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“True to Them, True to Myself”

Understanding Restrictive Masculinity in Guyana, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago

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Inter-American Development Bank
Gender and Diversity Division

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August, 2024

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Abstract

Restrictive masculinity is a social construct that is tied to beliefs about how men behave and are expected to behave to be considered “real men”. By contrast, gender-equitable masculinities constitute a more flexible alternative that permits men to take on diverse roles and behaviors while not limiting women’s agency. This publication conducted a thorough analysis of restrictive masculinities in Guyana, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago in 2022, utilizing both focus groups and online surveys. The research aimed to understand the attitudes of young men exploring seven themes related to gender and masculinities, including toughness, self-sufficiency, paid and unpaid work, money and education, hypersexuality, homophobia, power and control, and violence. To measure masculinity, the study develops a statistically validated scale composed of diverse attitude statements based on previous tools on this topic. It also explores how young men’s attitudes about gender are associated with social norms and influence behavioral outcomes in areas such as sexual harassment, bullying, alcohol and drug abuse, depression and suicidal ideation. Finally, the publication offers policy recommendations and highlights best practices that can be employed to accelerate positive changes in the region.

Keywords: masculinity, gender stereotypes, Caribbean, gender equality, gender norms, Guyana, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago.

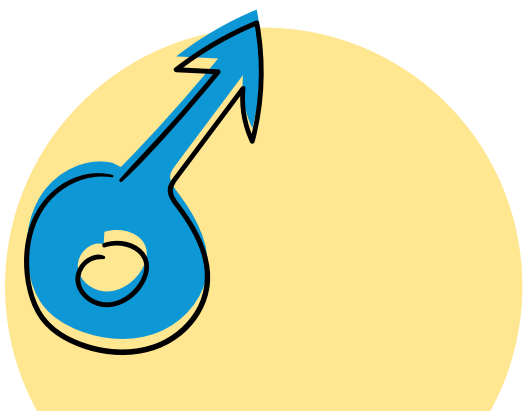


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1. Introduction

New conversations about masculinities

“I don’t want to be a “real man,” I want to be a man... So for me I had to figure that out, what it means to be a good person. So it started with unlearning these biases of what a real man is. I just want to be a man.” (Guyana).

Thousands of men from Guyana, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago share their reflections on the questions at the heart of the excerpt above: What it means to be a “real man”? What sorts of biases and stereotypes shape the expectations of masculinity in these countries and the Caribbean region as a whole? How do social influences and individual preferences overlap, align, and/or conflict? One young man described a moment in which he shared deeply held feelings with his siblings. “I was able to be true to them by being true to myself,” he said. We have used his powerful words as the title of this study, “True to Them, True to Myself,” both because of their remarkable authenticity and because for too many young men, such authenticity remains out of reach. Too often, being “true” to others - to the pressures and expectations put forward by family, media, peer groups, and the society at large of what it means to be a “real man”- presents obstacles for a young man who just wants to be “true” to himself. These contrasting goals are at the heart of this report’s exploration of what we call restrictive masculinities in the three Caribbean countries.

In the Caribbean region, as elsewhere in the world, discussions around gender norms and identity have been newly energized during this decade. These discussions have reached the headlines and the halls of government alike, with many taking aim at so-called “toxic masculinity.” Drawing upon decades of gender theory as well as data from fields as diverse as crime, health, and education, feminist and LGBTQ+ rights advocates have brought new

attention to the harmful actions of many men and their roots in social norms of masculinity. Their case is a strong one. Sexual assault, homicide, domestic violence, and gun crimes, among other social ills, are predominantly and disproportionately committed by men. They should not be seen as surprising in societies that raise young men to value toughness, force, and domination above all else, lest they fail to “man up” or “be a real man” (Heilman et al., 2017; Heilman & Barker, 2018).

The link between norms of masculinity and outcomes such as violence and poor health is not restricted to media or government discussions. In recent decades, women’s movements in the region have taken the lead in transforming this feminist analysis of masculinities into action through grassroots campaigns, social programs, and movement building (Black Women Radicals, 2022). A robust exploration of gender and masculinities among the academic community in the Caribbean has also enriched local dialogue, programs, and policies over the past three decades at least (see landmark texts such as Chevannes, 2001 and Reddock & Reddock, 2004). The founding of the Caribbean Men’s Action Network (CariMAN), the qualitative research partner for the present study, and its role as a Caribbean leader within the global Men Engage Alliance of organizations, is a marker of strong local initiative around this issue and approach.² The Alliance works to engage men and boys in the pursuit of objectives of gender equality.

2. See <http://www.cariman.org> and <http://www.menengage.org>

Understanding restrictive concepts of manhood

The COVID pandemic has devastated public health not only through illness and death, but by further isolating people from one another. The Coronavirus outbreak arrived relatively late in the Caribbean but clearly affected the region.³ The main measures to prevent the spread of the virus included the suspension of all school activities, lockdown, cease of all non-essential activities, limit gatherings, among others. Such measures affected women disproportionately since they have taken on ever greater unpaid domestic work responsibilities. Additionally, rates of intimate partner violence and domestic violence (physical, sexual, psychological, and economic) have risen sharply in all three countries under study. (Kourti et al., 2021; Usher et al., 2020). According to the Caribbean Women Count, 44% of women from Trinidad and Tobago experience violence (30% physical violence or sexual), 48% in Surinam (32% physical violence or sexual) and 55% in Guyana (38% physical violence or sexual)⁴ (UN WOMEN, 2019).

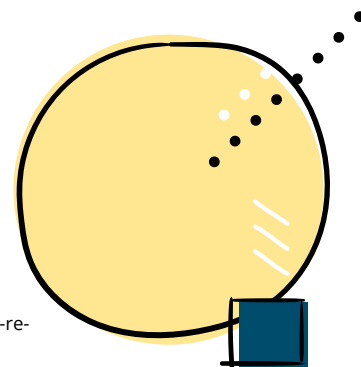
In this scenario, we need to better understand how masculinities and norms regarding manhood affect the health and well-being of women, men, and the rest of society. We need men to be allies in the goal of gender equality. In doing so, it is crucial not to take an exclusively critical view of masculinities in the region. To say that young Caribbean men are a problem, or to categorize them as “toxic” en masse, is both blind to the intersectional systems of power that shape their opportunities and lives and ineffective as a strategy for encouraging them to take up the feminist cause. This demands particular attention in a region as racially, culturally, and economically diverse as the Caribbean. Salient definitions and stereotypes of masculinities in the region bear the long legacy of slavery and ongoing racialized bias and discrimination (Beckles, 1996). Some young men may feel the pressure of social expectations to earn respect through violence, to bottle up all

their emotions, or to be hypersexual. But many of these tendencies echo discriminatory biases and stereotypes that are against Black and racialized men (Etowa et al., 2022). For that reason, it is important to clarify that when we speak of masculine norms, including those related to violence, stoicism, and sexuality, it is specifically to problematize the social stereotype with all its baggage of classism and racism. It is not to problematize any man or group of men themselves.

Young men’s underachievement in school compared to young women has become an area of particular focus in the region. It is widely debated in the public sphere and studied by scholars of gender, post-colonial identity, race, and other disciplines. Girls in the Caribbean receive the majority of Certificates of Secondary Education (CSECs) and are vastly overrepresented in tertiary enrollment. Research has demonstrated how males are falling behind women in terms of average educational attainment across the socio-economic spectrum (Thailinger et al., 2023). Scholars add further complexity to this dynamic by pointing out how men, despite lower educational attainment overall, continue to hold the preponderance of power in most Caribbean social, economic, and political spheres (Bailey, 2004). Despite these complexities, past research has established many ties between salient expectations of femininity and masculinity, imparted even before young people reach school age, and the differential academic achievements of girls and boys.

3. For more information, please visit The Caribbean Quarterly Bulletin (2020): <https://flagships.iadb.org/en/caribbean-region-quarterly-bulletin-2020-q1>

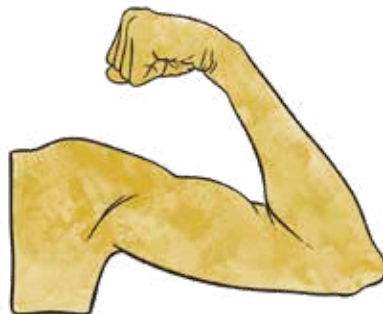
4. See <https://caribbeanwomenscount.unwomen.org/>



Measuring restrictive masculinity

To size the effects of restrictive masculinity the present study makes use of the “Man Box” concept, coined by Paul Kivel, Allan Creighton, and others at the Oakland Men’s Project. The concept refers to a set of beliefs communicated by parents, families, the media, peers, and other members of society, that place pressure on men to act a certain way. We explore them in relation to seven themes to analyze whether and how they shape young men’s opinions:

1. Toughness and self-sufficiency



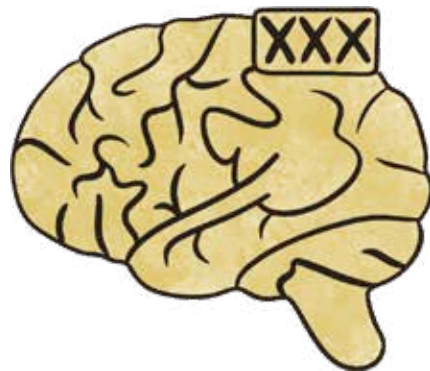
2. Paid and unpaid work



3. Money and education



4. Hypersexuality



5. Homophobia



6. Power and control



7. Violence



These pressures tell men to be self-sufficient, to act tough, to be physically attractive in a certain way, to be financially responsible for their family, to be heterosexual, to demonstrate sexual prowess, and to use aggression to resolve conflicts, among other things. Research, including the original Man Box study published by Equimundo: Center for Masculinities and Social Justice (then Promundo-US) and Axe in 2017 (a precursor to this report), demonstrates that these pressures are linked with perpetrating and experiencing many forms of violence, abusing alcohol, driving dangerously, and having mental health challenges, such as depression and suicidal ideation.

Equimundo and partners set out to adapt the existing knowledge and literature about the Man Box concept into a scale for use in survey research in 2017. Since then, the Man Box Scale has been tested and used in Australia, Japan, and Jamaica, with more studies underway. Researchers at the University of Pittsburgh, in partnership with Promundo-US, published a psychometric analysis of an early version of the scale, showing strong internal and external validity and even suggesting a “short form” of it that could be used in various survey settings. Rather than adopting this short form or the previously validated scale, as elsewhere in the world, the present study in the Caribbean sought to replicate the entire process, with a regional perspective. This process is detailed in Section III of this report.

Building on previous studies of restrictive concepts of masculinity, this mixed-method study in Guyana, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago seeks to combine new survey data with focus group discussions to better understand young men’s gendered lives and perceptions. The survey maps young men’s attitudes within several domains of gender and masculinity, including education, sexuality, violence, care work, domestic roles, and more. It is also designed to explore how one’s attitudes about gender link with and influence behavioral outcomes in areas such as bullying, alcohol and drug abuse, depression and suicidal ideation, holding all other circumstantial factors constant. The voices of over 60 young men from focus group discussions in the three countries add considerable depth, nuance, and context to our understanding of how these concepts play out in young men’s lives.

The report proceeds as follows: Section 2 presents the quantitative and qualitative data collection methodology. Section 3 explores young men’s perceptions of external influences related to masculinity, both at the community level and among friends and family. Section 4 presents the responses to the seven component themes of restrictive masculinity. Section 5 explores the role of social norms and socio-economic characteristics as predictors of restrictive masculinity. Section 6 uses bivariate and multivariate analyses to understand the influence of limited concepts of manhood on various social issues such as sexual harassment, bullying, substance abuse, and mental health. Section 7 and 8 present conclusions, recommendations, and best practices. Statistical information is available in the Appendix C.

2.

Who we talked to: Methodological approach

The study followed a mixed-method methodology. An online survey questionnaire including seven component themes of masculinity, based on the concept of the Man Box (toughness and self-sufficiency, paid and unpaid work, money and education, hypersexuality, homophobia, power and control, violence), as well as a set of focus group discussions, were conducted between October 2021 and March 2022.

Quantitative approach

In total, 2,822 young men, including 991 from Guyana, 644 from Suriname, and 1,187 from Trinidad and Tobago, completed the online survey. To qualify for inclusion, respondents had to be male identifying, aged 18-30, and complete the entire survey.



Trend Media, the quantitative data collection partner, designed a customized, mobile web portal for the survey and created separate landing pages for each of the three countries. Participants were recruited into the study via SMS, in partnership with Digicel. To increase participation, Trend Media also organized a Facebook social media campaign linking to the survey. Only users of the Digicel mobile phone service who had previously opted in to receive promotional or research-related SMS messages were eligible to receive the initial outreach. These SMS messages, as well as the survey itself, were in English for Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago. All materials were translated into Dutch and Sranan Tongo for Suriname. Participants who began but had not completed the survey received reminder messages encouraging them to complete it. Participants who completed the survey successfully received the modest incentive of USD \$2 of Digicel phone credit. Working in partnership with Digicel provided the advantage of access to tens of thousands of potentially eligible participants who had already opted into this type of outreach. Response and completion rates reflect the challenges of the mass outreach recruitment approach. Trend Media estimates that across all three countries combined, 13% of those who clicked an SMS message successfully completed the survey.

Table 1 shows the sample as divided into relevant demographic categories. As the figure shows, respondents' ages were evenly divided between those 18-24 and 25-30, although the Trinidad and Tobago sample is somewhat older on average than the sample in the other two countries. A preponderance of respondents in all locations listed some level of upper secondary schooling as their highest level of education, with another significant proportion (fully a third in Suriname)

saying that they finished a vocational or technical school certificate. The sample is somewhat more educated than the national average, which may reflect the structural constraint of the survey being completed online. Respondents are relatively evenly divided between those with full-time work, including self-employed respondents, and those without work, including full-time students. The Trinidad and Tobago sample shows a greater proportion with full-time work than the other countries, and higher education level than expected based on national statistics, while the Guyana sample shows the lowest proportion with full-time work, albeit closer to the expected figure (World Bank, 2022). The measure of household economic well-being presented here divides the populations into three groups based

on their responses to multiple items in the survey. Respondents were asked to provide their monthly household income, as well as answer questions about how often their household could afford all monthly expenses, including basic services and others. These responses were combined to create the economic well-being score. This analysis reveals that only a minority of respondents' households fit into the highest, most economically comfortable category. Relatively even numbers of respondents in all countries reported being in a committed relationship at the time of the survey, while respondents in Suriname were significantly more likely to have children than those in Guyana and Trinidad & Tobago.

Table 1- Characteristics of sample, (% of participants)

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago
Age			
18-24	48	51	40
25-30	52	49	60
Level of Education Completed			
Form 3 (8th Grade) or Lower	9	10	7
Upper Secondary (Form 4-6)	63	35	53
Vocational / Technical School or Certificate	16	32	20
Post Secondary - Associates, Bachelors, Masters	12	23	19
Employed			
Not full time employed	59	40	28
Full time employed	41	60	72
Household Economic Wellbeing			
More Vulnerable	37	39	28
Middle	41	44	44
More Comfortable	22	17	28
Relationship Status			
Single or Dating	53	48	51
Committed Partner	46	47	47
Parenthood			
No Children	56	35	60
Has Children	44	65	40
Total sample:	991	644	1,187





Regarding the limitations of the quantitative approach, while the survey data collection aimed to reach 1,000 young male respondents in all three countries, this proved particularly challenging in the smallest country of the three, Suriname. As sample recruitment was limited to Digicel subscribers, population living in more remote and less densely populated parts of Suriname were not covered. The recruitment through SMS and, to a lesser extent, through social media may have led to a somewhat more educated sample than the general population. Between this limitation and the age and gender-based inclusion criteria for the study, the total population from which to draw respondents was constrained, especially in Suriname. The geographical distribution of the sample of each country can be found in Appendix B. It is important to note that the regional distribution is determined by the cell sites location where respondents connected to during the evenings. While these factors impose certain limitations, they nonetheless afford a relatively representative sample. Thus, within these confines, we cautiously draw insights into the lives and experiences of young men across the three countries. This initial analysis, complemented by insights from focus groups, serves as a valuable starting point in understanding the dynamics of masculinities within the mentioned countries.

The survey instrument also included two items designed to test the likelihood of respondents replying with answers that were socially acceptable rather than fully truthful, a challenge in survey research known as “social desirability bias.” It strengthens our analysis to be able to measure and account for the social desirability bias using the data from these two survey items. As shown in later sections, a social desirability measure derived from these items is included as its own variable in our multivariate regression models.

Qualitative approach

A total of 61 young men participated in focus groups in Guyana, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago. The guide for the focus group included themes such as “defining a ‘real man’”, “pressures faced by young men,” “individuality in the face of pressures,” “hopes for the future,” and more. All focus group facilitators were men.

Focus group sessions were recorded, transcribed, and translated into English in the case of Suriname. A codebook was developed and coding, analysis, and identification of particularly instructive excerpts on the report’s themes was conducted using the Dedoose software platform. A full stand-alone report drawing from the qualitative data collection was completed, and the present note draws from the qualitative report. Brief details for each country follow.

Guyana



Three focus group discussions were organized in Guyana during the month of June 2022. Two sessions were hosted online while one was in-person. Each session lasted an average of 2 hours, 15 minutes. They involved the participation of 21 young men with various social identities between the ages of 18 and 30, from different areas/regions of Guyana. All the participants in Guyana had college/university education, they were mainly from urban areas and heterosexual.

