIM16 model as the main reference. The model includes three courses, but the program applies only the first one, which provides the users with elements for “analyzing the violent process and understand how to use the control and domain to resolve the tension and friction in everyday situations of the couple and former couples (…) and get them to not exercise physical and sexual violence and reduce other types of violence”. Its theoretical bases are: gender perspective, psychological and ecological basis17, spiritual basis18. The program is only for men that resides in Montevideo and requires a voluntary entry and the recognition from their part of having a problem with intra-family violence. Men with an electronic device put by the justice can entrance after they finish the use of it, according to the justice mandate19. Each user is expected to stay for about 6 months in the program.

15 It provides the team of facilitators that work with the users, elaborate the monitoring reports; and alert the justice of the process of prosecuted users.
16 CECEVIM: Training Center to Eradicate IntraFamily Violence. Created by Antonio Ramirez 22 years ago and implemented in United States and Mexico by GENDES (NGO Gender and Development). See: http://www.cecevim.org/
17 “Analyzes the context in which each person is developed as well as it explains why people have the ability of change. To work with men you must know the masculine imperatives in our culture and how they impact in each member of the group.” Manual Course 1, CECEVIM. I thank the referent of the model for proving us permission to use some extracts of their course materials for this document.
18 Promotes the maximum development of people, based on their beliefs about spirituality, religion and beliefs of any kind (Manual Course, CECEVIM).
19 In 2013-2014 initiates the program “Verification and localization of people in cases of high risk of domestic violence”, in charge of Mides, the Interior Ministry (dedicated to internal security issues) and the Judiciary. It seeks to follow and watch the remoteness measures impose to violent men by judges.
The service provides the following devices: initial admission interview; 24 group sessions (maximum 25 people, 2 hours long) for each user, guided by facilitators of psychosocial profile, all with the same format; telephone follow-up to family referents by the SW (includes guidance to partners or former partners to specialized care services for domestic violence); a “contract” between the program and users regarding presence, assuring confidentiality except in cases of threats to other persons and in any case in relation to the couple (to whom the technical team can provide information if it is required), the possession of weapons, attendance at treatment program in case of use or reliance on alcohol and/or drugs.

Results

- A unique public service in the field, free and open to every citizen.
- Generated interest in other public organisms for its replication; motivated the discussion about the pertinence of this kind of programs.
- Contributed to an integral attention of the domestic violence phenomenon.
- The only public policy that follows the guidelines of the domestic violence normative.

Best Practices

- Careful management of the information about the scope of the program (it does not guarantee that users who finalized treatment won’t use violence anymore); clear messages are given to users, user’s partner or former partners and judges.
- UNFPA’s technical and financial support enabled the creation of the pilot and contributed to the quality and legitimacy of its design and implementation.
- Appropriate diffusion of the program between social actors, scholars and specialists in violence against women.
- In a context of few antecedents on the topic and scarce evaluation of existing initiatives, it is adequate to base on a model: i) elaborated and proved for many years in other countries; ii) standardized, rigorous, well guided and attentive to every detail of the process, with a clear theoretical framework; and iii) open to constant upgrade and feminist women critics and regular supervision of its creator. This assures the quality of the procedures and favors the transparency of the action.
- Counts with a written intervention protocol.
- Theoretical framework aligned with the gender and human rights perspectives; it uses a concept of violence according to international standards of quality20.
- SW supervision and periodical elaboration of monitoring reports, favored by the modality of hiring of the NGO as a public tender.
- Articulation with other services such as psychotherapy, psychiatric attention, suicide prevention services, derivation to programs for alcoholism and drug treatment, etc.
- Facilitators are men, favoring the communication with users.
- Sessions are not filmed neither recorded; people that are not part of the program is not allowed to attend to the sessions.

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• The care of people expose to a potential use of violence of the users, through the mechanism of monitoring realized by the SW. The participation of the SW generates confidence of partners or ex partners who are usually women.

• The SW officials involved in the implementation of the program are engaged with the topic and have a pertinent profile in terms of formation and work trajectories (includes psychosocial and law specialists).

• Fluid communication with specialized courts in domestic violence.

Weaknesses/limitations/risks

• The adoption of a model designed in another cultural and social context could hamper its implementation (for example, concepts not usually used in Montevideo)21.

• The NGO which propose and implements the program does not have a trajectory of work in services for women in situation of domestic violence; this implicates more efforts to construct the legitimacy of the program and its methodology between specialists, feminists and women’s social movement.

• Confusions in users and judges about the nature (compulsory or not) of the derivation realized by the courts. The installation of the “electronic devices” program in the same building increased this confusion.

• More data are needed about the impact of the program. The objectives of the program are written in an abstract way, obstructing its operationalization into indicators and concrete goals of monitoring and evaluation. For example, reports show a high disengagement during the 10 first seasons, but there is no evidence about its causes.

