

MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY IN AFRICA

A REGIONAL STATUS REPORT IN 10 HEADLINES

Findings from the **International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)**
in Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Mali, Morocco, Mozambique, Nigeria,
Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda



IMAGES International
Men and Gender
Equality Survey

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INTRODUCTION

The International Men and Gender Equality Survey

Thirty years since the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo and the landmark Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, the world is further from achieving gender equality than it should be. The visionary ICPD Programme of Action greatly advanced the understanding of how integral gender relations are to achieving health and development goals, and it specifically called for eliminating all kinds of violence against women and for men to be more involved in equitable relationships, family life, and joint decision-making.¹ Fast forward to the present: Global data tracking progress on Sustainable Development Goal 5 shows us that only 57 percent of women report making their own decisions about sexual and reproductive health and rights, with only three of every four women able to say no to sex – an essential dimension of bodily autonomy – and make decisions about their own health care.² Contraceptive methods used by men or that require their cooperation make up only 25 percent of global contraceptive use, a rate virtually unchanged in the past few decades.³

The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), led and created by Equimundo and the International Center for Research on Women, is one of the most comprehensive studies ever to explore men's practices and attitudes related to gender equality alongside women's. IMAGES questionnaires investigate gender-based violence (GBV), health and health-related practices, household division of labor, men's participation in caregiving and as fathers, men's and women's attitudes about gender and gender-related policies, transactional sex, men's reports of criminal behavior, and on their quality of life. A global report comparing data collected from 32 countries was published in 2022.⁴ This analysis focuses on nine countries in Africa to sketch out a regional picture of gender inequality.

1 United Nations Population Fund. (1994). *Programme of action*. https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/programme_of_action_Web%20ENGLISH.pdf

2 United Nations Population Fund. (2022). *World population dashboard*. <https://www.unfpa.org/data/world-population-dashboard>; United Nations Population Fund. (2020). *Women's ability to decide: Issue brief on Indicator 5.6.1 of the Sustainable Development Goals*. <https://www.unfpa.org/resources/womens-ability-decide-issue-brief-indicator-561-sustainable-development-goals>

3 Ross, J., & Hardee, K. (2017). Use of male methods of contraception worldwide. *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 49(5), 648–663. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021932016000560>

4 Equimundo. (2022). *The International Men and Gender Equality Survey: A status report on men, women, and gender equality in 15 headlines*. Washington, DC: Equimundo. <https://www.equimundo.org/resources/men-and-gender-equality-a-global-status-report-in-15-headlines/>

WHERE ARE AFRICAN MEN ON GENDER EQUALITY?

Globally, women perform three to ten times as much unpaid care and domestic work as men.⁵ They also make up 70 percent of the global paid care workforce but occupy only 25 percent of senior roles in that system.⁶ At the current rate of change, the world is at least 91 years away from achieving equality in unpaid care work between men and women,⁷ as the traditional gendered division of tasks between paid work and reproductive labor persists. A comprehensive global review of the number of hours people spend on unpaid care work found that in Mali, for example, men provide only 8 percent of total unpaid caregiving (an equal division would show 50 percent), while women provide 92 percent.⁸ In sub-Saharan Africa overall, while women contribute at least 40 percent of paid work, men contribute only 25 percent of unpaid work. Despite a narrative about the supportive role of extended family in low- and middle-income countries, the lack of childcare is a crisis in many settings.⁹ Higher levels of unpaid care work, and

the lack of affordable childcare for young children, impede poor urban-women's participation in paid work and expose children to neglect. Notably, too, a voucher intervention in Nairobi, Kenya, found that access to childcare increased women's paid work but did not increase their role in household decision-making.¹⁰

Women's political participation is a key indicator of women's equality with men. As of March 2022, women around the world constituted only 27 percent of parliamentarians globally.¹¹ Yet over the past 25 years, women have become increasingly visible in African politics: More than a dozen African countries have national legislatures that comprise at least 30 percent women.¹² Rwanda has the world's highest percentage of women in its national parliament at 61 percent, and Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, and Uganda are other sub-Saharan African countries that are in the top 25 nations with the highest levels of female representation.¹³ The country that achieved the greatest progress between 1995 and 2020 in its upper and lower houses of parliament is Rwanda (up

5 "Caregiving" and "care work" refer to the care of children, older adults, people with disabilities, or ill family members in the home setting. "Paid care work" and "paid caregiving" refer to care provided in the context of work, payment, or as a profession. "Domestic work" refers more specifically to cleaning, food preparation, and similar tasks that are related to care work. See: Addati, L., Cattaneo, U., Esquivel, V., & Valarino, I. (2018, June 28). *Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work*. Geneva: International Labour Organization. <https://www.ilo.org/publications/major-publications/care-work-and-care-jobs-future-decent-work>

6 World Health Organization. (2019, March 20). *10 key issues in ensuring gender equity in the global health workforce*. <https://www.who.int/news-room/feature-stories/detail/10-key-issues-in-ensuring-gender-equity-in-the-global-health-workforce>

7 Barker, G., Garg, A., Heilman, B., van der Gaag, N., & Mehaffey, R. (2021). *State of the World's Fathers 2021: Structural solutions to achieve equality in care work*. Washington, DC: Equimundo. <https://www.equimundo.org/resources/state-of-the-worlds-fathers-2021/>; Charmes, J. (2019, December 19). *The unpaid care work and the labour market: An analysis of time use data based on the latest world compilation of time-use surveys*. Geneva: International Labour Organization. http://www.ilo.org/gender/Informationresources/Publications/WCMS_732791/lang--en/index.htm

8 Charmes, J. (2019, December 19). *The unpaid care work and the labour market: An analysis of time use data based on the latest world compilation of time-use surveys*. Geneva: International Labour Organization. http://www.ilo.org/gender/Informationresources/Publications/WCMS_732791/lang--en/index.htm

9 Heymann, J. (2006). *Forgotten families: Ending the growing crisis confronting children and working parents in the global economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

10 Clark, S., Kabiru, C. W., Laszlo, S., & Muthuri, S. (2019). The impact of childcare on poor urban women's economic empowerment in Africa. *Demography*, 56(4), 1247-1272.

11 Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2022, March 1). *Global and regional averages of women in national parliaments*. <https://data.ipu.org/women-averages>

12 Bauer, G. (2021). Women in African parliaments: Progress and prospects. In G. Bauer (Ed.), *The Palgrave handbook of African women's studies* (pp. 335-352). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28099-4_122

13 Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2020). *Women in parliament: 1995-2020: 25 years in review*. https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1/869/2020-women%20in%20parliament_EN-LR_O.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

57 percentage points), while in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), women's participation in parliament has grown by about 13 points. Gender quotas for women's representation have been a decisive factor in this progress.

Violence against women is another important measure of women's status in society. The World Health Organization estimates that between 24 and 30 percent of women globally have experienced some form of violence perpetrated by a man, most often a male partner, with little evidence of decline in recent decades.¹⁴ Data from 142 studies in 44 countries point to an alarming increase in men's violence against women during COVID-19.¹⁵ A synthesis of data pooled across 54 studies on violence against women in Africa found that the prevalence of lifetime intimate partner violence (IPV) was 44 percent and the past-year prevalence of IPV was 36 percent.¹⁶ Looking at sub-regions, the analysis showed the highest pooled estimates of IPV over the past year in Eastern Africa (39 percent), followed by Western Africa (32 percent); there were very few studies on IPV in the past year in South and Central sub-Saharan Africa. Women engaged in commercial sex work were the most likely group of women to have experienced IPV over the past year, at 79 percent in Kenya and 53 percent in Nigeria. The synthesis found that women residing in Western and Eastern Africa experienced especially high levels of emotional violence, at 30 percent and 25 percent, respectively. Country survey data

presented in the United Nations Population Fund's (UNFPA's) geospatial dashboard on intimate partner violence show high levels of IPV in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (37 percent, 2014) and lower levels in Chad (18 percent, 2015) and Angola (26 percent, 2016), for example.¹⁷

Female genital mutilation (FGM) and child marriage are harmful practices that persist throughout much of Africa, though varying substantially across countries. While quite a lot of interesting research has been conducted on these two practices in recent years, they were not addressed across the IMAGES surveys, and so no data are presented, with the exception of the “zoom-in” box on Egypt at the end of the report. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) estimated in 2024 that over 230 million girls and women have been cut across the globe and that Africa accounts for the largest share, with over 144 million women and girls having undergone the practice.¹⁸ The majority of girls and women in most countries with available data believe FGM should end, and there has been an overall decline in the prevalence of the practice over the last three decades, with the greatest progress having been made in Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, Burkina Faso, Liberia, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Iraq, Benin, Egypt, and the Maldives.¹⁹ For instance, in Egypt, data show the FGM prevalence rate among ever-married women aged 15 to 49 fell to 86 percent in 2021 compared to 92 percent in 2014. The decline was faster among young generations, from

14 Ruxton, S., & Burrell, S. R. (2020). *Masculinities and COVID-19: Making the connections*. Washington, DC: Equimundo. https://www.equimundo.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/BLS20254_PRO_Masculinities_COVID19_WEB_005.1.pdf

15 O'Donnell, M. (2020, November 24). *Preventing a “return to normal”: Addressing violence against women during COVID-19*. Center for Global Development. <https://www.cgdev.org/blog/preventing-return-normal-addressing-violence-against-women-during-covid-19>

16 Muluneh, M. D., Stulz, V., Francis, L., & Agho, K. (2020). Gender based violence against women in sub-Saharan Africa: A systematic review and meta-analysis of cross-sectional studies. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(3), 903. <https://www.mdpi.com/1660-4601/17/3/903>

17 United Nations Population Fund. (n.d.). *Geospatial dashboard on intimate partner violence*. Retrieved June 5, 2024, from <https://www.unfpa.org/geospatial-dashboard-intimate-partner-violence>

18 United Nations Children's Fund. (2024, March 7). *Female genital mutilation: A global concern*. <https://data.unicef.org/resources/female-genital-mutilation-a-global-concern-2024/>

19 Koski, A., & Heymann, J. (2017). Thirty-year trends in the prevalence and severity of female genital mutilation: A comparison of 22 countries. *BMJ Global Health*, 2(4), bmjgh-2017. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2017-000467>

21 percent in 2014 to 14 percent in 2021 among girls aged 0 to 19; for girls aged 15 to 17, FGM prevalence fell from 61 percent to 37 percent over the same period.²⁰

Seven out of ten countries with the highest levels of child marriage in the world are in West and Central Africa.²¹ An analysis of Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data on child marriage and IPV in Africa described child marriage prevalence rates ranging from 14 percent in Rwanda (which has outlawed child marriage since 2015) to 53 percent in Mozambique (per the DHS 2011) in East Africa to 77 percent in Chad in Central Africa; IPV rates ranged from 18 percent in Mozambique in Southern Africa to 52 percent in Uganda in East Africa.²² Importantly, the analysis found that young women who had married or cohabited before age 18 experienced higher levels of IPV over the past year than those who married later (37 percent versus 33 percent). This result was consistent regardless of the form of violence. Research in Ethiopia has shown the associations among early marriage, IPV, and reduced decision-making ability and access to health care.²³

While these “traditional” forms of violence have often been highlighted with regard to Africa, the reality is that modern forms of violence, such as technology-facilitated GBV, are also present, where evidence is mostly anecdotal but slowly gaining traction. And in Africa, as elsewhere, legal systems are inadequate in responding

to these forms of violence.²⁴ Technology-facilitated GBV is a growing concern in many African countries; this includes forms of violence and abuse that are enabled or amplified through the use of digital technologies, such as non-consensual sharing of intimate images, cyberstalking, online harassment, and more. According to a 2022 report, an estimated 58 percent of women and girls in Africa had experienced some form of technology-facilitated GBV.²⁵ The report also found that:

- In South Africa, 35 percent of women reported experiencing online harassment, stalking, or abuse.
- In Kenya, one in four women reported receiving unwanted sexually explicit messages or images online.
- In Nigeria, 40 percent of women said they had been threatened or harassed online due to their gender.
- In Ethiopia, 65 percent of young women and girls reported facing technology-facilitated GBV, including bullying, blackmail, and the sharing of private photos without consent.

Factors contributing to high rates of technology-facilitated GBV in Africa include limited digital literacy, lack of legal recourse, and persistent social norms that enable online abuse. Efforts are

20 Central Agency for Public Mobilization Statistics (CAPMAS). (2022). *Egyptian Family Health Survey EFHS 2021*. Arab Republic of Egypt: CAPMAS.

21 United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). (2022). *Child marriage in West and Central Africa: A statistical overview and reflections on ending the practice*. New York: UNICEF. <https://data.unicef.org/resources/child-marriage-in-west-and-central-africa-a-statistical-overview-and-reflections-on-ending-the-practice/>

22 Ahinkorah, B. O., Onayemi, O. M., Seidu, A. -A., Awopegba, O. E., & Ajayi, A. I. (2022). Association between girl-child marriage and intimate partner violence in sub-Saharan Africa: Insights from a multicountry analysis of Demographic and Health Surveys. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37(15–16), NP13560–NP13580. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605211005139>; Uganda Bureau of Statistics. (2023). *Uganda Demographic and Health Survey 2022*. Kampala: Uganda Bureau of Statistics.

23 John, N. A., Edmeades, J., Murithi, L., & Barre, I. (2019). Child marriage and relationship quality in Ethiopia. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 21(8), 853–866. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13691058.2018.1520919>

24 Dunn, S. (2020). *Technology-facilitated gender-based violence: An overview* [Centre for International Governance Innovation: Supporting a Safer Internet Paper 1]. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3772042

25 Iyer, N., Nyamwire, B., & Nabulega, S. (2020). *Alternate realities, alternate internets: African feminist research for a feminist internet*. Policy. <https://ogbv.policy.org/report.pdf>

underway to strengthen laws, improve digital safety education, and provide support services for survivors. However, much work remains to be done to address this growing problem across the continent.

The purpose of much of this violence, largely directed at women whatever their region, is to shame them sexually and to reinforce their gender roles, particularly when they are outspoken, non-heteronormative, or trans women. An analysis of Ethiopia, Kenya, Senegal, South Africa, and Uganda data found that of the 28 percent of women who had experienced online harassment, 36 percent had been sexually harassed and 33 percent had received unwanted sexual advances and been called offensive names.²⁶ And in most regions, men reinforce their masculinity and relationships with their peers by sharing and commenting on (nonconsensual) images.²⁷

GBV's costs to an economy vary widely and include reduced labor supply; reduced productivity per hour worked; less investment in human capital for women and children; and greater demand for health, psychosocial, and judicial services.²⁸ Research has found new ways to link violence against women and girls to its impacts; one analysis calculates the economic costs of this violence in 18 African countries.²⁹ Another innovative study on the economic cost

of violence against women in four cities of Mozambique over four years (2005–2008) found that this cost was absorbed by the health sector (81 percent), justice sector (17 percent), and organizations working in the area of prevention (2 percent); in fact, the estimated value of GBV was much higher than the national budget allocated to the National Action Plan for Prevention and Combat of Violence Against Women.³⁰ In Egypt, UNFPA also carried out a study on GBV's impact and found the cost to women survivors and their families alone to be 6.15 billion Egyptian Pounds to the national economy.³¹

Behind all of these indicators and trends are the ongoing inequitable power, privilege, and gender norms related to men and women, masculinities and femininities. Indeed, women's economic, social, and political inequality is inequality relative to men, whether it be men who hold political and economic power or men in their households and intimate lives. As such, the need for policies to support changing masculinities and men's attitudes and behaviors is as urgent as ever. Furthermore, evidence shows that men and boys' lives are also shaped by the gendered violence and expectations that they experience in their homes, schools, communities, and male peer groups. And numerous studies have affirmed how men's health and well-being are negatively affected by restrictive norms related to masculinity.³² What this suggests is that the harmful nature of certain masculinities impacts the

26 Iyer, N., Nyamwire, B., & Nabulega, S. (2020). *Alternate realities, alternate internets: African feminist research for a feminist internet*. Pollicy. <https://ogbv.pollicy.org/report.pdf>

27 Gurumurthy, A., Vasudevan, A., & Chami, N. (2019). *Born digital, Born free? A socio-legal study on young women's experiences of online violence in South India*. Bangalore, India: IT for Change. https://itforchange.net/sites/default/files/1662/Born-Digital_Born-Free_SynthesisReport.pdf

28 KPMG Human and Social Services. (2014). *Too costly to ignore – The economic impact of gender-based violence in South Africa*. <https://assets.kpmg.com/content/dam/kpmg/za/pdf/2017/01/za-Too-costly-to-ignore.pdf>

29 Ouedraogo, R., & Stenzel, M. D. (2021). *The heavy economic toll of gender-based violence: Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.

30 Tshamo, S., Mucambe, M., José, G., Manuel, B., & Mataveia, G. (2021). Economic costs of violence against women in Mozambique. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(23–24), NP12626–NP12639.

31 United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Egypt, Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, & National Council for Women. *The Economic Cost of Gender Based Violence Survey Egypt 2015*. Cairo: UNFPA Egypt. <https://egypt.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/Costs%20of%20the%20impact%20of%20Gender%20Based%20Violence%20%28GBV%29%20WEB.pdf>

32 Heise, L., Greene, M. E., Oppen, N., Stavropoulou, M., Harper, C., Nascimento, M., & Zewdie, D. (2019). Gender inequality and restrictive gender norms: Framing the challenges to health. *The Lancet*, 393(10189), 2440–2454. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(19\)30652-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(19)30652-X); Ragonese, C., Shand, T., & Barker, G. (2019). *Masculine norms and men's health: Making the connections*. Washington, DC: Equimundo. https://www.equimundo.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Masculine-Norms-Mens-Health-Report_007_Web.pdf; Heilman,

women, girls, men, and boys who are raised, socialized, and living in situations where these norms are reproduced, generating tremendous power inequalities between men and women, and between a handful of powerful adult men and most younger men.³³

The global COVID-19 pandemic and its economic impact set back progress toward gender equality³⁴ and increased women's and girls' heavy caregiving burden.³⁵ Even before COVID-19, however, a backlash was underway against some advances toward gender equality and challenges to other areas where change seemed imminent.³⁶ This global trend has been exacerbated by the rise of conservative political and religious movements in many parts of Africa, which have sought to roll back hard-won women's rights and gender equality gains. The combination of persistent patriarchal attitudes, discriminatory laws and policies, and the empowerment of conservative forces created a challenging environment for advancing women's rights in Africa even before the COVID-19 crisis. Overcoming this backlash remains a critical priority for the continent. In countries such as Mali, for example, FGM survives due to the difficulty of adopting laws against the practice given that a proportion of the population consider FGM to be part of Malian culture.

Moreover, as a recent global analysis shows, social media has facilitated a formula for influencing young men to see themselves as “victims” of gender equality.³⁷ And as people confront huge challenges such as climate change and conflict, they may sometimes react against apparent improvements in gender inequality as a way of controlling the conditions of their lives – and perhaps returning to the “good old days.”

In this context, where progress has stalled or even reversed, it is imperative to ask: Where are African men on gender equality? What are their attitudes and day-to-day experiences? Are men reinforcing or resisting the idea of gender equality? How are these issues similar or different by country and cultural setting? How are men's own lives affected by salient norms related to masculinities and other factors that shape their lived experiences? And importantly, how can the evidence that answers these questions be used to drive progress toward more equitable, caring, and nonviolent versions of manhood for the benefit of all? These are questions that the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) global data, and the insights it provides into the African countries where the survey was implemented, can begin to answer.

B., & Barker, G. (2018). *Masculine norms and violence: Making the connections*. Washington, DC: Equimundo. <https://www.equimundo.org/resources/masculine-norms-violence-making-connections/>

33 Bannon, I., & Correia, M. C. (Eds.). (2006). *The other half of gender: Men's issues in development*. World Bank Publications.

34 Rafaeli, T., & Hutchinson, G. (2020). *The secondary impacts of COVID-19 on women and girls in sub-Saharan Africa* [K4D Helpdesk Report 830]. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies. <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/20.500.12413/15408>

35 Bolis, M., Parvez, A., Holten, E., Mugehera, L., Abdo, N., & Moreno, M. J. (2020, June). *Care in the time of coronavirus: Why care work needs to be at the centre of a post-COVID-19 feminist future*. Oxfam. <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org/resources/care-in-the-time-of-coronavirus-why-care-work-needs-to-be-at-the-centre-of-a-po-621009/>; Heilman, B., Castro Bernardini, M. R., & Pfeifer, K. (2020). *Caring under COVID-19: How the pandemic is – and is not – changing unpaid care and domestic work responsibilities in the United States*. Oxfam, Equimundo, & MenCare. <https://www.equimundo.org/resources/caring-under-covid-19-how-the-pandemic-is-and-is-not-changing-unpaid-care-and-domestic-work-responsibilities-in-the-united-states/>

36 Birchall, Jenny (2020). Data and Evidence on Global Rollback of Women and Girls' Rights Since 2016. The Institute of Development Studies and Partner Organisations. Report. <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12413/15886>

37 Brito, P., Hayes, C., Lehrer, R., & Mahler, J., Salinas Groppo, J. (2024). *The Manosphere, Rewired: Understanding Masculinities Online & Pathways for Healthy Connection*. Washington, DC: Equimundo. <https://www.equimundo.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/Manosphere-Rewired.pdf> And see the related infographic here: <https://www.equimundo.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Boys-backlash-infographic-Web.pdf>

or politically dangerous to ask. In all locations, researchers have encountered the challenge of seeking to make diverse sexual orientations visible and honored, while also recognizing the unintended harm that may accrue from widely publicizing how commonplace homophobic attitudes are. IMAGES has not yet included questions about nonbinary gender identity.

IMAGES findings have been widely disseminated to inform policy and programming across multiple sectors. At the national level, IMAGES data have informed policy and action in a variety of ways, including inspiring men's health initiatives in Brazil, starting discussions with the Ministry of Health in Chile around engaging men in childbirth, promoting new and progressive sexuality education policies in Croatia, and initiating sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) prevention activities with men in Tanzania and eastern DRC. At the global level, IMAGES data were the foundation for creating the global MenCare campaign, a 50-plus country initiative to promote men's involvement as equitable, nonviolent caregivers (see www.mencare.org). IMAGES data have also been consistently featured in State of the World's Fathers, a biennial global report on men's participation in caregiving (see www.equimundo.org/state-of-the-worlds-fathers-research/). IMAGES studies in many settings have been carried out by, and often funded in part by, the UNFPA, as well as UN Women. IMAGES also informed the multicountry Partners for Prevention (P4P) studies on men's violence against women carried out in the Asia-Pacific region by multiple United Nations agencies.

A SIMPLE BOUQUET SELECTED FROM A VAST GARDEN: STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THIS REPORT

Presenting research findings that encompass an entire continent poses great challenges. Africa is not a monolith; it is a mosaic of cultures, languages, conditions, and histories. This study, which presents survey data from nine countries, aims to illuminate specific themes that have been less explored in previous research, using responses from both men and women with a gender and masculinity lens – a methodological choice that sets our work apart. However, it is crucial to understand that while our findings provide valuable insights, they look at only a fraction of Africa's intricate realities, and some of these realities have shifted since the data were collected. To use an analogy, if Africa is a garden of countless unique flowers, our study is akin to presenting a carefully selected bouquet. While vibrant and enlightening, this bouquet cannot encompass the garden's full splendor. We invite our readers to appreciate the variety and truth within the data presented here and learn from the perspectives offered, while recognizing that our scope, though broad, does not capture the breadth of the continent. Moreover, IMAGES data provide a glimpse of the data as it existed when it was collected; we invite readers to consider this data as a point against which one can reflect on changes when compared to more recent data.

WHAT THIS REPORT CAN DO:

- Provide detailed insights from survey data across nine African countries
- Highlight unique themes not commonly explored in other studies
- Offer comparative analysis between men's and women's perspectives
- Contribute to broader discussions on gender equality and social issues in Africa, knowing where indicators stood back when the data was collected
- Make the reader curious to know more and to explore the more in-depth country reports
- Provide some basis for comparing the region to the earlier global analysis

WHAT THIS REPORT CANNOT DO:

- Represent the entire African continent's diversity and complexity
- Generalize findings to all countries or communities within Africa
- Cover all of the gender-related topics relevant to the region
- Address all aspects or variables of the themes that are explored
- Reduce the need for further localized research
- Provide current trends since data were collected as far back as 2011

We are committed to respecting the limits of our data and refraining from overgeneralizations, focusing instead on contributing meaningfully to the discourse – and what is known about men within the scope of our research.