Suriname

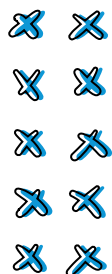


Twenty-two young men with various social identities between the ages of 21 and 30 participated across three online focus group sessions in Suriname. Five registrants were excluded as they did not fulfill the age requirements. On the day of the focus group interviews, all 22 participants received a WhatsApp message with the link for the focus group session. All interviews were held in Dutch. The interviews were then transcribed, translated from Dutch to English and anonymized. All the participants in Suriname were heterosexual and most of them had higher professional education.

Trinidad and Tobago



A total of 18 men between the ages of 18-30 participated across three focus group sessions via Zoom. In addition to age, the group of men were also diverse across categories of race and ethnicity, sexual identity, physical and cognitive ability, educational levels, geographical location and socio-economic status. Most of the participants had secondary or tertiary education and were mainly heterosexual.



Regarding the limitations of the qualitative approach, while some focus groups could be conducted in person, the vast majority had to take place online to maximize participant safety due to COVID concerns and minimize participant inconvenience. It is likely that the online setting may have resulted in a less free flowing conversation than in-person settings would have fostered. Furthermore, many participants noted the lack of payment or incentive for participation as a challenge; no incentive apart from the satisfaction of supporting a research project was offered. Some registered participants decided to drop out at the last minute due to the lack of financial incentive and/or apprehension about discussing the topic of masculinity with other men they did not know. For the most part, these challenges are de rigueur for social science research on gender, especially during a lingering pandemic, and, in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, an adverse weather alert during the data collection period. The resulting conversations were ultimately more than satisfactory for the research team, who were delighted at the openness and reflectiveness of the participants.



3.

Exploring social pressures related to what masculinity means



“A man in a family has the responsibility to provide, to protect, to create a legacy that his family, children, (future) generations can walk into. To provide, to protect, to love, to nurture, to be the priest, to pray over your family - I think those are some of the responsibilities that we as men have in the context of the family.” (Guyana)

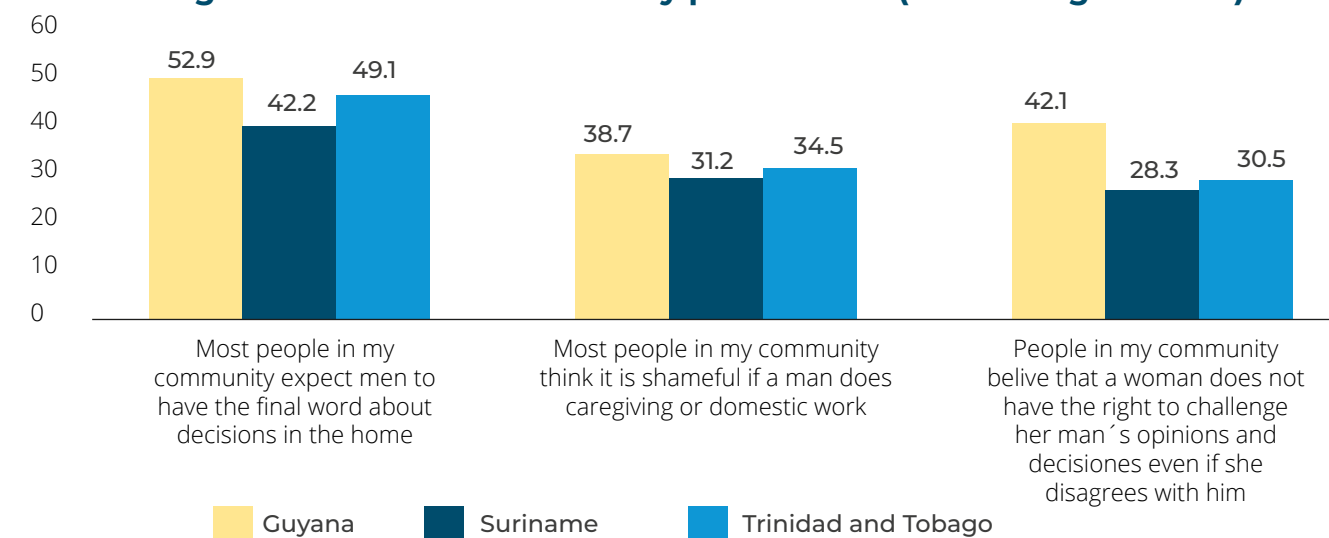
Young men’s lives in the Caribbean are dynamic and multifaceted. No one topic is enough to explain the breadth of their life experiences. Even the seven themes explored here are insufficient. Yet this section, providing the main analysis from the study, aspires to cover a significant - and understudied - array of experiences, attitudes, and actions in young men’s lives. Before dissecting the seven themes of restricted masculinity as applied in these three countries, the section dives into the types of external influences - from fellow community members, friends, and family - that may shape young men’s views and preferences.

External Influences: community social norms

“If you come from certain neighborhoods, you find that you have to be a certain way to make it there. If you come from another type of neighborhood, being a real man might be like, okay, take in your education, get a good job, start your own business, be a baller, etcetera. In certain situations that is seen as a real man. In another situation, it might be the ability to get up and hustle irrespective of the job to get X amount of things on the table. These pressures, to me generally [come] from where you grew up and the family you were raised in.” (Guyana)

Young men, like all people, are highly influenced by the normative environment in which they live. Young men in the study unsurprisingly report that various influences in their social and personal lives give them gendered or biased expectations. Both social norms and personal influences can play a role in shaping which attitudes young men feel are acceptable, normal, and community- and family-approved: what young men feel they may need to do or believe in order to be “true to them” (true to others). These backgrounds are important to keep in mind prior to exploring men’s reported attitudes, when we may learn more about how they aim to be “true to themselves.”

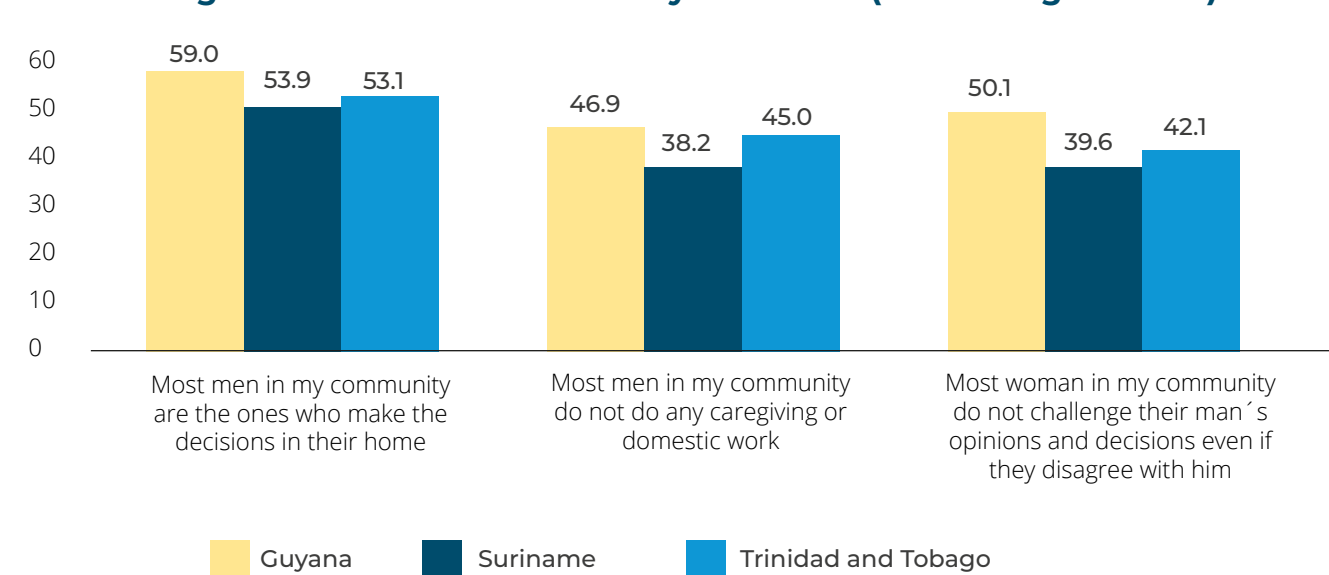
The survey explored two distinct, though related, types of social norms. These can be called “perceived community preferences,” which refer to young men’s sense of fellow community member’s beliefs, also known as normative expectations and “perceived community behaviors”, also known as empirical expectations, which refer to young men’s sense of fellow community members’ actions. It is important to put young men’s preferences and behaviors in the context of the preferences and behaviors which they believe are commonplace and acceptable in their local communities. It is useful to dissect the ways in which young men’s attitudes and actions are more or less restrictive than the community that surrounds them.

Figure 1: Perceived community preferences (Level of agreement)

Level of agreement is the sum of those who agree and strongly agree with the listed statement.

As shown in Figure 1, large proportions of study participants in all countries believe that people in their communities expect men to have the final word about decisions in their home, including most respondents in Guyana. About a third of respondents

on average agreed with the next two statements, about men doing caregiving work and women's agency within the home. For all three perceived community preferences, young men in Guyana were most likely to agree with these statements.

Figure 2: Perceived community behaviors (Level of agreement)

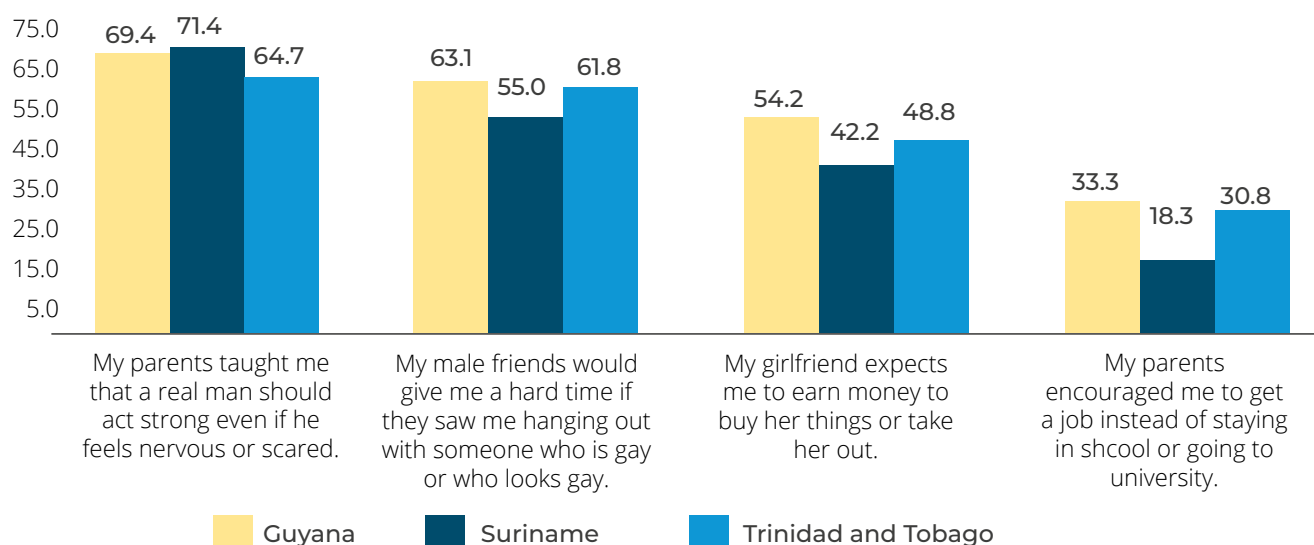
Level of agreement is the sum of those who agree and strongly agree with the listed statement

When shifting to perceived community behaviors, it is interesting to note that across the board, young men were more likely to report these restrictive behaviors around them than they were to report restrictive attitudes. We can conclude that many young men - the majority in some cases - believe that they are living in communities where gender inequality is the norm and what happens in the lived experiences of many of those around them. This seems to be especially true when it comes to men’s and women’s unequal and patriarchal roles in household decision-making. If people grow up understanding patriarchal decision-making as the norm and standard community practice, it is likely that they take on this opinion and preference themselves. Both the qualitative and quantitative findings (detailed later in this report) speak to the importance of understanding gender equality and restrictive views of masculinity at a community and societal level, and pursuing wider structural changes, rather than focusing only on individual young men as the problem.

External Influences: family and friends

Young people are particularly susceptible to being influenced by the people closest to them, including their parents, friends, and romantic partners. The expectations placed on them by these close figures are another important influence on their attitudes and actions. The following graphic shows the proportion of young men who agreed with statements relating to the perspectives and pressures communicated to them by their parents, male friends, and girlfriends.

Figure 3: What will people think? (Level of agreement)



Level of agreement is the sum of those who agree and strongly agree with the listed statement

Across all three study countries, the majority of young men said that their parents taught them that “a real man should act strong even if he feels nervous or scared” and that their male friends would give them a hard time if they saw them hanging out with someone who was gay. These direct personal influences drive men’s-imposed self-sufficiency and homophobia, and they have a direct impact on the attitudes shared by young men later in this report. When it comes to money and work, about half of young men on average said that their girlfriend “expects me to earn money to buy her things or take her out.” A much smaller percentage of respondents reported that their parents urged them to drop out of school to pursue work. Several themes below deal more deeply with young men’s relationship with money, work, and education through the masculinities lens. It is again worth noting that the preferences and behaviors of young men are at least partially shaped by various societal and personal factors, such as cultural norms, community values, family dynamics, and relationship experiences.



Real stories: Family, Geography, Identity

Focus group discussions involved in-depth exploration of the many external influences on young men's lives and perceptions of masculinity. These discussions stand out not only because they echo the quantitative results above, but also because of the nuanced insights young men provide from their own lives. As the following testimonies demonstrate, "family" is not a uniform construct. Different members of a family may be more supportive of one's identity than others. Similarly, "country" is not a sufficient unit of analysis. Different places within a country may have wholly different masculinity and gender norms. Finally, at least one participant in Trinidad and Tobago spoke of trying to live up to expectations from women in his life, partially because of confusion about changing standards of masculinity. Bold text in the quotes is provided by the report's authors for emphasis.

"I don't really have a negative relationship with my family in terms of what I think it is to be a man. I told my sister and brother about my sexuality, and at first they were a bit upset. But now we are closer than ever because I was able to be true to them by being true to myself. The only thing is with my parents; they don't know, and that kind of kills me inside because as much as I want to tell them, they are both pastors and I don't know how they're going to take it." (Guyana)

"As a Guyanese person coming from a particular physical location that is not coastland Georgetown, what it means for me to be a man may be completely different than for someone who is from Georgetown. (It may be different) even in my own community simply because my frame of reference takes into account my own family upbringing, my culture, my mixed race identity, (and) the types of religious groups I've been exposed to throughout my life. Even the educational systems I've interacted with at various levels somewhat impact my personal definition of what it means to be a man, which could be completely different from somebody else's." (Guyana)

"What I would say is that in this day and age you're hearing women basically defining what a real man is more than men. And I don't know if that's where we fall short in that we ourselves don't know what exactly a real man is...but it's become so commonplace that whatever women tend to idealize in a man, they attribute that to what is real in a man. But I would say, based on my personal experience growing up, that a real man is always the level of responsibility that you take for yourself and for others around you." (Trinidad & Tobago)

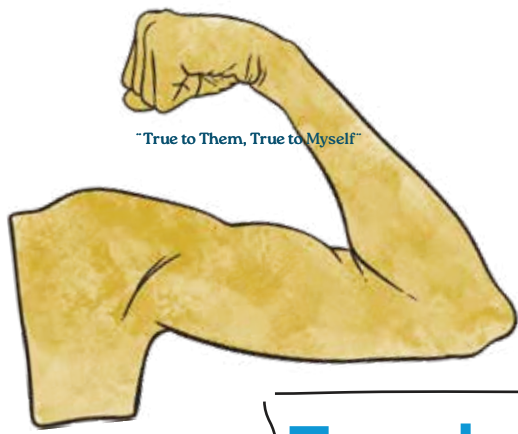
4.

Measuring restrictive masculinity at the individual level

Next follows a thorough examination of the restricted masculinity concept. Under each of the seven themes, specific attitude statements are explored alongside the types of experiences and actions that are closely related to it.

“In different social groups you’ll find there’s answers overlapping, intertwining, contrasting and so on. You’ll find people who say a real man is somebody who could conquer a lot of women. You’ll find some say [...] it’s someone who provides for people around him, or who is able to stay strong and still work in the face of adversity. So, to me, it is whatever you define for yourself. If your definition of a man makes you happy, helps people around you, and you are able to fulfill your role in your society and your social group without causing harm to anyone, that’s good enough.” (Trinidad and Tobago)

As the above focus group participant suggests, social influences are essential. To some degree, however, men are still capable of choosing their own definitions and vision of what it is to be a “good man.” To translate this observation into empirical data, study participants were also asked whether they strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with 20 attitude statements, which are presented according to the seven themes below. To simplify the data presentation, the young men who chose “agree” or “strongly agree” were combined into one percentage for most of the lines in these charts. The same holds for young men who chose “disagree” and “strongly disagree” for the two items that are posed as positive, gender-equitable statements. As a result, the tables below show the percentage of young men in each country choosing the more restrictive, less gender-equal options.