• The basis of spirituality is sometimes confused with religiosity. Uruguay’s citizens have low levels of religiosity; the state in this country initiated a very early process of secularization in comparison to the rest of Latin America. In this context, the spiritual basis of the program could generate resistance and decrease the level of users’ attendance and permanence. This element also generated rejection from some feminist perspectives in the social movement and scholar ambit.

• The second course cannot be implemented because of scarce resources available to the program. Attention to users should be increased from 6 to 8-12 months to attend international standards.

• The professionals involved in the implementation of the program adhere to a sexual diversity perspective in their work. Nevertheless, this aspect is not explicit in formal documents.

• The methodology applied could be confrontational and rigid for some kind of personalities or for men who are in an initial process of recognition of their exercise of violence. However, there are not alternative devices expected to maintain these men linked to the program.

• There are no mechanisms of following and accompaniment of users and their partners of former partners once the sessions expected finished. This is a good practice recommended, at least for 6 months.

21 The NGO in charge of the implementation of the program is elaborating a new guideline attentive to the reality of the country.
• There is not an exclusive official of the IM dedicated only to it.

Recommendations

• If the SW considers to give continuity to this action, it is important to increase the budget available for the first course and destine resources for the opening of the second one, in order to give integrity to the program’s implementation. Do not take those resources from programs dedicated to women in situation of domestic violence. If possible, accompany each increase of the program budget with an equal increment in women’s services.

• Realize an external evaluation of the program and improve monitoring and internal evaluation reports, including information about: i) how CECEVIM model is working in the Uruguayan context; ii) users’ resistance to the methodology; iii) factors intervening in the access, transit and disengagement of users; iv) results and impacts in changing behaviors.

• Look forward to complement the actual devices with new instruments, prioritizing psychological individual attention inside the program.

• The IM must assume the cost of the training and actualization of facilitators in the CECEVIM model and have more officials with knowledge of the methodology.

• Create an ambience of exchange and dialogue between women’s NGOs working in services for women in situation of domestic violence in the Program “Comuna Mujer” and professionals of the program; this would be useful for: transferring of experiences; tuning the practices and theoretical frameworks of both programs; articulate for solving cases; legitimate and improve programs for men.

• Complement the program with cultural actions of prevention of violence, such as campaigns for raising consciousness of the problem of violence against women. Focus on children, adolescents and youth.

• Create instances of coordination between public programs working with men who use violence.
10. Conclusions and lessons learned

“Gender focal points”, male feminist leaders: The analysis confirms a lesson that most of the experiences of gender policies leaves: the presence of sensitized individuals, committed and experts at key locations is crucial to advancing the agenda. The plus that the analyzed experience throws is that, in the case of gender policies that account for masculinity and seek to include men actively, the chances of success increase when men from different sections of the organization (specially in hierarchical positions) commits with this agenda, as long as they work as allies of feminist women.

Specialized institutional mechanisms: But as the literature indicates, it is not possible to move towards the institutionalization of these agendas without creating formal settings that translate individual will into an institutional expression of commitment. Only by doing this we can help support the work in time, regardless of who are working in the organization. One of the strategies to move towards the installation of a gender approach in state institutions has been the establishment of gender mechanisms (Guzman, 2001). The analyzed case shows good results in the creation of instances that, although they are associated and/or subsumed to gender mechanisms, are focused on masculinities. These fields allow involving new allies and channeling different efforts in the same direction, facilitate mainstreaming in institutions and provide a “reference” in the subject to which they can turn.

International cooperation as a counterpart: The case confirms the important role of cooperation in a country like Uruguay, supporting “seed” initiatives that can be evaluated to identify good practices that governments then incorporate with their own budget between their policies. Also, their involvement provided legitimacy to the agenda. This is very important considering the incipient development of the framework in the country. In turn, cooperation has found in the IM an institution that responds to the expected objectives of this articulation.

Comprehensive and formalized public policy: The work done on the topic of masculinities and gender drew on different tools, themes and target populations. The commitment of the 3rd Equality Plan to organized the actions under the umbrella of the “Masculinity and Gender Program” allows the articulation and coherence of the set of measures oriented towards the same goal. They also help to formalize the line of work by leaving it “written”, which in turn contributes to its sustainability. The program’s incorporation to gender equality plans promotes it’s articulation with traditional gender actions activities.

Construction of legitimacy: The great challenge of gender policies that include men and masculinities is to build its legitimacy. To do this, the central element is to stick to a clearly “gender-transformative” (García Prince, 2008) speech and being able to communicate these adherence. Many factors contributed to this goal:: the active participation of the SM and feminist women working there; the convening of men and women to most activities; the explication of the theoretical and political framework from which the involvement of men and the reflections on masculinities on equality plans are conceived; the inclusion of the Masculinities and Gender Program in the equality plan and not as something separated from traditional gender agenda; the permanent search for a dialogue with women of civil society.
11. General recommendations

• Strengthen the involvement of women from civil society in the policy making process, especially in actions regarding violence against women. Increment the dialogue with the national gender institute.

• Increase the breadth of issues covered by the masculinities and gender program, avoiding focusing only on violence. An excessive focus on this issue can reinforce stereotypes associating masculinity and men only with negative messages22. For this it seems strategic to strengthen the existing work of the SW on health and in particular, contribute to the field of fatherhoods, co-responsibility and reconciliation, whereas there is a conducive political and social context.

• Recognize the existing diversity of men and masculinities and promote involvement of different profiles of men.

• Reinforce activities of diffusion and cultural promotion.

• Prioritize more massive instances and actions addressed to citizens, trying to involve men “on foot” in the agenda. The Equality Teams from Municipalities offers an adequate platform for these developments in terms of territory23 as well as the commitment of “leaders” of society.

• Give priority to children, adolescents and youth as a target population of awareness raising, betting on early involvement with more equal gender relations. Contemplate life cycle approach when designing all actions; especially in the case of youth and adolescents is recommended to focus on issues such as: respect, conflict resolution, building healthy gender identities and responsibility (Kaufman, 2003)24. Reconsider workshops in juvenile centers such as those made in the antecedent “Being adolescent man” of the IM.

• Holding the alliance with international cooperation is of vital importance to continue the activities already initiated as well as to design and implement new ones. This support could be oriented to conduct a massive awareness campaign on the subject, focusing on paternity, family responsibility and care.

22 The importance of positive messages is pointed out by Baker (2013) and the UN agencies in several documents.

23 WHO (2010) strongly recommends actions involving the community, public mobilization and campaigns in the media.

24 There are recognized methodologies from other countries that can contribute building this component. See: http://www.endvawnow.org
• Use the existing link with academia to promote the development of evidence-based policies, considering that visualizing the costs that sex-gender system also has for men can help them to raise awareness and engage with gender equality. Encourage the production of knowledge to identify and diagnose specifically gender public problems associated with masculinities and generate areas of dissemination and sharing of this information with policy makers. Some public policy arenas require special attention from this point of view: problematic use of substances, education, road safety, public safety and detainees.

Interviews

• Elena Ponte, Executive Coordinator of SW-IM.
• Solana Quesada, member of the Equality Plan team, SW-IM.
• Inés Lasa, responsible of the team of work about gender based violence, SW-IM.
• Yanela Lima, responsible of the line of masculinities and gender, member of the team of work about gender based violence, SW-IM.
• Pablo Anzalone, Health Division Director, IM.
• Edgar Tubin, Health Division Official, IM; member of the Work Group on Masculinities and Gender (WGMG).
• Joel Domenech, member of the WGMG.
• Andrés Urioste, member of the WGMG.
• Jorge Rondán, expert on masculinities and gender, former member of WGMG.
• David Amorín, professor in Udelar, expert on masculinities and gender, former member of WGMG.
• François Graña, professor in Udelar, expert on masculinities and gender, former member of WGMG.
• Dario Ibarra, expert on masculinities and gender, Director of CEMyG.
• Jhonny Reyes, facilitator of the Program for Men who decide to Stop Using Violence, member of CEMyG.
• Fernando Rodríguez, facilitator of the Program for Men who decide to Stop Using Violence, member of CEMyG and a representative of the NGO in the WGMG.
• Carlos Güida, pioneer in the study of the topic in Uruguay, expert, former member of the equality plan team of SW-IM, promoter of the agenda of masculinities and gender of SW.
• Flor de María Meza, gender expert, former member of the equality plan team of SW-IM.
• Elvira Lutz, expert in sexual and reproductive rights, former wife of Arnaldo Gomensoro, pioneer in the study of the topic in Uruguay, former member of Centro ETHOS.
• Pablo Cipulli, lawyer, SW-IM.
• Magela Batista y Sabrina Dorado, referents of the electronic device program, Mides.
**Documents**

- “Primer Plan de Igualdad de Oportunidades y Derechos para la Ciudad de Montevideo 2002-2005”, IM.
- “Segundo Plan de Igualdad de Oportunidades y de Derechos entre Mujeres y Varones 2007-2010”, IM.
- “Tercer Plan de Igualdad de Género 2014/2017: Montevideo avanza en derechos, sin discriminaciones”, IM.
- Monitoring and evaluation reports of the Program for Men who decide to Stop Using Violence (CEMyG, 2012-2014)

**References**