WHAT IS IMAGES, AND WHY IS THIS STUDY IMPORTANT?

Led and created by Equimundo and the International Center for Research on Women, IMAGES is one of the most comprehensive studies ever to explore men's practices and attitudes related to gender equality alongside women's. Using a wide variety of measures, IMAGES questionnaires investigate GBV, health and health-related practices, household division of labor, men's participation in caregiving and as fathers, men's and women's attitudes about gender and gender-related policies, transactional sex, men's reports of criminal behavior, and quality of life.

THE OVERARCHING GOAL OF IMAGES IS TO BUILD UNDERSTANDING OF MEN'S AND WOMEN'S PRACTICES AND ATTITUDES RELATED TO GENDER EQUALITY IN ORDER TO INFORM, DRIVE, AND MONITOR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE GENDER EQUALITY, PARTICULARLY AT THE GOVERNMENT POLICY LEVEL.

The IMAGES questionnaire incorporates items from existing survey instruments on gender, quality of life, childhood antecedents of violence (including observing GBV), health, sexuality, family gender dynamics, and fatherhood, as well as new items created specifically for the survey. It builds on the Gender Equality and Quality of Life Survey (GEQ Survey) first fielded in Norway, as well as widely used instruments such as the Gender

Equitable Men (GEM) Scale and standardized questions from the multicountry surveys on violence against women developed in partnership with the World Health Organization. Wherever quantitative data collection and analysis have occurred using the IMAGES survey, research partners also have conducted complementary qualitative studies in the same settings, seeking to document in depth the lived realities of gender inequalities, notions of masculinity and femininity, and participants' perspectives on efforts to promote gender equality. IMAGES data make it possible to:

- Explore men's experience on topics usually explored with women only
- Triangulate results across men's and women's experiences
- Generate a baseline on gendered attitudes and practices in a setting, such that progress toward the equality agenda can be contrasted with it in the future
- Contribute to a global effort to improve the evidence base on men and masculinities and on gender equality

It is important to acknowledge that IMAGES is designed to focus on gender dynamics primarily in the households of heterosexual-identifying adult partners. The questionnaire asks respondents about their sexual orientation and sexual practices, including current or ever cohabitation with a same-sex partner and if they are heterosexual. Given the high prevalence of homophobic policies, laws, and social norms in the countries surveyed, it seems likely that the percentage reporting a sexual orientation other than heterosexual has been lower than is actually the case. Several IMAGES studies have measured homophobic attitudes, but these modules have not been fielded in every study location due to government restrictions, safety risks to respondents or data collectors, and/or advice from local LGBTQIA+ and women's rights advocates that these topics were too culturally sensitive

FIGURE 1

African IMAGES studies included in this report



The country studies explored in this report represent a combined sample of 11,143 men and 8,190 women, for a total of 19,333 respondents. All of these respondents were interviewed face-to-face. Samples were chosen to be representative of the specific geographic areas where the surveys were carried out and generally represented at least two major urban areas. Budgetary limitations meant that only some, not all, IMAGES studies achieved national representativeness in the manner of larger national initiatives, such as the DHS. Nonetheless, all samples followed best-practice household sampling approaches, with samples drawn by national statistical bureaus, local census listings, and nationally recognized research firms or organizations. These considerations were especially important to reduce further harm in contexts which were recovering from or involved in conflict.

When displaying comparisons among subsets of respondents (whether by sex, country, region,³⁸ or other characteristics), only findings that are statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level are included unless otherwise noted.

TABLE 1: SAMPLE SIZES AND DEMOGRAPHICS OF NINE STUDIES³⁹

STUDY LOCATION	SAMPLE DETAILS
DRC	708 men and 754 women aged 18 to 59 in four regions: Goma town, Mugungu, Katoyi, and Kiroche and Bweremana
EGYPT	1,380 men and 1,402 women aged 18 to 59, from five governorates (Cairo, Menoufia, Sharkia, Souhag, and Beni-Suef)
MALI	1,000 men and 500 women aged 18 to 59 from urban areas in Bamako, and urban and rural areas of Mopti and Segou regions
MOROCCO	1,200 men and 1,200 women aged 18 to 59 from seven provinces and prefectures around Rabat: Rabat proper, Salé, Kénitra, Skhirate-Témara, Khémisset, Sidi Kacem, and Sidi Slimane
MOZAMBIQUE	1,006 men and 503 women aged 18 to 65 from the cities of Maputo and Matola
NIGERIA	1,532 men and 504 women aged 18 to 65 from six geographical regions: Bauchi, Benue, Enugu, Kano, Lagos, and Rivers
RWANDA	2,301 men and 1,311 women aged 18 to 60 from 30 districts across five provinces: Eastern province, Kigali province, Northern province, Southern province, and Western province
TANZANIA	1,008 men and 1,008 women aged 15 to 49 from 56 villages across five regions: Dar es Salaam, Iringa, Dodoma, Tabora, and Kagera
UGANDA	1,008 men and 1,008 women aged 15 to 49 from 56 parishes across the Central region

³⁸ Classifications by region mostly, though not entirely, match regional groupings used by UNFPA (see unfpa.org/worldwide). This analysis diverges from UNFPA's system in combining East and Southern Africa and West and Central Africa into a single region – sub-Saharan Africa – and in dividing UNFPA's Asia and the Pacific into two regions: (1) South Asia and (2) East Asia and the Pacific. Countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, the Arab States, and Europe and Central Asia are presented in the identical regional grouping to UNFPA's standard classification.

³⁹ For full data collection, sample design, and ethical approval details, see Annex A.



CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

HEADLINE 1

Many children grow up seeing their fathers or other men dominate household decision-making.

In many cultures and societies, dominant – hegemonic – traditional gender roles directly ensure that men take the dominant role in household decision-making, particularly regarding financial matters. This can have a significant impact on children as they grow up and learn about social dynamics and power structures within the family unit. Exposure to such dynamics and context can shape children's perceptions of gender roles and influence their beliefs and practices about who should hold power and authority within a family. It also impacts children's expectations for their own future roles and relationships.⁴⁰

Household decision-making in the African and Arab context is often characterized by a clear division of domains between husbands and wives, with decision-making and ownership of resources divided between them in some areas and cooperative in others.⁴¹ Gender disparities in decision-making have been highlighted as contributing to women's difficulties in negotiating safe sex and

seeking healthcare services.⁴² Research suggests that across Africa, even though the well-being of women and children is enhanced when husbands acknowledge women's power, almost half of couples disagree on who makes household decisions.⁴³ When women take the initiative to make decisions despite their husbands not recognizing this power, there are benefits to women's own health and that of their children, but emotional violence in the household may increase.

Wives in Africa tend to be responsible for food, health, and children's schooling, while husbands may take the lead on housing and transportation, for example. While data collection efforts in the past generally (and problematically) treated the household as a unit, separate surveys to women and men in the household have been providing a much more nuanced picture of decision-making in recent years (e.g, in Tanzania⁴⁴ and Cameroon).⁴⁵ Research in Ethiopia finds that husbands expect their wives to contribute more

40 Ratele, K. (2016). *Liberating masculinities*. Cape Town: HSRC Press; Ouzgane, L. & Morrell, R. (Eds.). (2005). *African masculinities: Men in Africa from the late nineteenth century to the present*. Palgrave Macmillan.

41 Doss, C. R., & Quisumbing, A. R. (2020). Understanding rural household behavior: Beyond Boserup and Becker. *Agricultural Economics*, 51(1), 47–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/agec.12540>

42 Seidu, A. A., Aboagye, R. G., Okyere, J., Agbemavi, W., Akpeke, M., Budu, E., Saah, F. I., Tackie, V., & Ahinkorah, B. O. (2021). Women's autonomy in household decision-making and safer sex negotiation in sub-Saharan Africa: An analysis of data from 27 Demographic and Health Surveys. *SSM-Population Health*, 14, 100773. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2021.100773>

43 Annan, J., Donald, A., Goldstein, M., Martinez, P. G., & Koolwal, G. (2021). Taking power: Women's empowerment and household well-being in Sub-Saharan Africa. *World Development*, 140, 105292. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2020.105292>

44 Anderson, C. L., Reynolds, T. W., & Gugerty, M. K. (2017). Husband and wife perspectives on farm household decision-making authority and evidence on intra-household accord in rural Tanzania. *World Development*, 90, 169–183. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2016.09.005>

45 Fombe, L. F., Sama-Lang, I. F., Fonjong, L., & Mbah-Fongkimeh, A. (2013). Securing tenure for sustainable livelihoods: A case of women land ownership in anglophone Cameroon. *Ethics and Economics*, 10(2), 73–86. <https://hdl.handle.net/1866/9634>

to the household pot than their wives actually do, while wives expect their husbands to contribute less to the household than their husbands actually do.⁴⁶ In sum, household decision-making varies enormously in Africa by country, ethnicity, education, wealth, and personal characteristics of husbands and wives.

We might expect this “traditional” decision-making framework to give way as a consequence of shifts in education and norms in many parts of the world. However, the changes can be slow, despite increasing recognition of the importance of challenging traditional gender norms and promoting more equitable and inclusive family dynamics. Many organizations are working to promote gender equality and empower men and women to share decision-making responsibilities within the household. Encouraging open discussions about gender roles and fostering an environment of mutual respect and collaboration within the family can help create a more equitable foundation for children as they develop their own beliefs and values around gender and relationships.

IMAGES surveys asked respondents to reflect on their childhood homes and share who in their childhood had the final say on the following decisions: spending on food and clothing, large investments (house, car, and large appliances), children’s education, whether their mother could work outside the home, and how they spent their free time. Detailed information on all of the questions asked in each country can be found at www.menandgendersurvey.org/search/. The present analysis explores decision-making on large investments and children’s education. The frequency with which respondents recall a highly unequal dynamic in their childhood homes is concerning worldwide and in Africa, where well over half of men in most countries surveyed recall male-only decision-making on large investments and education (Figure 3).

As per the IMAGES data analysis, men’s reports of decision-making about education follow the same general pattern as for large investments, though the pattern is slightly less pronounced. In Egypt, 88 percent of men report male domination in their childhood home with regard to educational decisions, with Mali a close second at 87 percent. The data from women on male-dominated decision-making in their childhood homes follow a similar pattern overall, with close to or more than half of all women reporting male domination in large investments in all of the countries for which we have data for women (Figure 4). The percentages for women are especially high (above 65 percent) in Morocco, Nigeria, and Mali.

Women report that decisions about education in their childhood homes were somewhat less male-dominated than decisions about large investments (Figure 4). Of note are the big gaps in Egypt, Mali, and Morocco between men’s and women’s reports. While men and women are reporting on different childhood households, there is nevertheless a 40-percentage-point gap in Egypt (88 percent for men and 47 percent for women), a 30-point gap in Mali (87 percent for men and 55 percent for women), and a 25-point gap in Morocco (70 percent for men and 45 percent for women) in their respective accounts of male domination in decision-making. It may be that women were more aware of their mothers’ roles in household decision-making even as their fathers appeared to dominate.

From a developmental perspective, memories of household domination by men can often normalize – for boys and girls, women and men, and all individuals – the idea that men’s dominance and prominence are normal, accepted, and “the way things should be.” Women’s economic empowerment, full labor force participation, and overall agency will continue to be constrained as long as this is the case. Encouraging open communication and collaboration

46 Kebede, B., Tarazona, M., Munro, A., & Verschoor, A. (2013). Intra-household efficiency: An experimental study from Ethiopia. *Journal of African Economies*, 23(1), 105–150. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jae/ejt019>

between partners in making financial decisions is crucial. Children who grow up witnessing shared decision-making around investments and other financial matters will likely develop a more equitable and inclusive understanding of family dynamics and financial responsibilities. Fostering an environment where both parents are involved in financial decision-making and providing children with positive examples of shared responsibility can contribute to a more balanced and equitable approach to financial decision-making in future generations.

FIGURE 3

Proportion of **male** respondents who said men were the sole decision-makers in their childhood home regarding large investments and children's education

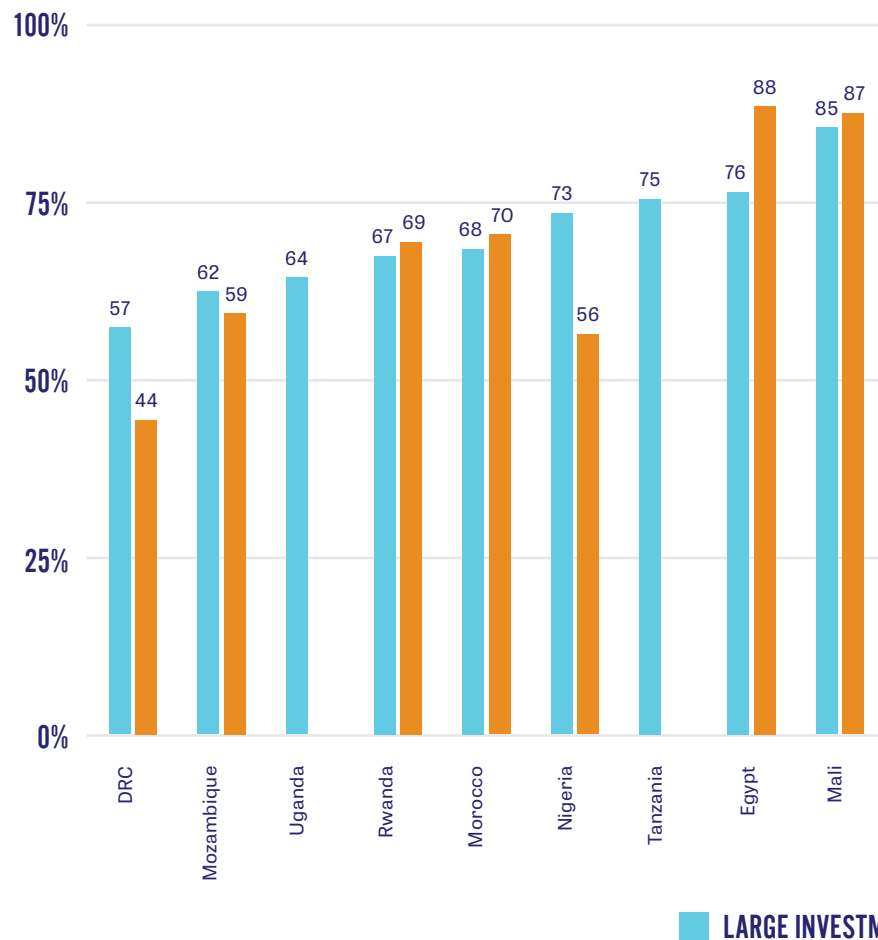
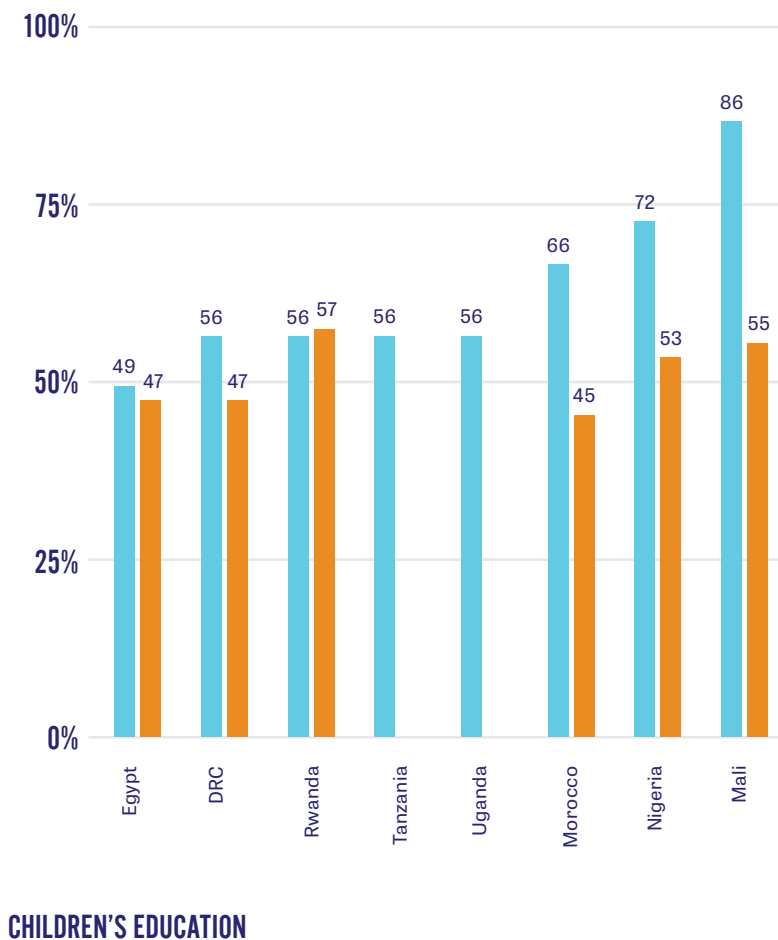


FIGURE 4

Proportion of **female** respondents who said men were the sole decision-makers in their childhood home regarding large investments and children's education



HEADLINE 2

Care leads to care: Men whose fathers were involved in caregiving are more involved themselves.

African data show that women perform on average 3.3 times the daily unpaid care men do.⁴⁷ This discrepancy is one of the single largest drivers of women's curtailed educational opportunities, careers, and leisure time. Increasing equality in unpaid caregiving is fundamental to achieving gender equality. IMAGES explores this dynamic using an intergenerational perspective, asking respondents about care distribution in their childhood homes as well as in their current homes as adults.

Men's recollections of their fathers' engagement in cleaning the house, preparing food, and washing clothes are presented in Figure 5. Mali stands out, with 95 percent of men reporting that their fathers had never engaged in any of these tasks. The next highest levels of disengagement are 71 percent for Egypt and 63 percent in Rwanda and Morocco. On the other end of the caregiving spectrum, 51 percent of men in Nigeria and 48 percent of men in Mozambique described their fathers as having engaged in all three forms of caregiving; next were Uganda and Tanzania at 32 percent of highly engaged fathers. Thirty-two percent is also the global figure for fathers performing all three tasks.

IMAGES data demonstrate that boys witnessing involvement in domestic work can lead to increased involvement among future generations of men, and this impact is noticeable (Figure 6). For example, the Uganda data documenting the number of domestic work tasks done by male respondents as adults, classified by their fathers' participation, show that as the number of tasks fathers had performed rose from zero to three, the average number of tasks performed by adult men rose 45 percent, from 1.1 to 1.6. In Morocco, adult sons of engaged fathers performed over twice as many tasks, and in Egypt, these adult sons perform three times as many tasks, following the pattern of greater involvement of their parents. The association between fathers and sons in their performance of household tasks is linked to the modeling fathers provide.

It is puzzling that fathers' contributions do not make even more of a difference to male respondents' contributions to their own households. Data show that even when respondents' fathers had participated in all three tasks, the respondents themselves, across the three country examples, participate in fewer than three tasks on average. Other factors are surely at play here, including cultural norms that vary across these settings and, perhaps, a global trend

⁴⁷ The World's Women 2020: Trends and Statistics online portal is the result of the collective effort of a wide range of contributors from around the world, under the leadership of the United Nations Statistics Division, a division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

toward gender conservatism across many parts of the world. There are no simple solutions to erasing the pervasive inequality in unpaid care and domestic work worldwide, but data show that as individual men increase their participation in care work, this involvement pays forward by increasing the likelihood that their sons will follow suit. This intergenerational transmission of behavior can gradually shift societal norms, as boys who witness their fathers sharing caregiving responsibilities are more likely to view it as a natural and essential part of family life.

FIGURE 5

Proportion of male respondents who recall their father doing the following tasks regularly in their childhood home: cleaning the house, preparing food, and washing clothes

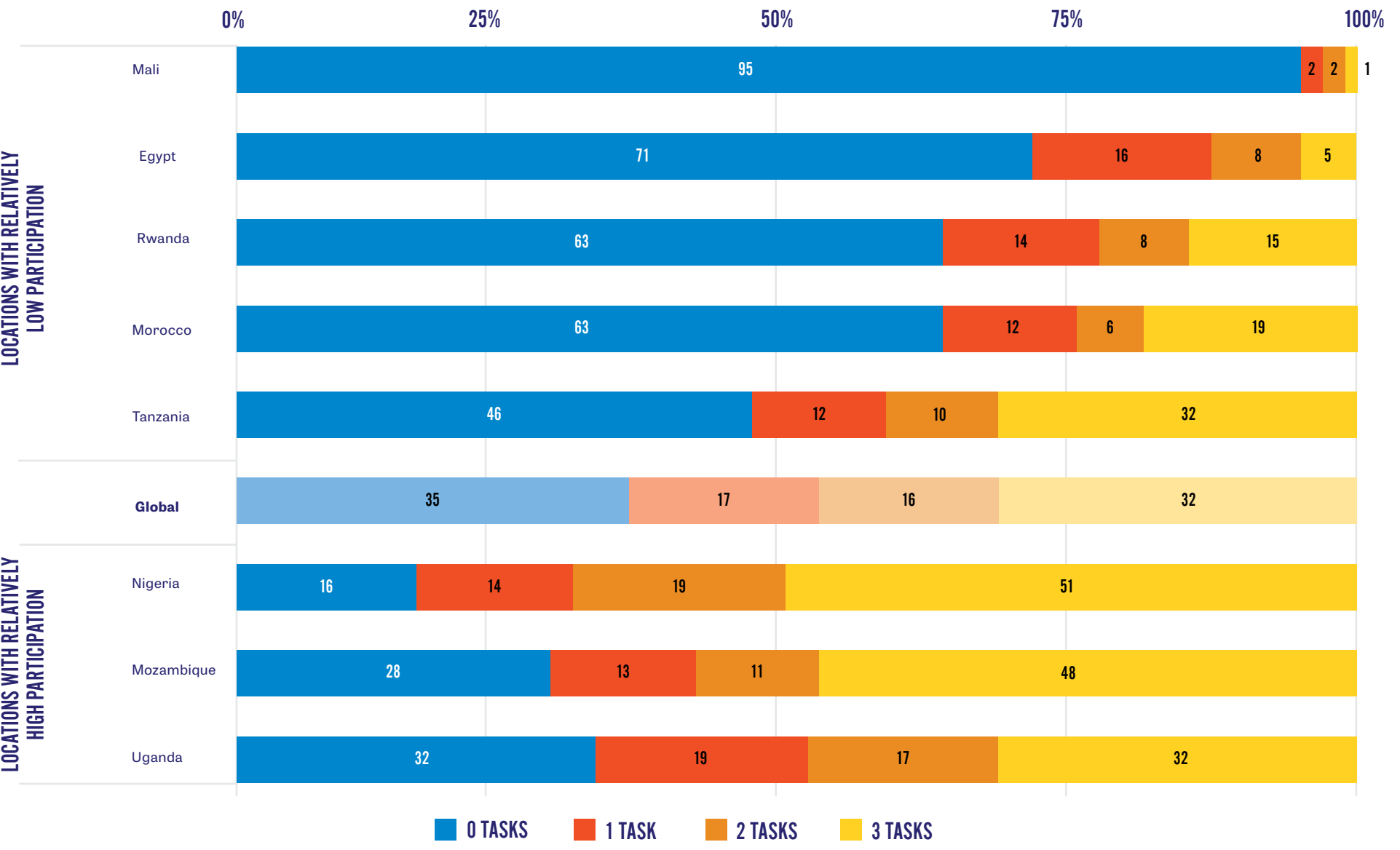
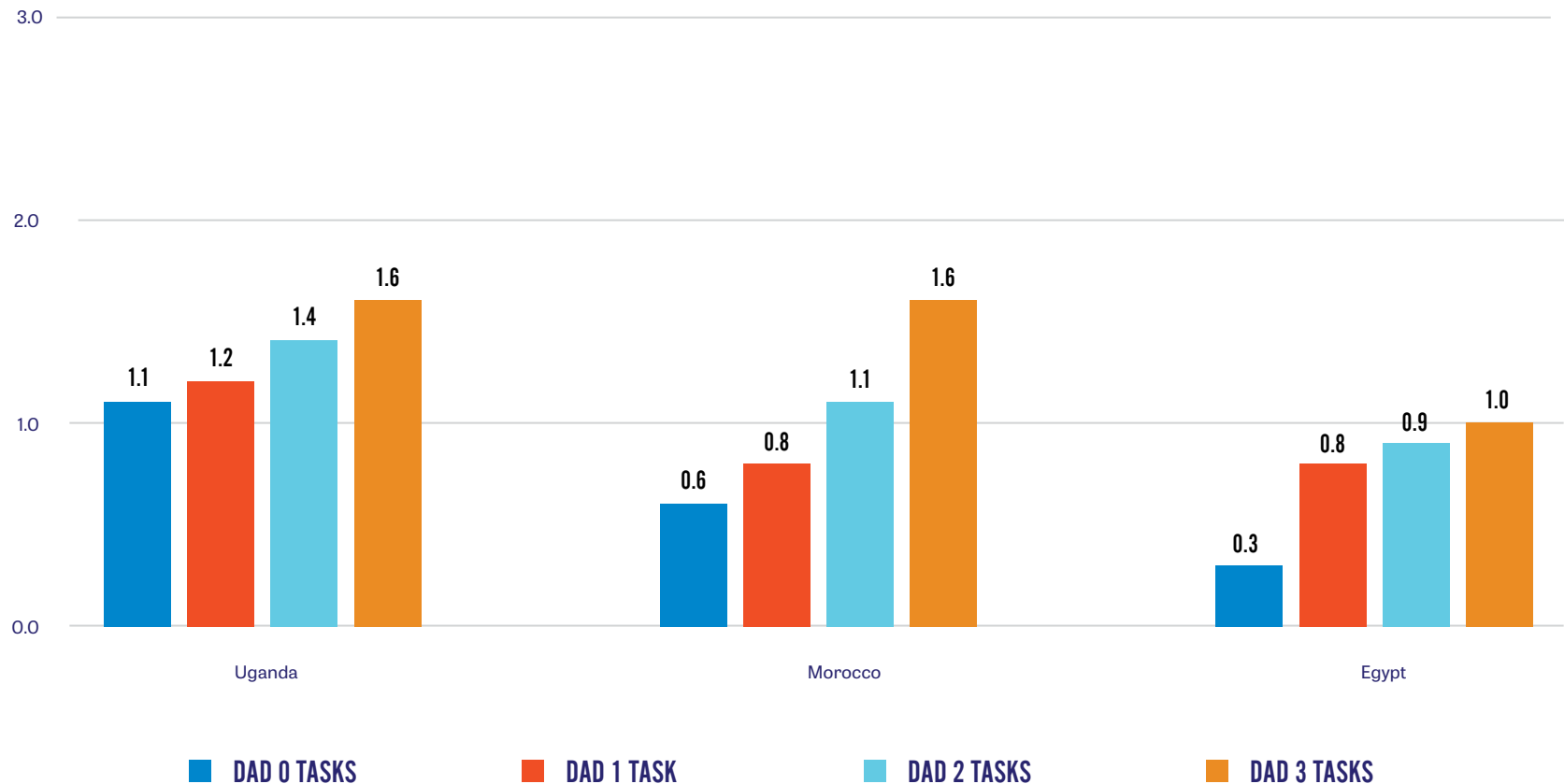
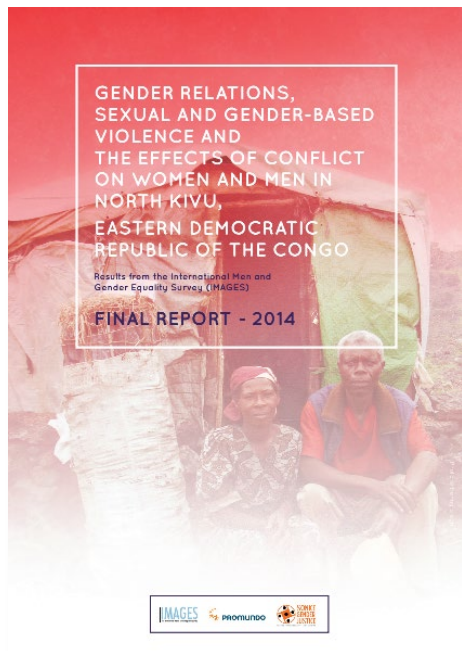


FIGURE 6

Mean number of domestic work tasks (zero to three) done by male respondents as adults, distributed based on their fathers' participation



This association is statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level for every country shown.



READ THE REPORT

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO IMAGES REPORT⁴⁸

The IMAGES study (2014) about gender relations, SGBV, and the effect of conflict on women and men in North Kivu indicated that the men interviewed showed a great deal of skepticism about equality between men and women. Most men think that equality is a “theoretical” concept that is not necessary in Congolese culture or that it is an idea or concept that causes and creates tension between men and women. For example, more than half of the men interviewed believed that gender equality only applies to the wealthy. During the qualitative interviews, both men and women expressed the idea that gender equality means that women would be “the new leaders.” The interviews demonstrated the difficulty that women and men, living in a context of ongoing conflict and domination of certain groups over others, have in understanding gender equality as such. Some men believe equality means that men help women with household chores, and others have noted that women’s income-generating activities are useful in escaping poverty. Still, few men could imagine real equality regarding roles, responsibilities, and power.⁴⁹

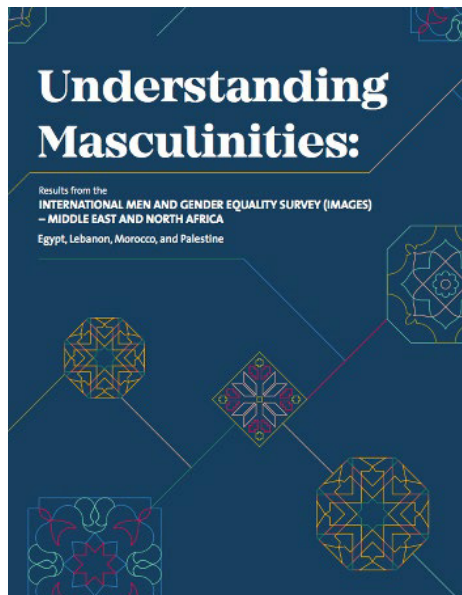
In a separate study about students’ perceptions of gender and equality issues,⁵⁰ three in five respondents admitted to having perpetrated acts of violence in a university environment during the 12 months of reference; additionally, they openly manifested unequal views of gender promotion.

⁴⁸ Slegh, H., Barker, G. and Levto, R. *Gender Relations, Sexual and Gender-Based Violence and the Effects of Conflict on Women and Men in North Kivu, Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo: Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)*. Washington, DC, and Capetown, South Africa: Promundo-US and Sonke Gender Justice. May 2014.

⁴⁹ Barker, G., Contreras, J. M., Heilman, B., Singh, A. K., Verma, R. K., & Nascimento, M. (2011). *Evolving men: Initial results for the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)*. Washington, DC: International Center for Research on Women & Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Promundo.

⁵⁰ Eric, K. M., Jules, K., Zawadi, B. M., Mbeva, J. B. K., & Prudence, M. N. (2021). Citoyenneté critique en République Démocratique du Congo: Perception des étudiants envers l'identité de genre en milieu universitaire de Goma [Critical citizenship in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Students' perception of gender identity in the university environment of Goma]. *International Journal of Innovation and Applied Studies*, 33(2), 330–336.

When it came to sexual relations, the majority of the participants in the study agreed that a man does not only talk about sex but also must have sex (71.3 percent); that a boy should have the final say in decisions about his relationship with a girl (70.6 percent); that a girl should tolerate violence to keep her friendship with her boyfriend (70.6 percent); that a boy needs other girls even if things are going well between him and his girlfriend (64.1 percent); and that girls deserve to be beaten at times by their boyfriends (54.1 percent). Additionally, 44.1 percent of participants said that a boy can assault his girlfriend if she refuses to have sex.



READ THE REPORT

EGYPT IMAGES REPORT⁵¹

“A section should be added in all education levels from school to university that establishes equality and does away with traditional norms that say a woman should stay at home. No, a woman has the right to equal rights, just like a man.”

–62-year-old man, women’s rights advocate, Cairo

In Egypt, the pursuit of gender equality presents a complex landscape where traditional views on masculinity coexist with emerging supportive voices. Since 2011, the country has witnessed the rise of a united front of both genders advocating for change, but conservative elements still exert a significant influence, perpetuating old gender roles and limiting women’s and girls’ freedoms. Nonetheless, progressive male figures in social media, public life, and civil society are increasingly challenging these outdated notions, as highlighted by the 2017 IMAGES MENA Egypt report, which shows a diverse spectrum of male attitudes toward women’s roles. The study can be accessed in full at www.equimundo.org/resources/understanding-masculinities-results-international-men-gender-equality-survey-images-middle-east-north-africa/.

Data from the IMAGES MENA Egypt study cover a wide range of issues and are presented throughout the data tables and headlines in the present report. This was one of very few studies to investigate men’s attitudes related to FGM, so we present an overview of this data here: In the IMAGES study (conducted in 2016 and 2017), support for FGM remained alarmingly high among both Egyptian men and women. A staggering 92 percent of women in the study reported having been subjected to FGM, aligning with national data.⁵² Interestingly, contrary to the common belief that FGM is a women-led decision, the IMAGES data indicate substantial male involvement, with over 90

⁵¹ El Feki, S., Heilman, B. and Barker, G., Eds. (2017) Understanding Masculinities: Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) – Middle East and North Africa. Cairo and Washington, D.C.: UN Women and Promundo-US. <https://imagesmena.org/en/>

⁵² Ministry of Health and Population [Egypt], El-Zanaty and Associates [Egypt], and ICF International. (2015). Egypt Demographic and Health Survey 2014. Cairo and Rockville: Ministry of Health and Population and ICF International. Available at: <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/fr302/fr302.pdf>.

percent of men and 80 percent of women acknowledging men's participation in the decision-making process for performing FGM on daughters. This collaborative decision-making underscores the entrenched nature of FGM within family and societal norms.

“I am against [female] genital mutilation and so is my husband. I still remember the day when I had it done. A girl is old enough to remember and the painful memory never goes away. My mother and his mother wanted us to perform it on our daughter, but we both refused, and I said, ‘Why should I cut a piece off my daughter’s body?’”

–24-year-old woman, Cairo

Despite longstanding efforts to eradicate FGM, including a 2008 law criminalizing the practice, it persists, supported significantly more by men than women. Around 70 percent of men in the IMAGES study approve of FGM, primarily due to traditional and falsely perceived religious notions, while a little over half of the female respondents support continuing the practice. Both genders display a concerning skepticism about the medical risks of FGM and its impact on female sexuality, with a substantial number acknowledging its effect in reducing women's sexual desire. This enduring support is influenced by various factors, including exposure to certain cultural influences that paradoxically may reinforce traditional views toward female sexuality and the misguided perceived necessity of FGM.



GENDER ATTITUDES

HEADLINE 3

Inequitable ideas about manhood and masculinity are alive and well, with harmful effects.

Restrictive, inequitable, and stereotypical views of men's and women's roles are highly prevalent across IMAGES settings, and Africa is no exception. IMAGES assesses ideas about traditional masculinity and masculine norms as a primary focus, and this section explores three statements in particular: "A man should have the final word about decisions in his home" (power); "A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and look after her children" (household gender roles); and "A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together" (violence).

Given extensive global discourse about gender equality – for and against it – one might expect to see a meaningful shift in attitudes about these topics over time. But do younger people actually hold more equitable views about gender than older people do? Across all IMAGES data sets worldwide, using the three previously mentioned dimensions of gender attitudes (power, household gender roles, and violence), the answer for young women is mostly **yes**, while the answer for young men is sometimes yes but mostly **no**. In other words, when we look at how inequitable attitudes vary with age, we see no meaningful differences across age groups for men but a trend toward more equitable views among young women.

Overall, however, it is traditional attitudes about roles and power that women and men are more likely to uphold, while they appear to be less accepting of the view that women should tolerate

violence from a male partner. What these figures show us is that conservative gender attitudes are alive and well, including support for maintaining inequitable gendered roles, men's domination in decision-making, and justification of violence against women. At the same time, though, these attitudes vary substantially and point to opportunities to shift gender norms by building on conditions or changes underway in specific settings.

Men across Africa appear to hold traditionalist ideas of masculinity – with emphasis on the importance of maintaining inequitable gender roles overall (Figure 7). Egyptian men support all three measures of traditional or restrictive manhood at the highest level, except for their views on traditional gender norms; Nigerian men's views on gender norms are the most traditional at 94 percent and 92 percent (2 out of the 3 norms measured). Rwanda, Mali, Tanzania, Uganda, and Morocco all figure similarly, with a greater commitment to a traditional role for women and men's final decision-making power, but again, backing away somewhat from the idea that women should tolerate violence. Rates of acceptance of the idea that women should tolerate violence are at 78 percent in Mali and 90 percent in Egypt. These findings on Mali align well with the fact that there is still no law against GBV in the country.

Mozambique is an interesting exception, with distinctively lower levels of traditional, restrictive attitudes across all three measures compared to the other eight countries in the region. Of particular

note is that only 13 percent of men in Mozambique say that women should tolerate violence to keep the family together. This may reflect a strong legal framework and laws on gender equality that are a legacy of the country's liberation struggle, in which women played an important role. Also making a contribution may be the country's socialist commitments and the strength of its civil society organizations.

Might we expect women to differ from men with regard to their attitudes on gender roles and relations? Not necessarily. Women can be co-opted into patriarchal systems, finding status by making compromises within the system rather than challenging it, something that has been theorized as a “patriarchal bargain.” An earlier analysis of the global IMAGES data by region⁵³ showed that women in sub-Saharan Africa (which does not include Egypt and Morocco) demonstrated the greatest regional agreement with men on the three dimensions of traditional gender roles. This differs from all of the other regions of the world for which we have data, where women are far less likely to hold consistently traditionalist views. Looking at the data in Figure 8, for example, we see that women in Nigeria are just about as likely as men to uphold stereotypical views of the household, power and decision-making, and women's traditional roles (reaching 96 percent agreeing that a woman's “most important role is to take care of her home and look after her children”). Mali, Egypt, Nigeria, and Rwanda have the highest percentages of women who uphold the idea that women should accept violence to keep the family together; one could speculate that laws around child custody may play a role in whether women stay in violent marriages. Women in Rwanda, Egypt, Nigeria,

and Uganda generally support the stereotypical statement that a woman's most important role is to take care of the home and children, with all of these countries above 75 percent. Once again, Mozambique data show the lowest belief in these stereotypes, with a particular reluctance to affirm that women should tolerate violence (19 percent) – which, notably, is higher than men believing women should tolerate violence (13 percent). Similarly, in Tanzania, it is interesting to note that more women than men in the study regions agree that a woman's most important role is to take care of her home and children and that women should tolerate violence.

Why do men's high rates of agreement with restrictive attitudes matter? First, numerous studies around the world have demonstrated a link between traditional masculinity and practices that are harmful to men's health, including risk-taking, substance abuse, and avoidance of seeking care.⁵⁴ In some societies, men are expected to remain strong and keep going even when they are sick or injured. This expectation makes men less likely to seek medical or other forms of help when they need it. Traditional masculinity can also drive men to take risks, and around three-quarters of global deaths from road crashes occur among boys and men. An inherent masculine norm also encourages men to be virile and sexually dominant; these expectations encourage men to have multiple partners, avoid conversations about contraceptive use, drink alcohol, smoke, and maintain other unhealthy practices.

In the global IMAGES analysis, we also found strong associations in nearly all countries between men holding more restrictive gender

53 Greene, ME, B Heilman, G Barker, D Rakshit and T Gupta. (2022). The International Men and Gender Equality Surveys (IMAGES): A Global Report in 15 Headlines. Washington, DC: Equimundo Center for Masculinities and Social Justice.

54 Heise, L., Greene, M. E., Opper, N., Stavropoulou, M., Harper, C., Nascimento, M., & Zewdie, D. (2019). Gender inequality and restrictive gender norms: Framing the challenges to health. *The Lancet*, 393(10189), 2440–2454. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(19\)30652-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(19)30652-X)

norms and specific negative health outcomes.⁵⁵ Men with more restrictive gender attitudes engage in more binge drinking, with the association between more restrictive views of gender and more binge drinking being significant and remarkably consistent across Latin America and the Caribbean, Eastern Europe and Central Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa. Men with more inequitable attitudes are also more likely to report feelings of depression, as reflected in yes/no answers to the question, “Are you feeling down, depressed, or hopeless?” Men with more traditional attitudes more frequently engage in poor health-seeking behavior, reflecting a sense of themselves as tough and not needing assistance: They often have not sought any health services for themselves within the past two years, a very low bar indeed. Yet IMAGES data show that there are other men for whom traditional gender attitudes are associated with a greater likelihood of seeking out health care. This may reflect a prioritization of the self over the sense that a “real man” does not need to go in search of help with his health.

55 Greene, ME, B Heilman, G Barker, D Rakshit and T Gupta. (2022). The International Men and Gender Equality Surveys (IMAGES): A Global Report in 15 Headlines. Washington, DC: Equimundo Center for Masculinities and Social Justice.

FIGURE 7

Men's agreement with three gender attitudes

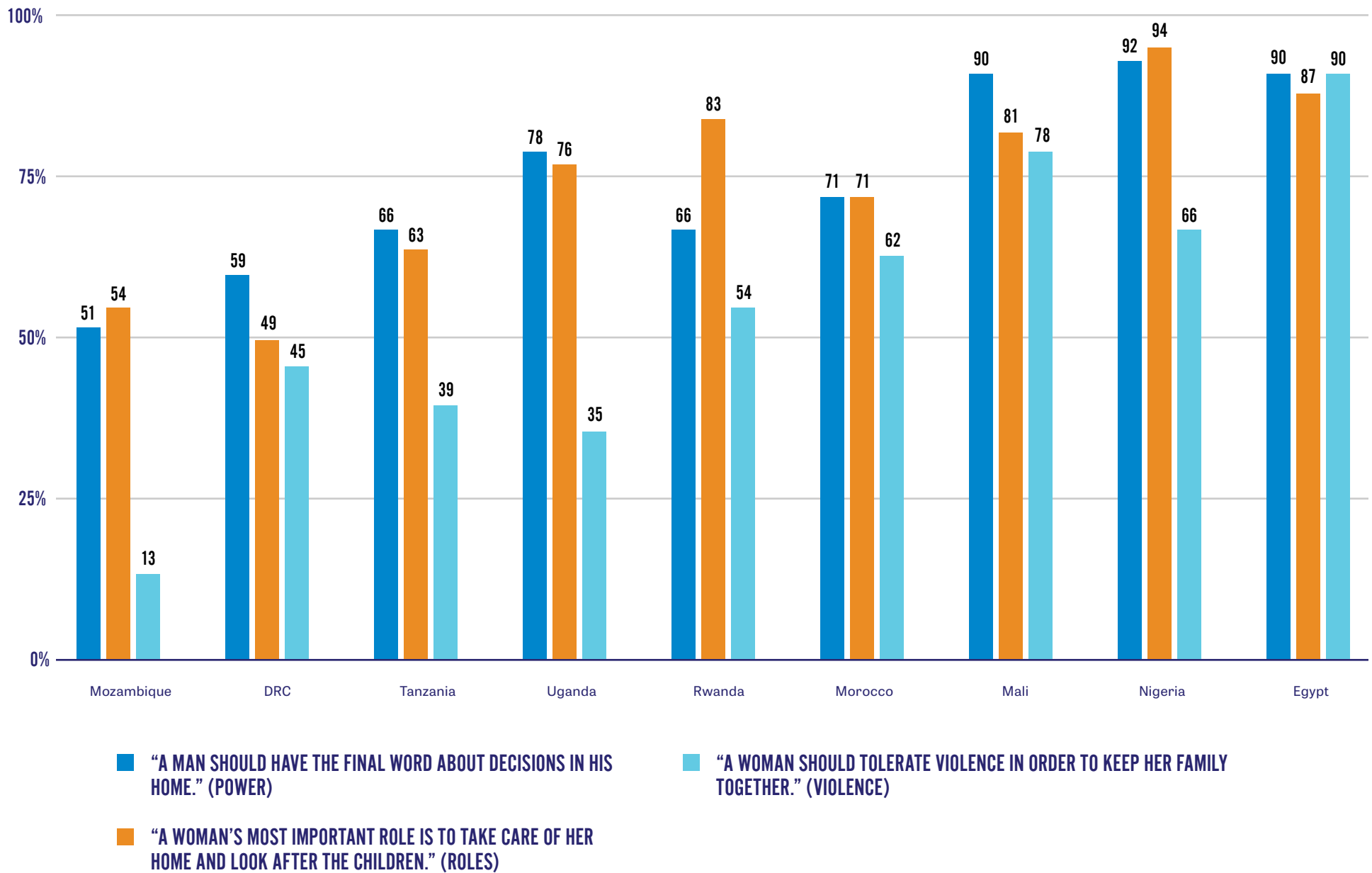
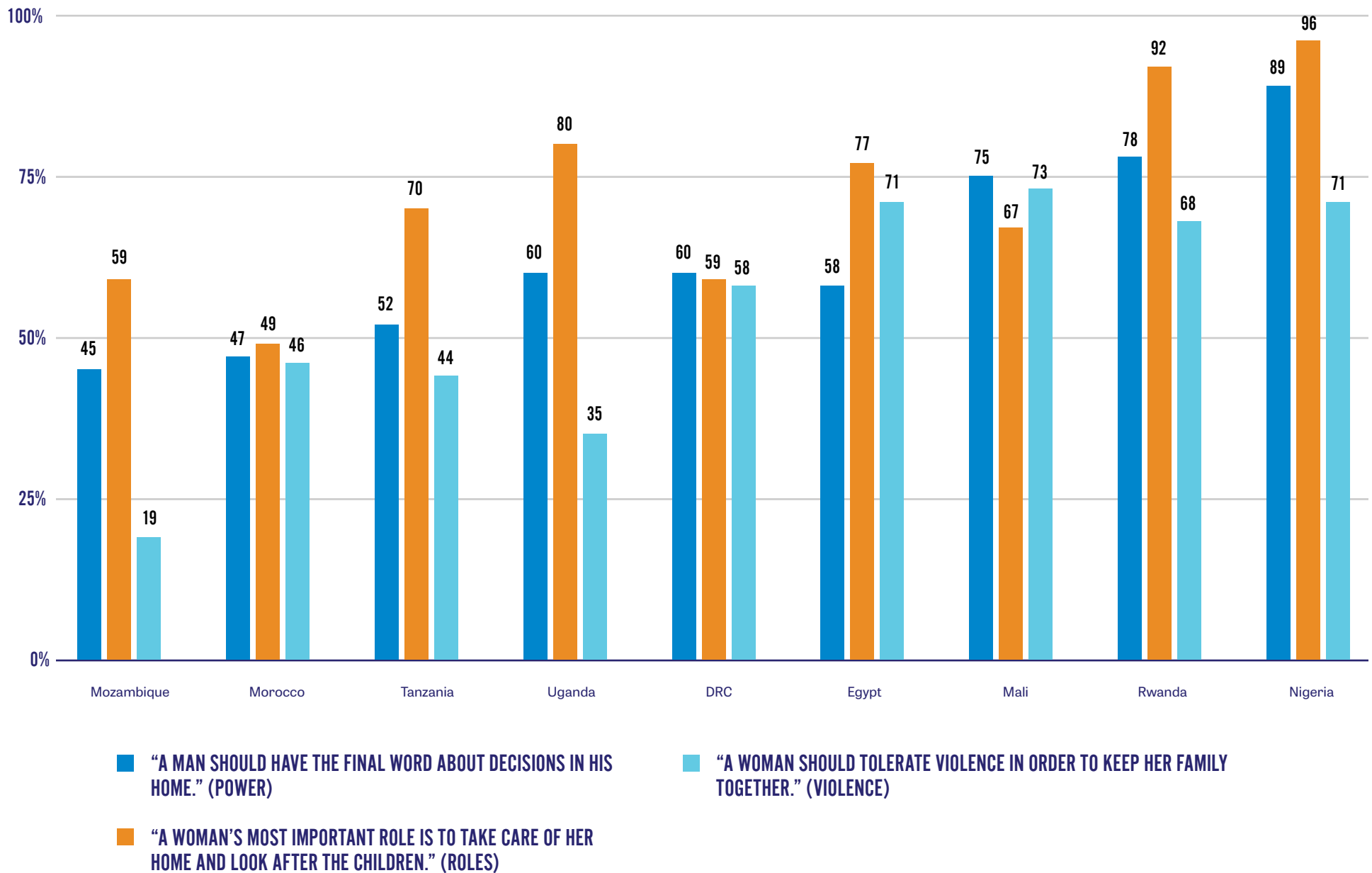


FIGURE 8

Women's agreement with three gender attitudes



HEADLINE 4

Women and men who grew up seeing gender equality in their households as children generally hold more equitable attitudes.

The environment in which a child grows up plays a significant role in shaping their attitudes toward gender roles and equality. In Africa, many children grow up with extended families, where grandparents, aunts, and uncles are very important in their development and education. In countries with higher rates of polygamy – like Burkina Faso, Mali, Senegal, and Nigeria – the “household” does not always equate to a nuclear family of two parents with their children but instead can include multiple wives and their households, as well as other extended family members. Additionally, many girls are married in childhood, which means that children grow up with teenage mothers, sometimes in their mother’s parents’ home. All these realities are important in shaping children’s gender attitudes.

Households that practice and demonstrate gender equality provide children with a foundation for developing equitable attitudes that they carry into adulthood.⁵⁶ Indeed, research has shown that children who grow up in households where gender equality is modeled are more likely to hold equitable attitudes as adults.⁵⁷ Numerous studies have examined how family dynamics influence the development of gender attitudes, hypothesizing that parents, especially fathers, who model more egalitarian attitudes contribute

to their children holding more equitable beliefs. Similarly, it would be expected that the children of men who are less involved in these tasks may have less gender-equitable attitudes.

As shown in Figure 9, men whose fathers were heavily involved in household tasks (cleaning the house, cooking food, and washing clothes) during their own childhoods tend to hold significantly more gender-equitable attitudes. For example, IMAGES results in Tanzania show that men with fathers very involved in domestic tasks had an average score of 1.6 (on a gender attitude scale of 0 to 3) compared to 1.1 for men with less involved fathers. Children mostly learn by observing and imitating the behavior of their parents. When fathers share household responsibilities, they model a more equitable distribution of tasks and contribute to promoting equality and breaking stereotypes. As was the case for men observing their fathers’ work in the home, the data also show statistically significant differences in women’s gender-equitable attitudes depending on whether their mothers worked outside the home in Egypt, Uganda, and Tanzania. By engaging in tasks traditionally associated with women, fathers convey the message that these are not solely “women’s work” and that they are valued in the household, thus breaking down gender stereotypes. By working

⁵⁶ Seçgin, F., & Tural, A. (2020). The relationship between prospective social studies teachers' attitudes towards gender roles and entrepreneurship levels. *International Journal of Education and Literacy Studies*, 8(4), 64–73.

⁵⁷ Hentschel, T., Heilman, M. E., & Peus, C. V. (2019). The multiple dimensions of gender stereotypes: A current look at men’s and women’s characterizations of others and themselves. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00011>

outside the home, mothers convey that they belong in the public sphere and make monetary contributions to the household, a source of power and respect.

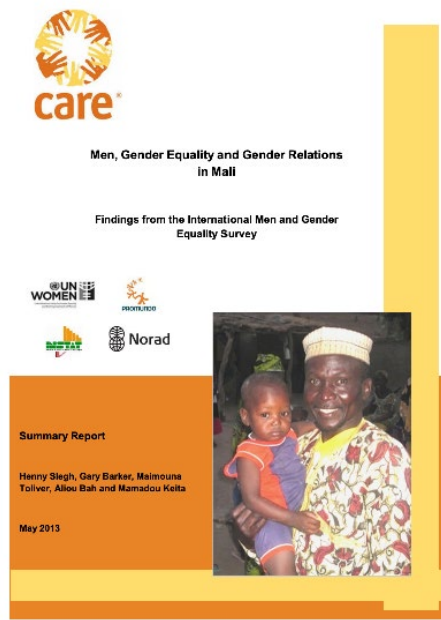
Children need to observe gender-equitable role models in their childhood environments in order to grow up able to reduce stereotypes. A personal commitment to gender equality can start in childhood when boys and girls are encouraged by the example set by their parents that household chores are shared and all responsibilities are valued and respected. The extended family and the community as a whole can reinforce or challenge prevailing gender norms through their collective actions and attitudes. To bring about change in gender norms, interventions must consider the impact of both the extended family and the community. The broad theme of gender dynamics and their effects on individuals is deeply integrated in African literature, and many works contribute to the broader debate about gender equality, empowerment, and the quest for identity within the African context and beyond.⁵⁸

58 Sörlin, A., Lindholm, L., Ng, N., & Öhman, A. (2011). Gender equality in couples and self-rated health - A survey study evaluating measurements of gender equality and its impact on health. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 10(37). <https://doi.org/10.1186/1475-9276-10-37>

FIGURE 9

Average gender attitude scale score (0-3) by gender equitable behavior of mothers and fathers: higher is more equitable





[READ THE REPORT](#)

MALI IMAGES REPORT⁵⁹

IMAGES Mali revealed a strong emphasis on the traditional role of men as the heads of households and women as submissive to men's needs and demands. Men are considered the chiefs and generally agreed that a “good wife” should show respect to her husband, acknowledge and treat him as the head of the household, and respect both her parents and in-laws. The recollection that their fathers had the final word on decisions regarding household expenditure, the health of women and children, and their education when they were growing up was reported by approximately 76 percent of men interviewed.

Qualitative and quantitative data in the 2013 IMAGES study confirmed that for most of the men interviewed, their fathers had controlled decision-making in their households (based on six categories of household decisions provided). Alternatively, few men and women reported seeing their fathers perform any household chores associated with food preparation and cleaning while they were children, except for some daily childcare; more than 96 percent of men said their father did no household tasks, while 22.5 percent said their father provided care for children. Overall, though, it is important to note that not all of the results related to gender norms and roles reflected inequitable or negative views.

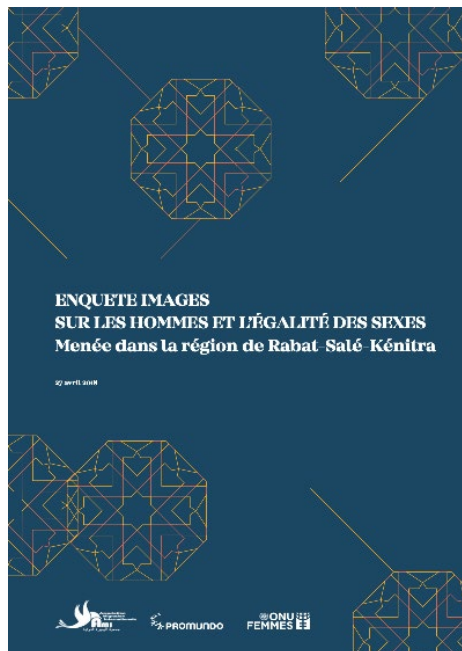
In the focus group discussions, both young men and women generally agreed that a man should be a “model for his children” and “honest and faithful.” Although the reports showed that men believe they have the right to have sex with their wives without considering whether they agree, some of the women interviewed in the focus groups stated that a “real” man satisfies his wife sexually and treats his wife gently. Additionally, both men and women reported the belief that men have the right to punish and abandon their wives as necessary. Over half of men and women agree that a woman cannot refuse to have sex at her husband's demand, while high percentages of women (80.7 percent) and men (69.8 percent) agree that women cannot propose condom use.

Generally, the IMAGES results demonstrate that support for inequitable gender norms by men and women is extremely high in Mali and that prevailing notions of masculinity in Mali are largely based on norms rooted in unequal power relations. This includes men's control of household resources

⁵⁹ Henny Slegh, Gary Barker, Maimouna Toliver, Aliou Bah and Mamadou Keita. (2013). Men, Gender Equality and Gender Relations in Mali Findings from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey. Washington, DC: Promundo.

and domination of decision-making, limited educational attainment for women and girls (although also highly limited for rural men), an acceptance of men's use of physical violence against women, and the high prevalence of polygamy.

However, IMAGES data collected from young Malian men and women aged 18 to 35 also offers some hope for change; men and women in this age bracket living in urban areas and with higher education levels demonstrated more gender-equitable attitudes compared with older female and male respondents aged 36 to 59. The research also found education is a key factor associated with more gender-equitable norms and less violence against women, reinforcing the importance of providing education for girls as well as boys, while also advocating for a strategic development approach that actively involves young men in promoting gender equity.



READ THE REPORT

MOROCCO IMAGES REPORT⁶⁰

“I have come to understand that ‘masculinity’ is deadly, not just for women. Of course, they remain more put upon than men. Nonetheless, men are also victims of this masculinity and the patriarchal mindset. It affects men, as well, because the norms or the roles assigned to each sex, at the heart of society, are disadvantageous.”

–37-year-old man, student, Rabat

In Morocco, the landscape of masculinity and gender equality is marked by an interplay between progressive change and enduring traditionalism. While modern laws and a vibrant civil society advocate for women's rights, a rising tide of Islamic conservatism champions more traditional gender roles. As public attitudes slowly evolve toward greater gender equality, private life remains a complex field of both acceptance and resistance, with many men and women grappling with the implications of these changes on their personal and family lives. Data from the IMAGES MENA Morocco study are presented throughout the present report and are available in full at www.imagesmena.org.

The Morocco study, which collected data in and around Rabat, the capital, was one of very few in the continent where it was deemed socially permissible to explore sensitive topics such as abortion and sexual diversity. Regarding family planning, it is evident that decisions are increasingly becoming a shared responsibility between spouses in Morocco. Most couples report mutual satisfaction and open communication about sexual matters, with about 60 percent using contraception, reflecting broader national trends. However, abortion remains a complex and sensitive issue, underscored

⁶⁰ Bachir Hamdouch, Mohamed Mghari, Rajaa Nadifi, Gaëlle Gillot. 2018. Enquête IMAGES Sur Les Hommes Et L'égalité Des Sexes Menée dans la région de Rabat-Salé-Kénitra. Washington, DC: Promundo.

by conflicting religious and cultural sentiments. The procedure is generally clandestine and legally restricted, but some men do actively participate in the decision and support their partners through the process. However, this is not a universal reality. Societal views on abortion are mixed, with a significant number viewing it as a necessary but regrettable measure, particularly in the context of unmarried women, who face harsh social repercussions.

“I became pregnant. However, I was going out with a feminist guy who made lovely speeches, was the child of an activist family, everything you could want. But when I asked him to come with me to the gynaecologist, he refused. All those ideas I had [of him] evaporated... and I was left to face the consequences of the abortion by myself, with my female friends.”

–26-year-old woman, women’s rights activist, Rabat



POWER AND CARING AT HOME

HEADLINE 5

Household power is often unequal and contested between women and men, especially with regard to money and women's mobility.

The general inequality of household power between men and women, especially concerning money, has been a topic of considerable research and discussion.⁶¹ In patriarchal societies, men have been traditionally viewed as the primary earners and decision-makers in households, while women's economic roles have often been undervalued or restricted, leading to disparities in financial autonomy. Research concerning women's and men's relative access to financial resources has generally focused on the influence of women's increasing market work but largely overlooked the critical issue of what happens to money after it enters couple households.⁶² The growing body of research on the intra-household economy suggests that in couple households, there are significant associations between control over household finances and more general power within the household. For example, a major British study examined the relationships between money, power, and inequality within marriage,⁶³ while other studies in South Africa examined similar relationships.⁶⁴ In many contexts, the results suggest that even when couples nominally pool their money, in practice, either husband or wife is likely to control that pool. Research finds a complex relationship pattern between

household income level, household allocative system, and gender. Female control of finances does not protect these women against financial deprivation, but male control of finances generally serves to protect the financial interests of men in comparison to women.

Of course, these findings are likely to vary substantially across socioeconomic, racial, ethnic, and relationship-status groups, as well as by partners' relative household contributions. IMAGES results find that countries vary considerably on whether household decision-making is male-dominated for large household investments (things like buying a car, a house, or furniture). Across Africa, significant variation is visible in men's and women's responses, with Egypt and Rwanda showing the lowest proportions of male domination in household decision-making and much decision-making shared equally overall, likely reflecting respect for women in their household roles. Across sub-Saharan Africa (and, indeed, all of the world's regions when we look at the global data), there is strong agreement between men's and women's assessments of the household dynamic. Although it was expected that men would give themselves more credit for equal sharing than women gave them, this finding did not emerge. If anything,

61 England, P. (2010). The gender revolution: Uneven and stalled. *Gender & Society*, 24(2), 149–166. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243210361475>

62 Blau, F. D., & Kahn, L. M. (2007). The gender pay gap: Have women gone as far as they can? *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 21(1), 7–23. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4166284>

63 Vogler, C., & Pahl, J. (1994). Money, power and inequality within marriage. *The Sociological Review*, 42(2), 263–288. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1994.tb00090.x>

64 Willows, G. D., & October, C. (2023). Perceptions of retirement savings: Through the lens of black amaXhosa women in South Africa. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 90, 102382. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpa.2021.102382>

the opposite seems to be true: Women report they have some contributing power in the “share equally” scenario, but the same percentage of men don’t see it that way and perceive their own primacy in financial decision-making.

Compared to other regions of the world, the highest overall levels of male domination in decision-making can be seen in the Arab States and in sub-Saharan Africa. In six of the nine countries of our Africa sample, more than half of men say they dominate decision-making on large financial investments, with 81 percent of men in Mali stating this is the case (Figure 10). Only in Mozambique (68 percent) and Morocco (52 percent) do the majority of men state that decisions are made jointly or by women, with men in the DRC close behind at 48 percent. The gap between men’s and women’s assessments of whether men are dominant in decision-making can be seen in Uganda (71 versus 56 percent), Rwanda (57 versus 37 percent), and Egypt (67 versus 31 percent). Egyptian women are also much more likely than men to report joint decision-making in this arena. The disparities may reflect that men need to see themselves as – and be seen as – dominant, even when decisions are made jointly or by women, a reflection of traditional masculinity. Nigeria and DRC are the only countries where lower proportions of men than women report that men have the final say on large investments (65 versus 68 percent in Nigeria, and 44 versus 48 percent in DRC).

As regards the inequality of household power between men and women, particularly concerning how women spend their free time, traditional gender roles have often designated men as the primary decision-makers and women as caregivers and

homemakers. These roles have historically influenced how women’s time is allocated, including their free time. Cultural and societal expectations often dictate that women prioritize household responsibilities over personal leisure or activities outside the home. Financial constraints also pose barriers for women, and economic dependence on male partners or family members can limit women’s ability to engage in activities requiring financial resources, such as leisure, travel, or education.

In no country does anywhere near the majority of women report they have the “final say” on how they spend their own free time (Figure 11). In four of the five countries for which IMAGES surveys included this question, men were more likely to have the final say than women themselves about how women spend their own free time. In all five countries, at least 64 percent of women report that the decision is made jointly or by a male family member. And the “shared equally” response when it comes to women’s freedom of movement is hardly an indication of equality and autonomy. Women should have a say on how to spend their free time, but if you live with a partner/spouse/husband and children, it is possible that deciding how to spend leisure time is a shared decision. The variability among countries suggests that something driven by gender dynamics is going on. In Mozambique, 73 percent of women report that decisions about how they spend their free time are made jointly. Only in Morocco do at least a third of women report that they are making the final decision regarding how to spend their free time.

FIGURE 10

Proportion of men and women's responses on who in their homes has the "final say with regard to large financial investments": male family member(s), shared equally, or female family member(s)

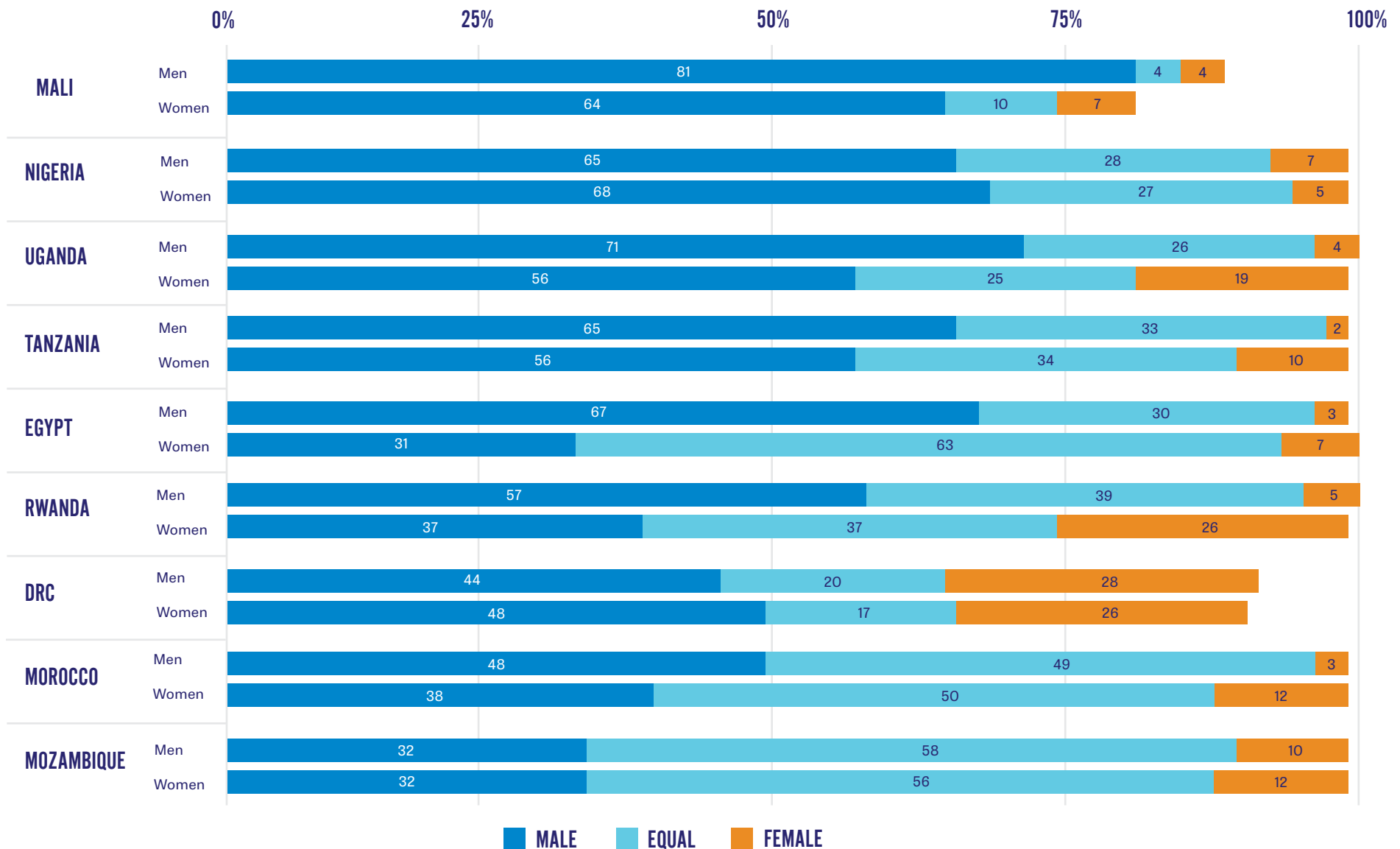
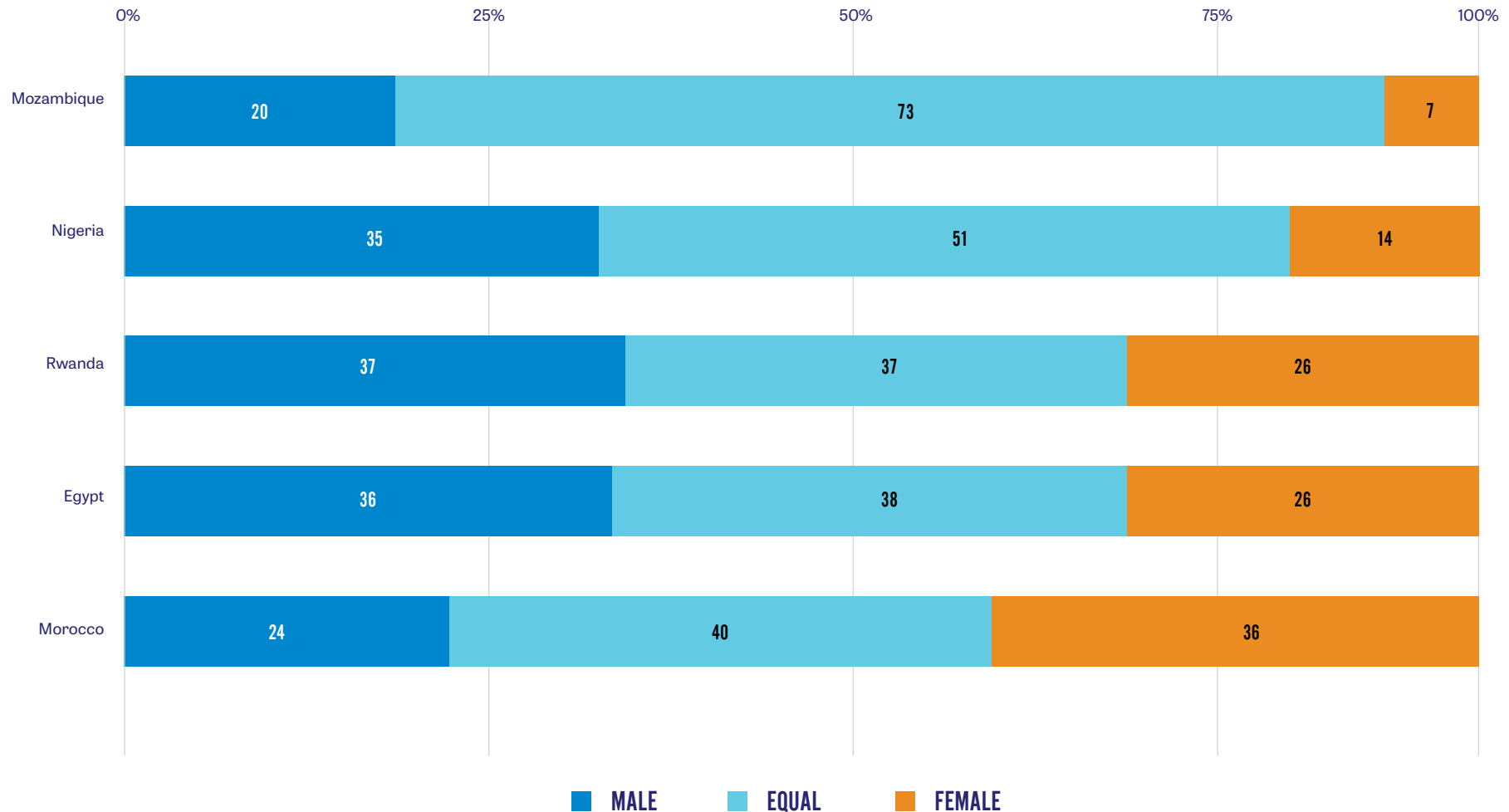


FIGURE 11

Women's responses to who in their homes has the "final say with regard to how [respondent] spends her free time": male family members, shared equally, or female family members (including herself)



HEADLINE 6

Men's and women's household division of labor is often inequitable, but men rarely acknowledge this.

On average, women spend three to ten times as much time as men on unpaid care and domestic work, independent of women's or their partners' employment status.⁶⁵ In sub-Saharan Africa, women and girls make up most of the unpaid care workforce and dedicate several times the amount of time to unpaid care that men do.⁶⁶

The burden of unpaid care work limits women's economic, social, educational, and leadership opportunities, and the low value given to this work and the expectation for women to perform it mean that their paid employment does not significantly reduce their unpaid workload.⁶⁷ COVID reinforced women's domestic workload, in many cases obliging them to leave the paid labor force or engage simultaneously in caregiving and paid work.⁶⁸ The persistent inequality in women's unpaid care limits their paid employment, shunts them into specific work and informal opportunities, and is associated with lower wages for the same work compared to men. Additionally, economic inequalities between men and women extend beyond wages to include areas such as ownership of assets.

For instance, in many sub-Saharan African countries, men are more likely to own land than women, and this disparity in asset ownership affects women's economic empowerment and their ability to participate in decision-making processes.⁶⁹

The IMAGES surveys collect data on whether women and men perform the following tasks: cleaning the house, preparing food, and washing clothes. Our global analysis shows that at least 90 percent (and generally closer to 100 percent) of women everywhere have participated in all three of these tasks.⁷⁰ By contrast to women's near-universal participation in this domestic work, fewer than 50 percent of the men in the full global IMAGES samples have participated in all three tasks, and 28 percent have never participated in any of them. However, African men's reports of participating in all three tasks are more varied: Figure 12 shows that in Nigeria, Mozambique, and Rwanda, over 70 percent of men have participated in all three tasks. In Tanzania, 21 percent of men

65 Sepúlveda Carmona, M., & Donald, K. (2014). What does care have to do with human rights? Analysing the impact on women's rights and gender equality. *Gender & Development*, 22(3), 441–457. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2014.963305>; Charmes, J. (2019, December 19). The unpaid care work and the labour market: An analysis of time use data based on the latest world compilation of time-use surveys. Geneva: International Labour Organization. https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dgreports/@gender/documents/publication/wcms_732791.pdf

66 Addati, L., Cattaneo, U., Esquivel, V., & Valarino, I. (2018, June 28). Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work. Geneva: International Labour Organization. <https://www.ilo.org/publications/major-publications/care-work-and-care-jobs-future-decent-work>

67 Alarakhia, M., Ahmed, Z. S., & Tanima, T. (2024). Gender inequality and care work: Valuing and investing in care. In L. Kolovich & M. Newia (Eds.), *Gender equality and economic development in sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.

68 UN Women. (2020, November 25). Whose time to care?: Unpaid care and domestic work during COVID-19. <https://data.unwomen.org/publications/whose-time-care-unpaid-care-and-domestic-work-during-covid-19>

69 Ortiz-Ospina, E., Hasell, J., & Roser, M. (2024). Economic inequality by gender. <https://ourworldindata.org/economic-inequality-by-gender>

70 Equimundo. (2022). The International Men and Gender Equality Survey: A status report on men, women, and gender equality in 15 headlines. Washington, DC: Equimundo. <https://www.equimundo.org/resources/men-and-gender-equality-a-global-status-report-in-15-headlines/>

have never participated in any of these tasks, while 50 percent have participated in all three. In Mali, Morocco, Uganda, and Egypt, a higher share of men have never participated in any of the tasks than have participated in all three.

Some disagreement can be seen between men's and women's reports of their respective contributions to the daily care of their children, with men generally reporting more participation in this care work than women say men carry out. In every country where data exist for women and men, the proportion saying that daily routine care of the child is "shared equally" is higher among men (see gray in Figure 13) than among women, with 62 percent of Malian men, for example, reporting equal caregiving compared to 47 percent of women. Morocco, Mozambique, and Nigeria are the three countries where the greatest disagreement emerges, with men reporting much higher levels of sharing than women do. In Mozambique, for example, 37 percent of men but only 6 percent of women report that the caregiving is equal. Also notable is how rarely overall "always or usually him" is reported by men or women (the blue in Figure 13). Men in Tanzania, Morocco, and Mozambique are especially likely to offer generous assessments of their own engagement. Daily, routine childcare is, by and large, seen as "women's work," even as change is slowly happening.

Furthermore, to the extent that men perform childcare tasks, there is a clear and gendered division of tasks that are performed primarily by women and primarily by men. The final analysis in this series explores the activities in which men engage with their children in Africa. The IMAGES data lead us to conclude that

men play with their children far more commonly than they bathe them (see Figure 14). The lowest percentage of men reporting ever playing with their children is in Mali, at 66 percent (more than twice their rate of reporting ever bathing their children, at 27 percent). Despite considerable variation in the absolute and relative levels of engagement in these activities across the region, one pattern is clear: Men are consistently engaged in more playing and less bathing. In Morocco and Egypt, nearly 100 percent of men mentioned playing with their children, but only 17 and 14 percent, respectively, had ever bathed them. The near-global challenge is how to implement policies and shift social norms to encourage and demand that men share fully in all kinds of caregiving. The "Men in the Kitchen" program implemented by HOPEM since 2012 in Mozambique demonstrates that there are possibilities of bringing positive change regarding men's involvement in domestic responsibilities. This program has challenged stereotypes and encouraged men to actively engage in cooking and caregiving, breaking down barriers associated with traditional gender roles.⁷¹

71 UN Women. (2013, July 3). Men in the kitchen: Cooking up change in Mozambique. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2013/7/men-in-the-kitchen>

FIGURE 12

The proportion of women (top half) and men (bottom half) who report having never participated in three “traditionally feminine” tasks (cleaning the house, preparing food, and washing clothes) in their lifetime and those who report having participated in all three

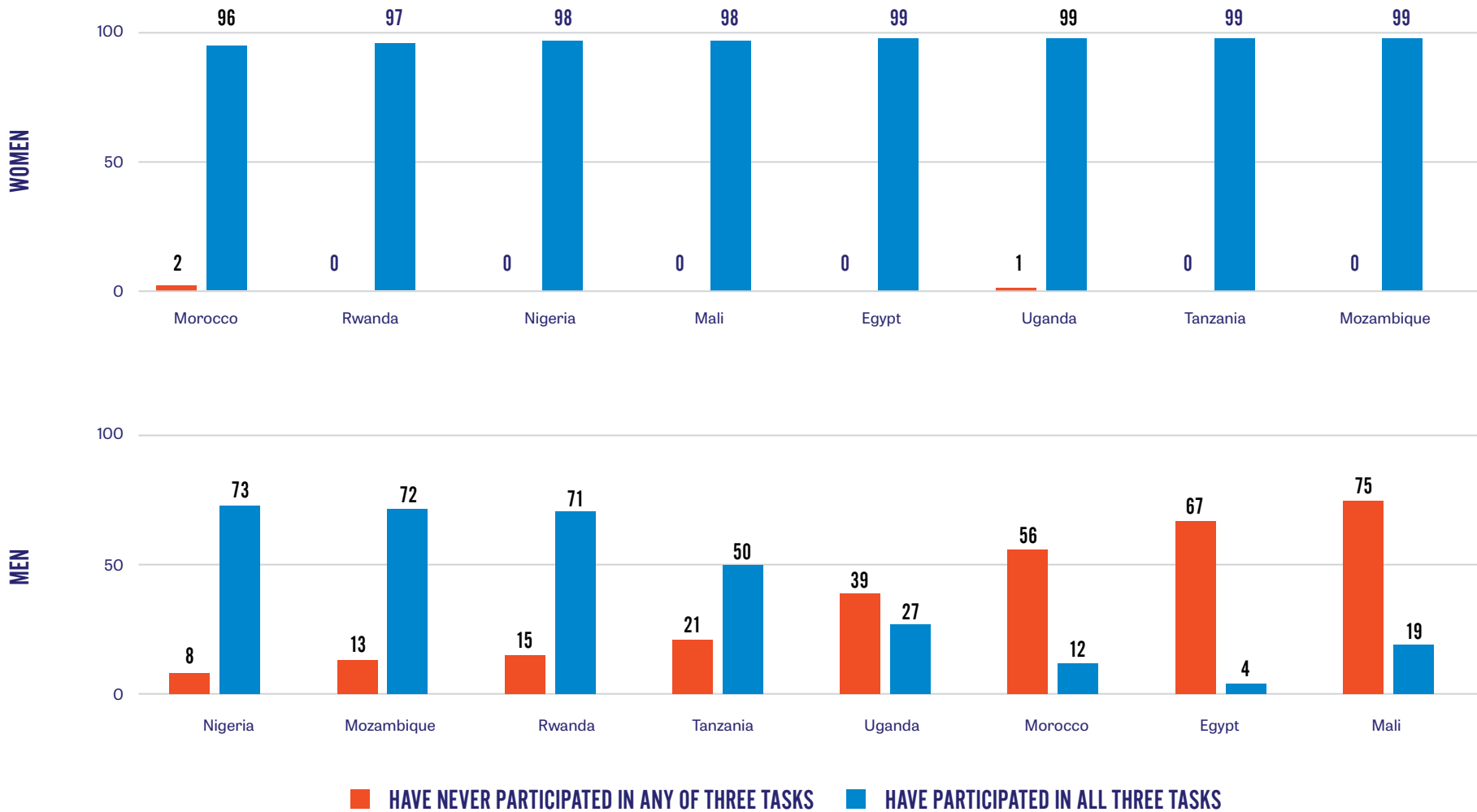


FIGURE 13

Proportion of respondents with children reporting who primarily undertakes “daily routine care of the child”

Respondents were prompted to think of their current youngest child or the most recent time they had a child aged 0 to 4, and they could select “always or usually me,” “shared equally,” or “always or usually spouse.”

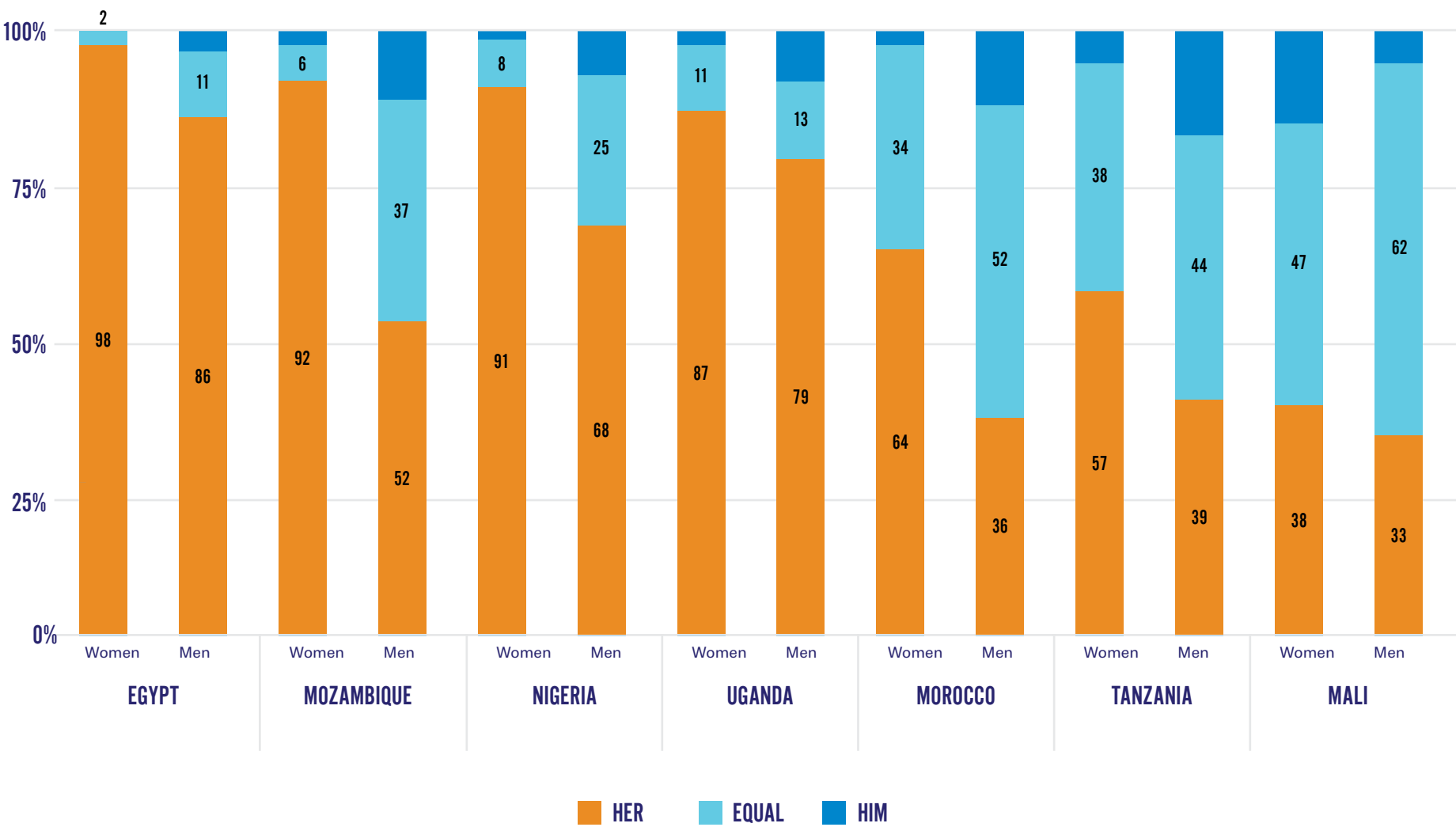
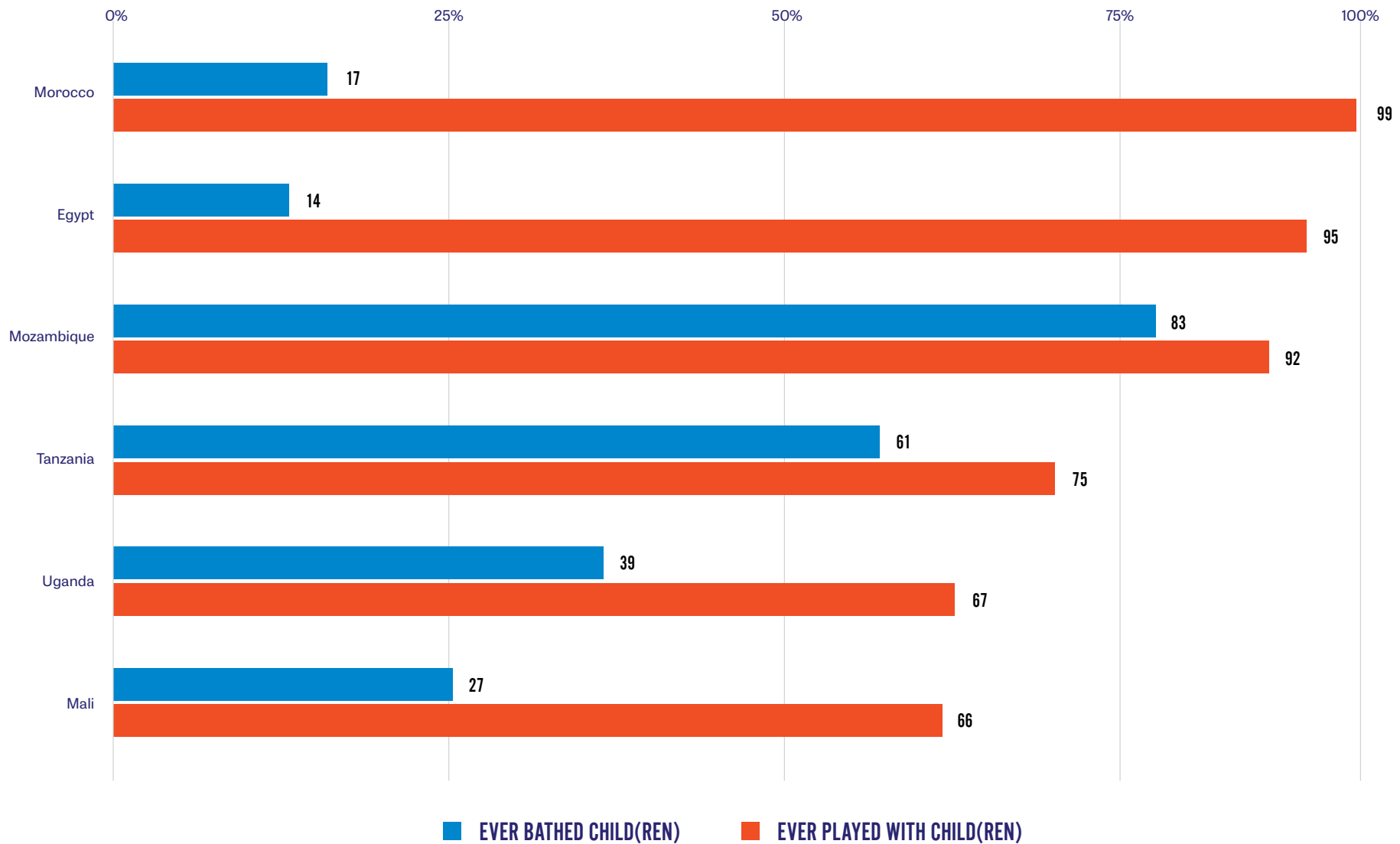
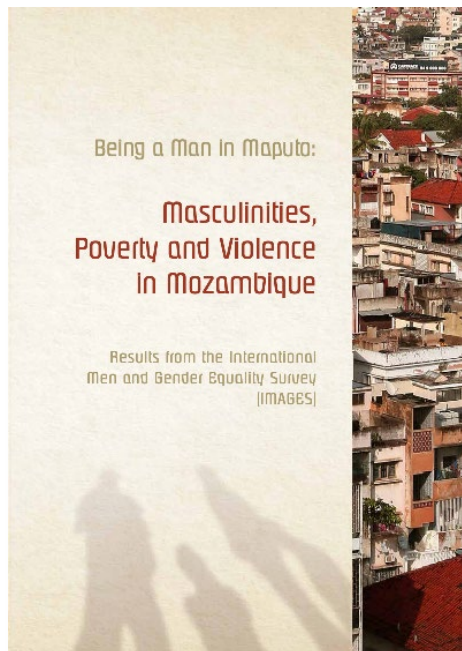


FIGURE 14

Proportion of fathers who say they have ever bathed their child(ren) compared to the proportion of fathers who say they have ever played with their child(ren)





READ THE REPORT

MOZAMBIQUE IMAGES REPORT⁷²

Mozambique's history has been marked by political violence, including colonial oppression, the struggle for independence from Portugal, and violent postcolonial conflicts. From 1976 to 1992, war between the dominant political forces in the country, the Mozambique Liberation Front, and the largest opposition and former rebel group, the Mozambican National Resistance, ravaged the country. The legacy of war, trauma, and multiple forms of disempowerment interact with gender inequality and GBV in context-specific ways in Mozambique. The 2023 DHS found that 26 percent of women and 22 percent of men had been victims of some form of physical violence since the age of 15, and 15 percent of women and 10 percent of men reported having been victims of physical violence in the past 12 months.⁷³

The IMAGES survey was conducted in the cities of Maputo and Matola. As the capital and largest urban center, Maputo experienced dramatic population growth during the civil war due to the internal migration of displaced persons. IMAGES research sought to understand the connections between masculinities, gender norms, violent and nonviolent practices, and urban violence.

Men in low-income areas of Maputo reported that unemployment was their most urgent problem, to the point that it would determine whether they could achieve socially recognized manhood. Married men stated that unemployment made it hard for them to support their families, while younger, unmarried men were prevented from marrying and “becoming men” since they could not pay the required bride price. This pushed some young men toward criminal activity in their desperation to earn. Many men referred to having lost traditional “authority” with their wives, who did not respect them when they were without work. This lack of respect extended outside the home, with men reporting they could not become community leaders when unemployed.

⁷² Slegh, H., Mariano, E., Roque S., & Barker, G. (2017). *Being a Man in Maputo: Masculinities, Poverty and Violence in Mozambique: Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)*. Washington, DC and Rio de Janeiro: Promundo.

⁷³ Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) e ICF. 2024. *Inquérito Demográfico e de Saúde em Moçambique 2022–23*. Maputo, Moçambique e Rockville, Maryland, EUA: INE e ICF.

“I feel very ashamed when my wife says that she is sustaining her children and husband, or when she says to me: ‘You are eating on my expense.’”

–Man in a focus group discussion, Bairro Polana Caniço

Other men and women explained how unemployed men “become women” and how they sit around the house like a “CD” (which stands for *comer e dormir*, meaning they only eat and sleep).

“We are nothing and have no value anymore for the community.”

–Young man in a focus group discussion, Bairro Trevo

Women and men reported that unemployment creates tensions and conflicts between partners because of worries about paying for food and school, as well as men spending time drinking away their sorrows and spending scarce income. Some ex-combatant men said they felt particularly humiliated and that since they fought for their country, employment opportunities should be their right.

Young men without jobs or education said they face the challenge of being unable to marry and unable to approach their girlfriends' families to seek permission to marry. Other young men explained that girls only want boyfriends with education and money and that they are essentially invisible if they don't have work. Like older men, young unemployed men lose their status in the household if they are out of work. One man in Bairro Mafalala shared that his sisters did not serve him food anymore in the house because he had not contributed financially and so he had to cook his own meals. Unemployed men perceived these trends as emasculating.



[READ THE REPORT](#)

NIGERIA IMAGES REPORT⁷⁴

In some African societies, men are generally considered to be more suited to leadership. The reason behind this view is that men are considered to be more disciplined, focused, and tough, while women are thought to be emotional, unthoughtful, vulnerable, and weak. This participant's comment from IMAGES in Nigeria captures a common opinion on women's leadership abilities:

“[The] eagle was born to fly high to the peak of the sky. The chicken, no matter how you train it, will never fly high to the stage of an eagle. No matter how you train a woman, she can never be as good as a man.”

—Male focus group participant (aged 18 to 25), Lagos

In terms of gender attitudes, IMAGES in Nigeria (2015) found near-universal agreement with restrictive norms about gender roles in the household, with 94 percent of men and 91 percent of women agreeing that a woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family. Violence against women was also widely tolerated among study participants, and toughness, sexual performance, and income were central to notions of masculinity in study sites. Very few male or female respondents were found to hold highly gender-equitable views. However, some notable associations existed between these views and respondents' location, age, educational level, and marital status; for example, women who had completed secondary or higher education had notably more equitable gender attitudes, illustrating that access to education can help advance positive gender norms.

Both men and women respondents overwhelmingly rejected many traditional practices, including FGM, harmful widowhood practices, and wife hospitality. Likewise, only about one-third of respondents agreed that early marriage “is important and should remain,” with women more likely to hold this view than men. Bride price, however, enjoyed almost universal support amongst the study population, and some 42 percent of men and 38 percent of women agreed that paying the bride price gives the husband the right to do whatever he wants with his wife.

⁷⁴ Voices for Change. (2015). Nigeria Men and Gender Equality Survey (NiMAGES). Washington, DC: Promundo.

Regarding violence, participants in IMAGES study sites reported very high levels of violent experiences as children. This violence took place in various sites and took multiple forms:

- **In the home:** Three-quarters of men and two-thirds of women reported having been spanked or slapped by parents or adults in their childhood home. About three in four respondents reported being threatened with physical punishment in their childhood homes, and about a quarter of respondents, both men and women, witnessed their mother being beaten by their father or another man in their childhood home.
- **At school:** Corporal punishment in schools was widely reported; 80 percent of men and 71 percent of women reported that they had been beaten or physically punished in school by a teacher.
- **Sexual violence:** About one in five male and female respondents reported being sexually assaulted as children. Additionally, women and men reported that economic, emotional, and physical IPV was widespread in study sites. Across the sites, 40 percent of men reported perpetrating one or more of these forms of violence during their lives, while 42 percent of women reported experiencing one or more of these forms of violence in their lifetimes. Men were significantly more likely to report perpetrating IPV if they experienced work-related stress, witnessed their mothers experiencing IPV, or held gender-inequitable views. Eleven percent of men in the study reported perpetrating rape at some point, and 6 percent reported perpetrating rape against a current or former partner or girlfriend. Women are frequently accused of inciting the violence committed against them, with victim-blaming notions emerging as the “cause” of violence most commonly cited by qualitative data collection participants. Both women and men acknowledged that women faced significant barriers, including social pressures and distrust of law enforcement, when seeking help after experiences of violence.

“Some girls like it when you hit them, when you hit a girl she would know how manly...you are and that day she might show you much love, she would fear you and she would never answer any call in your presence.”

—Male focus group participant (aged 18 to 25), Enugu

Overall, IMAGES data demonstrate that a preponderance of rigid, patriarchal gender norms and accompanying practices still hold sway in Nigeria. However, the data also show that boys raised in nonviolent homes where their fathers frequently participate in a wide range of household chores are more likely to grow up to become involved fathers and partners who choose not to use violence themselves. Positive gender behavior leads to gender equality in families and across generations.



VIOLENCE

HEADLINE 7

Many men exert power and control over women in their lives through multiple forms of violence.

Around the world, and in this region, too many men exert undue power and control over the women in their lives, including and going beyond physical forms of violence. Studies on IPV have only recently begun to ask men about their perpetration of violence, and IMAGES has sought to help fill this gap in the evidence base, with an abundance of caution and caveats. Survey data on IPV likely underrepresent the true prevalence of violence, owing to the sensitivity, shame, and even criminal law connected to these acts. And prevalence surveys do not pick up the most serious of cases: femicide and instances in which women and girls may sustain permanent injury rendering physical or mental disability.

IMAGES questions built on the years of research on questions to pose to women that seek to reduce the stigma or fear of reporting having experienced violence. Similarly, IMAGES built on pioneering research into men's reports of GBV in locations such as Gauteng province, South Africa, in order to construct questions seeking to increase the likelihood that men would honestly respond about their perpetration of violence.⁷⁵ Women's responses present a useful point of comparison to other existing data sources on the prevalence of IPV in the study countries, and in most cases, are seen as reliable indicators of prevalence. IMAGES researchers

always receive extensive safety and ethical training and practice prior to fieldwork, which is undertaken in accordance with best-practice standards of privacy, confidentiality, compassion, support, and safely distributing referral information for service providers in respondents' local areas. In some countries, due to the research design, either women were not part of the sample or some of the modules were not in the sample (e.g., sexual violence in Mozambique).

IMAGES collects data on psychological, economic, physical, and sexual violence.⁷⁶ Of course, other forms of violence also exist, including reproductive violence, and in recent years, technology-facilitated GBV, in which bullying is permitted and amplified by devices and social media. Sexual violence is systematically the form of violence men are least likely to report. Marital rape figures importantly as a form of sexual violence whose existence is commonly denied by men yet undermines women's physical and psychological well-being.⁷⁷ Indeed, the data show especially large gaps between men's and women's reports of sexual violence in Tanzania, Uganda, Morocco, and Egypt (Figure 15). While overall rates of IPV differ among regions and countries, the overall picture points to the urgency of IPV. Men's use of many forms of

75 Machisa, M., Jewkes, R., Lowe Morna, C., & Rama, K. (2011). The war at home: Gender Based Violence Indicators Project. Johannesburg: Gender Links. <https://genderlinks.org.za/shop/the-war-at-home-gbv-indicators-project-gauteng-research-report/>

76 IMAGES definitions of IPV replicate the gold-standard modified conflict tactics scale as implemented in DHS and World Health Organization studies: United Nations Statistics Division. (2022, March 31). SDG indicator metadata. <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/metadata/files/Metadata-05-02-01.pdf>

77 Yllö, K., & Torres, M. G. (Eds.). (2016). Marital rape: Consent, marriage, and social change in global context. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190238360.001.0001>

IPV remains extremely high around the globe, and IMAGES data provide evidence that it is possible to assess the extent of men's use of violence by asking men themselves. (Following best practices, the questionnaire names specific actions but does not frame them as “violence,” which is a subjective word.) Where data are available for both women and men, women generally, but not always, report having experienced higher levels of violence than men indicate they have perpetrated. In Egypt, for example, women report higher levels of experiencing sexual and economic violence, while men report much higher rates of perpetrating psychological violence.

Research in Malawi documents the attitudes toward masculinity and its connections with violence against women and girls among policymakers, community leaders and community members, and potential program beneficiaries.⁷⁸ While people noted that attitudes in support of traditional masculinities tend to be most favored, they also reported trends in Malawi toward an appreciation of

other positive dimensions of masculinity, such as love, respect, care, nonviolence, and gender equality. This shift highlights the opportunity presented by programs that address masculinities.

And indeed, violence prevention work that highlights the opportunity to shift men's attitudes away from violence and toward more gender-equitable attitudes has been successful in countries across the continent, including in Rwanda,⁷⁹ Niger,⁸⁰ and South Africa.⁸¹ Common features across these approaches include providing opportunities for men to discuss the constraints of traditional masculinities, their desire to be good husbands and fathers, and the opportunity to develop communication skills that open up conversations with their partners and other family members.

78 A qualitative explorative study report on the roles of positive masculinities and male engagement in the elimination of violence against women and girls in Malawi. Spotlight Initiative, Positive Masculinity Study. <https://aphrc.org/publication/a-qualitative-explorative-study-report-on-the-roles-of-positive-masculinities-and-male-engagement-in-the-elimination-of-violence-against-women-and-girls-in-malawi/>

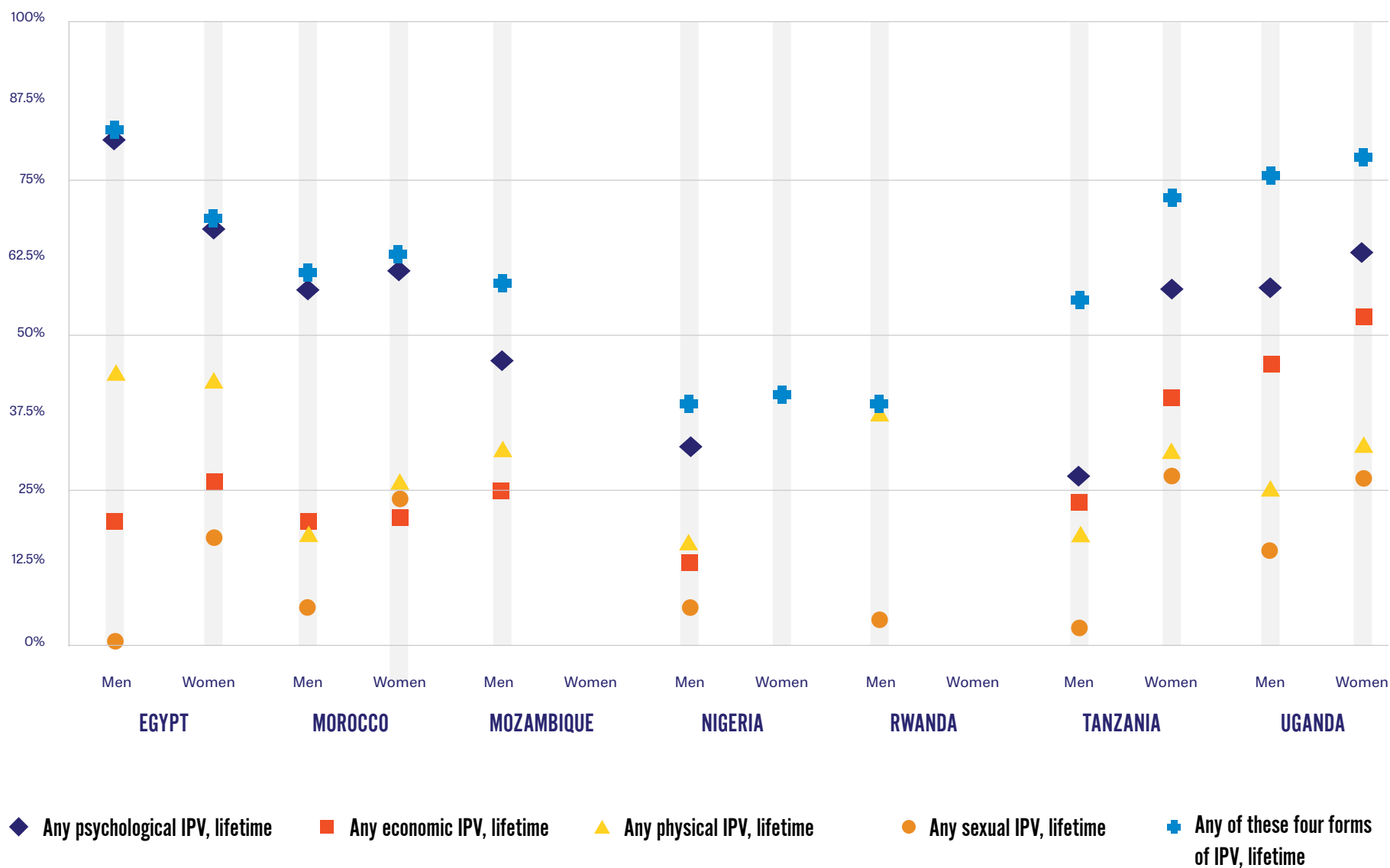
79 Doyle, K., Levto, R. G., Karamage, E., Rakshit, D., Kazimbaya, S., Sayinzoga, F., Sibomana, H., Ngayaboshya, S., Rutayisire, F., & Barker, G. (2023). Long-term impacts of the Bandebereho programme on violence against women and children, maternal health-seeking, and couple relations in Rwanda: A six-year follow-up of a randomised controlled trial. *EClinicalMedicine*, 64. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eclinm.2023.102233>

80 Maguiraga, F., Saley, D., Diakit, M., & Igras, S. (2019). Étude des effets de l'intervention Écoles des Maris sur la dynamique du genre pour améliorer la santé sexuelle et reproductive au Niger [Study of the effects of the Husbands' School intervention on gender dynamics to improve reproductive health in Niger]. Washington, DC: Institute for Reproductive Health, Georgetown University for USAID. Passages Project.

81 de Wit, M. (2016). A new generation of fathers: Effects of the MenCare SRHR intervention on gender equitable attitudes and father role perceptions of young fathers in Cape Town, South Africa [Master's Thesis, Universiteit Utrecht]. <https://genderjustice.org.za/publication/a-new-generation-of-fathers/>

FIGURE 15

Reported use (men) and experience (women) of various forms of IPV



HEADLINE 8

Violence leads to violence.

The statement “violence leads to violence” suggests complex and multifaceted motivations and drivers related to the perpetuation of violence, implying that experiences of violence, particularly within the realm of GBV, can contribute to a cycle of violence. This type of violence can manifest in numerous ways, including IPV, sexual violence, harassment, and discrimination, among others.

Data on the prevalence and nature of IPV, primarily collected through women-only samples, has long shown that witnessing violence against one’s own mother during childhood is among the strongest, if not the single strongest, predictor of adulthood experiences of IPV, even when accounting for other factors through multivariate analysis.⁸² On the flip side, as presented earlier, seeing parents’ positive examples (in the form of equitable relationships) in childhood can improve respondents’ attitudes and likelihood of participating in unpaid care and domestic work as adults. In sum, parental modeling negatively affects violence, just as it positively affects engagement as a caregiver (by fathers) and work outside the home (by mothers).

The issue of violence leading to more violence is indeed a troubling trend that has been observed across the continent. Some key statistics and insights on this dynamic are shown in Figure 16. Studies have shown that experiencing or witnessing violence as

a child can increase the likelihood of perpetrating violence as an adult, and this cycle of intergenerational violence is a major driver of GBV in many African societies. Addressing the root causes of violence, providing support and services for survivors, and breaking these intergenerational cycles are critical to tackling the pervasive problem of GBV in Africa. It requires a multipronged approach targeting social norms, strengthening institutions, and investing in violence prevention and response programs.

For the analysis presented in Figure 16, male IMAGES respondents were sorted by whether or not they had witnessed IPV by their fathers or other male figures against their mothers. Then, their own reported rates of using any form of IPV were calculated separately for these two groups. In nearly all participating studies, this analysis shows a statistically significant link, with those who had witnessed violence at home much more likely to use violence in their own adult relationships.

The figure presents the statistics for all five African countries where this statistically significant link emerged. Men who witnessed violence as children were about 20 percentage points more likely to use IPV than those who did not witness this violence as children in all countries except Egypt, where the percentage of men who had *not* witnessed violence against their mothers yet were perpetrators

82 Gil-González, D., Vives-Cases, C., Ruiz, M. T., Carrasco-Portiño, M., & Álvarez-Dardet, C. (2008). Childhood experiences of violence in perpetrators as a risk factor of intimate partner violence: A systematic review. *Journal of Public Health*, 30(1), 14–22. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pubmed/fdm071>; Kitzmann, K. M., Gaylord, N. K., Holt, A. R., & Kenny, E. D. (2003). Child witnesses to domestic violence: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 71(2), 339–352. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006x.71.2.339>; Stith, S. M., Rosen, K. H., Middleton, K. A., Busch, A. L., Lundeborg, K., & Carlton, R. P. (2000). The intergenerational transmission of spouse abuse: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(3), 640–654. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2000.00640.x>

themselves was 81 percent and 94 percent were both witnesses and perpetrators of this violence. This finding adds to the deep literature demonstrating the same unfortunate pattern for women, in which having observed violence against one's mother shows a strong link with one's own likelihood of experiencing IPV as well. IMAGES data show that many men learn by example, normalizing as children men's violence against women and repeating the pattern later in life themselves. GBV is often linked to broader societal norms and power dynamics.

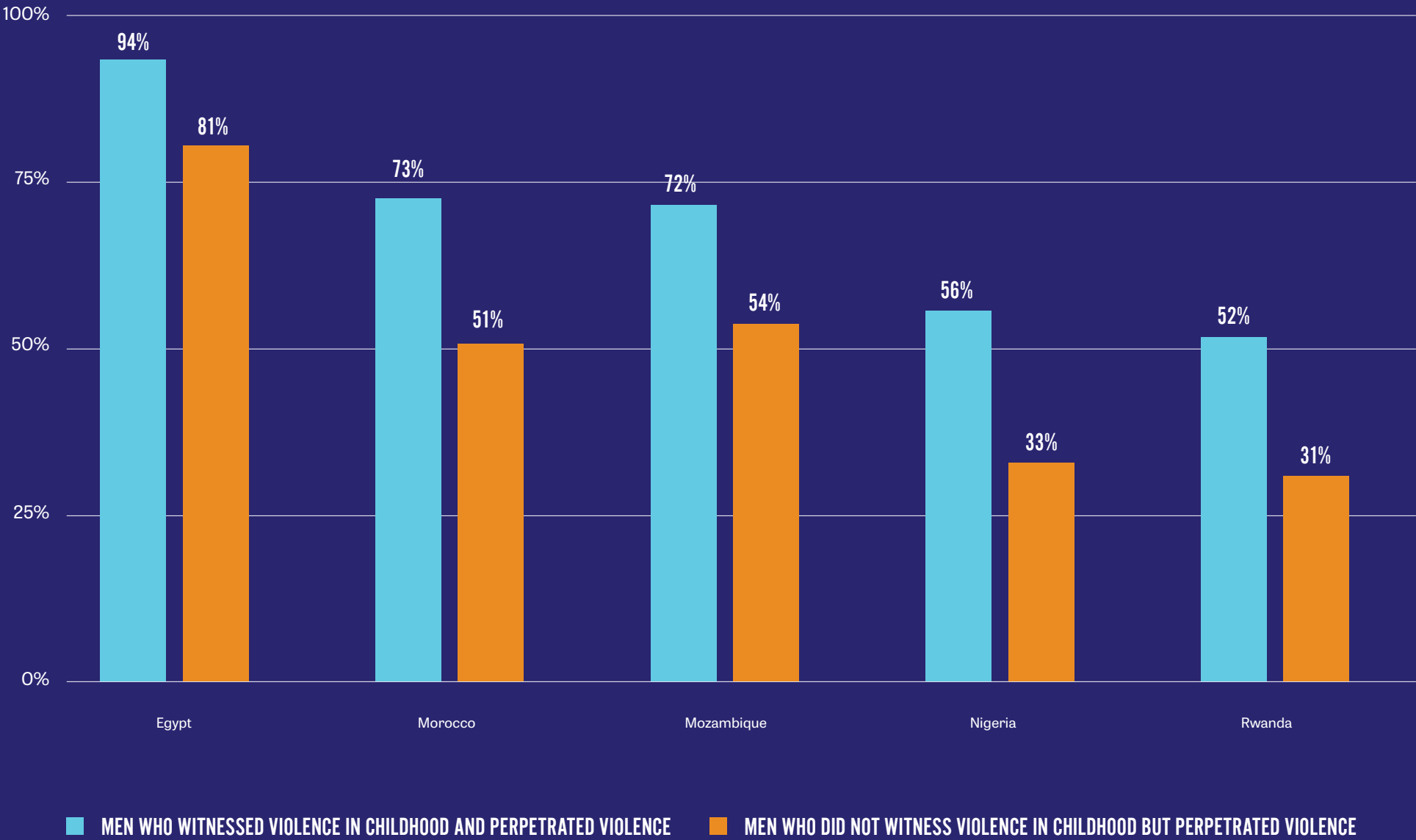
Harmful gender norms and expectations can contribute to a culture that perpetuates violence and aggression. By addressing the root causes and contributing factors of GBV, it is possible to work toward breaking the cycle of violence and creating safer, more equitable environments for all individuals. Rwanda's remarkable experience can inspire many others to combat GBV and create a safer society; its strategy is holistic and includes efforts such as the Isange One Stop Centres (which were expanded nationwide to offer holistic support to survivors), the zero-tolerance policy, and sensitization efforts through local radio stations.⁸³ In Mali, one-stop centers are key to providing integrated service assistance to those who have experienced GBV, providing medical support, psychosocial support, legal support, temporary accommodation, and workshops.⁸⁴ Additionally, UNFPA's Spotlight Initiative leveraged media and public awareness campaigns enhanced by faith-based leaders to increase uptake of one-stop center services.

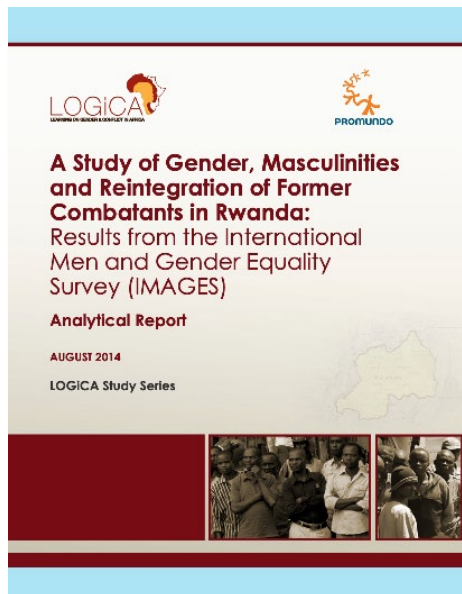
83 United Nations Rwanda. (2019, August 30). Rwanda's holistic approach to tackling the different faces of gender-based violence (GBV). <https://rwanda.un.org/en/15872-rwandas-holistic-approach-tackling-different-faces-gender-based-violence-gbv>

84 UN Women Africa. (2018, April 30). Mali says STOP to gender-based violence (GBV): The new One Stop Center in Bamako, a link between justice and Malian women survivors of GBV. <https://africa.unwomen.org/en/news-and-events/stories/2018/04/le-mali-dit-stop-aux-violence-basees-sur-le-genre-vbg>

FIGURE 16

Violence leads to violence: links between witnessing and perpetrating IPV





[READ THE REPORT](#)

RWANDA IMAGES REPORT⁸⁵

“The government made a law that only protects women and takes away the power of men. Women feel empowered because she has the law at her side.”

–49-year-old married man, Bugesera

While the promotion of gender equality policies in Rwanda has resulted in the adoption of a law against GBV, the IMAGES data show that women and men see the law as problematic. Participants’ responses reflect their reactions to changes in power relations that gender policies are meant to shift. Eighty-five percent of participants knew of the Government of Rwanda’s new gender policy that addresses the promotion of gender equality through laws on property and GBV. However, their views of the law against violence is predominantly negative, with nearly all women and men considering the law too harsh toward men (95 percent).

Many participants share the idea that women have interpreted the law in the wrong way and that this contributes to conflicts between partners. As one woman explained:

“The new law protects the rights of women. But Rwandan women interpreted the law badly. They think that these laws take away our habits and they think that they are equal to men. The equality in sharing tasks and responsibilities has resulted in losing our values. This is the source of violence.”

–32-year-old married woman, Huye

Women’s perceived lack of respect toward their husbands is reflected in their use of provoking language, leaving the house without the husband’s permission, and neglect of household duties, according to the informants. They said women’s behavior provokes the violence of their husbands; women are seen as the main source of trouble, and several men and women in the groups declared

⁸⁵ Slegh, H., Jansen, A., Barker, G., and Doyle, K. A Study of Gender, Masculinities and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Rwanda: Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES). Washington, DC: World Bank, LOGICA and Promundo. August 2014.

that the law had contributed to an increase of violence against men. As a pastor stated:

“Before, women had no rights. But now, with the new law, she has rights to everything. There are women who profit from this by violating men, because they think that they are liberated to do everything they want with the husband. The women can kill the men, so men are afraid now. The government has to take measures to protect the men.”

–52-year-old married man, Bugesera

A female participant noted:

“Now women go immediately to the police. The reinforcement of women gives them the courage to beat their husbands.”

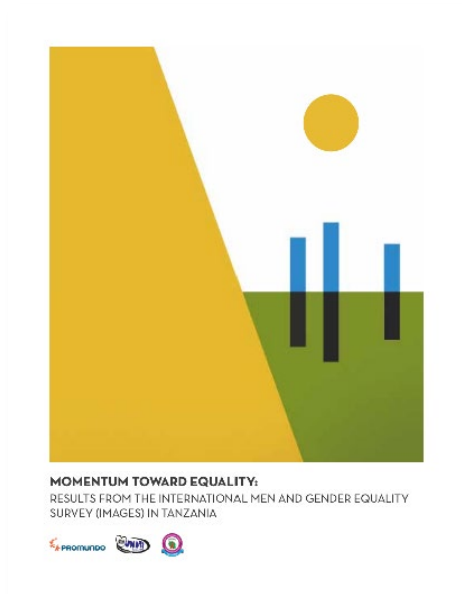
–44-year-old widow, Bugesera

Participants agreed that the law fuels conflicts at a household level because it changes the balance of power. As a male community leader stated:

“I understand the law well. But no man will bring his complaints to the police and tell him that his wife beats him. The police will laugh and make jokes about him. They say: ‘How is it possible that you, a man, can be beaten up by a woman?’”

–48-year-old married man, Huye

These negative views reflect long-standing gender-unequal social and cultural values even as policy aspirations for greater gender equality are being achieved.



READ THE REPORT

TANZANIA IMAGES REPORT⁸⁶

The IMAGES Tanzania study reveals that much work remains to challenge patriarchal norms and practices that diminish the value and roles of women and girls in Tanzanian society. Data were collected from both urban and rural sites, and while most men and women reject the notion that gender equality comes at men's expense, far fewer support equality in day-to-day gender relations within households, decision-making, violence, and sexuality.

“The expectation of most of the girls is to get married, so this may also affect school life as well as employment. Why should they study hard if they know they will get married to men who will take care of them? Why should they not concentrate on housework which they will do when married?”

–Adolescent girl (aged 15 to 19), focus group discussion, urban Tanzania

In Tanzania, it was clear that there are significant gender gaps in perspectives on sexual health and experiences. While most men report their first sexual experience as wanted by both parties, 20 percent of women say theirs was forced or coerced. The Tanzania DHS of 2022, which provided estimates for the entire country, found that 12 percent of women aged 15 to 49 had ever experienced sexual violence by any perpetrator.⁸⁷ Similarly, IMAGES found that around a third of women and men believe avoiding pregnancy is just a woman's responsibility, though negative attitudes toward family planning are common among both sexes, with themes of shame, disapproval, and violence emerging in the qualitative interviews.

⁸⁶ Levtov, R., Vlahovicova, K., Barker, G., Stiefvater, E., Lugano, D., and Mulokozi, A. D. (2018). *Momentum Toward Equality: Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) in Tanzania*. Washington, DC: Promundo-US, Uzazi na Malezi Bora Tanzania, and Tanzania Commission for AIDS.

⁸⁷ Ministry of Health (MoH) [Tanzania Mainland], Ministry of Health (MoH) [Zanzibar], National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Office of the Chief Government Statistician (OCGS), and ICF. 2022. *Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey and Malaria Indicator Survey 2022 Final Report*. Dodoma, Tanzania, and Rockville, Maryland, USA: MoH, NBS, OCGS, and ICF.

“Parents expect that one finishes school; there are traditional procedures for marriage; one goes to church and she weds, and later she can give birth. This honors the family. So, pregnancy before marriage is shameful.”

–Adolescent girl (aged 15 to 19), focus group discussion, urban Tanzania

HIV prevalence in Tanzania is low, but the IMAGES data show there are significant differences in women’s and men’s level of HIV testing – where women have been tested much more than men (92 percent of women versus 76 percent of men). The more recent 2022 Tanzania DHS data show that 44 percent of women and 30 percent of men had been tested for HIV in the 12 months preceding the survey and received the results of their last test.

The IMAGES data also reveal that transactional sex is common, with 13 percent of men sharing that they had entered into a sexual relationship with a woman by offering things that were important to her, helping with her expenses, or providing money (compared to only 6 percent of women having done so). In Tanzania as in other parts of the world, violence is heightened in these transactional relationships (IMAGES data shows physical violence is 1.4 times more common, economic violence 2.5 times more common, and sexual violence 3.8 times more common, compared to relationships overall).



HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

HEADLINE 9

Though sexual and reproductive health and rights are often viewed as “women’s issues,” men are participating.

Sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) are often considered women’s issues, with the focus being on women’s control over their bodies and their ability to make informed decisions about their reproductive health. In Africa, however, men often take the lead on sexual and reproductive decision-making, while still holding the view that it is women who should use contraception and women who are responsible for getting pregnant and avoiding unintended pregnancy. Research shows that men in Africa are increasingly involved in these issues⁸⁸ and are recognizing their potential roles in promoting positive sexual and reproductive health outcomes for both men and women. In Kenya, for instance, research found that men’s involvement in family planning programs was positively associated with increased contraceptive use and planning to have children.⁸⁹ In South Africa, men who participated in a family planning intervention were more likely to use condoms and reported fewer sexual partners.⁹⁰

Beyond posing obstacles to the actual use of services, traditional gendered views about sex and reproduction contribute to poor

sexual and reproductive health by impeding communication and creating unstated expectations and pressures. In Niger, UNFPA and others have directly addressed this issue through the École des Maris (Husbands’ School), which was designed to improve couple communication and power relations between spouses, with the ultimate impact of changing gender roles.⁹¹ Wives reported that husbands who had been through the program had discussed SRHR with them, were much more open to contraception, knew that a pregnant woman needs to receive antenatal care, and were generally much more knowledgeable than they had been. Additionally, the program had a strong impact on the use of health services.

In the African context, SRHR and caregiving vary by the type and structure of the household, the area where the household is located, and cultural norms. In traditional/extended family households, SRHR decisions are often made communally, underscoring the significance of input from elders, parents, and extended family members.⁹² This collective approach

88 Mkwananzi, S. (2021). It takes two to tango!: The relevance and dilemma of involving men in the realization of sexual and reproductive health and rights in Africa. In E. Durojaye, G. Mirugi-Mukundi, & C. Ngweni (Eds.), *Advancing sexual and reproductive health and rights in Africa* (pp. 84–98). Routledge.

89 National Council for Population and Development. (2015, June). Family planning and reproductive health: Where are the men? [Policy Brief no. 45]. <https://ncpd.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Policy-Brief-45-Family-Planning-and-Reproductive-Health-Where-are-the-Men.pdf>

90 Kriel, Y., Milford, C., Cordero, J., Suleman, F., Beksinska, M., Steyn, P., & Smit, J. A. (2019). Male partner influence on family planning and contraceptive use: perspectives from community members and healthcare providers in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Reproductive Health*, 16, 1-15.

91 Maguiraga, F., Saley, D., Diakité, M., & Igras, S. (2019). Étude des effets de l'intervention Écoles des Maris sur la dynamique du genre pour améliorer la santé sexuelle et reproductive au Niger [Study of the effects of the Husbands’ School intervention on gender dynamics to improve reproductive health in Niger]. Washington, DC: Institute for Reproductive Health, Georgetown University for USAID. Passages Project.

92 Thomas, H. L., Bell, S. O., Karp, C., Omoluabi, E., Kibira, S. P., Makumbi, F., ... & Wood, S. N. (2024). A qualitative exploration of reproductive coercion experiences and

influences choices such as contraceptive use, family planning, and reproductive decisions. The shared nature of caregiving responsibilities across the extended family, with elders and grandparents playing a significant role, further emphasizes the communal aspect of these households.

In nuclear family households, SRHR decisions are typically made between spouses, with parental and community influence still playing a role.⁹³ However, in this type of household, there is a significant level of autonomy for individuals, particularly women, to make their own choices and engage in decision-making about family planning and sexual and reproductive health. The fact that the caregiving duties fall mainly on the parents reinforces the autonomy of the couple in nuclear households. SRHR decisions can be complex in polygamous household, balancing input from the male head of household and his multiple wives.⁹⁴ Contraceptive use, family planning, and reproductive choices may vary across co-wives depending on their age, status, and number of children. Caregiving responsibilities are also divided across the co-wives, with the male head playing a more peripheral role.

In urban areas in Africa, mainly in the capital cities, female-headed households are increasingly visible in national statistics. In this type of household, SRHR choices rest more squarely on the shoulders of the adult woman heading the household, though community norms and resource constraints can limit their options.⁹⁵ Caregiving tasks are managed solely by the female head, though often with support from older daughters or other female relatives.

The IMAGES surveys have asked questions to assess men's perception of these issues across sample countries, revealing that traditional views on gender roles in sex and reproduction can negatively impact sexual and reproductive health by hindering open communication and fostering unspoken expectations and pressures. A close analysis of men's responses to three attitude-related questions concerning SRHR reveals some of the gender-based assumptions in this field (Figure 17). Men's reactions to the first two statements, "It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant" and "I would be outraged if my wife asked me to use a condom," differ significantly from one country to another. At least 30 percent of men in Egypt, Nigeria, Mali, DRC, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda agree that it is the woman's responsibility to avoid pregnancy, while at least 45 percent in Nigeria, Mali, DRC, and Morocco say they would be outraged if their wives asked them to use a condom.

At the same time, a relatively high proportion of men supported the statement "Men need sex more than women do," with over 50 percent in Nigeria and Rwanda agreeing. In Uganda, Tanzania, Morocco, and Mozambique, more men who say contraceptive decision-making is male-led agree than disagree that it is a woman's responsibility (not a man's) to avoid getting pregnant in Uganda and Tanzania, more than 30 percent of men agree (Figure 18). These traditional gender attitudes toward SRHR-related issues influence relationship dynamics, and the sexual double standard underpinning agreement with these statements can contribute to men's sense of entitlement and even to marital rape.

perceptions in four geo-culturally diverse sub-Saharan African settings. *SSM-Qualitative Research in Health*, 5, 100383.

93 Seidu, Abdul-Aziz, Bright Opoku Ahinkorah, Ebenezer Kwesi Armah-Ansah, Louis Kobina Dadzie, Richard Gyan Aboagye, Edward Kwabena Ameyaw, Eugene Budu, Betregiorgis Zegeye, and Sanni Yaya. "Women's household decision-making power and contraceptive use in Mali." *Reproductive Health* 19, no. 1 (2022): 232.

94 Anfaara, F. W., Amoak, D., Kye, N. O., Sano, Y., & Antabe, R. (2024). Exploring the link between household structure and women's household decision-making autonomy in Mauritania. *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 56(5), 831-844.

95 Mosuse, M. A., & Gadeyne, S. (2022). Prevalence and factors associated with unmet need for family planning among women of reproductive age (15–49) in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A multilevel mixed-effects analysis. *PLoS One*, 17(10), e0275869.

Two alternate views on gender roles in sexual and reproductive health emerge through this analysis. The first reflects the predominance of traditional viewpoints, where men are seen as having authority over women's bodies and women are expected to adhere to men's decisions. This perspective can lead to unequal power dynamics in relationships, with men making key decisions about sexual activity and contraception without necessarily considering a woman's preferences or consent. A second, more progressive view reflects the likelihood that men who take responsibility for preventing pregnancy are less likely to assert dominance in decisions about contraception. These men indirectly demonstrate respect for women's bodily autonomy by taking responsibility for pregnancy prevention, and they acknowledge that women have the right to make decisions about their bodies, a perspective that can contribute to more balanced and respectful relationships. Despite the presence of both perspectives, gender-traditional attitudes about SRHR-related topics tend to shape relationship dynamics in the region.

However, these are general characterizations, and there can be significant variation across Africa by region, socioeconomic status, and individual household dynamics. Cultural norms, religious beliefs, and access to information and services also play a key role in SRHR and caregiving decision-making. Indeed, women are disproportionately affected by many of the challenges related to SRHR, given the unique biological and social factors that affect women, such as pregnancy, childbirth, and GBV. However, it's important to note that men also play a crucial role in sexual and reproductive health.

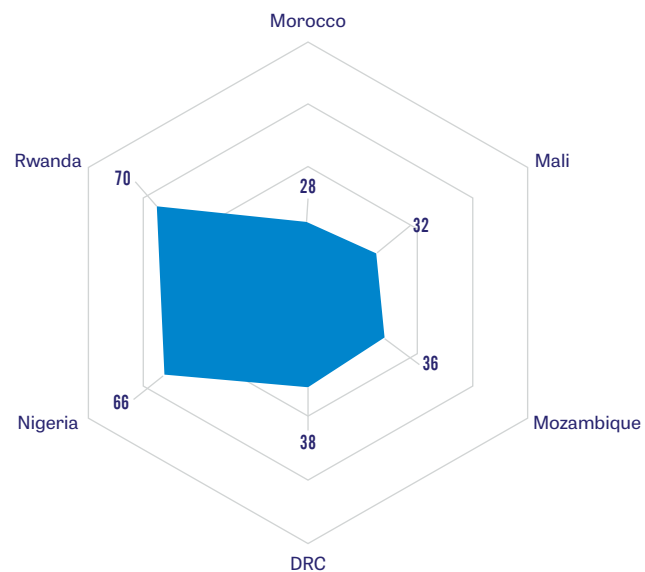
Globally, there has been some shift in norms that traditionally discouraged men from engaging in discussions and interventions around sexual and reproductive health, thus challenging traditional gender roles dictating that men should be powerful, be dominant, and have many children. Conversely, men who take responsibility for avoiding pregnancy are less likely to report male dominance in contraceptive decision-making and implicitly show greater support for women's bodily autonomy. The global data show that men are often supportive and active in decision-making about contraceptive use and antenatal visits, as well as in decision-making on and actions to terminate a pregnancy. And country research from across Africa has shown how, with greater engagement and better information, men can become more supportive of their partners' SRHR and overall health and well-being.⁹⁶

Addressing SRHR as a broader societal issue that affects both men and women is crucial for achieving positive outcomes for individuals, families, and communities as a whole. Ultimately, the shared responsibility of both men and women in the use of condoms is crucial for effective family planning and the prevention of sexually transmitted infections. Open communication, mutual understanding, and joint decision-making can contribute to a healthy and responsible approach to sexual health for both partners.

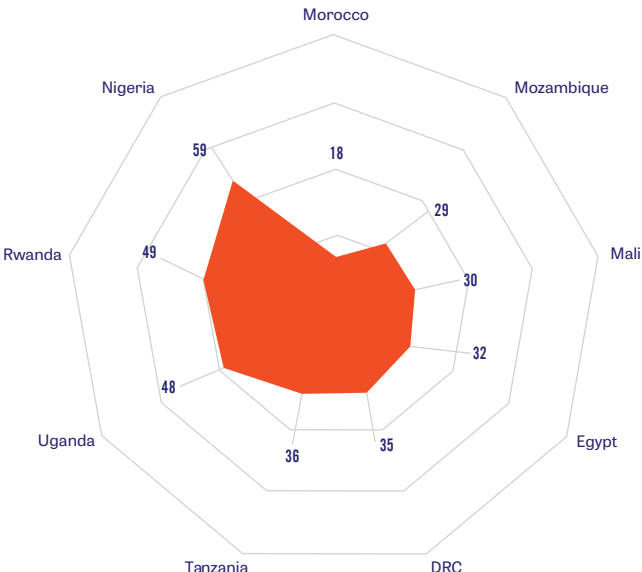
96 See, for example: Maguiraga, F., Saley, D., Diakit , M., & Igras, S. (2019).  tude des effets de l'intervention  coles des Maris sur la dynamique du genre pour am liorer la sant  sexuelle et reproductive au Niger [Study of the effects of the Husbands' School intervention on gender dynamics to improve reproductive health in Niger]. Washington, DC: Institute for Reproductive Health, Georgetown University for USAID. Passages Project.

FIGURE 17

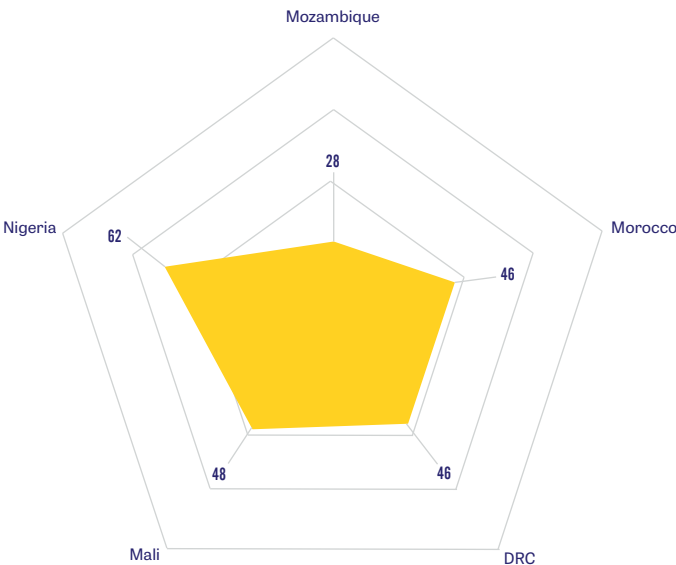
Sexual & reproductive health attitudes vary widely



IT IS A WOMAN'S RESPONSIBILITY TO AVOID GETTING PREGNANT.



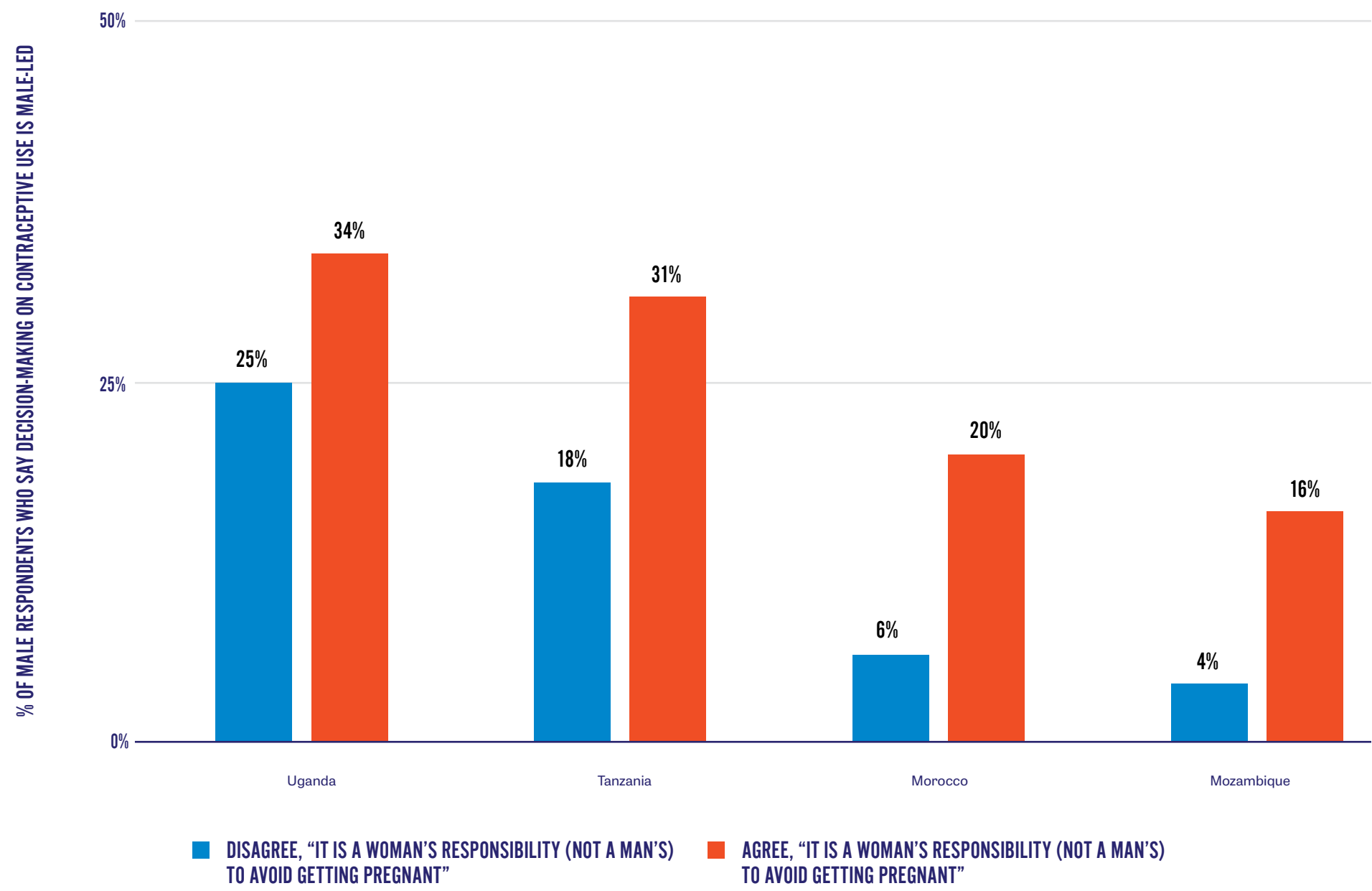
MEN NEED SEX MORE THAN WOMEN DO.



I WOULD BE OUTRAGED IF MY WIFE ASKED ME TO USE A CONDOM.

FIGURE 18

Disjointed and gendered decision-making on contraception



Stresses and fears related to providing financially and protecting the family are widespread, especially during and after conflicts.

Looking at the IMAGES data from seven African countries (Figures 19 and 20), we see that the global expectations that men should be breadwinners are strong and pervasive. Men often pin their identities on this financial provider role, but in many economic circumstances, this is impossible. Men face pressures to conform to this role from peers and family, including intimate partners, and their ability to fulfill the role can determine their eligibility for marriage and their satisfaction and stability within that marriage. Men perceive this pressure to be providers even in divergent settings with financial crises, war, displacement, or high unemployment rates. Although the “provider” identity is expected of all men, structural forces outside their control often curtail their opportunities to fulfill the role.

The IMAGES survey includes a question to assess agreement with the statement “I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough work or income.” While there is wide variation, the overall results show this “provider” identity stress is very common, with as many as 94 percent of Nigerian men and 79 percent of Ugandan men agreeing with this sentiment (Figure 19). Fewer than half of male respondents in the Morocco and Mali studies, by contrast, reported this feeling.

A complementary aspect of traditional masculinity is that a man must be the “protector” of his family. IMAGES measures this by asking whether women and men agree with the statement “I worry about my family’s safety.” In the midst of active political or armed conflict (which are common in the recent histories of African

IMAGES study countries), the safety and livelihood risks facing men and their families go far beyond anything under individual control. Data on these points from the African context show us that both women and men carry the weight of ensuring – and worrying about – the family’s safety. As relatively new additions to the IMAGES questionnaire, these items were not asked in most African country studies. But in Egypt, Morocco, and Uganda (as shown in Figure 20), we observe that feelings of worry around provision and protection are widespread among men and women alike. Global studies show that these are likely to be exacerbated during economic crises, such as those occurring in Egypt in 2023, which have ripple effects on access to basic services and further vulnerabilities to GBV.

War, economic instability, and other major structural factors continue to shape men’s lives in extremely diverse contexts and make it difficult for them to achieve their desired roles as providers and protectors. The experiences presented in Figure 21 highlight the impossibility of fulfilling traditional masculine roles under these circumstances. They also highlight the extent to which trauma is a reality in so many people’s lives. From personal experiences of physical violence cited by men in Afghanistan and El Salvador to witnessing killings and rape in Mozambique, Papua New Guinea, and Rwanda to active participation as combatants in Nicaragua and Serbia, conflicts have profoundly affected millions of men and women around the world. There is little that they as individuals can do to alter the regional or global political and economic affairs that shape their lives.

FIGURE 19

Proportion of men who agree or strongly agree with the statement “I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough work or income” (or subtle variations on this language)

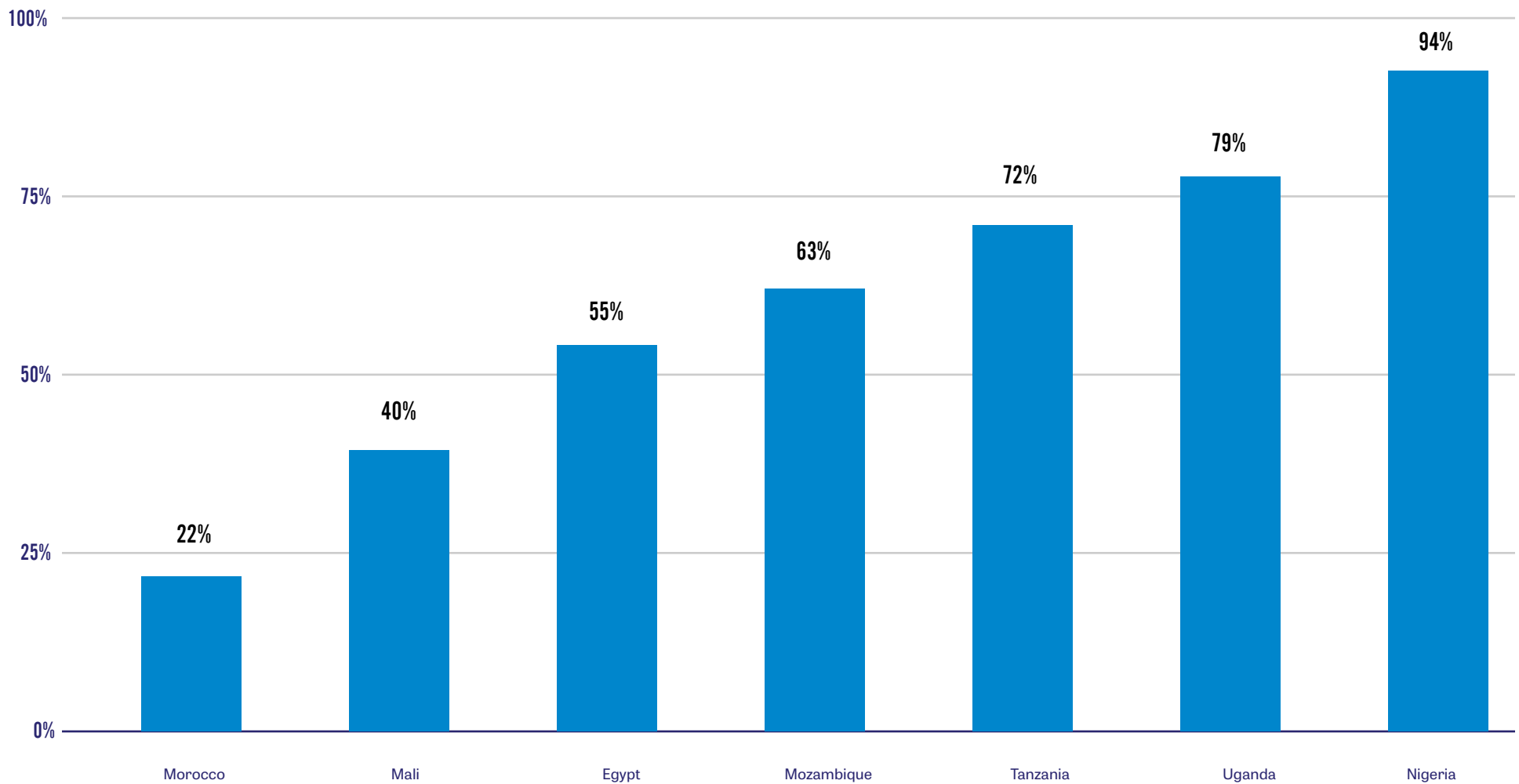


FIGURE 20

Proportion of women and men in select countries who agree or strongly agree with the statements “I worry about not being able to provide my family with daily life necessities” and “I worry about my family’s safety.”

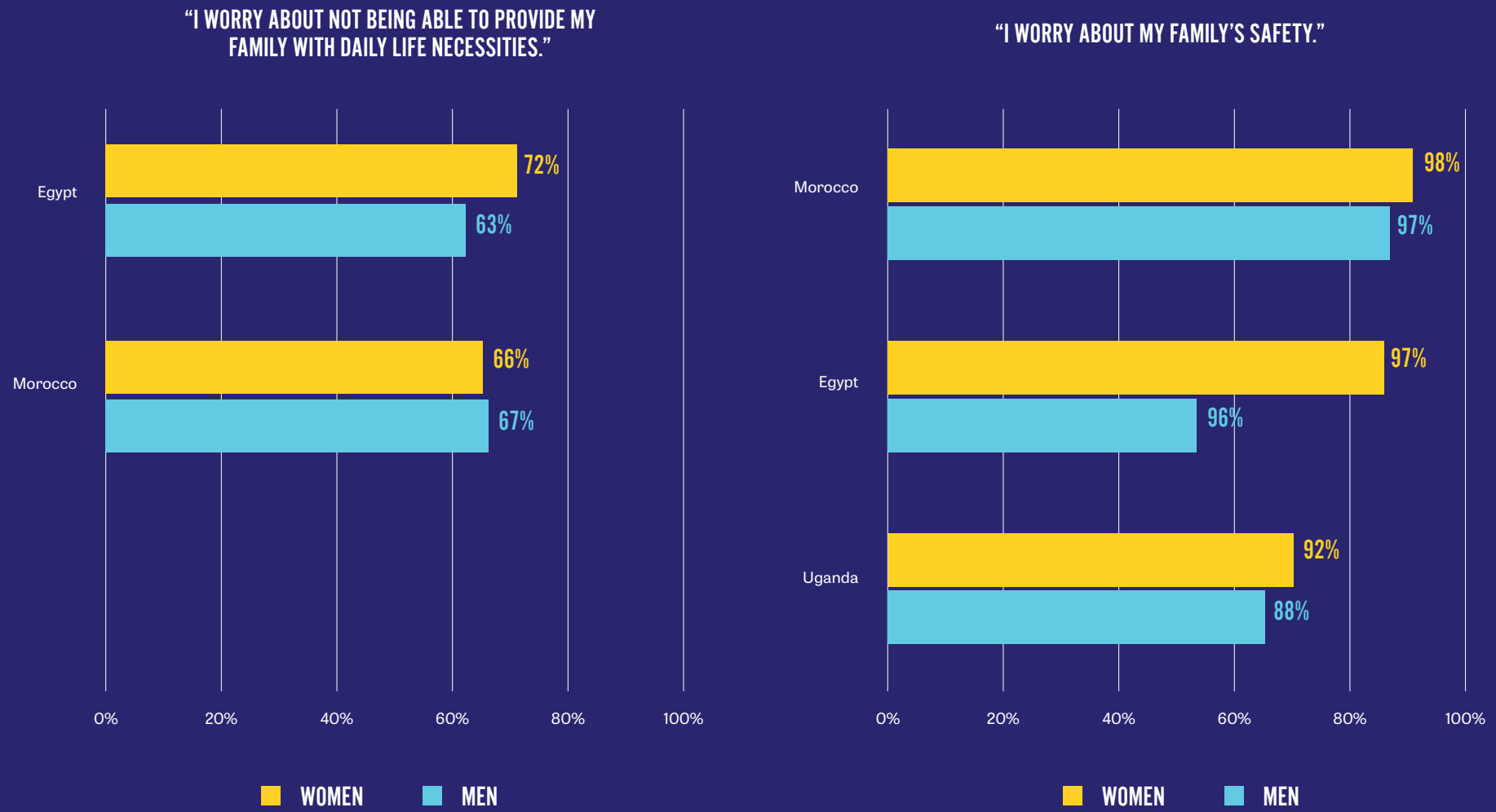


FIGURE 21





[READ THE REPORT](#)

UGANDA IMAGES REPORT⁹⁷

IMAGES Uganda did not include qualitative data, and while we cannot extrapolate findings from one region to the entire country, the 2017 IMAGES findings from Central Uganda suggest limited support for gender equality ideas, with many men subscribing to a zero-sum view that more rights for women means men lose out. Over half of men agreed with this stance, as did a relatively large proportion of women.

In Uganda, the IMAGES data show that violence against women and children occurs at alarmingly high rates: Around 30 percent witnessed their mother being beaten or humiliated by her partner, and 25 percent experienced physical violence as children from parents. Over half of ever-partnered women reported intimate partner physical or sexual violence, while 40 percent of men admitted perpetration – indicating the normativity of such violence. Overlap is common between violence against women and harsh discipline of children. However, there were signs of improvement in the discipline of children; while harsh physical punishment remained high, respondents reported using less severe methods than what they experienced as children. Positive disciplining techniques, like explaining why behavior was wrong, were frequently used, suggesting an entry point for reducing harsh punishment.

The more recent [Uganda] DHS shows slightly more progress - the rates of IPV dropped from 57% in 2016 to 44% in 2022 for women reporting IPV. In 2022, [Uganda] DHS showed 17% of children aged 1 to 14 years experienced severe physical punishment.⁹⁸

Decision-making dynamics appeared more equitable than broader gender attitudes would suggest. While most felt that men should have the final say per community expectations, decision-making in their own relationships was more egalitarian, according to both men and women. Similar trends emerged for caregiving, with women still bearing the brunt but men claiming greater participation than women perceived. Yet most felt men spent too little time with children due to work.

⁹⁷ Vlahovicova, K., Spindler, E., Levto R., Hakobyan L. (2019). Evolving Perspectives: Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) in Central Uganda. Washington, DC: Promundo-US and International Center for Research on Women.

⁹⁸ Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2023. Uganda Demographic and Health Survey 2022. Kampala, Uganda: UBOS.

The IMAGES study revealed a significant gender gap in perceptions and experiences of sexual coercion and consent during first sexual encounters. IMAGES data shows that 29 percent of women reported that their first sexual experience was non-consensual – they were either forced (13 percent) or had unwanted sex (16 percent). By contrast, 5 percent of men said they were forced or coerced into their first sexual experience. More recently, data from the 2022 Uganda DHS showed that 17 percent of women had experienced sexual violence compared to 22 percent in 2016.⁹⁹

As per the IMAGES data, around one-third of both men and women reported using a condom during their first sexual encounter. However, condom use was much lower among women whose first sex was forced or coerced (22 percent) compared to women who characterized it as consensual (41 percent).

These patterns of sexual coercion and condom use at first sex were similar between adolescents (aged 15 to 19) and adults (aged 19 to 49), indicating the issues cut across age groups.

In terms of well-being, IMAGES data found that Ugandan men and women reported depression and dissatisfaction with their lives, as well as not feeling safe in their communities or that others in their communities could be trusted. However, this came alongside many adults reporting feelings of support and connectedness, which can be a protective factor against negative health. More recently, in 2022, the Uganda DHS found that 7 percent of women had been diagnosed with depression.¹⁰⁰

99 Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2023. [Uganda Demographic and Health Survey 2022](#). Kampala, Uganda: UBOS.

100 Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2023. [Uganda Demographic and Health Survey 2022](#). Kampala, Uganda: UBOS.

WHAT IS NEXT

What is next? What will it take to bring more African men on board as full allies in gender equality?

With more than 19,000 respondents from these nine countries over the past 15 years, IMAGES data on Africa provide insights on the inertia and barriers to engaging men in gender equality, as well as the opportunities for achieving true change. From these 10 headlines, the following emerge as key opportunities for action:

Masculinities are changing, but they are also constrained by larger political and structural influences.

The clear patterns across the continent suggest how much local, national, regional, and even global cultural factors influence individual men and, thus, how important regional and national policies and circumstances are for achieving change. While IMAGES gathers data on individual men and women, their relationships, and their life trajectories, it is clear how much contextual factors – media, education, political realities, economic realities, broader social and gender norms, national policies, and the like – influence men's attitudes, practices, and relationships. In particular, urgent action is needed at all levels to push back against conservative, anti-feminist movements and voices in some settings by bringing young women and men on board to support gender equality. We have seen a backing away from gender equality in The Gambia, with its parliament debating (but finally voting against)

rescinding the 2015 FGM ban in 2024; and in Ghana, following in the footsteps of Uganda with its approved radical anti-homosexuality legislation, also in 2024.

In some parts of Africa, highly disparate levels of educational enrollment/attainment between women and men, a lack of national policies for gender equality and against GBV, uneven workforce participation, and so on, have been very slow to change. In others, for all the gains in women's educational attainment and workforce participation and in legal changes to build gender equality into national policies, men and masculinities have been slow to change. A majority of men in Africa continue to hold onto the view that they should be providers and protectors. As a consequence, they may suffer considerable stress when they can't achieve traditional versions of working manhood. Furthermore, too many stubbornly cling to restrictive, inequitable views of themselves as making decisions for their families and female partners rather than as being collaborative, egalitarian members of the household. Many women also continue to hold restrictive, inequitable views about men and women, but they are also much more likely than men to question these views. As research on norms in South Sudan and elsewhere has shown, exploring the dynamics of gender-equitable masculinities provides the understanding and material needed to develop interventions that raise awareness, educate, and are targeted toward specific groups of men.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Sudd Institute. 2023. A qualitative explorative study report on the roles of positive masculinities and male engagement in the elimination of violence against women and girls in South Sudan. Spotlight Initiative, Positive Masculinity Study.

Mothers, fathers, and households that are able to challenge gender stereotypes can create changes at home that may model new ways of being for the next generation to move toward equality.

Across settings and on multiple indicators, men who saw their fathers involved in domestic work or taking up egalitarian roles in household decision-making and who saw their mothers in the paid workforce tend to be more equitable and more involved in hands-on unpaid care and domestic work in their own households as adults. This somewhat-obvious association means interventions that engage parents in raising their children in equitable ways are one of the keys to achieving individual and societal change.

In Africa, as globally, boys and girls witness and experience multiple and overlapping forms of violence, which pays forward as one of the largest factors in men's use of violence as adults, particularly their use of violence against female partners.

This finding – consistent with other research on the intergenerational transmission of violence – in no way gives any man (or woman) an excuse for using violence. Instead, it reinforces how urgently violence prevention must involve reducing violence against children in all its forms, unlearning violence, and understanding and addressing the trauma associated with childhood experiences of violence as part of engaging men and boys in preventing IPV. Ending men's violence against their female partners requires understanding and preventing the violence that happens in boys' childhoods. These are not competing priorities but instead overlapping urgencies.

Men's health and well-being are harmed by restrictive norms related to gender roles and masculinities, which provides a tremendous incentive for men to be allies in the progress toward healthy masculinity and gender equality.

A consistent association across diverse regions of the world is found between men holding rigid, restrictive views of manhood and their experience of poor mental and physical health. This finding in no way minimizes the agency, opportunities, and quality of life that are denied to women and girls because of restrictive gender norms, gender inequality, and misogyny. The finding that men have worse life outcomes if they hold gender-inequitable attitudes implies that achieving gender equality requires men to understand their stake in achieving healthy, connected, equitable, and nonviolent versions of manhood. It is in appreciating the harm of restrictive gender norms to men and to women that men can and must be drawn into the journey to gender equality.

From a research standpoint, existing and new national surveys should ask men and boys about their experiences of gender relations and power and about their attitudes on manhood, with a particular lens on men who question inequitable and stereotypical versions of manhood.

IMAGES surveys have been comparatively small in most settings. The questions included in IMAGES should be incorporated into larger national, regional, or global surveys so that results can inform policymaking at higher levels. They should also be incorporated so that more stakeholders, including policymakers, can take into account men's resistance or support of gender

equality, as well as expand efforts to engage men as allies for gender equality and in creating healthier versions of manhood for their own well-being.

The gaps in men's actions to achieve gender equality are evident, but men's support for gender equality provides opportunities to speed up change.

Many research efforts, policymakers, and policies assume that men oppose gender equality and always will. And indeed, IMAGES results find huge gaps in men's actions for gender equality, whether in terms of their use of violence against female partners, their restrictions on the autonomy of their female partners, or their domination of household decision-making. But there are also numerous areas – often unrecognized – in which men are involved and their involvement could increase. This includes building on men's involvement in their children's education, men's frequent reports of playing with children and performing other caregiving roles, men's positive participation in contraceptive decision-making (and in abortion-related decision-making), and men's presence during prenatal visits and childbirth. While men should be doing these things at even higher levels, a sizable proportion of men in diverse settings are already doing these things. The individual and social conditions that enable these positive, more equitable behaviors by some men can offer insights on how to engage more men in taking the urgent and necessary journey toward gender equality, full respect for the rights and autonomy of women and girls, and nonviolence. There is no single path toward men's equitable attitudes and behaviors, but there is much that can be learned from men in diverse settings who are on that path already.

WHAT IS NEXT

Call to action and recommendations

THEME: CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

HEADLINE 1: Many children grow up seeing their fathers or other men dominate household decision-making.

- Build on the more equitable aspects of masculinity noted by respondents to encourage positive framings of masculinity and a sense of optimism about change. Focus on socializing children from an early age and find ways to support and enable parents/guardians to play their roles effectively.
- Publicize and promote the experiences of men who are more equitable and flexible in private, but have not shared their points of view – using mass media, social media, cinema, billboards, and so on – as a way of normalizing behavioral change.

HEADLINE 2: Care leads to care: Men whose fathers were involved in caregiving are more involved themselves.

- Implement peer education strategies that use men who were inspired by their own caring childhoods to raise awareness among their peers, with the goal of ultimately reaching children and adolescents.
- Develop a distinctively African public messaging campaign encouraging fathers to communicate with their sons about new ways of being. This could include sports metaphors, such as having boys and fathers discussing “teamwork” in the household.
- Organize fathers’ groups on a large scale to demonstrate the benefits of having better relationships with sons and daughters and to build skills on how it is done.

THEME: GENDER ATTITUDES

HEADLINE 3: Inequitable ideas about manhood and masculinity are alive and well, with harmful effects.

- Expand on the HeForShe initiative, which has a regional male engagement strategy for gender equality.
- Undertake longer-term evidence-driven public communications that focus on gender equality, poverty alleviation, systems of justice, and social interactions based on reciprocity and respect for rights rather than domination.
- Advocate for much more intense promotion of gender equality as part of public education, early childhood education, and policy development in the twelve African countries participating in the Sahel Women's Empowerment and Demographic Dividend Project (SWEDD+).¹⁰²
- Focus on schoolchildren: The results will not be immediate, but girls and boys can be brought together at school in important ways. For example, nearly 30 years ago when Burkina Faso banned FGM, it was thought that real change was impossible, but the generation of boys exposed to those ideas from an early age have quite different ideas than older men.
 - Encourage discussion forums among boys and girls so that children may expand their perceptions, and do this in the context of activities to cultivate leadership and self-confidence among girls at schools.
 - Establish educational programs in schools on gender equity, with activities that emphasize the common or

reciprocal practice between boys and girls on tasks considered to be “reserved” for either boys or girls. For example, when both boys and girls clean classrooms and fetch water at school, boys can understand girls’ tasks at home and participate more readily themselves.

- Use sports to build solidarity and a team spirit among boys and girls and to promote gender-equitable messages among boys.
- Include university students who lack formal education around sexual and reproductive health, gender dynamics and access to alternative sources of education on these topics.

HEADLINE 4: Women and men who grew up seeing gender equality in their households as children hold more equitable attitudes.

- Advocate for the development and implementation of national strategies, including a strong legal system to promote gender equity and the protection of women’s and girls’ rights.
- Ensure women’s participation in parent-teacher associations or other community accountability mechanisms related to schools, and provide training so that women and men advocate for schools to be safe and inclusive environments.
- Replicate the Association des Mères Educatrices in Burkina Faso to promote girls’ education as a link between schools and families; these associations can play a role in supporting girls with mentorship to promote gender equality.

102 <https://popcouncil.org/project/sahel-womens-empowerment-and-demographic-dividend-swedd/>

THEME: POWER AND CARING AT HOME

HEADLINE 5: Household power is often unequal and contested between women and men, especially with regard to money and women's mobility.

- Look to Ethiopia's "model families" system, which had important outcomes and could be replicated to great effect in other countries. By establishing criteria related to healthy household practices, and linking these to community leadership and recognition, the system raised awareness and changed behaviors.
- Support the economic empowerment of women, which contributes to change in household dynamics and can promote men's understanding of sharing the benefits of economic activities with women. As dynamics change, husbands come to see the benefits to the household – and to them – of having more exchange and solidarity with their wives. Bring men on board for women's economic empowerment to help avoid any unintended consequences.

HEADLINE 6: Men's and women's household division of labor is often inequitable, but men rarely acknowledge this.

- Promote parenting programs that address the intersections between violence against women and violence against children, as well as equitable caregiving between men and women. Several positive examples of parenting programs already exist in Africa (e.g., Parenting for Lifelong Health and Bandebereho). Investing in and supporting the scale-up of such programs will be critical to changing norms around caregiving.

- For the formal paid working sector, ensure that country policies provide – and mandate fathers to take – paternity leave after the birth or adoption of their newborn child. Globally, non-transferable and fully paid paternity leave has been the gold standard that can lead to a healthy connection between fathers and their children, better women's physical and mental health, and improved men's mental health.
- Use public media campaigns to showcase men's caregiving as a positive experience for men themselves and for their families.

THEME: VIOLENCE

HEADLINE 7: Many men exert power and control over women in their lives through multiple forms of violence.

- While much of the attention on SGBV in some countries (like DRC) has highlighted the need for stronger laws, there is also a need for additional public information campaigns and better implementation of existing SGBV laws. Most men know about SGBV laws on the books but have either contradictory or negative views about them.
- Demonstrate the costs of violence for men in economic and social terms: Violence harms the health and well-being of their partners and children and affects the economic status of their households.
- Conduct longitudinal studies to deeply understand factors whereby men can reject violence and resist the norms of masculinity.

HEADLINE 8: Violence leads to violence.

- Roll out large-scale psychosocial and secondary prevention that enables boys and girls at young ages to overcome violence they have experienced, inside and outside of conflict contexts.
- Expand on programs that address psychological support services for male perpetrators of violence that look beyond the criminal justice approach. Such programs should consider the needed support for households, childcare needs, community service activities, and positively engaging men to end cycles of GBV.

THEME: HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

HEADLINE 9: Though sexual and reproductive health and rights are often viewed as “women’s issues,” men are participating.

- Develop strategies that aim to change traditional assumptions about men: for example, by changing how men’s roles regarding sexual and reproductive health are perceived by health providers and creating more male-friendly health services.
- Expand the reproductive health champions model to promote those who support gender equality, especially in West Africa (e.g., Mali, Burkina Faso), promoting dialogue between women and men. Adopt motivational actions by identifying and promoting reproductive health champions.
- Expand on culturally sensitive campaigns led by UNFPA that promote information on sexual and reproductive health, including access to male-friendly services, contraception, and family choices.

HEADLINE 10: Stresses and fears related to providing financially and protecting the family are widespread, especially during and after conflicts.

- Establish groups to discuss masculinities and how sharing can happen in the household. Create more spaces and opportunities for men to discuss the stresses and responsibilities commonly associated with “being a man.” Promote the idea that the man does not have to be the provider on his own and that even if he does play a key economic role in the household, he can seek support and reinforcement from his partner. Present an alternative idea to the “loss of masculinity” experienced if the man is not earning as much as he expects from himself.
- Create offline and online groups that provide listening spaces for men’s economic burdens, recognizing and communicating that there are structural barriers to prosperity for men and women (e.g., high unemployment rates, job segregation, and limited educational opportunities).

Annex A : Data collection and ethical approval details

Country/study	Sample design	Data collection	Ethical approval
DRC	The study utilized multi-stage, cluster sampling, where the sample was stratified by age and gender, such that it included approximately 50 percent men and 50 percent women, half between the ages of 18 and 35 and half between 36 and 59.	The IMAGES survey was carried out in June 2012. The Congolese version was adapted to include issues specific to the current context of people living in Nord Kivu. Given the sensitivity of the topic, teams consisted of male interviewers for those interviewing male respondents and female interviewers for those interviewing female respondents.	Ethical approval was obtained from the mayor of Goma, with additional approval from the Ministry of Gender for Goma.
Egypt	The study used a stratified, multi-stage cluster-sampling methodology, randomly selecting between 30 and 60 primary sampling units (PSUs), half of which served for sampling male respondents and half for sampling female respondents. PSU selection was proportionate to the population of the larger administrative units (e.g., districts, governorates, prefectures). Within each PSU, households and respondents were randomly selected and interviews were conducted. Sample sizes were chosen based on expected levels of non-response or refusal.	The adapted survey tools were translated into local Arabic dialects and, prior to full data collection, pilot-tested with respondents from different socio-demographic groups. Data collection was completed between April 2016 and March 2017. Questionnaires were administered face-to-face using handheld electronic tablet devices.	The household survey and qualitative studies were approved by the American University in Cairo Ethical Board.

Country/study	Sample design	Data collection	Ethical approval
Mali	The survey utilized a multi-stage, stratified, and random sampling. The sample was stratified to provide proportionate representation of two age groups (18 to 35 and 36 to 59). For the selection of households at the village level, a multi-stage sampling method was applied, whereby sample selection was random.	The IMAGES survey was carried out in September 2012. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected through questionnaires (quantitative) and key informant interviews and focus group discussions (qualitative). Given the sensitivity of the topic, teams consisted of male interviewers for those interviewing male respondents and female interviewers for those interviewing female respondents.	The study was undertaken in partnership with the National Institute of Statistics in Mali and met the ethical standards of this institute. The following groups also reviewed the protocol and findings: Association Malienne pour le Suivi et l'Orientation des Pratiques Traditionnelles (AMSOPT); Réseau des Femmes Africaines Ministres et Parlementaires (REFAMP); Appui à la Promotion des Aides Familiales/Muso Danbe (APAF Muso Danbe); Women in Law and Development in Africa; Cellules d'Appui à l'Education de Base (CAEB); Groupe Pivot/Droit et Citoyenneté des Femmes; and Right to Play/Mali.
Morocco	The study used a stratified, multi-stage cluster-sampling methodology, randomly selecting between 30 and 60 PSUs, half of which served for sampling male respondents and half for sampling female respondents. PSU selection was proportionate to the population of the larger administrative units (e.g., districts, governorates, prefectures). Within each PSU, households and respondents were randomly selected and interviews were conducted. Sample sizes were chosen based on expected levels of non-response or refusal.	The adapted survey tools were translated into local Arabic dialects and French and, prior to full data collection, pilot-tested with respondents from different socio-demographic groups. Data collection was completed between April 2016 and March 2017. Questionnaires were administered face-to-face using handheld electronic tablet devices.	The household survey and qualitative studies were approved by the American University in Cairo Ethical Board.

Country/study	Sample design	Data collection	Ethical approval
Mozambique	The study utilized a multi-stage, stratified, random sampling. The sample was stratified by sex and age to be evenly composed of the two age groups (18 to 35 and 36 to 65). More men were sampled because IMAGES aims to fill a gap in research on men's practices and attitudes and to have greater statistical power in the analysis of men's responses.	The IMAGES Mozambique survey was carried out in June and July 2015. Given the sensitivity of the topic, teams consisted of male interviewers for those interviewing male respondents and female interviewers for those interviewing female respondents.	Ethical approval was obtained through the Ethics Commission for Health Research in Mozambique, at the national Ministry of Health.
Nigeria	PSUs were selected through a probability proportional to size (PPS) approach. Dwelling structures were selected in each sector through a random route walk approach. Individual respondents were then selected using the Kish grid.	The men's questionnaire and women's questionnaire were administered using handheld devices, with the interviewer asking all the questions. Survey data collection took place in 2014.	The study obtained a written ethical approval from the Nigerian National Health Research Committee.
Rwanda	Respondents were selected through multi-stage sampling. Districts and villages for the study sites were selected by the National Institute of Statistics Rwanda through cluster sampling. The sample was stratified so that one-third women and two-thirds men from different age groups were included. Each village was divided into three main areas: the center, the area 10 meters from the center, and the remote area more than 30 meters from the center. Local authorities in Rwanda's 30 districts provided collaboration and advice that facilitated data collection.	The survey was adapted to include aspects that shaped the Rwandan context, including the recent history of genocide and specific sociocultural practices. Data was collected between January and June 2010 by 12 field team leaders and 72 data collectors. Given the sensitivity of the topic, teams consisted of male interviewers for those interviewing male respondents and female interviewers for those interviewing female respondents.	The study design was approved by the National Institute of Statistics Rwanda.

Country/study	Sample design	Data collection	Ethical approval
Tanzania	<p>The study used a purposeful, multi-stage cluster sampling methodology, in which 66 clusters of villages were randomly selected through the PPS methodology. This methodology was useful given that the selected regions present high variance in population distribution. A list of sub-clusters in rural and urban areas was created. Through random assignment, two sub-clusters were selected within each cluster, one of which was to be used for male respondents and the other for female respondents. Sample sizes were chosen based on expected levels of non-response or refusal.</p>	<p>Surveys were undertaken using IMAGES baseline survey tools (which had been prepared and configured from September to October 2016). Data was collected during November and December 2016.</p>	<p>Ethical approval was obtained from the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology with support from IRDP.</p>
Uganda	<p>Respondents were selected through a multi-stage sampling approach. Secondly, through the PPS methodology, sub-clusters were selected, and through a random walk approach, 36 respondents were selected for interviews in each parish. The sampling frame was the National Population and Housing Census conducted in August 2014, provided by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics. The sampling frame used was a complete list of villages in the Central region created for the census, consisting of 10,550 villages.</p>	<p>The IMAGES study in Uganda collected data through surveys and in-depth interviews. The survey was designed to produce representative estimates for the IMAGES main indicators for the central districts of Uganda. Given the sensitivity of the topic, teams consisted of male interviewers for those interviewing male respondents and female interviewers for those interviewing female respondents. Survey data collection took place March and April 2017.</p>	<p>The research team obtained ethical approval from the Clarke International University Research Ethics Committee and the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology.</p>



IMAGES International
Men and Gender
Equality Survey