Theme 1

Toughness and Self-Sufficiency

"Being a man, you're often expected to be impervious to vulnerabilities. And that is I think across the board... in relation to (things) emotional, physical, psychological... You're supposed to be able to navigate any situation that life throws at you without hesitation or struggle. Any sort of struggle kind of chips away at your man status and somebody else comes up and says 'well I'm more of a man than you because I can do it better than you can.'" (Trinidad and Tobago).

Our scale includes three statements directly related to the theme of toughness and self-sufficiency. Rates of agreement with these statements in the three countries are shown below.

Toughness & Self-Sufficiency (Level of agreement)	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago
A man who talks a lot about his worries, fears, and problems shouldn't really get respect.	18.8%	11.8%	16.0%
Guys should act strong even if they feel scared or nervous inside.	59.0%	61.3%	57.1%
Men should figure out their personal problems on their own without asking others for help.	24.3%	18.2%	22.6%

Mirroring the influence of parents presented earlier, the majority of young men in all three countries agreed that "guys should act strong even if they feel scared or nervous inside." By contrast, from 18 percent to 24 percent of respondents agreed that "men should figure out their personal problems on their own without asking others for help." In comparing these two items, it is clear that many men value showing strength in all situations,

especially in conquering fear or nervousness. This is not inherently an anti-social value. But in extreme manifestations, it can lead to a curtailment of men's full emotional lives and vulnerability. The more restrictive notions, the first and third in the table, have lower rates of agreement. Participants add richness and sometimes heartbreaking detail to this dynamic. Take the testimony below about a young man's father:

"Only time I saw my father cry was when my sister died. He wasn't really given the chance to grieve among people because they were like 'yuh shudda do this, yuh coulda carry she to Woodlands (a hospital in Guyana), you could have... this this that that.' The day after, he was bathing in the yard and I just came out to pick up something and... I didn't know what to do. And even crying. And five years after, we were having a conversation and he was saying he never had the chance to grieve the death of his mother; he couldn't control the situation." (Guyana)

This sense of performative toughness and imposed self-sufficiency can have many negative effects, especially when it comes to young men's mental health. When they are taught and believe that they are weak or unworthy of respect, there are

real repercussions. If they ever seek help or show emotion other than stoic toughness, they may struggle to care for themselves and seek healthcare for symptoms of stress, depression, or even suicidal ideation.

"Men as a whole do not want to go to a doctor because men, or real men, don't get sick, you know. When a man comes to the hospital, it's because he's dying or because something major is happening to him and it's usually too late." (Guyana).

"When I say well-being, I'm talking about health, mental health, the whole thing... We die first, when we're like 66, and that's because we don't really take care of our health, we don't really get to. I hope [young men] understand from a young age why it's important to go get a doctor, get your checkups, cause the moment women see something wrong she going to the gynecologist." (Guyana)

Theme 2

Paid and Unpaid Work

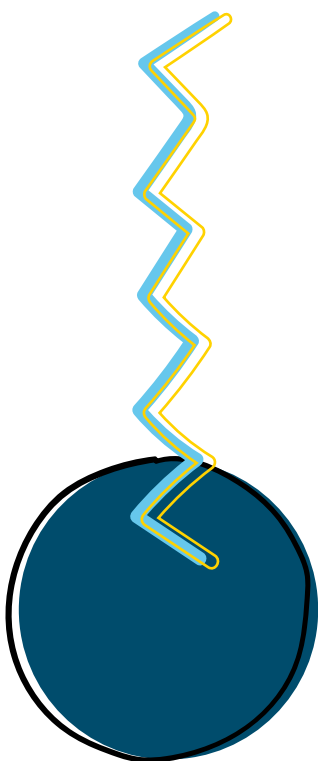


"We're living in 2022. I don't think we should look at things this way anymore. For example, because you are a man you are not going to sweep a house or because you are a man you are not going to get up early every day to rake or something. I think especially when it comes to the household that you have to do everything together. And if, for example, you live alone as a man, you have no choice but to sort and wash your clothes, to clean shutters and windows yourself. So, I think we can really take that step to move away from saying, 'You're a woman so you should do that and you're a man so you should do that.' Because there are also women who just take a ladder and hang something or start building something." (Suriname)

The realm of unpaid and paid work - referring to caregiving and domestic work at home, as well as professional pursuits outside the home - is also a central domain of gendered roles and norms. The five items below explore this theme from

different angles, all circling around the regressive yet commonplace idea that a man's responsibility is primarily that of an income earner and a woman's responsibility primarily that of a caregiver.

Paid & unpaid work (Level of agreement)	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago
A man shouldn't have to do household chores	21.7%	10.1%	17.3%
It is not good for a boy to be taught how to cook, sew, clean the house, and take care of younger children.	10.3%	7.8%	9.9%
Men should really be the ones to bring money home to provide for their families, not women.	45.4%	36.0%	35.0%
If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems.	39.1%	25.6%	31.3%
On the whole, men make better business executives than women do.	26.7%	31.7%	21.7%



In all three countries, the most supported of these five attitudes was “Men should really be the ones to bring money home to provide for their families, not women,” with 35 percent to 45 percent of young men agreeing with this statement. Conversely, the least supported attitudes were those saying men should not have to do household chores and boys should not be taught to cook, sew, clean the house, and take care of children. These statements were rejected for the most part, though fully one-fifth of young men in Guyana felt that a man should not have to do household chores.

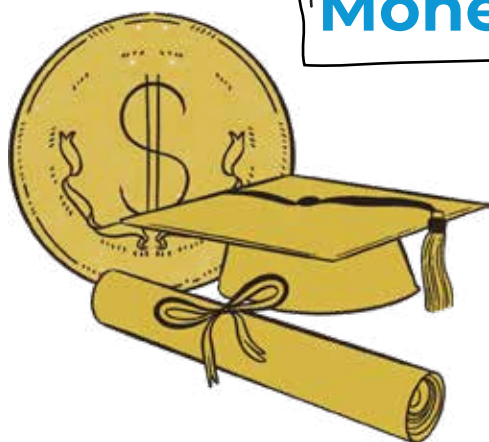
This point may be particularly contested in Guyana. Guyanese participants, at least, presented directly opposing views within focus group conversations. While the two excerpts in the sequence below did not take place in the same focus group, their sentiments stand in direct opposition to each another.

“If you ask any Guyanese man, ‘Aye, you wanna stay home and watch your kids while your wife goes and works?’ Hell no, he does not want that. I think it has to do more with education and awareness and men trying to understand that a marriage or a relationship is not just, conforming to gender roles.” (Guyana).

“I work from home and I don’t mind being there with the children and taking care of the home. I don’t mind if my wife is making more money than me. At the end of the day if I’m to marry a woman then we’re to share responsibilities. We’re to share how we raise our children, we’re to share the academic and economic opportunities we pursue, and then we have a family.” (Guyana)

Theme 3

Money and Education



"I make a distinction between education and intelligence. Education gets you in the door, all the book knowledge you've acquired throughout your school life, but intelligence kind of keeps you there. You have to be able to apply the knowledge that you've gained. Your certifications, your qualifications can take you to a place that just knowing a skill can't. But your intelligence is what makes you progress. So education plays an important role, but it's not the be-all and end-all." (Guyana).

The three attitude statements below provide a good picture of young men's feelings at the intersection of education, income-earning, and gender. Young men display relatively cynical views about higher education. A majority in all countries say that they can be successful without attaining a Caribbean

Secondary Education Certificate (CSEC) and that university education only leads to high paying jobs if one already has money or connections. This perhaps reflects the realities of structural inequalities in the region.

Money & Education (Level of agreement)	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago
A man does not need to get a CSEC certificate to be successful.	69.3%	61.6%	68.1%
Men need money to get girls.	27.5%	21.9%	29.7%
University education only leads to high paying jobs if you already have money or connections.	52.0%	57.3%	52.7%

Across the Caribbean, men educational attainment, especially secondary and tertiary lags behind women. In 2016, about 30 percent of women compared to almost 17 percent of men in the Caribbean were enrolled in a tertiary level education (CEPAL, 2022). This gender gap is a motivating factor for the study. We were working from a hypothesis that salient notions of masculinity may be stigmatizing academic attainment, or at least delinking academics from men's "primary role" as financial breadwinners. The study's findings do not necessarily close the book on this hypothesis in one direction or the other. As

displayed in Figure 3, "What Will People Think?" young men were relatively unlikely to report that their parents had urged them to pursue a job rather than stay in school or university. So, it may not be parents pushing that view. But what about the men themselves? One Guyanese respondent explained how excelling in school seemed not to attract any social esteem when he was very young, suggesting that academically minded boys suffer some stigma. He only seemed to gain esteem and status as he became older and academic success translated into broader life positions.

“Academically I would excel. That was my gift. I was not good at sports, I was not good at building stuff, I did not like the sun, I don’t like going out with girls. I would go to school and get good grades, and I saw from a young age that I was gifted. So, I just tried to focus all my energy on that and excelled. Now people say that he’s doing so well that he’s a man; he’s taking care of his family and all of that. But they were not saying that when I was younger or when I didn’t have all these titles or accomplishments behind my name because they were just seeing the part of me where I could not do this, I could not do that.” (Guyana)

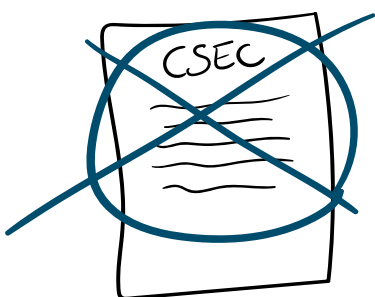
As shown above, some two-thirds of men across all three countries hold the opinion that “a man does not need to get a CSEC certificate to be successful,” but qualitative insights help provide nuance to this finding. It may be inappropriate to then extrapolate that men find educational certificates useless.

Instead, men such as the Guyanese participant quoted above, felt that a credential is important but is inadequate preparation for the world outside of school. School learning is an essential beginning, but not the only type of learning that matters. The same focus group participant continued by saying:

“You have to be able to notice trends, you have to be able to make sense from nonsense and apply it in everyday life, because we’ve all been through CSEC and if you’re like me and you did CSEC and then entered the working world, nothing you learned in CSEC has prepared you. Sometimes not even a university has prepared you for the working world, or anything else. Cause I’m pretty sure none of us learned about interest rates in high school, about the finer points of money, saving etc. Bills, taxes, etc., those things weren’t touched on in school. You had to seek that knowledge yourself. So, education gets you in the door, but intelligence keeps you there.” (Guyana)

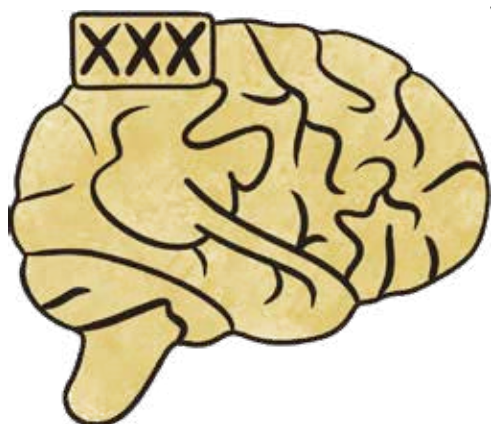
The following passage from a conversation in Trinidad and Tobago is also essential to add intersectional nuance to these conversations. For Black boys, especially from poorer backgrounds, there may be particularly strong pressure to succeed and advance in school to overcome discriminatory notions others may hold about that community, according to this participant. Rather than adhering to some kind of overarching masculine stereotype, he is especially motivated to demolish stereotypes as his defining characteristic as a man.

“Personally, I feel pressured to have a high level of education and a deeper level of intellect. The reason is that in society as Black boys we are categorized and subjected as being from a group that is from the ghetto. We are less than, we are just the standard of what we should be. And I put pressure on myself, as I am self-motivated, to show that boys, young Black boys, can achieve, coming from various socioeconomic backgrounds. That they can achieve the same level of success once they put their mind to it... So dismantle this typical prejudice that is being placed predominantly on Black boys.” (Trinidad and Tobago)



Theme 4

Hypersexuality



"It's a matter of being a boss. You gotta have sex at an early age, also how you brag and boast and carry yourself. So I think a lot of those pressures are at the initial, adolescent stage, and we see a lot of older men still trying to do their best with pressures that were placed upon them as teenagers." (Guyana)

The survey includes two items designed to explore notions of hypersexuality, an imperfect term to describe the expectation that "a real man" is sexually active, and perhaps voraciously so. The concept also implies that for men, additional sexual relationships and experiences tend to carry gendered social clout, while the opposite is true for women. A 2021 study drawing on qualitative data from 14–16-year-old boys and girls in Guyana confirmed this (Rodney et al., 2021). One of the team's major conclusions was that sexual activity is stigmatized for girls (who may be labeled "dangles" or "whores") while socially

celebrated among boys and necessary for their social "fame." These findings were further enriched by an analysis of the link between racial stereotypes and gender roles. In our survey, the items, "A real man should have as many sexual partners as he can," and "A real man would never say no to sex," measured similar ideas. Across all three countries, the latter statement, "A real man would never say no to sex," attracted more common agreement - up to 26 percent in Guyana and 23 percent in Suriname - than the prior one.

Hypersexuality (Level of agreement)

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago
A real man should have as many sexual partners as he can.	7.0%	10.1%	6.6%
A real man would never say no to sex	25.9%	22.7%	18.9%

Qualitative insights from the present study support and enrich the present literature. See for instance the thoughtful reflection from a young man from Trinidad

and Tobago below, who feels some shame and regret (rather than celebration) about his performance of hypersexual masculinity during his adolescence.



"So one of the things that I heard a lot in my young adolescent years was, 'You can't be a man and you ain't knocking nothing.' Meaning you can't be a virgin and be considered a real man. So I took a while to start initiating things with women and some people tell me... they looking at me like a lil boy and so on... so that led me to feeling that I have to start conquering women cause I wanted to gain respect and not be clowned by my bredrins. So that led me to hurt a few women early in my life. They wanted emotional connection and to be treated a certain way when I... even though I told them in certain situations what the situation was... I was just looking for a 'jam.' So that led to me doing something I didn't really... or going about a way that I never wanted to, and I end up hurting some people and even ruining some relationships and friendships." (Trinidad and Tobago)

Theme 5



Homophobia

“If a man wants to interfere with another man, there are more ladies for the rest. I don’t know why you are complaining. Leave that thing; let that gentleman do his thing. It’s none of your business. You’re not in his bed at night, you don’t know what he or she is doing. It’s none of your business, don’t interfere. Focus on yourself. That’s why people are going backwards. Instead of taking the time to focus on themselves, they are meddling and looking at other people’s lives.” (Suriname)

Under restrictive definitions of masculinity, the hypersexuality that men aspire to is exclusively heterosexual. Caribbean men often feel pressured to perform and/or embrace homophobia as an extension of this hypersexuality (Borras Guevara & West, 2021). The excerpt from the Surinamese participant above links the two concepts: It suggests that heterosexual men should not worry so much about homosexuality because it leaves “more ladies for the rest.” While his rejection of homophobia is generally positive, a more thorough rejection

of restrictive masculinities would also address hypersexuality. The survey included three items to measure young men’s embrace of masculinity coded expressions of homophobia: “A gay guy is not a real man,” “I would be friends with a guy who is gay” (reverse coded), and “I can’t respect a guy who spends too much time on his looks.” The last item is not a perfect fit for the theme, but rather an exploration of whether rigid masculinity can include space for men to explore different physical or fashion presentations.

Homophobia (Level of agreement)	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago
A gay guy is not a “real man”	35.7%	33.1%	33.6%
I would be friends with a guy who is gay	62.3%	53.9%	60.8%
I can’t respect a guy who spends too much time on his looks	40.4%	23.9%	36.1%

More than some other themes explored in this study, homophobia, it appears, is alive and well in definitions of masculinity for a large proportion of respondents. Over a third of them held the more negative view for all three of the above items, and fully 46 percent of young men in Suriname said they would not be friends with a guy who is gay. While for some participants, gay men were real and successful

men, there were nuances in their responses that showed their belief in gay men’s limitations. These limitations, in their view, contradicted some of the ideals and notions of traditional masculinity and what it means to be a man. This participant in Suriname used a Christian rationale for “hating the sin” of homosexuality while still loving the man:

"God says to hate the sin but not the man. But what we see more is that people hate the man instead of the sin. And it's the same for homosexuality. It's not that I'm going to hate the person, because we should love and respect each other. But homosexuality in itself is not something that advances humanity. For example, if everyone on earth was gay, in ten to twenty years we wouldn't have people left because you can no longer reproduce." (Suriname)

To say "I don't hate them," however, falls far short of the standard of full respect and dignity that all people deserve regardless of their sexual orientation or gender identity. A respondent in Guyana explains that "religion and procreation" are two broad reasons why gay men in the Caribbean are denied respect, but he leaves his own feelings rather vague, referring to gay men as "not 100%."

"I'll answer the one about whether gay men are seen as successful or 'real men' and I do. I think that they're not 100% because in Caribbean society we look at men, we thinking, "oh if a man is a 'real man' or alpha male he must have number one a lot of children"... Religion plays an important role as well so if you're a gay man automatically society will say "Oh, he's not religious," he's obviously living in sin, so this gotta be the demon. Both things are incorrect ... gay men now can have kids biologically, kids that are theirs and they can be as religious as anyone else... But being homosexual can be a part that people might see and say you can't be a 'real man', you can't be a successful man because of these two things, religion and procreation." (Guyana)

Theme 6

Power and Control

"My idea of success is money, prestige, power." (Guyana)



Young men's gender attitudes affect others around them, most notably their romantic partners, children, and other family members. As such it is essential, even in a report about young men's lives, to maintain focus on the often devastating consequences that men's restrictive gendered views can have on women, girls and others in their lives. Before diving into the uses and experiences of violence, it is important to examine precursors and factors that coincide with violence: men's expectation of power and control and their wielding of it.

Power & Control (Level of agreement)

Guyana

Suriname

Trinidad
and Tobago

If a guy has a girlfriend or wife, he deserves to know where she is all the time.

48.8%

58.7%

44.2%

A man should always have the final say about decisions in his relationship or marriage.

30.6%

18.3%

22.3%

58.7 percent of men in Suriname agreed that “If a guy has a girlfriend or wife, he deserves to know where she is all the time,” while nearly half of respondents in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago agreed with this as well. From 18 to 31 percent agreed with the second statement, that a man should always have the final

say about decisions in his relationship or marriage. It was this latter attitude that seemed to draw more support in the focus groups in Suriname. Consider this trio of excerpts from the same conversation, describing the man in a heterosexual relationship as a “manager” or “leader.”



“You can also lead by drawing others in and asking what their opinion is. But as a manager it is also expected that, in the end, if something goes wrong you are the one who has to take responsibility. So that’s basically being a man, and, if you’re a real man or not, I guess that comes down to your responsibilities.” (Suriname)

“I believe that in a relationship it should be 50/50, but as a male you should be able to lead your family.” (Suriname)

“Only the male person has the leadership, the leadership function.” (Suriname)

It is noteworthy that the young men from Suriname quoted recognize that shared power and shared responsibility within the home are valuable and increasingly expected in society, while still clinging to the idea that “only the male person has the leadership.” These passages speak to internal

contradictions at a time of changing gender roles. Taking it a step further, the respondent from Trinidad and Tobago below makes the connection between control and violence with which this study is directly interested.

“In today’s society, men are socialized into being in a more dominant role, and to some extent nothing is wrong with that. But some men [have a] possessive attitude towards their partners or their family members where they assume control over them. The high domestic violence level in Trinidad and Tobago could be (because of) women gaining more employment and higher pay and men feel kinda emasculated. They feel like they are not a man if they are not having a higher paying job or something of high status over women.” (Trinidad and Tobago)

As this passage emphasizes, the findings on power and control are significant in and of themselves, and in terms of how men act in keeping with these attitudes. When men in relationships demand authority over their partners’ movements and all of their family decisions, the stage is set for unequal

or worse intimate partnerships. The survey statistics above demonstrate that urgent attention must be paid to young men’s expectations about how power should be distributed within their present or future relationships.



Theme 7

Violence

"I wanted to just talk back to the mental health thing. I think it's just that men have very few outlets for releasing that mental, psychic tension that builds from things like stress and anxiety, and violence definitely seems to be one of them. I think it affects the way men view and deal with harm." (Trinidad and Tobago)

The final theme of analysis is violence. The survey includes two statements about this issue. It also explores, later in the report, young men's experiences, and perpetration of various forms of bullying and sexual harassment. Many of the prior themes and behaviors are known precursors to violence; as such, much of the analytical focus of this study is with an eye toward better understanding and preventing young men's use of violence against women and girls, against other men and boys, and against themselves.

Violence (Level of agreement)	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago
Men should use violence to get respect if necessary	5.4%	8.4%	6.2%
A guy never needs to hit another guy to get respect	73.9%	74.8%	72%

Young men were not very likely to overtly support the use of violence, at least not as a way to "get respect." As the table shows, small proportions of men in all countries agreed that "men should use violence to get respect if necessary," while the majority agreed with the positive notion that "A guy never needs

to hit another guy to get respect." Focus group participants had their own nuanced takes on these issues as well. One respondent in Guyana made a tentative link between men's curtailed emotionality and their propensity to use domestic violence:

"I think it has some part to play because you're not allowed to let that emotion out, you're not allowed to process it in a manner that can allow you to actually deal with it. You bottle it up. It gets pent up and it's let out in various forms and it's not healthy. If I'm to speak to something more specific, I think emotions like anger are secondary emotions. They come from a place of pain first. Anger is a form of lashing out because you've been hurt. And most men don't want to show that they are weak and they need assistance. So those are some things you- we - need to consider." (Guyana)

Building the Man Box Scale

As laid out across the seven themes above, 20 gender attitude statements have been included in this study. From these items, we used a mix of exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis to identify the set of statements that create the most statistically valid scale. Our step-by-step process is presented in greater technical detail in Appendix A. The table below presents the most optimized version of the Man Box Scale which was applied through the rest of this study. Out of all permutations and combinations of the many statements above, this selection of nine items retained the strongest internal validity scores:

1	Men should really be the ones to bring money home to provide for their families, not women	0.58
2	If a guy has a girlfriend or wife, he deserves to know where she is all the time	0.46
3	A man should always have the final say about decisions in his relationship or marriage	0.65
4	If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems	0.42
5	On the whole, men make better business executives than women do	0.50
6	Men should figure out their personal problems on their own without asking others for help	0.56
7	I can't respect a guy who spends too much time on his looks	0.42
8	A real man would never say no to sex	0.50
9	A gay guy is not a "real man"	0.38

Each participant of the survey was assigned a score based on the 9-point Man Box Scale, constructed using the showed factor loading scores. This score was used in the quantitative analysis that follows as a proxy for an individual's views on masculinities. The score goes from 0 to 1. A score close to 1 means totally equitable views regarding masculinity and a score close to 0 means totally restrictive masculinity.

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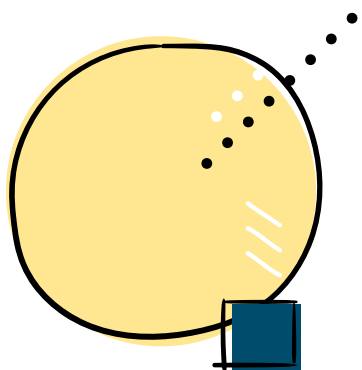
What are the predictors of restrictive masculinity?

To explore which factors are associated to restrictive masculinity norms we build a linear regression model with the nine-point Man Box scale as the dependent variable and socio-demographic characteristics as well as perceptions of external social norms related to masculinity. The model includes several possible risk or protective factors: education, age group, partnership status, fatherhood status, reported community preferences and community behaviors, economic security, country location, and social desirability score. Including all these factors in a single multi-variate model allows us to calculate the influence of each factor while also accounting for the others.

The strongest predictors of a restrictive masculinity score were the sense of community social norms. The young men who were most likely to disagree or strongly disagree with the community preference statements were also those with the least restrictive masculinity, according to the Man Box scores. Besides, participants' sense of community behaviors was nearly as powerful. The young men who were most likely to disagree or strongly disagree with the community behaviors statements were also those with the least restrictive Man Box scores. Young men's sense of what their community members prefer/expect (community preferences) and what their community members do (community behaviors) retain these statistically strong links even

accounting for the influence of one another as well as the other factors in the model. This allows us to infer that social norms and individual attitudes are powerfully linked, and if young men are ever going to change the way they think, the communities around them need to lead the way by undergoing the same changes.

Education level and, to a lesser extent, fatherhood status showed statistically significant links, even accounting for the influence of all other factors. The group with the highest average endorsement of the restrictive masculinity score was those with only primary education. As the educational level increases, the restrictive masculinity score is reduced. There is also a small influence of becoming a parent, as men with children endorsed the restrictive concepts of manhood by 0.06 units more compared to men who did not have children ($p = 0.05$), all else held constant. Additionally, there was noticeable country variance: Guyana had the highest average endorsement of the restrictive masculinity score, while Trinidad and Tobago and Suriname's endorsement rates were statistically indistinguishable from one another. It is important to also note that there is no statistical link with higher or lower economic status and neither with age, although the age range was limited to those between 18-30 years old. These findings speak to the ubiquity of restrictive masculinities attitudes across class and age.





Predictors of Restrictive Masculinity Linear Regression Results

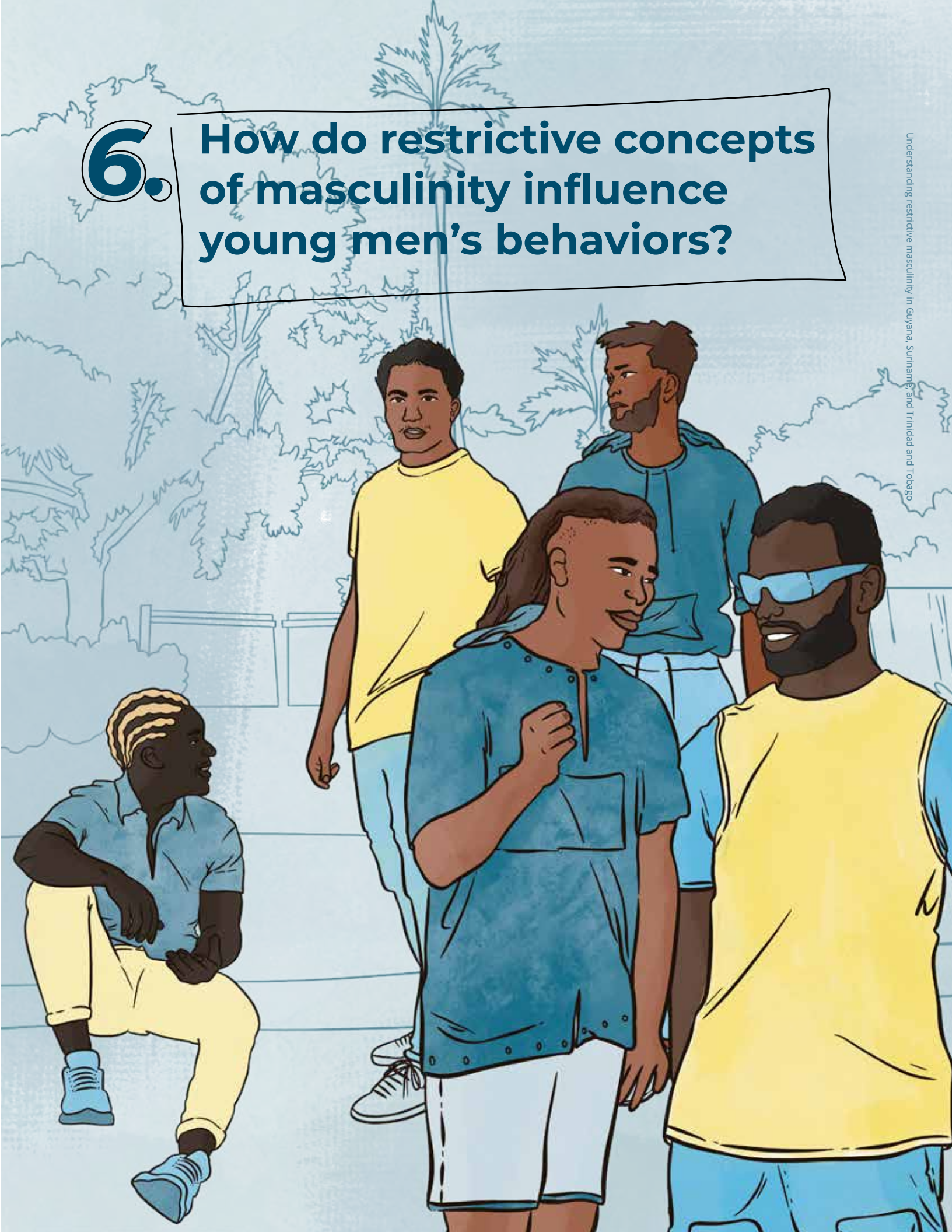
n	2,720		
F-statistic	52.35		
degrees of freedom	12	2707	
p-value	0.00		
Adjusted R-squared	0.18		
	Coefficient	Std. Error	P > t
Constant	-0.10	0.07	0.17
Education			
<i>Upper Secondary</i>	0.14	0.06	0.02
<i>Vocational/Technical</i>	0.23	0.06	0.00
<i>Post Secondary</i>	0.40	0.07	0.00
Age (Younger)	0.03	0.03	0.29
Has a partner	-0.02	0.03	0.50
Has children	-0.06	0.03	0.05
Community Preferences	0.21	0.02	0.00
Community Behaviors	0.18	0.02	0.00
Economic Comfort	-0.02	0.02	0.36
Social desirability	-0.01	0.02	0.61
Country			
<i>Guyana</i>	-0.09	0.04	0.01
<i>Suriname</i>	0.04	0.05	0.45

5. A p-value is a measure in statistics that indicates the strength of evidence against a null hypothesis. It helps determine if observed results are likely due to chance or if they suggest a significant effect. A smaller p-value (usually below 0.05) suggests stronger evidence against the null hypothesis.

6. Social desirability bias among young men responding to SMS surveys is not so much a risk as a guarantee, and as a result it is essential to both account for this bias by measuring it and to triangulate results via the use of mixed methods. This study's brief measure of social desirability bias proved statistically significant in most multivariate regression analyses presented here. What this means is that young men are likely systematically underreporting the true extent of their harmful views and behaviors, in a way that threatens the validity of research that does not take this into account.

6.

How do restrictive concepts of masculinity influence young men's behaviors?





Throughout the study, the overarching research question presides: To what extent do holding more restrictive or equitable views of masculinity link with young men's wider experiences and actions? How does living according to restricted notions of manhood influences young men's health and happiness, as well as the health and happiness of those around them?

Throughout this section we present both bivariate and multivariate analysis to answer: How do restrictive concepts of manhood influence young men's behaviors? In the bar chart figures, young men are divided into two equally sized groups, following the method set forth in all prior Man Box studies. Using the nine-item scale presented above, each respondent receives a Man Box score. The young men whose scores are at the country average or more, are categorized as “More restrictive masculinity” (red bar in the chart), meaning they are most under the sway of restrictive attitudes related to how to be a man. The remaining young men are categorized as “Less restrictive masculinity” (green bar in the chart), meaning that they hold more equitable views regarding masculinities. The y axis corresponds to one of the various behaviors or outcomes of interest. If the red bar is much taller than the green bar, the interpretation of the bivariate analysis is that young men with more restrictive masculinity are more likely to exhibit that outcome, and vice versa if the green bar is taller.

To take the analysis deeper, we have also constructed multivariate regressions suitable for each outcome of interest. In these analyses, each young man's

score on the entire scale is used as one of several independent variables. The other included variables of analysis, called control variables in statistical analysis, are:

- Educational attainment (using primary school as the reference point, and three remaining categories: upper secondary, vocational/technical, and post-secondary)
- Age group (18-24 v. 25-30)
- Partnership status (Partnered or not)
- Parenthood (Has children or not)
- Economic comfort score (a composite item comprised of reported household income as well as the respondent's ability to afford three categories of expenses monthly)
- Social desirability (a composite item comprised of responses to the two items discussed earlier)
- Country (using Trinidad and Tobago, the largest country and sample, as the reference group)

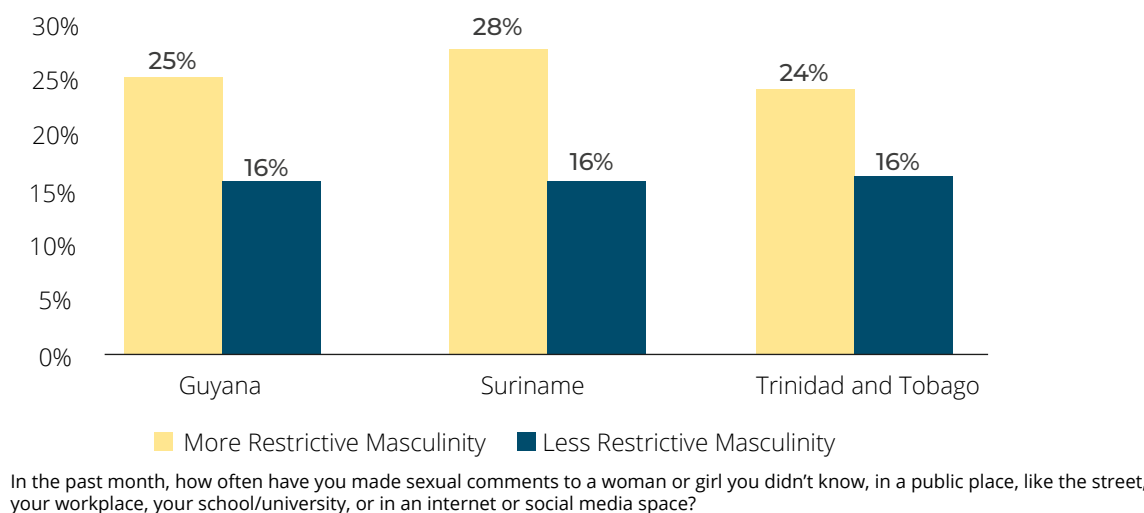
Regression analysis is presented below each bar chart, outlining which if any of these factors held up as a statistically significant predictor of the outcome of interest while holding the others constant. What this means is that any significant association presented considers any variation that may occur naturally due to educational levels, age, partnership status, economic conditions and any fluctuations due to residing in different countries. We are particularly interested in the influence of the Man Box scale score. But other findings at a statistically significant level will also be briefly presented (see Appendix C for statistical charts).

Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment and assault in public places by men is an extreme extension of the previously explored expectation that men prove their manhood via performative hypersexuality. Such behaviors are also a way of exerting power and control over others and intimidating them, and they serve to make women feel unsafe in public places. For that reason, any evidence we can gather about the root causes - and therefore prevention strategies - for this criminal behavior is of the utmost value.

The survey measured young men's use of sexual harassment through a single survey item: “In the past month, how often have you made sexual comments to a woman or girl you didn't know in

a public place, like the street, your workplace, your school/university, or in an internet or social media space?” Respondents who chose “not often,” “often,” or “very often” were coded as having engaged in sexual harassment within the past month. And as Figure 4 shows below, this was no small proportion of young men. Among young men with restrictive masculinity, around 1 in 4 overall had perpetrated sexual harassment within the past month, and even among men with less restrictive masculinity, about 16% had perpetrated sexual harassment within the past month. Young men who hold restrictive ideas about manhood are at least 1.5 times as likely to have engaged in sexual harassment.

Figure 4: Sexual Harassment

In Guyana, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago, young men with restrictive concepts of manhood are more likely to report engaging in Sexual Harassment within the last month than young men with more equitable gender attitudes ($p < .00$). This remains true in the multivariate model, using the frequency of sexual harassment acts as the dependent variable. Holding all variables constant, men with more equitable gender attitudes are 14 percent less likely to make sexual comments to a woman ($p = 0.00$). Men who had completed upper secondary education were predicted to have a 0.14 unit decrease in the frequency, on average, of making sexual comments to a woman compared to men who had completed primary education ($p = 0.00$). A similar trend was observed in respect to men

who had completed vocational/technical training (15 percent lower relative to men who completed primary education, $p = 0.00$) and post-secondary education (11 percent lower relative to men who completed primary education, $p = 0.03$). In addition to this, every unit increase in men's social desirability score was associated with a 5 percent decrease, on average, in frequency of making unwanted sexual comments to a woman ($p = 0.00$).

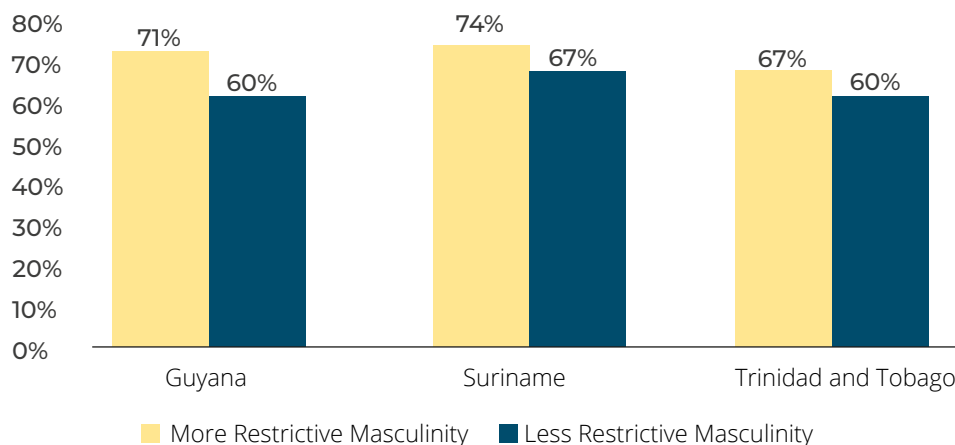
Addressing harmful norms about masculinity through social programs, as well as increasing young men's educational attainment, will likely have the added benefit of reducing men's perpetration of sexual harassment in these countries.

Experiencing and Engaging in Bullying Behavior

As explored in Section III, the strictest definitions of masculinity also include the expectation that a man will use violence to defend his reputation or exert control. Another aspect of this construct is that, by extension, young men also experience more bullying and violence because of the masculine performance of other men around them. Therefore, we might expect young men who hold most closely to restrictive concepts of manhood to not only

perpetrate violence more often, but also experience it as well. This can result from these men's social groups, or the bi-directional violence/bullying/fights that occur when one is violent oneself. As the figures below show, this hypothesis holds broadly. Young men with restrictive masculinities are also slightly more likely to have experienced bullying and to have engaged in fighting.

Figure 5: Experience of bullying



In the past month, how often have any of the following things happened to you? Someone made jokes about you, teased you, or called you names that you did not like or that caused you stress or discomfort, for any reason / Someone insulted you, posted photos meant to embarrass you, or made threats to you on SMS, Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, Twitter or another app or website / Someone physically hurt you on purpose by pushing you down, kicking you or hitting you with a hand, clenched fist, object or weapon?

The study included questions about three types of bullying, limiting the time period of interest to the last month:

- Someone made jokes about you, teased you, or called you names that you did not like or that caused you stress or discomfort, for any reason.
- Someone insulted you, posted photos meant to embarrass you, or made threats to you on SMS, Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, Twitter or another app or website.
- Someone physically hurt you on purpose by pushing you down, kicking you or hitting you with a hand, clenched fist, object or weapon.

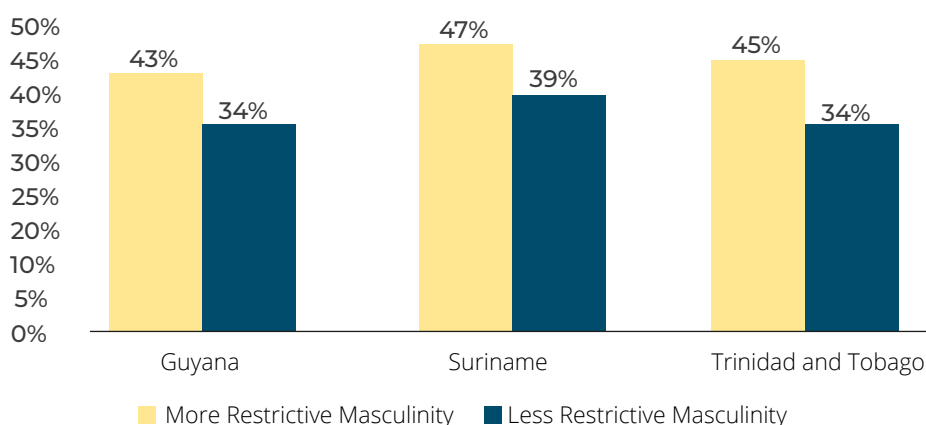
Figure 5 shows the proportion of young men who had experienced any one or more of these forms of bullying within the past month. It is notable that most young men had such an experience. As the figure shows, the link with attitudes of restrictive masculinity is remarkable. In the bivariate relationship, such attitudes are statistically significant in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago ($p < .05$). In the countries under study, men with less equitable gender attitudes are significantly more likely to experience bullying. When we take all factors into account, the statistical relationship remains strong.

For every unit increase in not upholding restrictive views of masculinity, there was an average decrease of 23 percent in the odds of having experienced any form of harassment or violence ($p = 0.00$). For every unit increase in men's social desirability score, there was an average decrease of 18 percent in the odds of having experienced any form of harassment or violence ($p = 0.00$). For every unit increase in men's economic comfort, there was an average decrease of 18 percent in the odds of having experienced any form of harassment or violence ($p = 0.00$). Compared to men who had completed primary education, men who had completed post-secondary education had, on average, 1.49 times higher odds of having experienced any form of harassment or violence ($p = 0.05$). All else held constant, compared to men who did not have a partner, men who had a partner had, on average, 18 percent lower odds of having experienced any form of harassment or violence ($p = 0.02$). These findings point to many avenues to address young men's experience of bullying and show that there is no one solution to this issue. Addressing harmful masculine norms, increasing young men's economic safety, advancing men's educational attainment, and other initiatives are all likely to stem the issue of men's experience of bullying.

“Sometimes you’re with guys who have no other way of showing emotion than aggression or fighting. Sometimes people resort to fists very quickly, because that is supposedly cool. Now MMA (mixed martial arts) is a top sport, so people go with it. When someone challenges you- if another man challenges you- it’s the first thing that comes to mind and that can’t always be controlled... Sometimes people heat you up too in certain situations, like just someone walking and saying, ‘fa ie no du wan san?’ (how can you let it go?).” (Suriname)

Young men in the study were also asked whether they had used the same three forms of bullying within the past month. See the results combining all three forms of bullying together into one measure below.

Figure 6: Perpetration of bullying



In the past month, how often have you done any of the following things? You made jokes about someone, or teased someone, or called someone names that they did not like, for any reason / You insulted someone, or posted photos meant to embarrass someone, or made threats to someone on SMS, Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, Twitter, or another app or website. / You physically hurt someone on purpose by pushing them down, or kicking them or hitting them with a hand, clenched fist, object or weapon?

In Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, young men with more restrictive masculinity are significantly more likely to have ever used any form of bullying ($p < .00$) and Suriname follows a similar pattern ($p < .05$). When we take all factors into account, the statistical relationship remains strong. For every unit increase in not holding more restrictive views of masculinity, there was an average decrease of 31 percent in the odds of having perpetrated any form of bullying, all else held constant ($p = 0.00$). For every unit increase in men’s social desirability scores, there was an average decrease of 22 percent in the odds of having

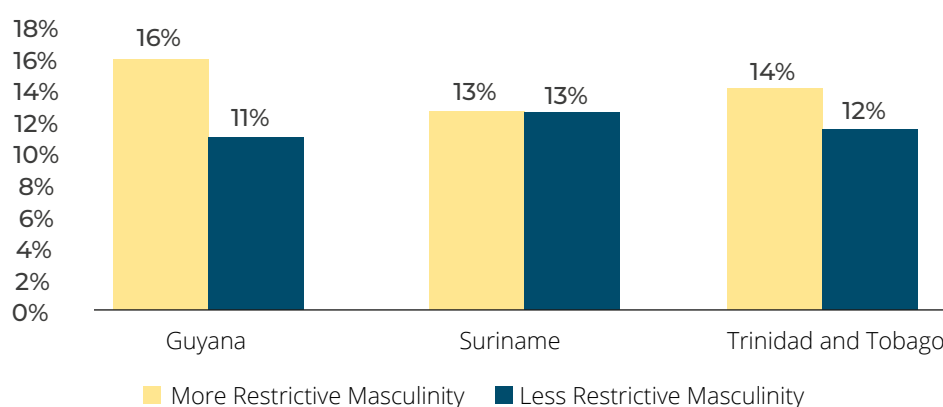
perpetrated any form of bullying ($p = 0.00$). Finally, all else held constant, compared to men without children, men who have children had 27 percent lower odds, on average, of having perpetrated any form of bullying ($p = 0.00$). This latter finding is likely simply a proxy measure for advancing to a certain life stage and circumstance where occasions for bullying are reduced. In this case, then, it seems that harmful masculine attitudes should be the primary target for programs and campaigns aiming to end young men’s use of bullying behaviors.



Substance Abuse

Many focus group participants (such as the one quoted above) spoke of pressures to prove their manhood by drinking, and not just drinking occasionally but drinking hard, and drinking the right “manly” kinds of drinks. Our study does not seek to stigmatize casual drinking, but rather the more harmful type of alcohol abuse that seeks drunkenness on a regular basis. To this end, the study’s measure of “binge drinking” or alcohol abuse required respondents to inform us if they consumed six or more drinks on one occasion on a monthly or greater basis. Figure 7 shows the breakdown of this behavior.

Figure 7: Excessive drinking

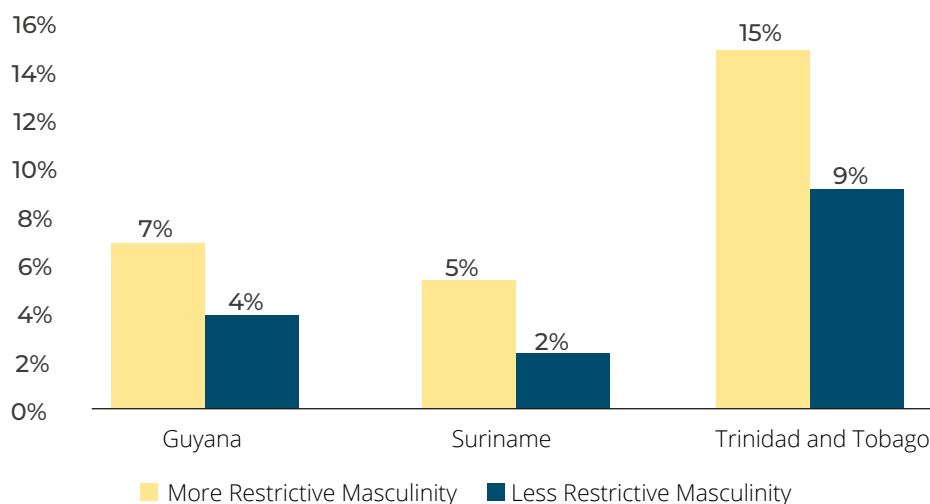


In the past 12 months, how often did you drink so much that you got drunk? (at least one per month in the last year)

In Guyana, young men with more restrictive masculinity are more likely to report binge drinking than young men with more equitable gender attitudes ($p < .05$). This relationship is not statistically significant in any other country, despite visible patterns in the figure. This is an example where the bivariate test may actually obscure the statistical relationship which emerges when the full-scale score is included in the analysis. For every unit increase in not upholding restrictive masculinity views in the multivariate test, there was an average decrease of 16 percent in the odds of binge drinking in the last 12 months, all else held constant ($p = 0.01$). Additionally, for every unit increase in men’s economic comfort, there was an average decrease of 14 percent in the

odds of binge drinking in the last twelve months ($p = 0.04$). This suggests that harmful gender attitudes and economic comfort would make strategic targets for campaigns aiming to end alcohol abuse.

Under this study, we were also interested in understanding whether masculine norms lie at the root of this behavior, which can also be associated with many other poor health outcomes. The measure for marijuana use (“smoking weed” in the survey) also used the “monthly or greater” cutoff, similar to alcohol use. If a respondent told us that they tend to smoke weed once per month or more, they were categorized as a regular user. The bivariate test for smoking marijuana is included in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8: Smoked marijuana

In the past 12 months, how often did you smoke weed? (at least one per month in the last year)

Restrictive concepts of masculinity show a strong link with marijuana use. Young men with less equitable views of masculinity are more likely to report smoking marijuana monthly or more in Trinidad and Tobago ($p < .00$) and in Guyana and Suriname ($p < .05$). Likewise, in the multivariate model, for every unit increase in not holding more restrictive views of masculinity, there was an average decrease of 30 percent in the odds of having smoked weed in the last 12 months, all else held constant ($p = 0.00$).

Education level also shows a significant link, where men with only primary education were the most likely to report regular marijuana use. Men in all three higher educational categories showed lower odds of regularly smoking marijuana. Men from Guyana and Suriname also had on average, 60 percent and 63 percent lower odds of having smoked weed in the last twelve months compared to men from Trinidad and Tobago (both $p = 0.00$).

Mental Health (Depressive Symptoms and Suicidal Ideation)

"Some of my friends had fathers who committed suicide because of the pandemic situation ...it was because the father got laid off and tried so many ways to make ends meet and couldn't... there wasn't the safe space to feel as though, ok I can't provide now, even though that is the supposed male identity. It's just for now and then someday you'll be able to." (Trinidad and Tobago)

Communities around the region are dealing with mental health crises among all ages and population groups, often exacerbated, as the above excerpt suggests, by the COVID pandemic. In the Caribbean, as elsewhere, women tend to show higher rates of depression than men, while men die by suicide more often than women. Between 5 percent and 10 percent of the population exhibit major depressive disorder at any given time (Brown et al., 2017; Errazuriz & Crisostomo, 2021). Concerns around depressive symptoms and suicidal ideation are certainly

not related exclusively to young men. Still, there are compelling reasons to focus on these issues here. Masculine expectations often tell men to be unflinchingly tough and self-sufficient when they are facing a health concern or life’s general ups and downs. This study provides qualitative insights about how unwilling men can be to seek help - whether professional health care or just a thoughtful conversation with a friend. To the extent that young men embrace the gendered instruction to “bottle it all in” and “man up,” depressive symptoms or even suicidal ideation can be expected to creep in.

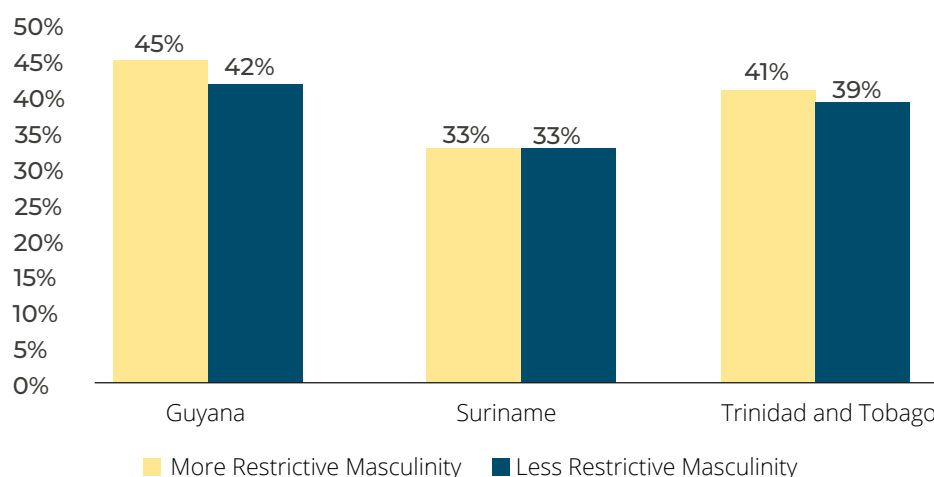


“When we talk about depression or heartbreak in men and women, you rarely hear about men being depressed. You hardly ever hear it... You may just be down for a certain period of time. You don’t feel like doing anything. You also don’t take steps to seek help. Lately I see activities being organized so that we learn to talk about it. If you look at women, I almost want to say that they have more girlfriends. Men also have friends, but the topics they talk about are often not the same as the topics women talk about. Because women talk more easily about their problems with friends. They also talk more easily about their grief with friends. Men do that too, but then it really comes down to the fact that the outcome of the conversation doesn’t affect them.” (Suriname)

The study measures depressive symptoms using a simple scale that is commonly used in healthcare settings, the Patient Health Questionnaire 2 (PHQ-2). The scale comprises just two items, asking respondents how often they had “little interest or pleasure in doing things” and/or felt “down, depressed, or hopeless” within the past two weeks. Using the standard calculation for the PHQ-2,

respondents whose combined answers meet a certain threshold are coded to display depressive symptomatology at a level where further follow up is medically recommended. Respondents whose answers fall below this threshold are deemed healthy. Figure 9 shows the proportion of men with less or more restrictive views of masculinity who meet the screening threshold for depressive symptoms.

Figure 9: Depressive Symptoms



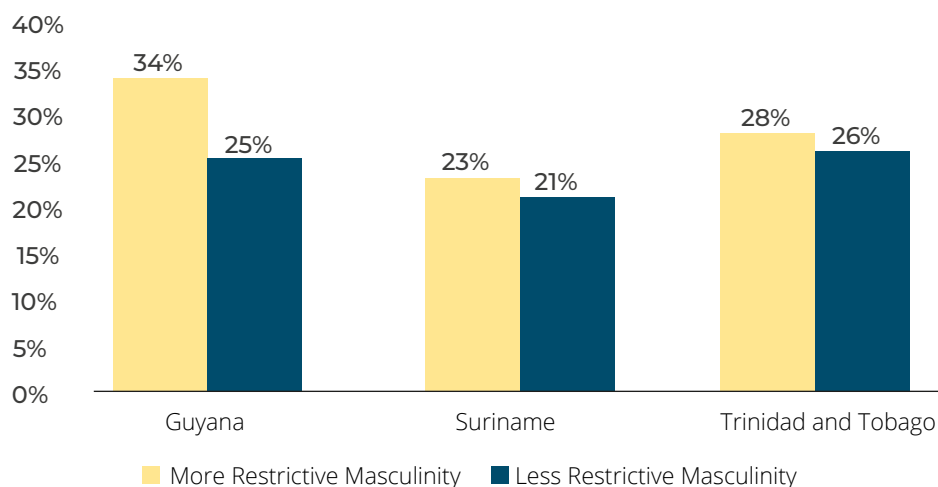
Over the past 2 weeks, how often have you been bothered by any of the following problems? Little interest or pleasure in doing things/ Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless?

Even though there is no country in the study where we observe a statistically significant bivariate link between restrictive masculinity status and the PHQ-2 threshold, the full scale reveals a strong link when holding other factors constant. For every unit increase in not holding more restrictive views of masculinity, there was an average decrease of 10 percent in the odds of meeting the screening standard for depression, all else held constant ($p = 0.02$). So, we can in fact infer that holding restrictive masculinity attitudes is statistically linked with depressive symptoms, a very useful finding for campaigns aiming to demonstrate that living by restrictive norms of masculinities is, in fact, bad for men's own health. All else held constant, for every unit increase in men's economic comfort, there was an average decrease of 32 percent in the odds of meeting clinical criteria for depression ($p = 0.00$), which tells us the predictable fact that wealthier men exhibit fewer depressive symptoms. For every unit increase in men's social desirability scores, there was an average decrease of 16 percent in the odds of meeting clinical criteria for depression ($p = 0.01$). Finally, all else held constant, compared to men from Trinidad and Tobago, men from Suriname had 45 percent lower odds of meeting clinical criteria for depression ($p = 0.00$). Depression is a very important issue for all people, of all ages. But when looking specifically at the case of young men, we can see that holding restrictive gender attitudes combines with economic status to multiply the likelihood of showing such symptoms.

“(Answering the question based on the suicide rate), I think women are allowed to be soft, to speak to people whereas men don’t really have that avenue... We need to stand up for each other and speak to each other in terms of that because we’ve been told as men that we have to be constantly strong, can’t show emotions because you’ll be a sissy. So men tend to have all these bottled up emotions. As a friend told me the other day, their jar would always overflow and the severity of that overflow is as far as you’ll go, if you’ll just cry or self harm.” (Trinidad and Tobago).

Death by suicide is often a tragic culmination of years of untreated mental health struggle and social isolation, both of which can be associated with rigid masculine expectations. In the present study, respondents were asked how often in the past two weeks they had thoughts of suicide. Participants who indicated experiencing such thoughts within the specified time frame were categorized as exhibiting signs of suicidal ideation. Notably, the findings underscore the remarkably elevated prevalence of suicidal ideation among young men in general. These outcomes can be contextualized within the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic, shedding light on a potential framework for interpretation. Besides, in prior Man Box studies, a very strong link was observed between restricted concepts of masculinity and recent suicidal ideation. This correlation has once again been substantiated in the current study, where a high level of suicidal ideation has been found. The figure below illustrates the results of the present study.

Figure 10: Thoughts of suicide



Do men with less or more restrictive masculinity show different rates of suicidal ideation? Over the past 2 weeks, how often have you been bothered by having thoughts of suicide?

In Guyana, restrictive concepts of masculinity in young men are more likely to also report recent suicidal ideation ($p < .00$). This bivariate relationship is not significant in any other country. However, as with depressive symptoms above, the flexibility of using the full Man Box scale reveals a strong link, even holding other factors constant. For every unit increase in not holding more restrictive views of masculinity, there was an average decrease of 14 percent in the odds of reporting suicidal ideation in the past two weeks, all else held constant ($p = 0.00$). Here again, young men in the Man Box are faring worse. The Man Box is not the only significant driver of suicidal ideation however, as economic comfort, education, partnership status, and country setting all also show strong links. For every unit increase in men's economic comfort, there was an average decrease of 33 percent in the odds of reporting suicidal ideation in the past two weeks ($p = 0.00$). All else held constant, compared to men who had completed primary education, men who had

completed upper secondary or vocational/technical training had, on average, 30 and 44 percent lower odds of reporting suicidal ideation in the last two weeks ($p = 0.02$ and 0.00 , respectively). Compared to men who did not have a partner, men who had a partner had 21 percent lower odds, on average, of reporting suicidal ideation in the past two weeks ($p = 0.02$). Compared to men from Trinidad and Tobago, men from Suriname had on average, 43 percent lower odds of reporting suicidal ideation in the past two weeks ($p = 0.00$). And finally, for every unit increase in men's social desirability scores, there was an average decrease of 22 percent in the odds of reporting suicidal ideation in the past two weeks ($p = 0.00$). Suicidal ideation is a dangerous precursor to the act of suicide itself, and these findings show that many simultaneous interventions are needed to reduce young men's suicide risk. Education, economic comfort, and more positive gender attitudes are all likely to lead men away from such thoughts.

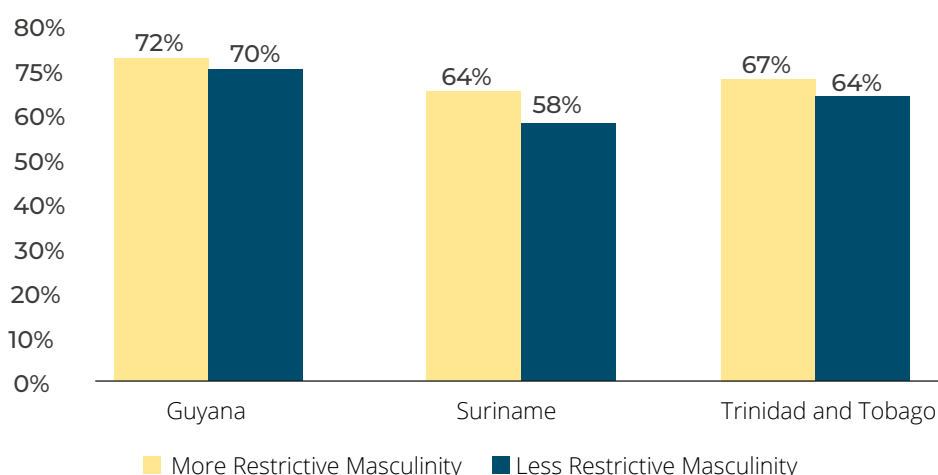
Men's Friendships and Emotional Connections



Finally, the study included a short selection of questions about young men's recent emotional experiences. One might hypothesize that young men who hold the most gender equitable attitudes would also be those most likely to: (1) feel comfortable crying in front of male friends, (2) talk with friends about something deeply emotional that they were going through, or (3) provide emotional support to someone going through a difficult time. In fact, we see no statistically significant differences between men with more restrictive masculinity attitudes and those more equitable gender ones for all three of these items. This is likely since a great proportion of all respondents told us that they had recently talked with friends about emotional issues or supported their friends doing the same. With most men reporting these behaviors, it is unlikely that we would find distinctions according to attitude groups. About crying in front of male friends, the overall frequency of this behavior was somewhat lower, but no statistically significant difference was detected. It seems that other factors outside the reach of this study are driving this experience.

In Suriname, however, we did see that young men with more restrictive attitudes were also significantly more likely to have recently stopped a quarrel or physical fight among friends. Stopping fights may at first glance seem to be a more positive behavior. Thus, we may expect it to come from those men with less restrictive concepts of manhood. But in fact, this finding affirms that young men with more restrictive attitudes are also likely to find themselves in and around arguments and physical fights.

Figure 11: Stopped a quarrel or physical fight



In the past month, how often have you stopped a quarrel or physical fight among friends or other people you knew?

In Suriname, young men with more restrictive masculinity attitudes are more likely to report recently breaking up a fight. This relationship is not significant in the other two countries. That said, in the multivariate model, for every unit increase in not holding more restrictive views of masculinity, there was an average -0.06 unit decrease in the frequency

of having broken up a fight, all else held constant ($p = 0.00$). So, we do observe a statistical link here. Younger men, on average, were predicted to have 0.09-unit lower frequency of having broken up a fight ($p = 0.02$). It seems that deeper research on the theme of emotional connection is needed in order to better elucidate these patterns of influence.

Masculinities in Jamaica

The present study builds on “Man-Box: Men and Masculinity in Jamaica” (2021) a similar research collaboration between the IDB and Equimundo (then Promundo-US) published in 2021. The present study questionnaire sought specifically to build upon and converse with the Jamaica questionnaire, replicating many items verbatim for comparison’s sake (while also removing some that proved ineffective and adding strategic items from the World Values Survey). The Jamaica study followed a nearly identical data collection and recruitment approach to the present study, using SMS outreach and Facebook advertisements. Convergence or divergence of findings are highlighted, but it is worth mentioning that comparing all the countries has its limitations since the information in Jamaica and the three countries under study was gathered in different years (2019 and 2021/2022 respectively). Time gap and the pandemic caused by COVID-19 might have affected some of the answers particularly on unpaid care work, domestic violence and health. Nevertheless, the method, questionnaire and the variables (themes) considered are the same in all the countries. This summary offers a general overlook of the main findings in Jamaica and how they could relate with the three countries under study.

Attitudes Related to Masculinity

- *More than half of young men in Jamaica believes that they should act strong even if they feel scared or nervous inside (63%), similar to their counterparts in the three countries under study. However, these attitudes about toughness and self-sufficiency are more restrictive within respondents in the present study than in Jamaica where only 7% agreed that “a man who talks a lot about his worries, fears or problems should not be respected,” compared to 12% to 19% here.*
- *Attitudes reflecting homophobia are spread in all four countries. At least three in ten young men agree that “a gay man is not a real man”. In Jamaica only 45% agreed that “straight men being friends with gay men is fine and normal” while in the countries under study around 40% of the respondents answered they “would not be friend with a guy who is gay”.*
- *Jamaica displays quite a high level of responses regarding power and control that matches the rates among respondents from this study’s three countries. Men agreed that “If a man has a girlfriend or wife, he deserves to know where she is all the time” which, in turn, sets the stage for unequal or worse intimate partnerships.*
- *The Jamaica study struggled to unearth masculinity-coded attitudes in support of young men’s school dropout or disinterest in academic achievement. Only 4 percent of respondents agreed that “Men shouldn’t try too hard at school,” and only 2 percent agreed that “In my opinion, a man who focuses too much on getting good grades is a loser,” rates low enough to prompt the present research team to exclude these items from our survey due to the conclusion that they’re simply not capturing something relevant to young men in the region. In a similar vein, the survey carried out in the three countries under study does not confirm previous findings that restrictive views of masculinity could be stigmatizing academic achievement, but it shows men’s concerns about the value of education, which could be associated with the structural inequalities in the region.*
- *Likewise, attitudes regarding paid and unpaid work show a similar pattern in all four countries, however, Jamaica is where the notion of men as providers had least support (28% agreed that “men should really be the ones to bring money home to provide for the family, not women” compared to 45% in Guyana). In general, in all four countries young men*

are not reluctant to do house chores, in Jamaica and Suriname is accepted by most of the participants.

- The Jamaica study found a strong correlation between holding more equitable attitudes and experiencing several types of positive emotional experiences or connections with friends, such as feeling comfortable crying in front of another man or talking to a friend about something deeply personal. These links did not arise in either bivariate or multivariate analyses in the present study.*

- By contrast, the present study shows a strong link between restrictive masculinity and alcohol abuse, where the Jamaica study could not establish this connection.*

- We observe very strong links between restrictive masculinity and the engaging and experience of bullying. This also holds true for the influence of restrictive concepts of manhood on perpetrating sexual harassment in the present study. Interestingly, the Jamaica study did not observe a significant statistical connection between restrictive masculinity attitudes and experience of bullying. In Jamaica, such attitudes were strongly linked with using violence, but not experiencing it. In the present study, less equitable gender attitudes are strongly linked with both using and experiencing violence, even holding many other factors constant.*

Convergence, Not Contrast

Overall, on the major points, the studies have convergence. They both find that restrictive ideas about masculinity beliefs remain in the Caribbean countries analyzed, and they both show that these attitudes are strongly linked with behaviors that matter for preventing violence. Reading the Jamaica study with the present study as a reference point, the major benefit of the qualitative data stands out. As seen in the quotes presented above, the richness of nuance provided by the men in the focus groups speaks for itself in terms of its value for this and future studies focused on restrictive masculinity.





7. Conclusions

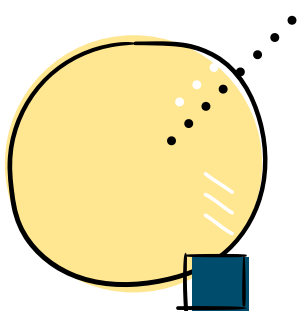
This study delves into the concept of masculinity among young men in Guyana, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago. It explores how biases and stereotypes influence their expectations, preferences, and behaviors. It also examines the prominent role that social influences, including community members, friends, and family, exert on the perspectives and inclinations of respondents. It becomes evident that a significant number of young men, and often the majority, perceive gender inequality as the prevailing norm within their respective communities. Such perceptions are frequently rooted in the experiences of those in their surroundings. When individuals are raised with an understanding of patriarchal decision-making as the customary and standard communal practice, it is likely that they internalize and adopt these viewpoints. The findings underscore the vital significance of comprehending gender equality and constricted notions of masculinity not only at an individual level but also within the wider community and societal context. Thus, advocating for comprehensive structural changes becomes imperative, shifting the focus beyond solely attributing the issue to individual young men.

On an individual level, gauging restrictive masculinity through seven key themes⁷ associated with hegemonic masculinity further reveals embedded biases. For instance, across all three countries, over half of the young men agree that they should act strong even if they feel scared or nervous inside, and at least one out of every three respondents think that men ought to be the primary provider for their families. This underscores the influence of restrictive gender norms on both men and women.

Furthermore, this study significantly contributes to bridging a critical knowledge gap concerning the underlying gender-based factors that trigger issues such as sexual harassment, bullying, alcohol abuse, mental health challenges, and various other social detriments in the Caribbean countries under analysis.

In Guyana, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago, young men with restrictive concepts of manhood are notably more prone to report instances of engaging in sexual harassment within the past month, in contrast to their counterparts embracing more equitable gender attitudes. Moreover, a discernible pattern surfaces – men who possess higher levels of education exhibit a reduced likelihood of making unwelcome sexual comments towards women. These insights strongly suggest that an integral approach addressing detrimental masculine norms via social programs, coupled with initiatives to enhance the educational attainment of young men, holds the potential to not only mitigate but also curtail instances of sexual harassment perpetration in these countries. It also paves the path for effective policymaking, impactful campaigns, and targeted interventions.

Regarding young men's educational attainment and the perceptions examined in this study, they do not reveal a clear pattern linked to restrictive masculinity. There might be other factors not addressed in this study that could explain this, and they should be the subject of further research in future documents.



7. Toughness and self-sufficiency, Paid and unpaid work, Money and education, Hypersexuality, Homophobia, Power and control, Violence.



In a similar vein, it is worth noting that young men with restrictive masculinities are also slightly more likely to have experienced and engaged in bullying and to have engaged in fighting. Equally noteworthy is a striking revelation regarding mental health problems, particularly depression and suicidal ideation. The findings depicted an increased prevalence of suicidal thoughts among young men at large, with an even more pronounced occurrence observed among those who endorse more rigid masculine norms. This study offers compelling evidence into how reluctant men can be when it comes to seeking help, whether it be professional healthcare or simply engaging in meaningful conversations with friends. Young men who adhere to societal expectations of “keeping it all in” and “manning up” are more susceptible to experiencing mental health problems. When it comes to health and habits, there is a significant association between narrow conceptions of masculinity and marijuana consumption, as well as a higher likelihood of reporting binge drinking. Several participants in the focus groups shared experiences of feeling pressured to prove their manhood through substance abuse.

In summary, the existence of restrictive masculine patterns invariably results in a culture of violence. That is true for women who are subject to sexual harassment, for young men engaging in and suffering violence, and even within the minds of young men. Regardless of the angle of analysis—whether viewing restrictive masculinities as an isolated influence or in conjunction with a multitude of other factors—it becomes evident that such attitudes exert a formidable correlation with various concerning outcomes. This includes instances of men perpetrating sexual harassment, their involvement in and experience of bullying (as evidenced by the prevalence of multiple forms of bullying encountered by a majority of young men within the past month alone), and the emergence of self-harm ideation.

Overall, the countries under study still have ingrained restrictive views of masculinity. Therefore, it is important to prioritize public policies and transformative programming that address the pressures, biases, and expectations associated with masculinity. To start making changes, young men need to be educated about the negative effects of adhering to restrictive notions of masculinity and show them that these regressive pressures are not as popular or beneficial as they may believe. Adhering to restrictive concepts of manhood often leads to violence, harassment, depression, isolation, and substance abuse, instead of satisfaction and acceptance. The following sections offer policy recommendations and best practices to work on creating new meanings of masculinities.

8.

Policy recommendations and best practices

Addressing restrictive concepts of manhood is crucial for achieving gender equality and promoting public health. However, this is a policy area where much more programming and evaluation is needed to generate rigorous evidence of what works. The findings of this study conclude that implementing effective interventions to uproot harmful social norms about masculinity can improve public wellbeing and social cohesion by reducing violence and harassment, curtailing harmful substance use, and mitigating mental health issues.

Based on the existing literature, this section outlines general policy recommendations to promote a shift in social norms towards more positive expressions of masculinity and enact gender-transformative legislation. The last section presents examples of best practices which have been selected based on their evidence of results and influence in the field.

Enact comprehensive legal and policy framework to eradicate violence against women and girls.

Gender based violence is understood as a form of discrimination, a violation of women's human rights and a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women (CEDAW). Legislation should criminalize all forms of violence against women (physical, sexual - including marital rape-, psychological and economic violence) including but not limited to domestic violence and femicide. It should also promote prevention, protection, comprehensive and integrated support services, as well as adequate punishment of perpetrators and availability of responses for survivors⁸.

Prevent and address discrimination and bias based on sexual orientation and gender identity.

This study finds that over a third of men participating in the survey embrace homophobia as part of their

views on masculinity. However, individual's views are less discriminatory than what they perceive as their peers homophobic beliefs. These misconceptions could be used as the basis to design communication and awareness campaigns that prevent discrimination based on gender identity or sexual orientation. Developing legislation in this area could potentially transform expectations placed upon people to behave in certain ways because of their gender identity, imparting the understanding that gender is socially constructed as opposed to being biologically determined.

Eliminate all corporal punishment.

This study revealed that physical violence remains culturally acceptable and still has an important weight in defying a "real man". Both the perpetration and experience of bullying which involved hurting someone on purpose by pushing, kicking, or hitting were higher among those young men with more restrictive notions of manhood. In this scenario, it is worth mentioning the importance of reforming national laws to achieve full prohibition of corporal punishment in the home, schools, early childhood centers, alternative care settings and penal institutions. Changes in structures leads to changing perceptions and attitudes that reproduce violence and inequality.

Encourage men to take responsibility for care work.

Recognize, reduce, and redistribute unpaid care work is fundamental for closing gender gaps and to change biased gender norms and stereotypes. Create and adequate national legislation for maternity, paternity and parental leave facilitates women's return to work after childbirth and fathers' uptake of shared childcare responsibilities. In this way, offering parental benefits sends a powerful

8. For more information on Legislation on Violence against Women please visit: <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/vaw/handbook/Handbook%20for%20legislation%20on%20violence%20against%20women.pdf>

message from the State to consider upbringing and care as a shared responsibility between men and women and encourage a shift in the current paradigm that reinforces care work as a woman's job.

Promote gender equality and sex education through educational curricula.

Use compulsory education at all levels of schooling, from kindergarten to the tertiary level to challenge restrictive concepts of manhood, discriminatory social and cultural patterns of behavior and gender stereotypes. Formal education is also an effective channel to discuss hypersexuality and consent to foster healthier and more equitable relationships. Research has consistently shown that comprehensive sex and HIV education programs are effective in improving adolescents' sexual health outcomes. Contrary to common misconceptions, these programs do not lead to increased sexual activity. In fact, studies have found that programs that address both the physical and psychosocial aspects of sexual health have been particularly successful in promoting safer sexual practices.

Engage young men in the critical examination of gender norms and expectations.

This can include expansions of interventions common in some countries in the region, including community-based sports and art programming, as well as other forms of governmental and non-governmental initiatives. The essential point is that such initiatives take a “gender-transformative” approach, which has been shown to be more effective than gender neutral or merely gender sensitive approaches. To be truly gender-transformative, programs must specifically discuss masculinity, gender roles and stereotypes. It is especially important to expand the opportunity for young men in communities with high levels of violence or school dropout to critically examine gender norms and expectations through a gender transformative approach. Interventions need to identify and train high quality facilitators, who serve themselves as a model of a gender-equal masculinity.

Establish and expand peer mediation systems in schools to include training in gender transformative approaches for selected teachers and peer mediators.

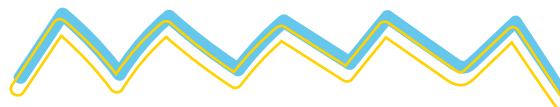
This can help to increase the number of peer disputes resolved peacefully, offer opportunities to model peacebuilding masculinities including non-violent approaches to resolving conflict, facilitate the inclusion of males in school, facilitate the disruption of gender norms and expectations that underpin violent acts, and support the positive behavior management policy of the school.

Train service providers on how to work with men and boys.

If health care and other social services professionals are more comfortable and conducive to work with young men, it is more likely that men will seek care when they need it. This can include making their physical spaces more welcoming to men, for instance by providing educational materials designed specifically for men, offering alternative hours (and sometimes alternative entrances, both to respect the sensitivity of women and so that men themselves would feel more comfortable) and by training additional staff to be more welcoming to men (such as door attendants, guards, custodial staff and others) (Barker, Ricardo, & Nascimento 2007).

Advance positive social norms to replace harmful ones, drawing on empirical data.

Young men place a lot of weight and meaning on what they perceive to be common and acceptable among their peers, and as such, when most of their peers demonstrate positive, healthy, or pro-social attitudes and behaviors, it is essential to amplify this reality as much as possible. In the current study, survey participants believe that a higher percentage of their peers hold restrictive notions of masculinity than they were to uphold a similar attitude themselves. These misconceptions provide a powerful opportunity for a correction to harmful, gendered social norms, based on empirical data. Any number of restrictive attitude statements in the study that are rejected by study participants would



be suitable as bases for mass media campaigns.

Promising examples

The following program examples have been selected for their strong integration of the above principles, their encouraging evaluation results, and/or their recognized field-wide influence. In a new and emerging field such as this, it is not always possible to point to rigorously proven programs that fully embody all the above best practices. These are some of the foundational programs beginning to fill recognized gaps in the work, while significant further investment and creativity are required. Some recent and promising initiatives implemented in Latin America and the Caribbean are highlighted.

Manhood 2.0 and Program H

Manhood 2.0 is a group-based, after-school program created with the specific goal of engaging young men in promoting healthy ideas and practices related to manhood in the United States. The program evaluation examines changes in participant gender norms, knowledge, attitudes, self-efficacy, and social support (Manlove, J. 2022). In a similar vein, Program H is a gender-transformative group education curriculum launched in 2002 that offers workshops on new masculinities, sexuality, and care work for young men. The program H is made up of socio-educational manuals and other tools to promote gender equality with young men. Findings from 14 Program H impact evaluations that have been carried out in 12 countries show changes in attitudes toward gender norms, as well as changes in the behavior influenced by these norms (Doyle, K., & Kato-Wallace, J., 2021). In Brazil and Chile these programs have had a positive impact on gender attitudes, on the reduction of violence and in the increase of self-care attitudes of men.

Growing Up GREAT

Growing Up Great is a multi-level intervention in urban Kinshasa, DRC for very young adolescents (ages 10-14 years). The program also involves their parents and caregivers and other influential community members to address spheres of influence—individual, family, school, community—that most affect early adolescent life experiences. This ecological approach program provides information and addresses social and gender norms related to reproductive health and wellbeing at each of these levels, with the goal of improving sexual and reproductive health outcomes among in-school and out-of-school adolescents. Growing Up GREAT had immediate and sustained impact on a range of sexual and reproductive health and gender equity outcomes among a cohort of very young adolescents in Kinshasa, though differential impacts were seen by school status, sex, and age (Center on Gender Equity and Health, 2022).

Stepping Stones with Children

The Stepping Stones with Children program combines the latest neuro-scientific research regarding child development with a gendered, child-rights focused framework. It takes a holistic approach, seeking to achieve multiple positive outcomes across a wide range of issues affecting

children as they grow up. The program draws on the creative and performance arts to maximize opportunities for active self-learning. It contains powerful exercises to engage children and their caregivers, convey information, explore norms, discover their abilities, and individually and jointly create stronger ways of being and doing. The sessions cover a wide range of topics in this framework including psycho-social well-being and resilience, assertiveness, bereavement, HIV testing, living well with HIV, preventing sexual abuse, and supporting survivors of abuse. They cover issues faced by all young people as they grow up, and which may be particularly challenging for those affected by HIV, from friendships at school, to relationships, sexuality, and livelihoods.

The Stepping Stones program has been evaluated in many different contexts around the world, specially Africa and India.

Coaching Boys into Men (CBIM)

This program applied in the US trains high school coaches to teach young male athletes healthy relationship skills and prevention of violence. Coaches of sports have a significant and exceptional impact on the lives of young males. As a result of such connections, coaches are in a favorable position to encourage positive thoughts and actions in young men, both during and outside of sporting activities. In 2012, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) carried out a three-year evaluation of the program in Sacramento, California. The research demonstrated that athletes who participated were considerably more inclined to recognize abusive behavior and act when they saw their peers engaging in abusive or disrespectful conduct (Miller et al, 2012). CBIM has been adapted and expanded to other countries including, Australia, South Africa, Angola, Brazil, Ivory Coast, Japan, Mexico, Norway, among others.

Escuela de Hombres al Cuidado (Men in Care School)

In Bogota, Colombia, the Undersecretary of Citizen Culture launched in 2021 a strategy to contribute to the equitable redistribution of direct, indirect, emotional, and environmental care work by promoting the co-responsible participation of men. The strategy is implemented through three services: 1) a mobile school, that uses artistic activities and pedagogical tools to convene men, generate changes in citizens' perception regarding men participation in care and promotes changes in the distribution of domestic tasks; 2) In-person training cycles; and 3) virtual school through online “MasterClass”. Men learn about care practices for boys, girls and the elderly; acquire tools to manage their emotions and actively engage in their parenting; and review basic tips on cooking, food purchasing and home maintenance.

Hablemos entre Patas (Guy talk)

Hablemos entre Patas is a men-focused mobile messaging program, that seeks to prevent intimate partner violence by building skills and practicing positive behaviors with their partners. Over a period of 30 days, and under the guidance of a facilitator, participants work via WhatsApp with a series of resources that include challenges in the form of tasks and real stories, designed to develop skills that promote effective communication, better management of emotions, healthy sexuality, and consent in sexual relationships. Hablemos entre Patas was designed in 2021 and implemented as a pilot with 1,355 beneficiary men and their partners, in 500 districts of Peru. An experimental impact evaluation showed that the intervention reduced sexual violence by 2.3 percentage points, equivalent to 20 percent. In addition, it reduced tolerance for violence against women among participants and improved sexual consent dynamics between partners.

Línea Calma (The Calm Line) and Hablemos (Let's talk)

La Línea Calma is an initiative that offers free telephone assistance to all men over 18 years of age in Bogotá who want to have a space to be heard and receive professional guidance. As of October 31, 2022, this Citizen Culture strategy has advised more than 6,600 men with different emotional situations such as fear, sadness, and anxiety, and has carried out 1,102 psychoeducational sessions. The line provides telephone assistance and guidance to emotional

situations categorized into three themes: emotional situations with no aggression or intimate partner violence, situations that involve partner violence, and situations of violence related to machismo such as street fights, attacks in public spaces, and others. The second service of the line focuses on psychoeducational support, aimed exclusively at users who reported situations related to intimate partner violence, those that derive from machismo and that are associated with jealousy and control.

Hablemos offers free telephone assistance, a space for listening, monitoring and referral for men prosecuted for exercising violence in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The team is made up of psychologists and it offers an open space to men who spontaneously request help and to relatives and friends who seek advice to end violent relationships.

Men caring for their health: Young Men’s Clinic⁹ in the US and **Política Nacional de Atención Integral a la Salud del Hombre** (The National Policy for Integral Attention to Men’s Health) in Brazil

Young Men’s Clinic was founded in 1987 by the Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health and New York-Presbyterian Hospital (NYPH), the Young Men’s Clinic provides health services to men between the ages of 14 to 35. Located in Washington Heights—a predominantly Latino, low-income neighborhood in New York City, the clinic meets three times a week in the same space as the Columbia/NYPH family planning clinic for women. YMC offers physical exams for school, sports, and employment, episodic care for minor injuries and illness, STI/HIV testing, group and individual health education, social work, and referral services to mental health, substance abuse, employment, education, and dental services. As part of a holistic approach to supporting young men, the clinic uses “asset maps” of upper Manhattan neighborhoods to identify high quality, accessible, free or low-cost workforce development and alternative education programs, legal services, community health centers, and dental clinics.

In Brazil, since 2009, the National Policy for Integral Attention to Men’s Health is oriented towards the development of strategies and actions that contribute to the access, reception and adherence of male users to services of health, focusing on prevention and promotion of the health of this population. This policy aims to address men’s health and gender issues such as safe sex, fertility, contraceptive choice, paternity, care, prenatal and sexual care, reproductive health and the prevention of violence, among others.

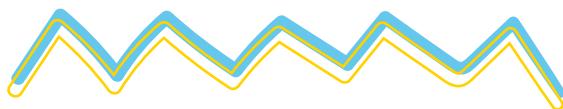
MenCare Campaign

MenCare is a global fatherhood campaign active in more than 50 countries on five continents, coordinated by Equimundo and Sonke Gender Justice. MenCare’s mission is to promote men’s involvement as equitable, nonviolent fathers and caregivers in order to achieve family well-being, gender equality, and better health for mothers, fathers, and children. MenCare aims for men to be allies in supporting women’s social and economic equality, in part by taking on more responsibility for childcare and domestic work. The campaign believes that true equality will only be reached when men are taking on 50 percent of the world’s childcare and domestic work. MenCare communications materials strictly display fathers engaged in positive, loving, nurturing, roles in their children’s lives, helping other boys and men envision themselves undertaking similar care work.

9. Young Men’s Clinic overview drawn directly from: MenEngage, Promundo-US, and UNFPA (2010)

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Appendix A:

Man Box Scale Factor Analysis and Optimization

The points below spell out the step-by-step process for factor construction. Readers interested in additional details or goodness of fit statistics for any step are encouraged to contact the authors.

- We started from a simple 1-factor model using exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to see if the simplest model (meaning all 20 items included) would be sufficient. The goodness-of-fit statistics were poor, and a few problematic items were identified, specifically the reverse-coded items (#13 “A guy never needs to hit another guy to get respect” and #17 “I would be friends with a guy who is gay”). It is possible that the responses were affected by response bias such as an affirmative response in which the respondent wasn’t paying attention to the reversed valence of the question.
- Next, we sought to confirm a 6-factor theoretical model (using six of the seven themes explored earlier: toughness, power, work, homophobia, violence, and hypersexuality) using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). However, the goodness-of-fit statistics were poor, even after removing the reverse-coded items. At this point, we noticed that some factors or items would be negatively related to others, which suggested a need to revert to an exploratory process. From this point forward, we removed the reverse-coded items from future models.
- The goal of the succeeding exploratory analysis was to make sure the composite scale had representative items from the different theme constructs while also choosing the best or most parsimonious statistical model we could.
- Before we could further examine the most appropriate number of factors, we ran into a Heywood case during model convergence, which means that one of the items was yielding a negative variance estimate (and variance should only ever be zero or positive). The item was “Guys should act strong even if they feel scared or nervous inside.” In order to fit any subsequent models, we removed this item from analysis, though we do report on this in the frequencies.
- Although the model with the lowest Akaike information criterion (AIC)/ Bayesian information criterion (BIC) (fit statistics) contained seven factors, most factors only had one item loading on them and accounted for a negligible portion of the variance. We then iteratively increased the number of factors from one to seven to understand at what point we lose stability in terms of structure and variance, and also where the goodness of fit statistics seemed to plateau. At more than two factors, the model started to have singular item factors, which pose a risk to



variance estimation. Moreover, these additional factors tended to only account for a small portion of the variance.

- In order to find a model of reasonable fit, it was necessary to remove the other violence item (#12 “Men should use violence to get respect if necessary”). With one of the theoretical constructs out of play, the research team decided to prioritize finding the best one-factor model as item reduction seemed to be improving model fit more than changing up factor structure. The best fit model is presented in the table below.
- In addition to removing the second violence item, it was also necessary to remove five other items to minimize AIC/BIC and maximize goodness-of-fit criteria. No significant additional gains were observed from removing any of the remaining nine items from the model. The selected one-factor model was then analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis. The Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and Tucker-Lewis Index were at 0.95 and 0.93, respectively, suggesting reasonable fit. Additionally, the standardized root mean squared residual was 0.03 and the root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA) was 0.049 and had a p-value of 0.62 for the likelihood that RMSEA was under 0.05. Below is the final validated version of the Caribbean Man Box Scale, prepared for use in a future survey.

These statements are about your own personal opinions. How much do you agree or disagree?	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Men should really be the ones to bring money home to provide for their families, not women	1	2	3	4
If a guy has a girlfriend or a wife, he deserves to know where she is all the time	1	2	3	4
A man should always have the final say about decisions in his relationship or marriage	1	2	3	4
If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems	1	2	3	4
On the whole, men make better business executives than women do	1	2	3	4
Men should figure out their personal problems on their own without asking others for help	1	2	3	4
I can't respect a guy who spends too much time on his looks	1	2	3	4
A real man would never say no to sex	1	2	3	4
A gay guy is not a "real man"	1	2	3	4

Appendix B:

Demographic details of the sample survey

The location of the respondents is determined by the cell sites they connected to during the evenings (up to the last 6 months), assuming their presence at home during that moment of the day.

Trinidad and Tobago

Region	Number of Completed Surveys	Percentage of Completed Surveys
Borough of Arima	45	4.71%
Borough of Chaguanas	70	7.33%
Borough of Point Fortin	62	6.49%
City of Port of Spain	42	4.40%
City of San Fernando	20	2.09%
Couva/Tabaquite/Talparo	34	3.56%
Diego Martin	18	1.88%
Mayaro/Rio Claro	24	2.51%
Penal/Debe	84	8.80%
Princes Town	19	1.99%
San Juan/Laventille	78	8.17%
Sangre Grande	32	3.35%
Siparia	20	2.09%
Tobago	6	0.63%
Tunapuna/Piarco	109	11.41%
Unknown	292	30.58%
Grand Total	955	100.00%

Suriname

Region	Number of Completed Surveys	Percentage of Completed Surveys
Brokopondo	9	1.72%
Commewijne	34	6.51%
Coronie	2	0.38%
Marowijne	14	2.68%
Nickerie	43	8.24%
Para	27	5.17%
Paramaribo	239	45.79%
Saramacca	10	1.92%
Sipaliwini	14	2.68%
Wanica	130	24.90%
Grand Total	522	100.00%

Guyana

Region	Number of Completed Surveys	Percentage of Completed Surveys
Barima-Waini	29	2.86%
Pomeroon-Supenaam	41	4.04%
Essequibo Islands-West Demerara	145	14.30%
Demerara-Mahaica	398	39.25%
Mahaica-Berbice	47	4.64%
East Berbice-Corentyne	88	8.68%
Cuyuni-Mazaruni	33	3.25%
Potaro-Siparuni	10	0.99%
Upper Takutu-Upper Essequibo	11	1.08%
Upper Demerara-Upper Berbice	61	6.02%
South Access	2	0.20%
Unknown	149	14.69%
Grand Total	1014	100.00%

Appendix C:

Statistical Charts

The location of the respondents is determined by the cell sites they connected to during the evenings (up to the last 6 months), assuming their presence at home during that moment of the day.

Perceived community preferences

“Most people in my community expect men to have the final word about decisions in the home.”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	8.58	6.52	6.91	7.41
Agree	44.3	35.71	42.21	41.46
Disagree	36.13	37.27	38.33	37.31
Strongly Disagree	11	20.5	12.55	13.82

“Most people in my community think it is shameful if a man does caregiving or domestic work.”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	6.16	5.75	5.98	5.99
Agree	32.49	25.47	28.56	29.23
Disagree	46.82	43.17	48.86	46.85
Strongly Disagree	14.53	25.62	16.6	17.93

“People in my community believe that a woman does not have the right to challenge her man’s opinions and decisions even if she disagrees with him”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	7.16	5.28	5.31	5.95
Agree	34.91	22.98	25.19	28.1
Disagree	42.18	43.32	48.61	45.15
Strongly Disagree	15.74	28.42	20.89	20.8

Perceived community behaviors

“Most men in my community are the ones who make the decisions in their home”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	6.76	7.45	6.66	6.87
Agree	52.27	46.43	46.42	48.48
Disagree	32.9	32.61	36.65	34.41
Strongly Disagree	8.07	13.51	10.28	10.24

“Most men in my community do not do any caregiving or domestic work”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	7.16	6.21	6.82	6.8
Agree	39.76	31.99	38.16	37.31
Disagree	43.69	42.86	43.39	43.37
Strongly Disagree	9.38	18.94	11.63	12.51

“Most women in my community do not challenge their man's opinions and decisions even if they disagree with him”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	7.27	7.92	7.33	7.44
Agree	42.79	31.68	34.79	36.89
Disagree	39.25	42.08	42.46	41.25
Strongly Disagree	10.7	18.32	15.42	14.42

Personal Influences

“My parents taught me that a real man should act strong even if he feels nervous or scared”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	18.57	23.6	18.62	19.74
Agree	50.86	47.83	46.08	48.16
Disagree	22.91	18.63	26.79	23.56
Strongly Disagree	7.67	9.94	8.51	8.54

“My male friends would give me a hard time if they saw me hanging out with someone who is gay or who looks gay”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	18.37	14.29	21.06	18.57
Agree	44.7	40.68	40.69	42.1
Disagree	26.84	28.42	28.98	28.1
Strongly Disagree	10.09	16.61	9.27	11.23

“My girlfriend expects me to earn money to buy her things or take her out”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	11.2	9.47	11.79	11.06
Agree	42.99	32.76	36.98	38.13
Disagree	32.59	34.63	35.55	34.3
Strongly Disagree	13.22	23.14	15.67	16.51

“My parents encouraged me to get a job instead of staying in school or going to university.”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	7.47	6.52	9.01	7.9
Agree	25.83	11.8	21.74	20.91
Disagree	42.28	38.82	43.47	41.99
Strongly Disagree	24.42	42.86	25.78	29.2

Individual Attitudes

Theme 1: Toughness and Self-Sufficiency

“A man who talks a lot about his worries, fears, and problems shouldn't really get respect”

“Guys should act strong even if they feel scared or nervous inside”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	5.05	4.5	4.72	4.78
Agree	13.72	7.3	11.29	11.23
Disagree	34.31	26.4	32.94	31.93
Strongly Disagree	46.92	61.8	51.05	52.06

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	15.24	17.86	14.66	15.59
Agree	43.79	43.48	42.46	43.16
Disagree	29.67	23.91	31.42	29.09
Strongly Disagree	11.3	14.75	11.46	12.15

“Men should figure out their personal problems on their own without asking others for help.”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	5.15	3.57	4.63	4.57
Agree	19.17	14.6	17.94	17.61
Disagree	51.26	46.12	50.88	49.93
Strongly Disagree	24.42	35.71	26.54	27.89

Theme 2: Paid & Unpaid Work

“A man shouldn’t have to do household chores”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	3.73	3.88	3.71	3.76
Agree	17.96	6.21	13.56	13.43
Disagree	45.41	31.99	45.58	42.42
Strongly Disagree	32.9	57.92	37.15	40.4

“It is not good for a boy to be taught how to cook, sew, clean the house, and take care of younger children”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	3.63	3.11	4.21	3.76
Agree	6.66	4.66	5.73	5.81
Disagree	39.15	32.3	34.96	35.83
Strongly Disagree	50.55	59.94	55.1	54.61

“Men should really be the ones to bring money home to provide for their families, not women”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	12.51	12.58	10.61	11.73
Agree	32.9	23.45	24.35	27.14
Disagree	36.93	33.85	39.93	37.49
Strongly Disagree	17.66	30.12	25.11	23.64

“If a woman earns more money than her husband, it’s almost certain to cause problems”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	8.88	6.21	7.75	7.8
Agree	30.17	19.41	23.5	24.91
Disagree	38.85	39.91	42.46	40.61
Strongly Disagree	22.1	34.47	26.28	26.68

“On the whole, men make better business executives than women do”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	4.84	7.76	4.55	5.39
Agree	21.9	23.91	17.1	20.34
Disagree	50.35	39.44	52.32	48.69
Strongly Disagree	22.91	28.88	26.03	25.58

Theme 3: Money & Education

“A man does not need to get a CSEC certificate to be successful”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	25.53	22.36	25.61	24.84
Agree	43.79	39.29	42.46	42.2
Disagree	15.54	17.24	16.6	16.37
Strongly Disagree	15.14	21.12	15.33	16.58

“Men need money to get girls”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	6.56	6.06	7.58	6.87
Agree	20.99	15.84	22.16	20.3
Disagree	44.7	37.89	41.45	41.78
Strongly Disagree	27.75	40.22	28.81	31.04

“University education only leads to high paying jobs if you already have money or connections”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	16.75	21.89	17.52	18.25
Agree	35.22	35.4	35.21	35.26
Disagree	33.2	25.78	33.28	31.54
Strongly Disagree	14.83	16.93	13.98	14.95

Theme 4: Hypersexuality

“A real man should have as many sexual partners as he can”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	1.82	2.33	1.94	1.98
Agree	5.15	7.76	4.63	5.53
Disagree	34.11	25.93	32.35	31.5
Strongly Disagree	58.93	63.98	61.08	60.99

“A real man would never say no to sex”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	7.06	7.3	5.73	6.56
Agree	18.87	15.37	13.14	15.66
Disagree	49.65	42.86	52.4	49.26
Strongly Disagree	24.42	34.47	28.73	28.53

Theme 5: Homophobia

“A gay guy is not a real man”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	14.53	13.66	16.26	15.06
Agree	21.19	19.41	17.35	19.17
Disagree	35.82	28.57	36.82	34.59
Strongly Disagree	28.46	38.35	29.57	31.18

“I would be friends with a guy who is gay”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	9.28	10.71	11.2	10.42
Agree	52.98	43.17	49.62	49.33
Disagree	23.01	23.91	24.01	23.64
Strongly Disagree	14.73	22.2	15.16	16.62

“I can't respect a guy who spends too much time on his looks”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	7.16	5.12	7.58	6.87
Agree	33.2	18.79	28.56	27.96
Disagree	47.43	48.91	49.87	48.8
Strongly Disagree	12.21	27.17	13.98	16.37

Theme 6: Power & Control

“If a guy has a girlfriend or wife, he deserves to know where she is all the time”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	12.71	17.08	10.87	12.93
Agree	36.13	41.61	33.36	36.22
Disagree	35.72	24.07	38.75	34.34
Strongly Disagree	15.44	17.24	17.02	16.51

“A man should always have the final say about decisions in his relationship or marriage”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	7.47	4.04	5.14	5.71
Agree	23.11	14.29	17.19	18.6
Disagree	44.3	42.7	46.76	44.97
Strongly Disagree	25.13	38.98	30.92	30.72

Theme 7: Violence

“Men should use violence to get respect if necessary”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	1.31	2.8	2.27	2.06
Agree	4.14	5.59	3.96	4.39
Disagree	25.43	19.41	24.01	23.46
Strongly Disagree	69.12	72.2	69.76	70.09

“A guy never needs to hit another guy to get respect”

	Guyana	Suriname	Trinidad and Tobago	Total
Strongly Agree	25.03	33.23	28.9	28.53
Agree	48.84	41.61	43.13	44.79
Disagree	13.32	11.96	14.83	13.64
Strongly Disagree	12.82	13.2	13.14	13.04

Defining a restrictive masculinity scale

n	2,720		
F-statistic	52.35		
degrees of freedom	12	2707	
p-value	0.00		
Adjusted R-squared	0.18		
	Coefficient	Std. Error	P > t
Constant	-0.10	0.07	0.17
Education			
<i>Upper Secondary</i>	0.14	0.06	0.02
<i>Vocational/Technical</i>	0.23	0.06	0.00
<i>Post Secondary</i>	0.40	0.07	0.00
Age (Younger)	0.03	0.03	0.29
Has a partner	-0.02	0.03	0.50
Has children	-0.06	0.03	0.05
Community Preferences	0.21	0.02	0.00
Community Behaviors	0.18	0.02	0.00
Economic Comfort	-0.02	0.02	0.36
Social desirability	-0.01	0.02	0.61
Country			
<i>Guyana</i>	-0.09	0.04	0.01
<i>Suriname</i>	0.04	0.05	0.45

Sexual Harassment

Figure 4 – Do men with less or more restrictive masculinity show different rates of sexual harassment?

		Harassment	p
Guyana	More restrictive masculinity	25%	0.00
	Less restrictive masculinity	16%	0.00
Suriname	More restrictive masculinity	28%	0.00
	Less restrictive masculinity	16%	0.00
Trinidad and Tobago	More restrictive masculinity	24%	0.00
	Less restrictive masculinity	16%	0.00

Note: % is all responses except "not at all"

Sexual Harassment - LINEAR regression results

n	2,720			
F-statistic	12.37			
degrees of freedom	11	2708		
p-value	0.00			
Adjusted R-squared	0.04			
	Coefficient	Std. Error	t statistic	p-value
Constant	0.47	0.06	8.14	0.00
Education				
Upper Secondary	-0.14	0.04	-3.07	0.00
Vocational/Technical	-0.15	0.05	-3.06	0.00
Post Secondary	-0.11	0.05	-2.20	0.03
Age (Younger)	0.02	0.02	0.92	0.36
Has a partner	-0.02	0.03	-0.74	0.46
Has children	-0.03	0.03	-1.05	0.29
Economic Comfort	0.00	0.01	0.30	0.77
Social desirability	-0.05	0.02	-2.69	0.01
Man Box score	-0.14	0.01	-10.44	0.00
Country				
Guyana	0.00	0.03	0.03	0.98
Suriname	-0.02	0.04	-0.40	0.69

These are LINEAR regression results because we kept the variation in terms of how frequently this perpetration had taken place. It's not a binary of HAS done vs. HAS NOT done as it is in the bivariate.

10 Reflective note for the research community: the challenges of survey research with young men are real, and our policy goals demand thoughtful methodologies. Social desirability bias among young men responding to SMS surveys is not so much a risk as a guarantee, and as a result it is essential to both account for this bias by measuring it and to triangulate results via the use of mixed methods. This study's brief measure of social desirability bias proved statistically significant in most multivariate regression analyses presented here. What this means is that young men are likely systematically underreporting the true extent of their harmful views and behaviors, in a way that threatens the validity of research that does not take this into account.

Experience of Bullying

Figure 5 - Do men with less or more restrictive masculinity show different rates of experiencing bullying?

Experience of bullying									
		Tease	p	Social	p	Hurt	p	Any	p
Guyana	More restrictive masculinity	66%	0.00	38%	0.10	34%	0.01	71%	0.00
	Less restrictive masculinity	53%	0.00	31%	0.10	24%	0.01	60%	0.00
Suriname	More restrictive masculinity	69%	0.17	34%	0.18	36%	0.01	74%	0.05
	Less restrictive masculinity	62%	0.17	26%	0.18	25%	0.01	67%	0.05
Trinidad and Tobago	More restrictive masculinity	61%	0.05	33%	0.26	31%	0.05	67%	0.01
	Less restrictive masculinity	54%	0.05	30%	0.26	26%	0.05	60%	0.01

Experience of Bullying - LOGISTIC regression results

n	2720			
Likelihood ratio chi2 test	79.22			
degrees of freedom	11	2708		
p-value	0.00			
Pseudo R-squared	0.02			
	Odds Ratio	Std. Error	z statistic	p-value
Constant	2.96	0.59	5.46	0.00
Education				
Upper Secondary	1.35	0.21	1.94	0.05
Vocational/Technical	1.22	0.20	1.18	0.24
Post Secondary	1.49	0.26	2.25	0.02
Age (Younger)	0.92	0.08	-0.94	0.35
Has a partner	0.82	0.07	-2.33	0.02
Has children	0.95	0.08	-0.55	0.58
Economic Comfort	0.82	0.04	-3.93	0.00
Social desirability	0.82	0.05	-3.07	0.00
Man Box score	0.77	0.04	-5.50	0.00
Country				
Guyana	1.04	0.10	0.37	0.71
Suriname	1.17	0.15	1.21	0.23

This is a LOGISTIC regression model because the DV used was a binary of has experienced vs has not experienced bullying.

Bullying Behavior

Figure 6 - