



# **Mobilising Men for Feminist Peace**

**in Work on Peacebuilding, Non-Violence,**

**Conflict Prevention and Women's Rights**

**01**  
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY  
MEETING OBJECTIVES  
KEY THEMES

**07**  
KEY TAKEAWAYS

**02**  
MEETING BACKGROUND  
AND OUTCOMES

**08**  
ANNEXES

**03**  
DAY ONE SESSIONS

**04**  
DAY TWO SESSIONS

**05**  
DAY THREE SESSIONS

**06**  
GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS  
AND COMMITMENTS

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# 01

**Executive Summary**  
**Meeting Objectives**  
**Key Themes**

## Executive Summary

In 2022, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and PAX co-convened three virtual meetings with organisations either interested in or already working to counter militarised masculinities and mobilise men for feminist peace, mostly peacebuilding organisations or organisations with existing expertise on issues related to men, masculinities, violence and conflict. These meetings aimed to create a community of practice, strengthen connections, promote peer exchange and identify potential opportunities for collaboration and advocacy.

To sustain the momentum generated by these meetings, WILPF and PAX co-convened a follow-up in-person meeting in Tbilisi, Georgia from 15-17 June 2023. This meeting brought together nearly 30 participants representing nearly 20 organisations from Africa, the Middle East, Europe and the Americas.

**A full list of participants is found in Annex 1.**

## Meeting Objectives

**The meeting set the following broad objectives:**

- 1.** Build a sense of connection and community to sustain collaboration and partnerships over time.
- 2.** Explore new and emerging research on militarized masculinities and discuss existing and proposed strategies to counter militarized masculinities and mobilize men for feminist peace.
- 3.** Gain inspiration and a shared understanding of what participants and their organizations have been/are doing on the topic of men and masculinities, what seems promising, what we're struggling with, what new directions are emerging.
- 4.** Explore possibilities for multi-level approaches (from community education to possible campaigns to policy advocacy to movement building, etc.) and generate a preliminary roadmap.
- 5.** Explore appetite for better networking and the establishment of a consistent community of practice.

This report provides an overview of meeting sessions, summarises key themes and identifies key recommendations agreed upon by participants.

## Key Themes

Key themes that emerged from the meeting included:

1. There is a clear desire amongst organisations present to continue to share ideas, research and insights, to work together on joint advocacy projects and to establish a community of practice that will strengthen and support these efforts.
2. Through a survey and group discussions, participants identified the following themes as priorities for further discussion and agreed on potential next steps for joint action:
  - a. Understanding and addressing structural drivers of militarisation and men's engagement in violence and conflict.
  - b. Engaging men in positions of power to demand voice, space and rights.
  - c. Integrating a focus on men and masculinities into existing international, regional and national commitments and frameworks, including feminist foreign policies and potential development of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda into a Gender, Peace and Security (GPS) Agenda.
  - d. Countering the manosphere: digital spaces and constructions of patriarchal masculinities.
  - e. Promoting non-violent and demilitarised responses to conflict escalations.
  - f. Resisting authoritarianism, patriarchal populism and right-wing extremism.
3. Recognition of the importance of addressing men's gender identity, particularly the militarised upbringing that many of them have experienced.
4. There are differences of opinions about what influences men's violence against women and what constitutes a feminist analysis of militarised masculinities.
5. There is interest in and a need to continue conversations and debates about how we understand the role of structural/material conditions or forces on men, masculinities and men's use of violence and engagement in conflict, including through the use of feminist political economy (FPE) analysis.
6. There are differences of opinion on whether the term "transforming masculinities" illuminates more than it obscures and whether it's consistent with emancipatory aspirations.
7. Acknowledgment that both structural/material conditions or forces and social norms play significant roles, and that addressing one without the other will not lead to comprehensive change.
8. Recognising the challenges related to resource conflicts, including financial incentives that attract men to join the military and the need for long-term funding and sustained efforts.
9. Identifying the importance of reaching a shared understanding of language and terminology to effectively address masculinities – in particular militarised masculinities – and approach them from a feminist peace perspective.
10. There is a need to pay more attention to engaging with the manosphere/digital spaces given their reach and influence and the ways in which militaries and the arms industry shape their content.

# 02

## MEETING BACKGROUND AND OUTCOMES

## Meeting Background

Research tells us that socially constructed gender norms which associate masculinity with power, violence and control play an important role in driving conflict and insecurity. In turn, gender norms associated with masculinity change due to conflict and insecurity. Many men and boys, in all their diversities and in all parts of the world, oppose these rigid, inequitable and violence-endorsing norms, and work in solidarity with women and those beyond the gender binary to resist them, although in many settings far too many people continue to endorse them. But peace and transitional processes continue to be shaped and dominated by the voices, perspectives and needs of those men who hold power, and who require the continuance of patriarchal systems to retain this power.

To achieve a feminist peace, based on principles of equality, justice and demilitarised security, and to address the root causes of violence with a feminist lens that pays attention to power dynamics and challenges patriarchal and traditional gender roles, we must strengthen alliances amongst all stakeholders around a collective agenda for systemic and institutional change and personal transformation.

In 2022, WILPF and PAX co-convened three meetings with organisations either interested in or already working to counter militarised masculinities and mobilise men for feminist peace, mostly peacebuilding organisations or organisations with existing expertise on issues related to men, masculinities, violence and conflict. These meetings aimed to create a community of practice, strengthen connections, promote peer exchange and identify potential opportunities for collaboration and advocacy. Prior to the first meeting, a survey was circulated to explore what partner organisations were doing to address militarised masculinities, what change strategies they were using, what conceptual issues they were grappling with and what their priorities were for the future. A detailed meeting report describing the first two of these meetings was created and includes a summary of the survey analysis.

Prior to the 2022 meetings, WILPF also hosted the **MenEngage Ubuntu Symposium** from November 2020 to June 2021. The symposium included 15 panels on topics related to militarism and masculinities, including this **high level session with WILPF leaders**, and produced a **discussion document** titled “Peacebuilding and Countering Militarism”.



To build on the meetings held in 2021 and 2022 and to sustain momentum on the topic of mobilising men for feminist peace, WILPF and PAX committed to co-convening a follow-up in-person meeting. The two partners invited participants from the previous meetings to establish an organising committee, which was comprised of representatives from ABAAD (Resource Centre for Gender Equality), International Peace Institute, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and the MenEngage Alliance. The organising committee then developed the agenda, identified potential participants and shared the agenda for input and feedback. The meeting itself was held in Tbilisi, Georgia, from 15-17 June 2023, and brought many of the same partners from the 2022 meetings together. This report chronicles the proceedings of that meeting.

Participants from ABAAD, Conciliation Resources, Georgetown University, Gender Equality Network for Small Arms Control (GENSAC), International Peace Institute, Men as Partners for WPS, MenEngage Global Secretariat, MenEngage Africa, the National Democratic Institute (NDI), PAX, Peace and Freedom Organisation (PFO) in Iraq, Peace Track Initiative (PTI), Saferworld, Sonke Gender Justice, SIPRI, Swisspeace, WILPF, WILPF Cameroon, WILPF Colombia, WILPF Yemen and several independent researchers were in attendance at the meeting, enriching the discussions with their expertise and perspectives.

Prior to the meeting, a survey was conducted to facilitate participants' understanding of who would be attending, share their desired learning objectives, determine the desired meeting outcomes and establish discussion topics along with group facilitators. The survey findings informed the meeting objectives and sessions.

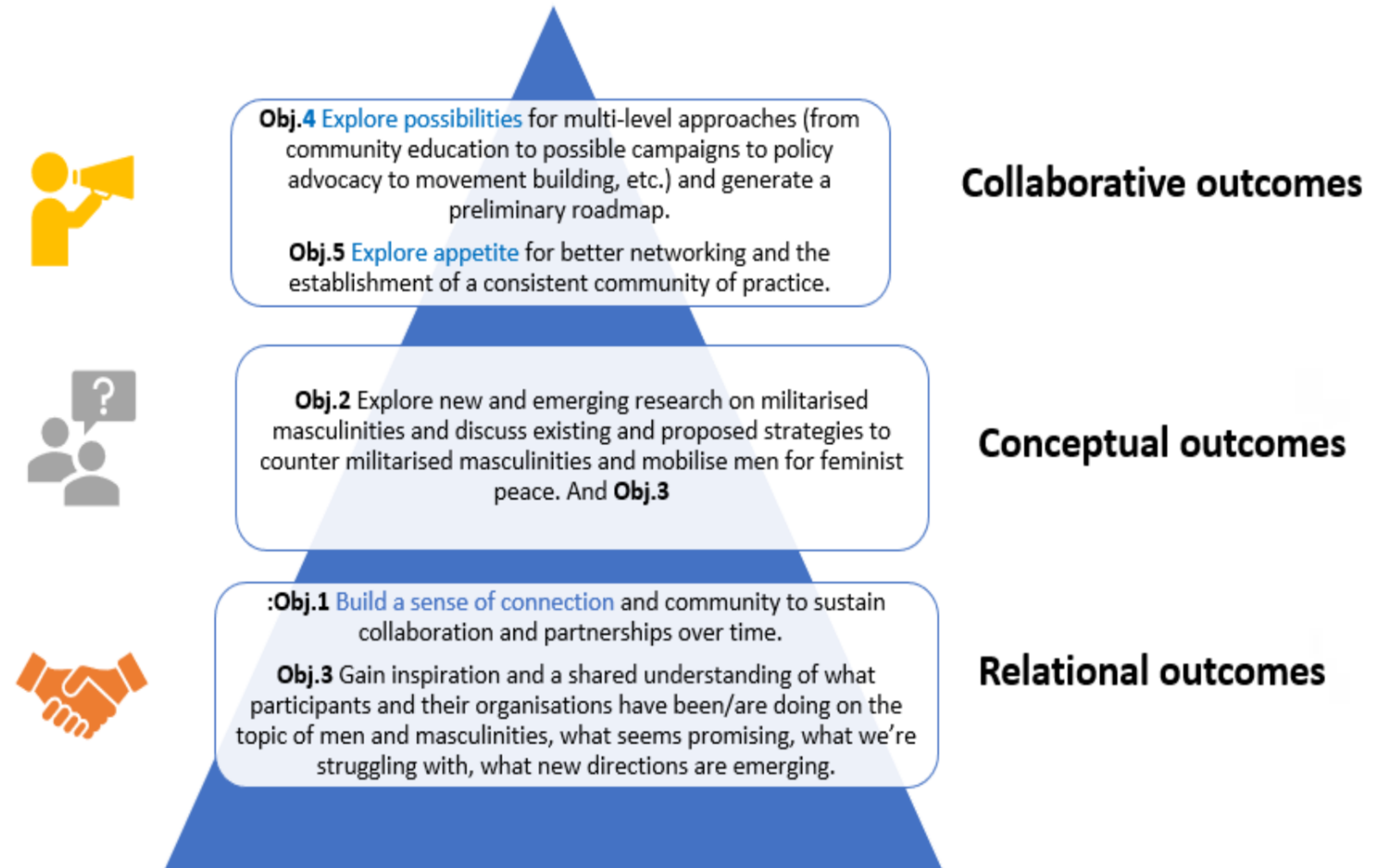
Participants were asked to identify their priorities for plenary sessions.

Two themes received the most interest: 1) understanding and addressing the structural drivers of militarised masculinities and 2) engaging men in positions of power to demand space, voice and rights.

Meeting report can be accessed at:

[https://www.wilpf.org/mmffp\\_documents/men-masculinities-and-feminist-peace-peer-exchange-report/](https://www.wilpf.org/mmffp_documents/men-masculinities-and-feminist-peace-peer-exchange-report/)

# Intended Outcomes and Structure



Scheme 1. Meeting objectives and related outcomes

The agenda was structured across three days. Based on deliberations amongst steering committee members, consultations with participants and the results of the survey, the three day meeting was scheduled as follows:

**Day One** was dedicated to building relationships and establishing a sense of community among participants and presenting their areas of work. This session aimed to establish a secure environment for sharing experiences and exchanging ideas. The “River of Life” exercise helped visualise each participant’s personal, professional and activist trajectory. Additionally, a mapping exercise employed a matrix ([PDF](#) / [Excel](#)) to outline participants’ ongoing activities across various thematic issues and the strategies employed in their work, to enable greater coordination and collaboration.

**Day Two** was dedicated to engaging in in-depth discussions on key topics that were identified through a pre-meeting survey. The topics – structural drivers of militarised masculinities and engaging men in positions of power and the role of allies/ partners in advocating for feminist peace – were selected for plenary and collective deliberations according to the results of a survey provided prior to the meeting.

Given the range of topics on the second day, two parallel sessions were organised, dividing participants into three and four groups respectively. Each group focused on a specific topic and subsequently presented their discussion outcomes as follows:

#### Parallel sessions #1 (Day 2):

- Using international, regional and national commitments and integrating masculinities into existing and emerging frameworks.
- Digital spaces and constructions of patriarchal masculinities.
- Promoting nonviolence and countering militarised responses to conflict escalations.

#### Parallel sessions #2 (Day 3):

- Men and the implementation of GPS agenda.
- Peace processes and active nonviolence.
- Engaging men in FFP vs. authoritarianism.
- Masculinities and digital spaces.

**Day Three** aimed to identify strategies and specific actions to address the aforementioned areas of focus. As participants explored future collaborations, WILPF and PAX offered to establish a community of practice. It was envisaged that this community of practice would include sub-groups, share lessons learned, develop common terminologies and clarifications and plan further actions. It was agreed to develop a concept note to guide future steps.

03

DAY ONE SESSIONS

# Opening Session and Ceremony

In the opening session, Ilse Wermink and Dean Peacock gave welcome remarks on behalf of their two co-convening organisations, PAX and WILPF.

In her words of welcome, Wermink welcomed everyone to participate with their heads and hearts and appreciated the long journey many had made to Tbilisi to participate in the meeting. She reminded us that as we face a world of increased militarisation and patriarchal authoritarianism, we have also seen the power, resilience and street smarts of online and off-line feminist movements across the world. For example, in Afghanistan, Iran and Sudan, defiance in the face of violent repression is occurring from the household level to the national level, specifically demanding women's rights and gender equality. She said these developments ask us to work to engage men towards feminist peace, and in doing so challenge dominant gender norms and masculinities.

Wermink thanked WILPF for the fruitful partnership to date and for securing much of the funding for the meeting. She reminded participants that this meeting built on three

online peer exchanges last year. She said that the previous exchanges had shown the power of sharing challenges and learnings from practice, demonstrated the energy for collaboration and reminded us of the power of sharing our feelings and experiences, while supporting each other. She emphasised that PAX had only recently started working on masculinities and engaging men and stressed that PAX is very keen to do this in a coordinated way and together with everyone present. She acknowledged that she was bringing her uncertainties, questions and learnings from failures to this gathering, just as much as she was bringing her convictions, ideas and energy.

She closed by saying: "I would very much like to welcome you to see these three days as yours to shape a community of practice together, to share what's alive in you and not be afraid to question, share failures and the greatest challenges you see. I welcome you to be fully yourself as we get to know each other."

Peacock welcomed everyone and shared his reflection that we live in a world characterised by both urgency and possibilities. On the one hand, he said, in some parts of the

world, gender is being pried open as a social category and radically redefined. His daughter, he said, goes to a public school in South Africa where the students increasingly reject gender binaries and embrace more gender fluid and non-heteronormative identities. In this sense, he argued, we live in a world with exciting new possibilities for our work to advance gender equality. On the other hand, he said the Russian military aggression occurring in Ukraine with its the threat of nuclear escalation, and the many other wars occurring around the world with far less media attention, all demonstrate the need for us to urgently respond to and challenge the still all too prevalent conceptions of manhood that still equate being a man with the use of force, a refusal to compromise and dominance over women, members of LGBTQ+ communities and gender non-conforming people.

**Opening Ceremony:** An opening ceremony was held on the grounds of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University just down the street from the meeting venue. Participants were invited to partake in a ceremony called “The Power of the Circle.” The aims of this ceremony were to reflect on the victims of violent conflicts, authoritarianism and war, pay tribute to peacemakers, war resisters and feminists worldwide and find inspiration in the collective spirit of the newly formed community.

However, shortly after the ceremony began, university security personnel approached the group and began to photograph the meeting participants and express concern about our presence there. This incident reinforced a crucial principle reiterated by several participants throughout the meeting – the significance of understanding the local context. Georgia remains a traditional and religious society that sometimes exhibits apprehension towards anything perceived as “other,” be it foreign individuals who look different and speak a different language, those that do not conform to gender norms or the presence of unfamiliar symbols.

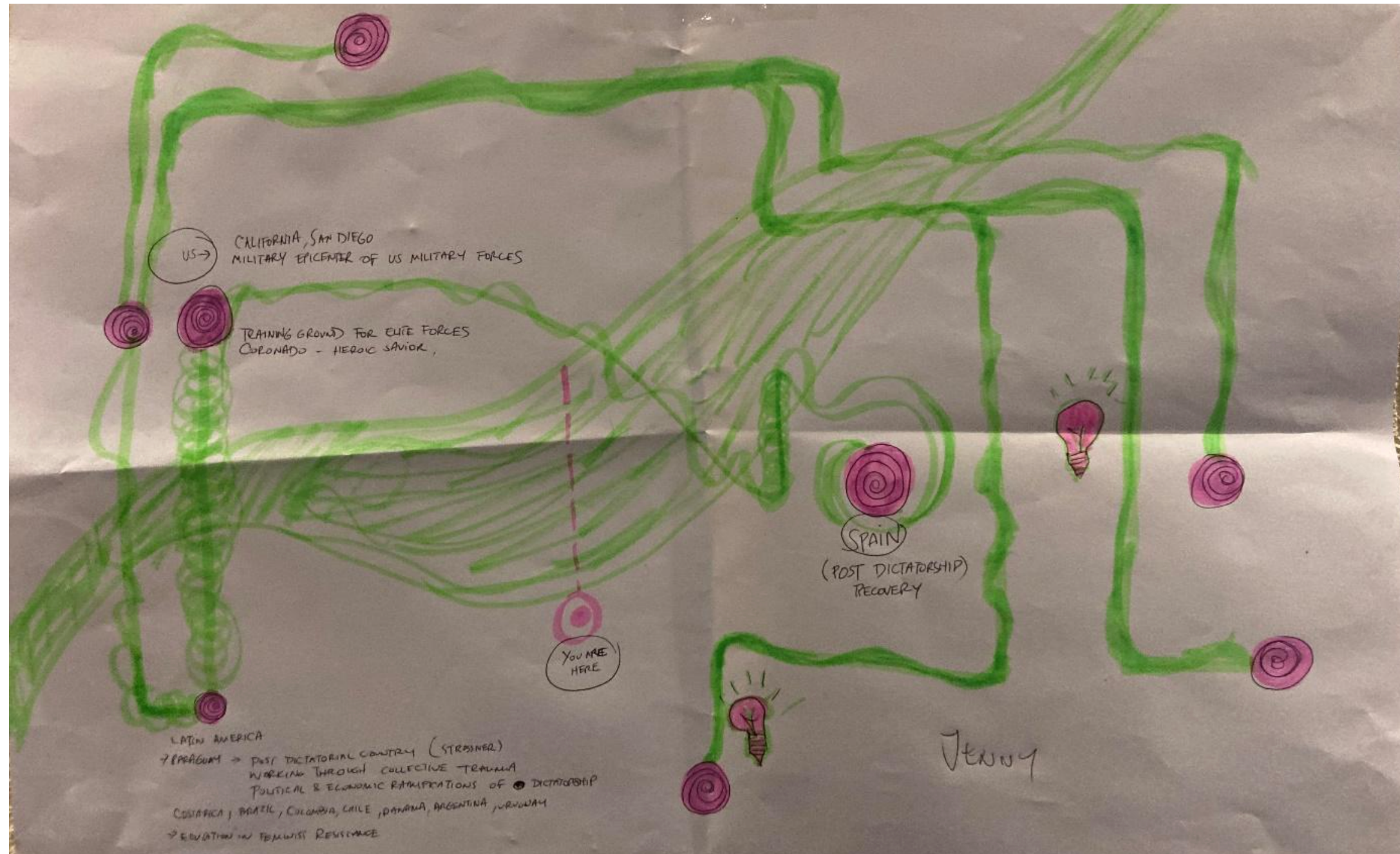
It is worth noting that this incident occurred during Pride Month and given the contested terrain of LGBTQ+ rights in Georgia and the ongoing backlash against LGBTQ+ rights, we were relieved that the meeting was not subjected to further scrutiny or censorship.

## First Session:

### Our Pathways to Activism for Peace Building and Social Justice

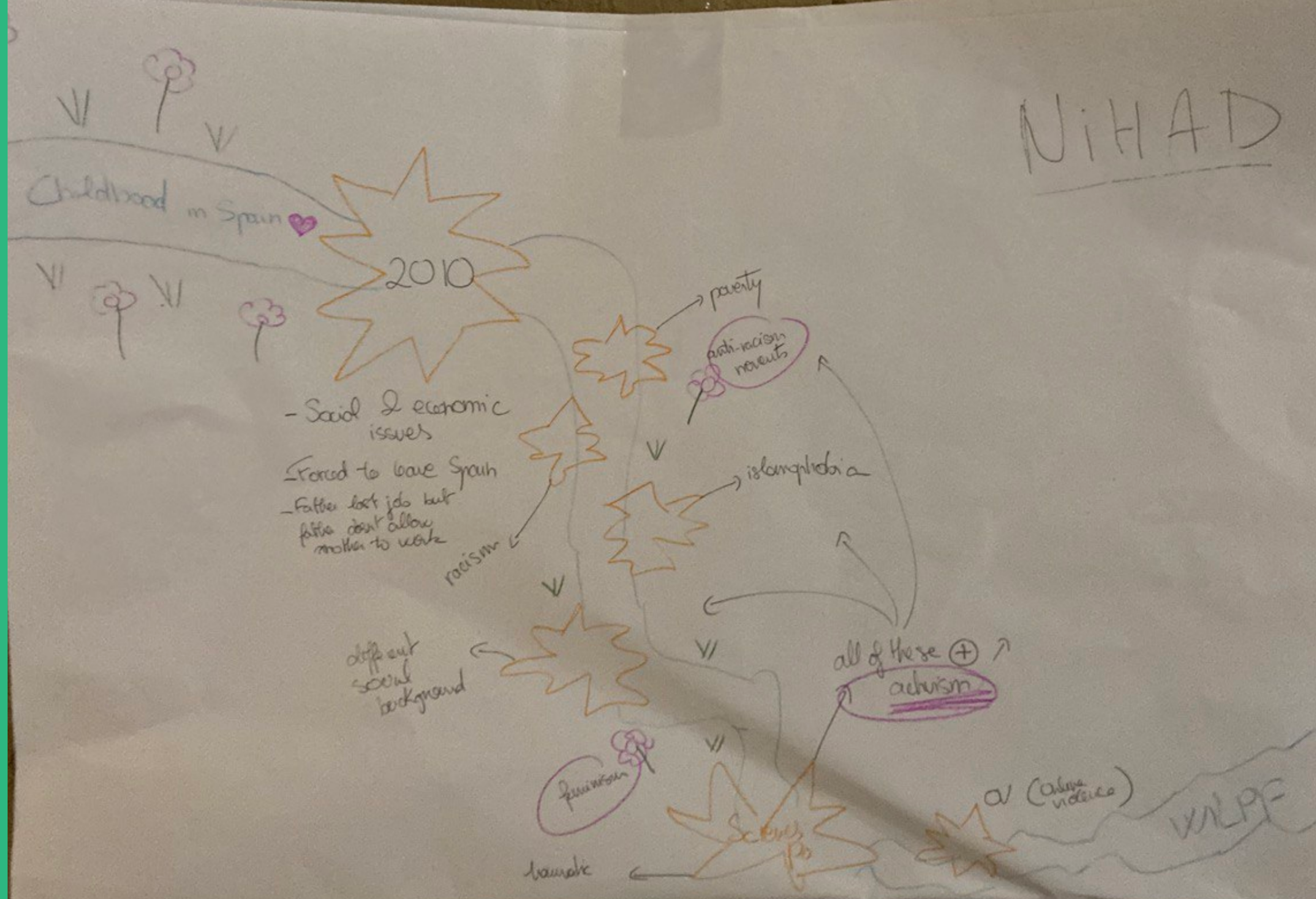
The initial exercise on the first day – the River of Life – provided valuable insights into participants' personal narratives and the catalysts for their activism. Some individuals identified specific people or moments, such as travel experiences, books or wars, that shaped their paths towards activism. For others, social justice concerns began in childhood. And for others, it was a gradual realisation that something was amiss in the world around them, that even progressive movements harboured residual sexism and were excessively centralised and overly influenced by Western paradigms and agendas. As such, becoming actively involved became the necessary means to instigate change.

The River of Life exercise helped participants to get to know each other better and to connect more deeply at a personal level and to continue sharing experiences and building rapport in informal ways as the meeting progressed.



Picture 1. River of Life of a meeting participant

**“Are you a pessimist  
or an optimist?  
– I am an optimist  
who worries a lot.”**



Picture 2. River of Life of a meeting participant



## Second Session:

### Mapping Militarised Masculinities Engagement

#### – A Wealth of Expertise and Experience

In the second session of the day, a mapping exercise was conducted in which participants were asked to indicate their own and their organisations' main thematic focus areas and the social change strategies they use to pursue them. This produced a collective matrix that showcased the scope of work carried out by the participants and their respective organisations.

The matrix employed a two-dimensional framework, with the following thematic issues along the Y-axis: 1) Structural drivers of men's violence and engagement in conflict; 2) Countering authoritarianism, populism and extremism; 3) Including a focus on masculinities in peace processes and active non-violence; 4) Small arms control and disarmament; 5) Ending conscription and supporting war resisters; 6) Engaging men in power to demand voice, space and rights and addressing masculinities and mental health; 7) Addressing tech-facilitated GBV; and 8) Masculinities in post-crisis protection efforts.

The X-axis included a range of change strategies including: 1) Policy advocacy; 2) Research; 3) Community education; 4) Changing narratives and communication; 5) Leadership development; 6) Building coalitions and networks; 7) Programme development. The detailed matrix can be viewed here in [PDF](#) and here in the easier to read [Excel](#).

The matrix produced by the group included an impressive set of activities across most thematic issues and all change strategies. Policy advocacy and research emerged as the most active areas in the matrix.

## Examples of policy advocacy in the partners matrix included:

- PAX is engaged in advocacy related to FFP and feminist perspectives on peace and security at the EU in Brussels, the UN in New York and in The Hague.
- MenEngage Africa's plans to engage with the African Union (MenEngage Africa).
- Swisspeace's work with ministries of foreign affairs, INGOs and the KOFF Swiss Platform for Peace Building.
- SIPRI is drafting policy language for the UN Department of Peace Operations on masculinities in the context of "gender responsiveness".
- MenEngage Global Secretariat is "increasingly calling to hold men in positions of power to account," "conceptualising how to really achieve transformative outcome with power holders" and also "initiating a structured process to unpack our collective role and response in countering the rising anti-rights backlash and what is the role of those working to transform patriarchal masculinities in broader feminist mobilisation."
- WILPF's Mobilising Men for Feminist Peace (MMFP) project is doing advocacy to promote wider use of UN Human Rights Council Resolution 35/10 on engaging men and boys to end violence against women and girls.
- WILPF Colombia/LIMPAL is holding peace dialogues with government security forces and with non-state armed groups.
- A number of organisations are using legal and policy advocacy to address the links between masculinities and small arms and light weapons (SALW).
  1. GENSAC's membership works on SALW, including through the dissemination of a research brief with clear policy recommendations to member states and other actors.
  2. WILPF's MMFP initiative aims to use legal and policy advocacy to address the intersection of masculinities and small arms and light weapons, with a focus on militainment.
  3. WILPF Cameroon is engaging in advocacy for the ratification of international human rights commitments on small arms and light weapons and pushing for the implementation of national laws on disarmament.

## Examples of research in the matrix included:

- The Georgetown Institute on Women, Peace and Security is conducting research to understand how masculinities are performed in conflict-affected contexts and on the relationship between attitudes toward gender equality and participation in peacebuilding activities.
- SIPRI is researching aspects of protection of civilians, for example, addressing and recognising men and boys' protection concerns, and the power dynamics which exacerbate threats to protection of civilians.
- Swisspeace is conducting “policy-oriented research on masculinities, including conflict prevention, conflict resolution, mediation process, peace operations” as well as on masculinities and digital spaces.
- PAX is planning to undertake research on gender transformative approaches in their country based on thematic programming, particularly looking at best practices and lessons learned on engaging men and working with a masculinities lens.
- Conciliation Resources (CR) is conducting research to understand strategies used by women in peace processes to navigate and counteract certain masculinities (via UN Rapid Response Window), and they have a report coming out in July 2023 on gender, masculinities, trauma and violence. CR is also carrying out gender conflict analysis on structural drivers in our programme contexts and developing tailored strategies.
- International Peace Institute is doing research to find ways to integrate masculinities into WPS work.
- WILPF is disseminating the large body of research produced by its MMFP team and partners and also conducting research on militainment and the marketing of militarised masculinities via the entertainment sector, as well as on the extent to which National Action Plans (NAPs) and other relevant laws and policies in Africa integrate a focus on engaging and changing men.
- WILPF Cameroon conducted a number of **original studies on men and militarised masculinities in Cameroon**.
- LIMPAL is conducting research on the impacts of armed violence on women.
- ABAAD is conducting research on violence and masculinities, including interpersonal, structural, political and patriarchal constructs of all of the above.

## In the area of narratives and communications:

Organisations identified the following activities they are involved in:

- WILPF's MMFP initiative: Global photo contest on militarised masculinities and alternatives and exhibitions in key global venues; production of documentary film Power on Patrol; work to address and challenge militainment.
- Peace and Freedom Organisation (PFO) Iraq: Raising awareness and gender mainstreaming on memory activity.
- Conciliation Resources: Documentary on how CR partners navigate barriers and resistance to gender transformative work in culturally sensitive ways.
- ABAAD – Lebanon: National and regional campaigning and production of feminist counter-culture media.

## Identified activities in the area of leadership development:

The following strategies are being implemented by participants:

- **Saferworld:** Raising awareness of conflict training on gender to highlight power relations of gendered drivers of conflict, including with men in civil society positions of authority; engaging male allies in decision making positions to enhance women's participation; working with male champions.
- **PAX:** E-modules on engaging men and masculinities; engaging men in decision-making positions as allies to enhance women's participation; piloting work on gender transformative peacebuilding with a masculinities approach.
- **Peace and Freedom Organisation (PFO) Iraq:** Transformative justice project; capacity building for new generation of civil society.

- **MenEngage Alliance:** Leadership development, including through an accountability framework, and ensuring its leaders are holding power with and through movement building approaches with feminist/LGBTQ+/youth leaders.
- **WILPF MMFP:** Integrating a focus on mobilising men for feminist peace into WILPF's existing work in both the International Secretariat and across WILPF Sections as well as two leadership training institutes planned in the next year: one in the MENA region for grassroots activist organisations and one in partnership with MenEngage.
- **WILPF and MenEngage:** Creation of a learning circle on militarised masculinities and feminist peace with MenEngage member organisations and WILPF IS and Sections.
- **NDI's** Men, Power and Politics approach.
- **Soon to be launched:** ABAAD toolkit on masculinities and militarisation.

## Examples of network and alliance building activities:

The following activities are being carried out or are planned by participants:

- **NDI:** Developing a cadre of experts for programme delivery of the Men, Power and Politics approach; global network of civi-tech organisations; summit for democracy; community for democracy OTC.
- **MenEngage Alliance and WILPF:** Plans to revive a learning circle on militarised masculinities as a community of practice for ongoing peer-to-peer learning.
- **PAX:** Promoting democracy and non-violent action strategies.
- **WILPF:** Through networks, conducting advocacy on peace processes (gender transformation, women's participation, CSO participation).
- **ABAAD:** Diverse training on masculinities: youth, fatherhood, militarism, active non-violence.
- **IPI:** Including men focused on and/or working towards gender equality in all convenings.

## Examples of programme development

- **Saferworld:** Established a gender equality strategy with a gender transformative goal.
- **PAX:** In-country civic space programming, engaging men towards demobilisation and promotion of feminist peace; including women's leadership in non-violent action.
- **NDI:** The Men, Power and Politics project and piloting tech solution to online misogyny.

This visual tool effectively highlighted imbalances and signalled areas that may require attention and further development, particularly in the areas of research and policy advocacy, and especially pertaining to dealing with the structural drivers of men's violence and engagement in conflict, as well as in the areas of authoritarianism and populism.



Picture 4. Matrix filled in by the meeting participants



**THE LANDSCAPE OF GENDER, PEACE AND CONFLICT  
WITH FOCUS ON MASCULINITY:  
PROGRESS, CHALLENGES AND KEY QUESTIONS**

The meeting then shifted to a discussion about the landscape of gender and peace with a focus on masculinity, with three broad framing questions: 1) What is working?; 2) What is challenging?; and 3) What are the key questions we're grappling with?

How to engage men and men's allyship

For some participants, when engaging men, it is crucial to tailor the approach to the local reality, adapting language and strategies to avoid rejection or resistance.

**Izz Aljabari from Alliance for Solidarity** in Palestine said that understanding community norms, social norms, religion and other factors is key in effectively engaging with people and initiating meaningful conversations. He stressed that identifying and understanding masculinity can be complex and nuanced. The concept of masculinity itself can vary across cultures and contexts, and its specific manifestations may differ. He offered one example of the importance of context familiarity saying that in communities within Arab countries, terms such as patriarchy are understood differently than in English speaking settings as the term literally means fathers or fatherhood. As a result, ideas about challenging patriarchy can easily meet strong resistance when men (and women) interpret calls to dismantle patriarchy as calls for challenging fatherhood.

**Sandra Pepera from NDI** said that there continues to be a harmful notion that women must resolve gender-based violence issues on their own. She said that it is essential to recognise that crimes against women are also crimes against the state. By prioritising a woman-centred approach and providing support, we can ensure that women have the necessary resources and allies to address these challenges. Inasmuch as our goal is to engage and mobilise men, then we must stress that women need active support, not just the presence of men.

**Yasmine Janah from Swisspeace** indicated that, on a national level, there are examples of countries taking steps towards addressing masculinity issues and gender equality, including the scoping study that she and Leandra Bias had been commissioned to do by the French government on masculinities and peacebuilding in preparation for their new WPS National Action Plan. Yasmine pointed out that this focus on masculinities during preparation for the French NAP has generated interest rather than backlash. France has also renewed the implementation of its NAP on gender equality.

**Reem Ghassan from the Peace and Freedom Organization** in Iraq emphasised the importance of engaging men in their capacity as policy makers to increase the likelihood of their support for peacebuilding and women's rights. She cautioned, however, that while there may be formal quotas for women in politics, these measures often do not translate into meaningful power-sharing, as men are resistant to relinquishing their positions of authority and women who are appointed do not have influence or space to develop their own agendas. In Iraq, she went on to say, there are challenges in advancing the WPS Agenda. However, significant positive changes have occurred in recent years, including the creation of spaces for women and transformation in education. NGOs have played a significant role in organising workshops and lectures on women's rights and feminism. While anti-feminist sentiments are omnipresent, there is hope among the younger generation.

**Luisa Portugal from Pathfinders and GENSAC** emphasised the need for transformation in UN agencies, which she said are still dominated by men from high-income countries.



One of the challenges identified in peacebuilding is the need for long-term funding. Participants emphasised that sustainable change and achieving tangible results takes time and resources but the urgency of addressing conflicts and promoting peace can sometimes create expectations for immediate outcomes. These expectations may not align with the realities of complex and lengthy peacebuilding processes.

The group then had a rich and robust discussion around the question of how and what it means to address both the social and structural drivers of militarised masculinities and men's engagement in conflict.

**Anthony Keedi from ABAAD** in Beirut said it is important to recognise that men who hold privilege often resist claims for women's rights and equality, particularly when these are perceived as threatening and a zero-sum proposition in which men lose out as women demand equality. He also pointed out that for many men, whether in Lebanon or other parts of the world, being involved in violence is one of very few economic opportunities available to them. He said this reality makes it essential to address poverty and other structural drivers of men's violence but indicated that this is often very difficult to do, especially in contexts like Lebanon where government barely functions – when it even exists – and is often beset by corruption and mismanagement.

**Angelica Pino from WILPF** also stressed that in too many contexts of extreme poverty, men have financial pressures to be involved in military structures. She reminded participants that when people are in survival mode, their immediate focus is on meeting their basic needs and ensuring the well-being of their families. Consequently, they may prioritise activities that provide financial security, even if they are not legal or aligned with peacebuilding efforts.

**Diana Salcedo from WILPF/LIMPAL** in Colombia argued that if poverty drove violence, then women would be the most violent since they are almost always the most economically precarious. She insisted that any efforts to engage and mobilise men and to transform patriarchy must happen through the lens of feminism and with the leadership of feminist movements. She said it is imperative that we question men in positions of power in governments, multilateral agencies and social movements and evaluate whether their commitments align with the feminist agenda. She also indicated that a focus on poverty is a distraction from a necessary focus on patriarchy and men's control over women.

Determining whether social or structural drivers are primary can vary depending on the specific context and country. In the case of Saudi Arabia, **Hend Omairan from Peace Track Initiative** said that recent changes to gender rights laws have led to significant improvements in women's lives. These changes indicate that addressing structural barriers, such as legal frameworks, can have a transformative impact on gender equality.

**However, Reem Ghassan from PFO** said that in Iraq, despite the existence of quotas for women in politics, women elected to positions of power often face challenges in exerting real influence. This highlights the importance of considering both the formal and informal structures of power and how strong the state is, as there is a need for deeper systemic changes. In such cases, addressing social drivers, including cultural norms, attitudes and patriarchal structures, becomes crucial.

Citing a conversation he had with a taxi driver on the way to the meeting, Anthony Keedi offered an example of how economic and political incentives can indeed play a role in facilitating change. He had been told that in Georgia, the desire to join the European Union has created incentives for the government and individuals to adopt progressive policies and practices. The alignment of incentives between the system and individuals can contribute to more favourable conditions for achieving gender equality.

Changing gender norms involves addressing various aspects, including perceptions of discrimination, promoting positive parenting practices and engaging fathers in the process.

Participants further discussed and debated the drivers of men's violence, the utility of the term "transforming masculinities" and accountability to women's rights movements and to feminist principles.

In the discussion about men's violence, meeting participants acknowledged that aggression is often associated with traditional notions of masculinity.

**Robert Nagel from Georgetown University's Women, Peace and Security Institute** stressed that not all forms of masculinity involve aggression.

**Anna Antonakis from Swisspeace** noted that the project of transforming masculinities involves promoting positive and non-violent expressions of masculinities while simultaneously challenging harmful behaviours and attitudes. She pointed out that it requires engaging men in critical self-reflection, promoting empathy and encouraging alternative models of masculinity that are based on respect, equality and non-violence.

**Dean Peacock from WILPF** asked why it is that in our pursuit of gender equality, we focus on the goal of “transforming masculinities” rather than liberating men from masculinities. He asked why we aim to reform masculinities rather than challenge men’s investment in masculinities. He asked whether the frame of “transforming masculinities” does not inadvertently reproduce gender essentialisms and implicitly suggest that there are inherent differences between women and men. He asked whether it isn’t counter-productive – and conceptually inconsistent – to suggest that some human traits are aligned with masculinities and others with femininities. He also questioned why we use a term that’s so opaque and so inaccessible to those outside of work on gender, and asked whether it wouldn’t make more sense to name what it is we want to do: educate and mobilise men to support gender equality, peace and social justice more broadly.

Peacock referred to Alan Greig and Michael Flood’s recent piece for UN Women, which cites Sarah White’s pioneering analysis from 2000 in which she argues that the focus on masculinities obscures the material forces at play in shaping gender and generating violence. Jeff Hearn’s work, he said, reminds us that you can change masculinities and leave men’s power intact and encourages us to focus on men and men’s practices rather than “hiding behind the gloss” of the term “masculinities.”

## Day Two Plenary Sessions

With the discussion on what is working and what challenges exist in work to counter militarised masculinities and mobilise men for feminist peace, the group turned to the thematic issues identified as being of shared interest in the pre-meeting survey. We began with two plenary sessions: one focused on understanding and responding to structural drivers of militarised masculinities, and the other on engaging men in positions of power to claim space, voice and rights for gender equality and peace. Each session was introduced by two speakers who were asked to make five minute framing remarks to which participants could then respond.

# First Plenary Session: Structural Drivers of Militarised Masculinities and How We Address Those In Our Work

For this plenary session, Diana Salcedo Lopez from WILPF/LIMPAL Colombia and Ilse Wermink from PAX both made introductory framing remarks.

Salcedo Lopez initiated the discussion by introducing the factors that LIMPAL argues influence masculinity, particularly in countries with a colonial past. She described six pillars of militarism:

- **Friend-enemy logic:** A given group, an “enemy”, is a threat and must be controlled and even exterminated; there is separation between good and bad.
- **Fear:** The world is perceived as a dangerous place, so citizens require protection, discipline and stricter security measures, such as curfews and repression of social protest.
- **Violent conflict management:** From the militaristic culture, violence is legitimised to eliminate threats, risks and even enemies.
- **Dispossession and capitalism:** Militaristic measures usually cover up capitalist interests. Militarism causes both direct violence (murders, disappearances, femicides, forced displacements, etc.) and structural violence, insofar as it is a mechanism to control populations for the benefit of neoliberal economic policies (Londoño and Cacho, 2014 p.18, cited by Espitia, 2018).
- **Structural racism and xenophobia:** Generates war dynamics that considers someone with a different skin colour to their own to be an enemy, justifies violent practices against these subjects and identifies them as a threat to cohesion.
- **Heterocentrism:** Militarisation is deeply rooted in patriarchy. Militarised structures exalt masculine values such as obedience to authority, hierarchy and control; values that are reflected in society and that perpetuate norms and gender roles that associate “masculinity with power and aggressiveness; and femininity, with humility and passivity” (Laska & Molander, 2012).

The detrimental effects of militarism disproportionately fall on women, people with non-binary gender identities or with non-conventional sexualities.

The cultural nature of these pillars is evident, and language plays a significant role as a deeply embedded aspect of culture, often operating on a subconscious level. To challenge the structural drivers and promote war resistance, LIMPAL is currently developing an antimilitary glossary in multiple languages, aiming to dismantle military concepts and terminology.

Ilse Wermink from PAX offered three upstream structural drivers of militarised masculinities that require attention:

- **Disarmament:** Advocating for the reduction of arms flows to conflict areas and refraining from trading arms with countries engaged in war. For example, by researching investment policies of banks and insurance companies and by outing them publicly, putting pressure to change these investment policies. This includes efforts towards nuclear disarmament and increasing understanding and awareness of the gendered system of power of militarised structures.
- **Holding multinational businesses accountable:** Addressing the destructive actions of extractive industries that contribute to military mobilisation in regions, inequality and human rights violations. This involves legal aspects and raising awareness, such as the example of the “Blood Coal Campaign” linking Dutch companies to Colombian conflict dynamics; awareness campaigns in the Netherlands are informing people how this energy was obtained and advocate for not using it. Another example is the Swedish court case against Lundin Petroleum, for crimes committed in South Sudan: see Unpaid Debt.

In addition, it is important to acknowledge that powerful companies can employ numerous lawyers and shield themselves from accountability and undermine judicial processes. People may face obstacles in terms of witnessing and speaking up against injustices. To overcome these challenges, there is a need to create inclusive spaces and foster coalitions of great diversity that can collectively challenge existing power dynamics.

An example of this resistance can be seen in Cameroon, where women are actively opposing industrial monoculture practices by international agribusinesses that have detrimental effects on their communities and the environment.

- **Breaking kleptocracy** In particular contexts, political economies make armed conflicts highly profitable for leaders of conflict parties, incentivising further military mobilisation. One way to counter this is by targeting illicit financial streams, through targeted network sanctions and freezing assets. This will tackle the issue of resources flowing out of a country and pressure conflict parties to peace negotiations.

## Second Plenary Session: Engaging Men In Positions of Power to Claim Space, Voice and Rights for Gender Equality and Peace, and the Role of Allies/Partners In Advocating for Feminist Peace

For this second plenary session, framing remarks were made by Hend Omairan from Peace Track Initiative and by Anthony Keedi and Sandra Pepera, who both used the National Democratic Institute's Men, Power and Politics toolkit to discuss their approach to engaging men to promote gender equality and change behaviours in political organisations.

Hend Omairan from Peace Track Initiative in Yemen said that the Feminist Peace Roadmap (FPR) developed by PTI serves as a tool to engage men in power and ensure women's inclusion in peace processes. It was created collaboratively by women with expertise in various areas and shared with men in positions of authority for their reflection and feedback. However, engaging men in positions of power in relation with the Yemeni peace process proved challenging, requiring activists to find alternative means of delivering printed copies and persistently requesting feedback.

Delegations from the Women's Solidarity Network actively seek participation in political and other events and organise dialogues with government officials and political parties to advocate for women's political agendas. While progress has been made in including women in consultations, they also often find themselves relegated to a separate and siloed table. The discussion about Yemen prompted Hend Omairan to share that a notable example of a feminist initiative in Yemen is the exchange of war prisoners facilitated by mothers. He reminded us that, while this action is often attributed to the feminine role of mothers, it is important to recognise that it was first of all carried out by women negotiating with rival faction leaders.

Sandra Pepera and Anthony Keedi then introduced the Men, Power and Politics toolkit developed by NDI and implemented in partnership with a range of different organisations, including ABAAD in Lebanon. Pepera explained that in the Men, Power and Politics approach, change occurs at three levels:

1. Individual level
2. Institutional level
3. Socio-cultural level

She pointed out that many current programmes on masculinities end up engaging some of the least powerful men in a given context, and emphasised the importance of engaging men with more power and influence if we want to mobilise men who can act as transformational agents of change. She said that the frequent engagement of community-level men with efforts that

focus on the individual and interpersonal levels often means significant changes in gender norms or in patriarchal power are not achieved. For this reason, NDI has chosen to focus on men in political organisations or in other groups that have capacity to bring about substantive changes in gender relations and have established the MPP approach.

Anthony Keedi, who has been working with NDI on the roll-out of the MPP initiative, then emphasised that the ultimate goal of the MPP model is to foster long-term allyship. They outlined a four-step guide from the Men, Power and Politics approach to help individuals become allies:

1. Recognise and identify the problem and the harm it causes.
2. Partner with women, as they possess valuable analysis, research and information.
3. Reflect on how harm is perpetuated in society and strategise ways to bring about change.
4. Embrace a proactive role in promoting peace and transformation, moving beyond merely stopping harm.

He said that the aim is not to be against men but to challenge the patriarchal system. Motivating individuals and cultivating a willingness to share power are crucial elements in creating lasting change.

Diana Salcedo Lopez from LIMPAL wondered about the efficacy of spending time and resources in engaging men in power – for instance, men in the higher echelons of the military – as they will not have motivations to give up power and resources. She also questioned how discussions around engaging men and methodologies to work with them end up dominating spaces aimed at discussing feminist approaches to peacebuilding.

# 04

**DAY TWO SESSIONS**



## Day Two:

### First Set of Parallel Sessions

On the afternoon of the second day, based on the survey conducted during the event preparation and the discussion about the agenda on Day One, several discussion topics were identified for in-depth discussions among smaller groups, ensuring coverage of all relevant subjects (see Annex 3 below for a full description).

These were the following:

1. Integrating a focus on men and masculinities into existing international, regional and national commitments and frameworks (led by Jenny Rodriguez).
2. Countering militarised responses to conflict escalations (led by Robert Nagel).
3. Digital spaces and constructions of patriarchal masculinities (led by Sandra Pepera and Anna Antonakis).

Participants were given the opportunity to choose the topic they wished to engage in. To ensure the success of these focused deliberations, a facilitator with relevant expertise or theoretical knowledge was assigned to guide the discussion. The report back was then conducted in the form of “World Café”, where groups rotated around the room and engaged with the facilitator and rapporteur appointed by each thematic group to allow for interactive discussions and full participation. Following the World Café approach, participants reconvened for a plenary discussion on major themes and trends that emerged from each of the groups.

Time remaining on the second day allowed only for in-depth discussion of the first two groups. The remaining group then presented the following morning.

## Parallel Session One: Using International, Regional and National Commitments and Integrating Masculinities into Existing and Emerging Frameworks

Discussions surrounding the integration of men and boys within the pillars of the WPS Agenda, as outlined in UNSC Resolution 2467, have sparked debates. Advocating for a men and masculinity agenda entails significant risks. Instead, the focus is on “accountable advocacy,” **which involves incorporating a nuanced, political and intersectional feminist lens.**

Mutual goals in this sphere include:

- Clearly articulate the collective political agenda and talking points we can use across various policy and political spaces, using common language.
- Find opportunities to integrate masculinities, including through events, policy documents, etc.

Examples of engaging men and boys to support feminist movements, their agendas, their voices, etc. include:

- UNGA Violence Against Women (77L21) – a strong example of integrating men and boys.
- HRC 35/10 (2017) is a good model with good political articulation and is **analysed in this piece by WILPF.**

However, participants noted that **when men and masculinities are being discussed, there is a risk that everyone else might get marginalised.** Policies that include men and boys often slip into paternalistic language. For example, at the recent UN Commission on the Status of Women, negotiations on many issues of importance to feminists were contested and blocked by conservative member states but the language on men and boys continued to be prioritised, protected and centred.

Instead of solely focusing on allies or agents of change, it is crucial to address roles and responsibilities at both the individual and systemic levels. However, when attempting to advance the agenda at the systemic level, the language used often gets marginalised or overlooked. Language plays a significant role in this context, highlighting the need for further work in this area to ensure effective communication and understanding.

Key points that emerged from this discussion include:

- “Masculinities” are plural and should be defined. A man is a gendered being, but there are expectations, ascribed roles and norms. We don’t talk about just men and boys as such, but masculinities.
- There is a difference between engaging men and boys and transforming masculinities. Only men’s participation is not enough.
- Feminist organisations need to be at the table – they have to be key actors in setting the agenda.
- Policy formulation – WPS, NAP and UPR mandates (these are policies in which organisations working to mobilise men enter).

## Proposed solutions:

Four steps are required to integrate masculinities into existing and emerging frameworks:

1. We need to differentiate between changing men and transforming masculinities. This can encompass structural issues that are way upstream.
2. Then work focused on gender norms.
3. Then work with men supporting women’s rights priorities.
4. Work on gender analysis.
5. FFP comes in when enabling governments to structurally embed gender analysis.

## Questions for further discussion:

- How do we achieve better language for mandate renewals? There is certain variation across Special Representatives of the Secretary General (SRSGs) as to whether gender should be integrated into mandate renewals.
- Gender analysis that is influencing the UN and by extension member states; how are they thinking about the political situation and the role of the UN?  
Who should they be working with?

## Parallel Session Two: Countering Militarised Responses to Conflict Escalations

We observe multiple instances of militarised response with limited critique. To what degree can we resist militarisation and respond to conflict escalations in a non-violent way?

We encounter a contradiction when applying Non-Violent Communication in certain contexts. People question our right to discourage them from resorting to violence when their survival is at stake. They ask why NVC does not apply to the aggressor who employs violence. There is a legitimate concern about personal safety if they were to embrace non-violence. In reality, we cannot currently guarantee their safety, creating a mismatch between the context and the narrative.

In some European Union Member States (EU MS) agencies, the rise of authoritarianism is intertwined with patriarchy and misogyny, further exacerbating the situation.

It is important to note that authoritarian leaders on the ground, such as those in Iran, Russia and Saudi Arabia, often use weapons. They present themselves as caretakers of the population, aiming to provide protection, which is not necessarily true in practice. It is crucial to recognise that these leaders not only harbour misogynistic views but also employ such attitudes as political tactics. For instance, **Putin's deliberate act of bringing a dog to a meeting with Merkel**, who has a fear of dogs, serves as an example of this behaviour. Colombia, on the other hand, faces the challenges posed by religious authoritarianism, resulting in opposition to women's rights and LGBTQ+ rights. Conservative right-wing groups actively advocate for the preservation of traditional norms, contributing to an anti-women and anti-LGBTQ+ environment.

Personal drivers for militarised masculinities include:

- Socio-cultural norms. Men are socialised into feeling an obligation to protect their families and countries.
- For some generations, armed resistance has been seen as legitimate and necessary, e.g. fighting dictatorship.

- Fear as a driver of authoritarianism. Example: Inflated crime statistics in New York to justify attracting more funds, which is cut from social resources such as public libraries.

The group identified the following strategies for countering militarised masculinities:

- Addressing social norms and structural drivers together.
- Taking men away from war structures: doing work in schools on conscientious objection; helping men resist joining militaries; supporting state policies that are against militarisation to stay this way.
- Questioning the role of our organisations with the context of countering militarised masculinities.
- For areas less affected by conflict, creating resistance groups together with legal structures to keep men from joining conflict.

## Questions for further discussion:

- Structural norms vs. social norms? Is there something we should work first on? How can we make use of the **Swisspeace** study on Masculinities, Violence and Peace, which focuses on approaches governments and multilateral agencies can take in centralising gender analysis with a masculinities lens towards a greater normalisation of investing in non-violent responses to conflict escalations?
- Can we take accountability to the next level (defence, security apparatus)? How can we go about that? What types of authorities are we talking about holding accountable?

## Parallel Session Three: Digital Spaces and Constructions of Patriarchal Masculinities

Digital space is driven by the ideas of the community it was created by. This industry demonstrates overrepresentation of white men with so-called “American philosophy”. It is also highly monopolised and is formally owned/controlled by few people.

It is important to mention that the Internet itself does not create inequality – it only reproduces the ideas of people who create content. There are multiple unmoderated spaces for men where militarised/misogynistic ideas are promoted and reinforced.

**Here, there are two levels of analysis:**

- Technology industries, political economy and material dimensions relation to extractivism.
- **Social drivers:** symbolic dimensions, narratives around masculinities and militarisation, in particular with regards to gaming, hate speech etc. Gaming culture and video games very often promote violence.
- **Research question:** How are power relations organised and reproduced through technologies?
- **Security and censorship:** Who is doing this? Government? Organisations that own online platforms?
- We need to look at the climate change dimensions of digital spaces and the dumping of toxic chemicals associated with technology in the developing world. As one example of many, the toxic **e-waste sites in Agbogbloshie in Accra, Ghana** create long-term damage to the soil and ground water.

## Manosphere and networked violence

- Cementing masculinities: Alpha males, beta males: uprisings of beta males against alphas
- Anti-feminist, misogynist, conspiracy narratives of gender-nazis, etc.
- Upscaling, internationalisation: automatised, anonymisation, invisibilising. Who is the perpetrator?

## Policy/advocacy areas

- Addressing/regulating biases in content moderation regimes.
- Digital Services Act.
- Ending tech-facilitated GBV: Integrating into GBV definitions/responses.
- UN Commission on the Status of Women.

## Research areas

- Demobilisation and demilitarisation: office of criminal investigation on gaming and “involuntary celibate” issues.
- More knowledge about glorification of weaponry in video games/memes.
- Analysing the bias in design ranking and recommendation systems.

## Solutions:

Approaches to mobilising men for feminist peace in relation to digital spaces:

- Disruption of networks and narratives.
- Engaging men for feminist tech to transform the industry.
- Unpacking content moderation regimes (automated? Human moderation? Responsibilities are unclear, there is no transparency).
- Intersectional inquiries into digital participation need to include “everything from representation to hardware”.

## Examples of activist approaches:

- **African Men. Hollywood Stereotypes.**
- Media and digital literacy: **creating online campaigns and educational material**
- **Swapping gender role video games**

## Questions for further discussion:

- Militarism, product placement and video games.
- What do we need to see happen in terms of terminologies in policy?
- Security: Women can now be monitored from personal to state levels. What are the protecting strategies?

05

DAY THREE SESSIONS

## Day Three:

### Strategising Potential Joint Activities and Developing a Preliminary Road Map

To orient people towards the day's activities of considering and planning a preliminary road map for joint action, the day began with a session that asked participants to reflect on people they knew who had been victims of violent conflicts, authoritarianism and war, and also to pay homage to those who had been feminist peacemakers and war resisters. The session stirred up powerful emotions for many. It was emotionally challenging for some participants and inspirational for some others.

After an extended break that allowed people to ground themselves and continue the meeting, the group then returned to report backs and reflections on the remaining discussion group.

#### Parallel Session: Peace Processes and Active Non-Violence

**Key insights on the relationship between men, peace processes and active non-violence included:**

Men often experience trauma from violence and unfortunately, this can perpetuate a cycle of violence. It surrounds them in various aspects of their lives, such as within families, throughout history and in media portrayals like movies and video games. Additionally, certain religious beliefs may even promote violence, further reinforcing this perception. (Anthony Keedi, ABAAD)

There is a common misconception that simply abstaining from violence equates to nonviolence. However, true **non-violence involves actively engaging with non-violent groups and taking actions to prevent and stop violence from occurring**. It requires proactive efforts to promote peace and address the root causes of violence. (Anthony Keedi, ABAAD)

However, even within the non-violence movement, there can still be a militarised approach through the usage of military terminology and practices. To foster a more comprehensive and effective approach to nonviolence, we need to develop and employ alternative methods and language that aligns with the principles of peace. (Diana Salcedo, WILPF Colombia)

In order to challenge and transform societal norms, it is important to leverage external voices and perspectives. This highlights the significance of raising awareness and engaging with communities that may perceive certain issues as the norm, without questioning or critically examining them. **By bringing attention to these topics, we can demonstrate their relevance and foster dialogue for positive change.** (Robert Nagel, Georgetown University)



## Reflections on days one and two to inform joint planning

Following these discussions, the group moved to a reflection on the preceding two days and how those discussions will inform planning for next actions. Participants broke into small groups to reflect and shared their thoughts in plenary.

Coming out of discussions in pairs, the conversation shifted to how we understand the complex pathways and risk factors for men's violence. Dean Peacock argued that we sometimes over-determine the role masculinities play in explaining men's violence against women and cited two studies from Sonke Gender Justice in South Africa.

The first, the Sonke Change Trial, part of the **What Works To Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls** Initiative, was conducted in Johannesburg and included a survey with 2,500 men on their life trajectories and use of violence. That study showed that men's adherence to patriarchal norms of control over women was not as predictive of men's violence as prior exposure to trauma, especially during childhood, and that other factors such as chronic

hunger, alcohol outlet density and job stress were also more predictive than patriarchal attitudes.

The second, the Tsimba project, conducted in rural Bushbuckridge where men's rates of HIV service utilisation are much lower than women's, revealed that neither men nor women endorsed the norm that seeking health is a sign of weakness for men. Instead, low rates of HIV testing among men was instead due to the design and availability of health services, which primarily catered to women of reproductive age.

Using these studies, Peacock argued that we need to test our assumptions that masculinities are the cause of men's violence or men's poor utilisation of health services so that our interventions in fact produce impact. A number of participants indicated their discomfort with this analysis and asserted that it was inconsistent with a feminist analysis of men's violence and engagement in conflict.

## From reflection to potential joint activities

The penultimate session of Day Three focused on three questions: 1) What do we want to do together?; 2) How do we bring multiple strategies to bear?; and 3) What time frame can we plan against?

Participants selected the following thematic groups for planning joint actions.

### Parallel Self-Led Session: Men and the Implementation of the GPS Agenda

Why is this important?

- The initial systems approach to promoting the WPS Agenda was lost over the years of its development, with increased focus on protection and away from changing global power hierarchies. The terminology and tools of the WPS Agenda are outdated.
- An expansive lens is needed to make it more intersectional, diverse, with a masculinities lens and engagement of men and boys, particularly power holders.
- WPS is an understood and accepted term. Currently often used at more community level (CR as an

example), and with WPS recognised. Donors have linked policy processes and budgets.

- GPS can engage men as changemakers, but also victim-survivors. Holistic change – not saying same experience for everyone, but also not essentialising or over-simplifying.
- What about: Women, Gender, Peace & Security?
- Feminist peace and security; link FFP + WPS.
- Concept and community level studies.

### Challenges

- Geopolitical backlash against women's rights, "gender ideology", etc. How best to counter?
- Co-optation of agenda
- Increasing militarisation
- How does it fit with localisation?
- Not sidelining WPS community
- How do you get people on board without further dividing the community?

### Solutions

- Articulate (as a joint project) figuring out/locking in what we mean by GPS, with particular working group as part of this community of practice
- Could work to push an expanded view in newer institutions
- Look at indicators/action points.
- Target high level first – get WPS leaders on board
- Demand funding/other resources and capacity

### Timeframe: October 2025

- Tangible, actionable approach/link to engaging men and boys
- Scoping donors interested in systems change
- Concept note (the "WHY")
- What doors are you trying to open? What's the value?

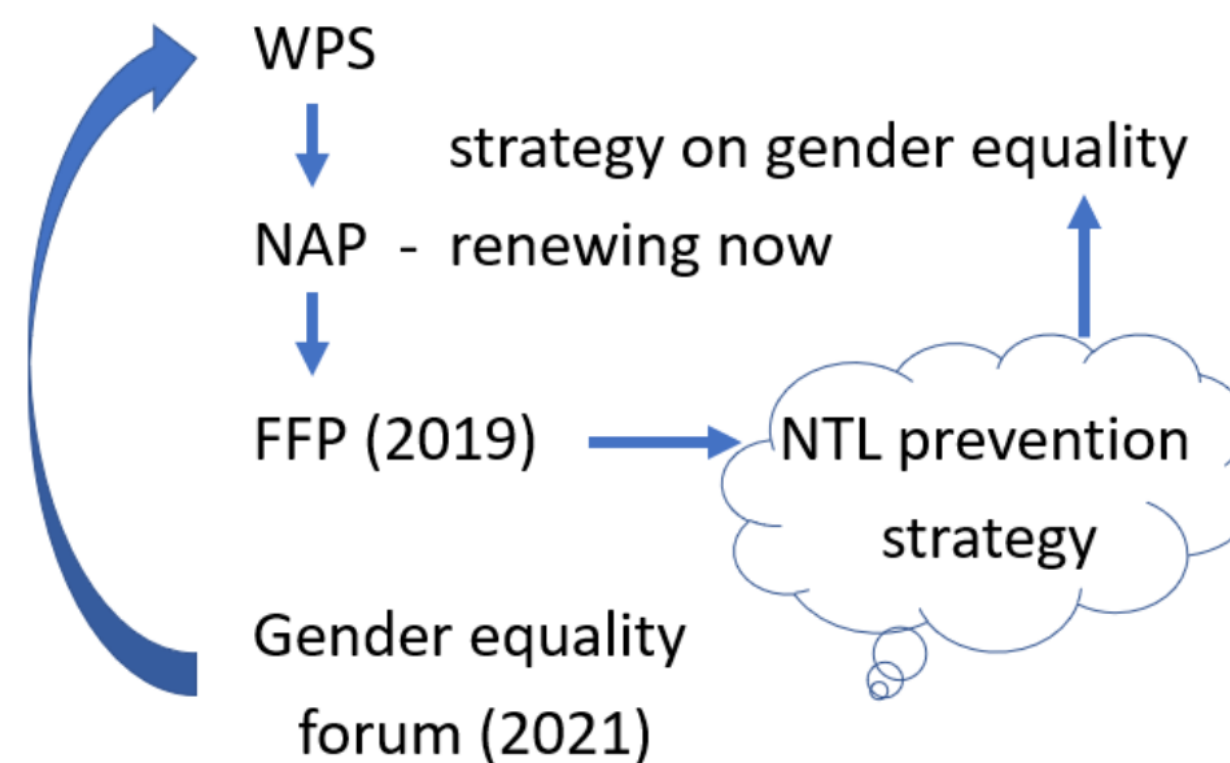
## Parallel Planning Session: Joint Action to Engage Men in Feminist Foreign Policy vs. Authoritarianism

Recently, increasing numbers of countries have been adopting FFPs, which offers useful political and policy spaces to counter the rise in patriarchal authoritarianism and further gender equality agendas. It's important that these FFPs question, on the basis of feminist principles, the policies, spaces and structures concerning peace and security – especially as these are shaped by dominant masculinities and dominated by men. We need to make sure to inspire self-reflection from those in power and shift the focus from nation-state security to human security, developing more non-violent approaches and tools in cases of conflict escalations. It's important to build a network of NGOs involved with FFPs.

### Key considerations include:

- **State responsibility to whom and how? Availability of information? Implementation. Identify masculinities.**
- **Link to NTL politics**
- **Work with militarised lives?**

- **FFP + WPS?**
- **Change power dynamics**
- **Risks: how do we talk about masculinities for feminist agenda?**
- **Share resources used concerning engaging men vs. transforming masculinity**
- **LGBTQ+ – queer men affected by authoritarianism and right-wing populism**
- **Name that allows us to be critical; gender makes a ceiling; aspirational**
- **Network building that combines expertise from different sectors**



Scheme 2. Engaging men in FFP

## Solutions

- Form working group within community of practice
- Map and form network
- Share and build on information (Swisspeace scoping study)
- Building capacities of governments on feminist agenda
- Informed analysis of work to transform patriarchal masculinities and to maintain a political framework
- Always link levels: community, subnational, national and international

## Timing

Agenda of opportunities include:

- 25-26 July 2023: IPI, FFP + retreat UNGA
- 20 September 2023: Dutch led high-level side-event UNGA on FFP+
- 1 and 2 November 2023: The Hague high-level Shaping FFP Conference
- Feb 2024: KOFF roundtable on masculinity

## Questions for further discussion

- Why are countries adopting? Co-optation -> focus on feminist analysis -> take space wisely -> feminist peace building – are we being “played out”? We need to ask the question of why are some governments focusing on this work and the danger of them coopting the agenda by appropriating feminist language.
- How to infuse a masculinities lens within FFP developments, particularly looking at analysis, research and programming.
- Public power of CSOs
- Decolonial -> how to explore and operationalise further? -> majority world LED
- How do we do advocacy on FFP based on feminist principles?

## Parallel Planning Session: Action on Masculinities and Digital Spaces

### What?

1) Monitor and seize opportunities to influence World Bank's pillar on gender and tech

- Participate in rights conferences, Internet Governance Forum

### 2) National level

- Bans on gender stereotypical advertisements
- Extraction of minerals and disposal of hardware
- Build capacities to engage
- Curricula in tech-sciences -> review and propose alternatives

### 3) Create campaigns (climate justice)

- Workers' rights perspective

- Promote expertise, support to multi-stakeholders' alliances
- Mapping of initiatives, special focus on decolonial approaches
- Involve media actors, producers, journalists, influencers
- Create framework of analysis

What can we do?

### 1) Multilateral level

- Special Rapporteur on freedom of expression (gender disinformation)
- Bans on gender stereotypical ads
- Reconsider placement of guns in youth settings (film and gaming industries)

### 2) National level

- Influence/advise governments in platform governance, infuse masculinity/gender into digital strategies
- Prevention/rescue strategies addressing young men

### 3) As a collective

- Lobby/put pressure on tech companies
- Raise awareness of feminist approach to pornography
- Develop early warning capacities
- Engage students in feminist tech
- Hold Hollywood accountable for collaborations with military
- Media and information Education and literacy
- Draw from social justice movements' critique of representations

### Timeline

- WILPF and MenEngage training by first half 2024 – infuse digital focus
- Special Rapporteur submission by beginning July 2023
- Mapping of key actors by end of 2023
- Mapping of actors working on early warning systems (gendered) online
- Share initiatives/information by September – the first version of a “living document”
  - Gender Peace & Conflict course -> September at Swisspeace

## Meeting pulse-check

Based on the feedback survey conducted after the meeting, the social aspects of the gathering, such as fostering a sense of community and connection, gaining inspiration and promoting shared understanding, were more successful compared to exploring research on militarised masculinities and discussing possibilities for a multi-level approach.

## Did we meet our objectives



Picture 5. Assessment of meeting the objectives

Participants identified several missing topics in the programme, including LGBTQ+ issues, youth engagement, funding opportunities, communication strategies, norm drivers of conflict, transitional justice and abolitionism. They also suggested using full names instead of acronyms for clarity.

# Meeting dynamics



Picture 6. Meeting dynamics



Networking and working in small groups were highlighted as the most valuable parts of the meeting.

Concerns were raised regarding limited space and time for discussions, and the need to translate discussions into practical actions.

**Participants expressed their intention to approach feminism communication more thoughtfully, collaborate more actively, incorporate interactive exercises and meditation time into meetings and establish proactive connections with other social justice movements.**

Overall, participants found the meeting useful and insightful, and expressed their commitment to ongoing collaboration within the community of practice.

Picture 7. Thematic areas missing in the programme

# Are there specific thematic areas that we missed in the programme?



# 06

## GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS AND COMMITMENTS

# General Recommendations and Commitments

## Recommendations and Commitments

The meeting generated the following general recommendations and commitments:

1. Work to engage men and to transform masculinities must be in dialogue with and accountable to feminist movements and leadership, informed by feminist analysis and advance feminist priorities and approaches.
2. Gender must be recognised as a system of power, which requires us to take a systems approach in addressing gender inequality and gendered violence.
3. There should be an emphasis on the need to consider the local context throughout the entire process.
4. There is a need to anticipate and prevent potential backlash when engaging with men, including careful consideration of the messaging, delivery methods and involvement of local social leaders, as actions originating from the Global North can be viewed with suspicion and even aggression.
5. A community of practice should be established and coordinated by WILPF and guided by a steering committee. An initial concept note should be created that lays out proposed goals and ways of working. The community of practice will then convene a follow up virtual meeting within the next three to six months.
6. Working committees should be established to pursue the action items identified in working group commitments, including on feminist foreign policy (FFP), digital spaces and the manosphere, and on structural drivers of violence and armed conflict. These are summarised in the next section of this executive summary.

## Recommended Strategies and Commitments from Thematic Working Groups

In addition to these general recommendations, participants in each of the thematic working groups identified above produced the following more specific recommendations (see below for a more detailed overview of the discussion group proceedings):

### First priority issue: **Understanding and addressing structural drivers of militarisation and men's engagement in violence and conflict**

**Issue:** Efforts to engage men have traditionally focused on small group and community-level efforts to change gender norms and challenge harmful and inequitable ideas about manhood and masculinities. The shift from a focus on changing and engaging men to transforming masculinities has been critiqued by some for the ways in which it shifts focus from an emphasis on the structural and/or material conditions to the cultural, and to the intra and interpersonal. In line with research conducted by many of the meeting participants, there is a growing interest in understanding and addressing some of the structural forces that shape ideas about manhood and exert strong pressures on men to engage in conflict or use violence, while connecting and continuing to build on community-level programming efforts.

## Strategies identified:

Some of the following structural issues and strategies were identified as warranting further attention:

1. WILPF Colombia is currently developing an antimilitary glossary in multiple languages, aiming to dismantle military concepts and terminology.
2. Holding multinational businesses accountable, including drawing on examples such as the "**Blood Coal Campaign**" linking Dutch companies to Colombian conflict dynamics and the Swedish court case against Lundin Petroleum, for crimes committed in South Sudan (see **Unpaid Debt**).
3. Understanding and addressing digital spaces, the manosphere and misogynist masculinities.
4. Militainment: the marketing of militarised masculinities in film, television, video games and arms advertisements.
5. Understanding the relationships between masculinities, violence and structural forces driving trajectories that include corruption, land dispossession, extractivism, environmental degradation, paramilitaries and the proliferation of small arms, conflict over land, trauma and cycles of violence and conflict.
6. Addressing the formal and illicit arms industries and their role in weaponising men's violence, including through 1) researching the investment policies of banks and insurance companies and outing them publicly, thereby putting pressure to change their investment policies, and 2) targeting illicit financial streams connected to illicit arms trades, through targeted network sanctions and freezing assets.

## **Second priority issue: Engaging men in positions of power to demand inclusion and rights**

**Issue:** Many community-level interventions focused on transforming masculinities engage primarily with men in local communities who are most available for group education approaches. These are often young, unemployed men who seldom have great influence or power in their communities and are unable to affect change in gender roles and practices. To achieve greater impact, many groups are now trying to reach men in positions of influence – in government, the private sector, amongst religious and traditional leaders and amongst public figures – as is the case with the National Democratic Institute’s Men, Power and Politics (MPP) initiative.

## **Third priority issue: Integrating a focus on men and masculinities into existing international, regional and national commitments and frameworks, including through feminist foreign policy and a potential, although contested, shift from WPS to GPS.**

**Issue:** Discussions surrounding the integration of men and boys within the pillars of the WPS Agenda, as outlined in UNSC Resolution 2467, have sparked debates. Advocating for a men and masculinity agenda entails risks, including that 1) funds will be diverted away from WPS priorities; 2) that “engaging men” is seen as an easy alternative to other demands of women’s rights organisations and this focus might take the attention away from the current backlash and the need to defend and push for the implementation of current commitments supporting women’s rights; and 3) that men might claim leadership, distort priorities or get put on pedestals. Instead, the focus should be on mobilising men to engage in “accountable advocacy,” which involves incorporating a nuanced, political and intersectional feminist lens that reflects and reinforces the priorities of the WPS Agenda and the women’s movements that brought it into existence. Some have called for a reframe from the WPS Agenda to a Women, Gender, Peace and Security Agenda so that the goals are more inclusive of people of all genders.

## Strategies identified:

1. Clearly articulate the collective political agenda and talking points we can use across various policy and political spaces, using common language.
2. Find opportunities to promote and integrate a masculinities lens, including through events, policy documents, etc.
3. Use a four-step process for integrating a focus on masculinities and engaging men into existing and emerging frameworks:
  - a. We need to differentiate between changing men and transforming masculinities. This can encompass structural issues that are more upstream.
  - b. Then work focused on gender norms.
  - c. Then work with men supporting women's rights priorities.
  - d. Work on gender analysis; for example, feminist foreign policy enables an opportunity for governments to structurally embed gender analysis.

### On the question of WPS and/or a GPS Agenda:

- a. As a joint project, articulate what we mean by GPS, possibly through a working group in the community of practice.
- b. If there's agreement that it's a useful reframe, engage in advocacy with WPS leaders to get them on board and then work to push an expanded view in newer institutions, targeting high level first and developing clear indicators and action points, and exploring funding and other resources.

### On the question of engaging men in feminist foreign policies:

- a. Map and form a network aimed at increasing the focus on countering militarised masculinities in FFP, share and build on information (e.g. Swisspeace scoping study).
- b. Raise the capacities of governments working on FFP to understand the added value of a focus on mobilising men for feminist peace.

- c. Conduct informed analysis of work to transform patriarchal masculinities and to maintain a coherent political framework grounded in feminism.
- d. Always link national and international efforts and practices. For example, FFPs should include a focus on ending harmful business and/or military practices conducted by the country developing the FFP.
- e. Share, coordinate and collaborate on FFP+ events, including:
  - i. Learn from the International Peace Institute's FFP+ retreat in July 2023.
  - ii. UN General Assembly (UNGA) and Dutch high level session on FFP with diplomats and member states in November 2023.
  - iii. Submit abstracts to participate in the Hague Conference on FFP in November 2023.
  - iv. **KOFF Peacebuilding Platform** round-table discussion on masculinity by February 2024.

## **Fifth priority issue: Countering the manosphere: digital spaces and constructions of patriarchal masculinities**

**Issue:** Digital spaces have become sites of organising by a range of men's rights activists, including recruitment of young men into anti-feminist sensibilities. Sometimes referred to as the manosphere, the toxic digital spaces in which some men gather have become sites of virulent misogyny where violence against women is celebrated. The group expressed strong interest in understanding and responding to the manosphere.

### **Strategies to counter the manosphere:**

**National level:** Bans on gender stereotypical advertising; address environmental harms of mining of minerals used in the tech sector and the disposal of e-waste; build capacities of NGOs and CSOs to engage on digital spaces, including through the development of curricula in tech-sciences (review and propose alternatives); influence/advise governments in platform governance, infuse masculinity/gender into digital strategies; and design and deliver prevention/rescue strategies addressing young men.

**Multilateral level:** Engage with the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression (gender disinformation); explore the status and impact of bans on gender stereotypical ads; challenge the product placement done by arms companies, militaries and non-state armed groups (NSAGs) in films, television and video games.

**As a collective:** Map current initiatives addressing the manosphere, with special focus on decolonial approaches; involve media actors, producers, journalists and influencers; develop a framework of analysis; lobby/put pressure on tech companies; raise awareness on feminist approaches to pornography; develop early warning capacities; engage students in feminist tech; hold Hollywood accountable for collaborations with military and arms/gun producers; learn more about and support existing media and information education and literacy strategies; draw from social justice movements' critique of representations; create campaigns (climate justice) that centre a workers' rights perspective; promote expertise and provide support to multi-stakeholder alliances.

## Sixth priority issue: Promoting non-violent alternatives to militarised responses to conflict escalations/peace processes and non-violent action

**Issue:** While the connections between men, masculinities, violence prevention and peacebuilding are multiple and crucial, international and national security practices often struggle to engage with masculinities. Dominant gender norms shape policies, practices and working cultures in security-related decision making to respond to conflict escalations. Feminists have noted that states tend to overestimate the efficacy of armed violence and undercount its costs, theorising this may in part be because we associate strength with masculinities.

Concerning non-violent communication (NVC) and non-violent action tactics, people question our right to discourage them from resorting to violence when their survival is at stake. They ask why NVC does not apply to the aggressor who employs violence. There is a legitimate concern about personal safety if they were to embrace non-violence. In reality, we cannot currently guarantee their safety, creating a mismatch between the context and the narrative.

Useful resources were provided on non violent action methods and policies:

- ICNC's A Path of Most Resistance: <https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/path-most-resistance-step-by-step-guide-planning-nonviolent-campaigns/>

- CANVAS's A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle: [https://canvasopedia.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/CANVAS-Core-Curriculum\\_EN-compressed\\_compressed-compressed.pdf](https://canvasopedia.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/CANVAS-Core-Curriculum_EN-compressed_compressed-compressed.pdf)

- USIP's special report on women in nonviolent movements: <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR399-Women-in-Nonviolent-Movements.pdf>

## Strategies:

1. Taking men away from war structures: doing work in schools on conscientious objection; helping men to resist joining militaries; supporting state political actors who are against militarisation to stay this way.
2. Re-examining and questioning the role of our organisations with the context of promoting non-violent alternatives.
3. For areas less affected by conflict, creating resistance groups together with legal structures to keep men from joining violent responses.
4. Organising resistance communities, utilising existing non-violent action methods for developing influential strategies and tactics.
5. Directly engaging with ministries of foreign affairs and multilateral agencies to promote deep gender analysis with coherent inclusion of a masculinities lens. For example, **Swisspeace's Scoping Study on Violence, Masculinities and Peace** for the French ministry of foreign affairs might prove useful.



07

KEY TAKEAWAYS

# Key takeaways

The meeting proved to be a valuable platform for collaboration, sharing experiences, discussing different approaches and fostering a safe and conducive environment for joint action.

The following key takeaways emerged from the discussions:

1. Recognition of the importance of addressing men's identity, particularly the militarised upbringing that many men have experienced.
2. Emphasis on the need to consider the local context throughout the entire process.
3. The imperative of ensuring that men in positions of power align with the feminist agenda.
4. The need to anticipate and prevent potential backlash when engaging with men, including careful consideration of the messaging, delivery methods and involvement of local social leaders, as actions originating from the Global North can be viewed with suspicion and even aggression.

5. Acknowledgment that both structural and social norms play significant roles, and that addressing one without the other will not lead to comprehensive change.

6. Recognising the challenges related to resource conflicts, including financial incentives that attract men to join the military and the need for long-term sponsorship and sustained efforts due to the gradual and sometimes imperceptible nature of progress.

7. Identifying the importance of reaching a shared understanding of language and terminology to effectively address masculinities and approach them from a feminist peace perspective.

**To facilitate ongoing collaboration and progress,  
it was decided to establish a community of practice.**

This community will comprise sub-groups focused on specific topics, provide a platform for sharing lessons learned, develop common key terminologies and clarifications and facilitate the planning and implementation of future actions. A concept note will be developed to outline the next steps, promote continuity and support the initiatives and leaders of the sub-groups.



08

ANNEXES

# ANNEX 1. Participants' Backgrounds

**Izz Aljabari** is a passionate expert in the field of masculinities and works with the Alianza por la Solidaridad in Palestine to create positive social change. Focused on capacity-building and fostering innovative approaches, Izz actively engages with local communities and partner institutions to promote gender equality and social justice.

**Anna Antonakis** is a Senior Program Officer for Gender & Peacebuilding at Swisspeace's Policy & Platform programme. She joined in November 2022 to shape and lead Swisspeace's work on gender, both as a standalone topic and as a transversal issue crosscutting the different thematic programs at Swisspeace. She holds a PhD in political science from the Freie Universität Berlin, where she investigated renegotiations of gender in different dimensions of public spheres in Tunisia and conducted interviews with men engaging in feminism and women's rights in cultural politics during the political transformation.

**Regina Jegorova-Askerova** has more than ten years of work experience in gender, development cooperation and informal education with a focus on locally owned ideas and solutions. She is a believer in a systems-change approach, transformative social dialogue based on local ownership, intersectionality and holistic security. Regina's fields of interest lie with transformative capacity-development activities and gender-responsive dialogue. Regina has solid experience and knowledge in gender-responsive research and analysis, facilitation and mediation of dialogue between conflict-affected women and youth from multicultural backgrounds.

**Gretchen Baldwin** is a researcher with Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)'s Peace Operations and Conflict Management Programme, where her work focuses on gender and peace operations. Prior to joining SIPRI, Gretchen spent more than three years at the International Peace Institute (New York, NY) where she was first an assistant editor before joining the Women, Peace and Security team to lead the gender in peace operations research track. Gretchen has previously worked in the United States, Cameroon, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. She has a master's in International Affairs in International Security Policy from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs.

**Rumbidzai Elizabeth Chidoori** currently serves as the Regional Policy & Advocacy Coordinator at Sonke Gender Justice. She is a feminist and human rights activist with extensive experience in policy and advocacy work in the women's rights sector at regional, national and international levels. She advocates for the implementation of legal instruments that protect women's rights, actively engages in campaign work for vulnerable groups and conducts rights education training for communities at the local level. She has written several submissions on policy matters and has published various articles in different media, including peer reviewed journals. Rumbie holds a master's in Human Rights Law and an LLB from the University of Fort Hare in South Africa.

**Phoebe Donnelly** is a Senior Fellow and Head of the Women, Peace and Security programme at the International Peace Institute. She is also an Adjunct Assistant Professor at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA). Phoebe's doctoral dissertation on forced marriage by rebel groups won the Peter Ackerman Award for outstanding doctoral dissertation at The Fletcher School at Tufts University in 2019. At IPI, in addition to her role guiding their WPS and gender work, Phoebe led a research project on the sexual abuse of peacekeepers and writes about gender and reintegration and the intersection of gender and violent extremism.

**Amy Dwyer** oversees Conciliation Resources' gender, peace and security work, including supporting teams to mainstream gender into its peacebuilding programmes, analysis and advocacy. She has a background in supporting dialogue and collaboration between civil society, human rights defenders and states on issues including gender, LGBTIQ+ rights, sexual violence in conflict, freedom of belief and Indigenous land rights. She has experience in a range of contexts including the DRC, Ethiopia, Uganda and Pakistan, as well as longer term postings in Myanmar, Cambodia and Laos while with peacebuilding organisation Cord. Amy is a Deployable Civilian Expert in Gender, Conflict and Stability for the UK Office for Conflict, Stabilisation and Mediation (OCSM). Amy has authored papers for the LSE Centre for Women, Peace and Security and helps to shape UK thinking as part of the CSSF Women, Peace and Security Helpdesk. She serves on the Boards of Peace Brigades International UK and Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice, and holds a master's degree from University College London.

**Guy Feugap** is a teacher, writer and peace activist. Since 2014, he has been working with the Cameroonian section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), in the positions of Communication Officer, Disarmament Programme Manager and, currently, Director of Programmes. With his experience working for WILPF Cameroon, he is coordinating the Mobilising Men for Feminist Peace project in Cameroon.

**Lotsmart Fonjong** is a development specialist, scholar and consultant with a rich multidisciplinary academic background, who studied geography, development studies, international human rights and humanitarian assistance and cooperation. In the last 20 years, he has taught as a tenured professor in Cameroon and as an adjunct professor in the United States. He has authored over three dozen peer-reviewed articles, six books and many scientific conference papers on gender, environment and development issues in Africa. Lotsmart's motivation is to contribute to current discourses on gender equality, natural resource and environmental sustainability and sustainable development through teaching; research and sharing; consulting, policy analysis and action; and capacity building.

**Reem Al-Taei** is an Iraqi feminist researcher and trainer, with a master's degree in peacebuilding.

**Yasmine Janah** is Associate Gender and Peacebuilding Advisor at Swisspeace. She advises on policy formulation, research and programming related to WPS and NAP 1325, including the upcoming Swiss 5th NAP; gender and conflict analysis; and masculinities and militarism in peacebuilding. Prior to that, Yasmine contributed to multi-stakeholders' national dialogues and worked on gender, peacebuilding and security policy issues in Congo, Cameroon and Morocco.

**Nihad Kashmi** is a WILPF Project Coordinator based in Geneva, working in the MENA programme but also with WILPF Sections based in Colombia, Afghanistan and Nigeria. She is Spanish and Moroccan and has lived in France for more than ten years. She has a bachelor's degree in political studies and a master's degree in peace and security from Sciences Po Paris.

**Anthony Keedi** is the Masculinities Technical Advisor at ABAAD, a gender equality NGO in Lebanon.

Henri Myrntinen is an independent researcher and has been working on gender, peace and security for a variety of NGOs and research institutions for the past 15+ years. Much of his work has focused on masculinities, especially in conflict-affected contexts, as well as on GBV prevention.

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**Robert Nagel** is a research fellow at the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security. His research focuses on gendered dimensions of conflict including masculinities in peacebuilding, gendered dimensions of peacekeeping and conflict-related sexual violence. He also directs the graduate certificate in Gender, Peace and Security at Georgetown University.

**Roberta Nardi** is a Programme Associate at the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and is a long-term activist, involved in several movements and civil society groups in southern Italy and beyond. She has joined feminist collectives and student movements, campaigns for the right to housing and international movements in solidarity with oppressed populations all over the world.

**Hend Omairan** is a Researcher and Human Rights Defender, working as Feminist Partnership Officer at Peace Track Initiative (PTI). She holds a master's in Middle Eastern Studies from Lund University and a bachelor's in International Relations from Malmö University. Through her work and research, Hend focuses on women's rights and the self-determination of southern people. She is a co-founder of Southern Independent Group and a member of the council coordination of southern European communities, and member of a southern feminist coalition. Hend is from South Yemen and regularly participates at the Human Rights Council to amplify the southerners' calls for self-determination. Prior to moving to Sweden, she worked as a Programme Coordinator at the Women Training and Research Center at Aden University, where she worked on women's rights and the self-determination of southern people.  
Twitter: @hendomairan

**Dean Peacock** directs WILPF's multi-country initiative to counter militarised masculinities and mobilise men for feminist peace. He has been involved in social justice activism ever since joining the End Conscription Campaign as a high school student in the mid-1980s in South Africa. Since then, his work has focused on issues related to men and masculinities, gender-based violence, gender equality and peacebuilding. He has published widely and is an honorary senior lecturer at the University of Cape Town's School of Public Health, a visiting fellow at the Joan B. Kroc Center for Peace Studies at the University of San Diego and an Ashoka fellow.

**Sandra Pepera** is an international development and public policy professional. Before joining NDI as Director for Gender, Women and Democracy in 2014, she spent 13 years as a senior officer at the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), including leading programmes in the Caribbean, Rwanda-Burundi and Sudan. Sandra has also spent time in British domestic politics; as a lecturer in political science and international relations at the University of Ghana; and as a political analyst in the Political Affairs Division at the Commonwealth Secretariat.

**Angelica Pino** coordinates WILPF's Mobilising Men for Feminist Peace initiative.

She is a feminist lawyer with extensive experience in gender-based violence and gender equality. She started her work in the human rights field in Chile in the 1980s, while the country was under General Pinochet's dictatorship. She moved to South Africa in 1994, where she has worked at the national and regional level in NGOs and with development partners managing programmes on feminist networks and on gender-based violence. At Sonke Gender Justice, she contributed to the field of engaging men and boys for gender equality by bringing a feminist perspective to the programmes run in South Africa and across the continent. She is a proud member of the board of Gun Free South Africa.

**Julia Poch Figueras** works at Saferworld as a Gender and Peacebuilding Adviser and supports colleagues in different teams to better integrate gender into our work and leads on WPS advocacy. In addition, she has conducted research on gender in conflict-affected contexts such as Colombia, South Sudan and Uganda.

**Luisa Portugal** is a programme associate working with the violence prevention team at the Pathfinders/Center on International Cooperation, which runs a flagship initiative called the Gender Equality Network for Small Arms Control (GENSAC). In the last two years, she has coordinated the work of the Halving Global Violence Task Force, a group of world leaders and experts committed to advancing implementation of the SDG targets for peace, and obtaining a 50% reduction in violence by 2030. She has a master's degree in Constitutional Law from PUC-Rio (Brazil) and a master's in International Development from NYU Wagner (US).

**Genevieve Riccoboni** is the Women, Peace and Security Programme Coordinator for WILPF, based in New York. Her work focuses on supporting WILPF members and partners in their advocacy for women's meaningful participation, conflict prevention and human rights, including at the United Nations.

**Jennifer Rodriguez Bruno** is Advocacy Manager at the MenEngage Alliance Global Secretariat.



**Diana María Salcedo López** is the president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's Colombian Section, known by its Spanish acronym as LIMPAL – a feminist and antimilitarist organisation that has been in Colombia since 1998. She is a national representative in a special body created to monitor women's rights in the implementation of the 2016 peace agreement between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army (FARC-EP). Diana has worked for non-governmental organisations, international cooperation agencies and the United Nations in Colombia. She has written about women human rights defenders and women victims' rights. Her published articles approach issues such as disarmament, the impact of small arms on women's lives, sexual violence as a weapon of war and women's participation in peace building. She was recognised as a Force for Change by the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2017.

**Don Steinberg** serves as executive director of Mobilising Men as Partners for WPS (MAWPS), which brings together 250 individuals and institutions committed to women's leadership and participation in national and global security settings, including peace processes. In his 25 year career in the US government and civil society community, he has served as US Ambassador to Angola, Officer-in-Charge of the US Embassy in South Africa during the move from apartheid to non-racial democracy, White House Deputy Press Secretary, Deputy Administrator at NGO World Learning, Board Chair of the Women's Refugee Commission and Deputy President of International Crisis Group. In his current role as Expert Advisor to USAID Administrator Samantha Power, his principal area of focus is shifting power to ensure local ownership and promoting the role of marginalised persons into the mainstream of global peace, development and humanitarian assistance efforts.

**Ilse Wermink** is a Gender, Peace and Security Advisor at PAX and coordinator of the Revolution is Female programme in Iraq and Sudan. Relevant professional experience include time spent working at WILPF in Geneva and 10 years of programming in Sudan/South Sudan, where she was humbled time and time again by individual and community held wisdom in times of deep stress, hurt and injustice.

# Day One: 13 June 2023

Time	Session	Purpose	Properties	Methodology
09:00-10:30	Welcome and Co-creation	Foster a warm and inclusive environment that encourages participants to establish personal connections and actively contribute to the collaborative agenda-setting process throughout the three-day meeting.	<p>Music</p> <p>People Bingo cards</p> <p>PPT</p> <p>Sign up sheet</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People bingo</li> <li>• Round of quick introductions</li> <li>• Opening remarks by WILPF and PAX (5 min each), including reflections on previous online meetings</li> <li>• Introducing the facilitator</li> <li>• Meeting objectives, and its collaborative agenda-setting</li> </ul> <p>Agreements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Housekeeping.</li> <li>• Share results from the pre-meeting survey</li> <li>• Agenda review</li> <li>• Ask them to sign up here for the parallel sessions on day 2</li> </ul>
10:30-10:45	Break			

<p><b>10:45-11:45</b></p>	<p>Collaborative agenda-setting</p>	<p>Facilitate a consultation process with participants to gather their input and insights, enabling us to reshape meeting objectives and agenda according to interests and priorities.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sharing one’s life journey (The “River of life”)</li> </ul>
<p><b>12:00-12:45</b></p>	<p>Lunch</p>			
<p><b>12:45-1:00</b></p>	<p>Walking to new venue</p>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Saying our names with movement</li> </ul>
<p><b>1:00 - 1:30</b></p>	<p>Opening ceremony: The power of the Circle</p>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Circle ceremony</li> </ul>
<p><b>1:30 – 2:30</b></p>	<p>Break</p>			
<p><b>2.30 – 3.00</b></p>	<p>Mapping exercise</p>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Themes and strategies matrix. See matrix here (PM)</li> </ul>

<p><b>3.00 - 4:15</b></p>	<p>The landscape of gender and peace with focus on Masculinity: What's working and what's challenging</p>	<p>Harvest the collective knowledge to reflect on progress, opportunities, and challenges. (and lessons learned)</p>	<p>Flip charts Markers (different colors)</p>	<p>Group Work 30 min. 28 participants: 4 groups of 7 Reporting to Plenary and discussion 60 min.</p>
<p><b>4:15-15:00</b></p>	<p>Key questions and concepts we're grappling with</p>	<p>Unearth key challenges participants are facing that they would like to exchange on</p>		<p>Group work and plenary</p>
<p><b>16:35-17:00</b></p>	<p>Closing day 1</p>			<p>Check out exercise (TBD)</p>

# Day Two: 14 June 2023

Time	Session	Purpose	Properties	Methodology
09:00-09:30	Reflections	Reflections, key themes Welcome Luisa		Check in exercise
9:30 – 11:00	Thematic session: Exploring the structural drivers of militarized masculinities and how we engage with those within the context of work on masculinities and feminist peace	Analyze the structural drivers, including the relationship between economic and social determinants/influencers, of militarized identities and conflict in order to identify actions to address such structural drivers within the context of work on masculinities and feminist peace		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Plenary discussion 60 min</li> <li>• Framing remarks by Ilse</li> <li>• Dean as scribe</li> <li>• What are the structural drivers of militarized identities?</li> <li>• Sharing in pairs (10 min)</li> <li>• How do we engage with those within the context of work on masculinities and feminist peace? (considering your context)</li> <li>• (Alternative - Group discussion by min 45 min)</li> <li>• Final Plenary</li> </ul>

<p><b>11:00-11:15</b></p>	<p>Break</p>			
<p><b>11:15-12:45</b></p>	<p>Thematic session:  Engaging men in positions of power and the role of allies/ partners in advocating for feminist peace</p>	<p>Reflect on past experiences and identify future opportunities for engaging men in positions of power for promoting gender equality and peace, mapping and harvesting lessons, actors, opportunities, and good practice</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An interactive discussion first in small groups and then in plenary around a set of questions (see them in details document)</li> </ul>
<p><b>12:24-13:45</b></p>	<p>Lunch</p>			
<p><b>14:00-14:45</b></p>	<p>Thematic breakout / parallel sessions</p>			<p>Participants choose what themes they wish to discuss. Prepare key takeaways and key actions from the discussion. See sign-up sheet here</p> <p>Proposed themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Using international, regional, national commitments &amp; integrating masculinities into existing and emerging frameworks</li> <li>• Resisting authoritarianism, patriarchal populism and right-wing extremisms</li> <li>• Countering militarised responses to conflict escalations</li> <li>• Violence, trauma &amp; psychosocial support for M&amp;B in conflict contexts</li> <li>• Digital spaces</li> </ul>

14:45-15:45

Plenary

Closing day 2

Checkout exercise

# Day Three: 15 June 2023

Time	Session	Purpose	Properties	Methodology
09:00-09:30	Opening exercise			Game “popcorn style group counting to 10”
9:10 – 9:45	Remembering the victims of violent conflicts, authoritarianism, and war and paying homage to peacemakers, war resisters, and feminists worldwide			Moment of silence

<p><b>9:45 – 10.45</b></p>	<p>3rd theme: Resisting authoritarianism, patriarchal populism, and right-wing extremisms and Countering militarised responses to conflict escalations</p>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sharing one’s life journey (The “River of life”)</li> </ul>
<p><b>10:45 - 11:00</b></p>	<p>Break</p>			
<p><b>11.00-12.30</b></p>	<p>Reflections on day 1 and 2 and implications for today and for planning next actions</p>			
<p><b>12:30 – 1:30</b></p>	<p>Lunch</p>			
<p><b>1:30 – 3:00</b></p>	<p>Opportunities for collaboration</p>		<p>Sign-up sheet for organizing 4 groups</p> <p>Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Men and the implementation of GPS agenda - Gender Peace and Security</li> <li>Peace processes and active nonviolent</li> <li>Feminist Foreign Policy and men vs Authoritarianism</li> <li>Masculinities and digital spaces</li> </ul>	



3:00 – 3:45	Plenary			
3:45-4:00	Break			
16:00 – 16:45	Community of practice	Test the appetite for joining a community of practice on mobilizing men for feminist peace and engage in it accordingly		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What do we understand for a community of practice?</li> <li>• What do WILPF and PAX offer for this community of practice?</li> <li>• What suggestions do you have for the next steps in organizing this Community of Practice?</li> <li>• How can we keep it manageable, finding effective light forms of connecting?</li> <li>• What specific action are you willing to commit to in order to take these next steps?</li> <li>• Who should we involve? Who are we missing?</li> </ul>
16:45 – 17:00	Meeting evaluation	Getting feedback		Menti survey
17:00	Closing in a circle - round of appreciations			

# ANNEX 3. Pre-Meeting Survey to Determine Interests, Priorities and Key Themes

Regarding the thematic discussions, the following topics were taken into consideration:

# of people	topic
12	- Structural drivers of militarized masculinities and how we address those in our work
8	- Engaging men in position of power to claim space, voice & rights for gender equality & peace
7	- Militarised response
6	- Resisting authoritarianism
3	- Masculinities and small arms
2	- Utilizing international, regional and national commitments
2	- Masculinities and protection

In response to a question regarding additional themes that participants desired, suggestions included:

1. Two related to trauma, masculinities and psychosocial care
2. Two related to communications strategies and the media, including addressing the manosphere
3. Two related to mapping and describing the work we are currently doing and strategies we are using.
4. One on men, allyship and accountability to women's rights movements

- To ensure a successful meeting and achieve the envisioned outcomes, the following suggestions were put forward:
- Deepened Understanding: "Understanding of perspectives of participants from the Global South". "I'm hoping that we can set aside a block of time for each of the participants to take 5 minutes to describe their work"
- Established Connections: "Deepening relationships with people inside this community". "Agreeing on things we can do together"
- Actionable Insights: "How I can bring them into my day-to-day..."
- Shared Resources: "Share and gain access to resources..."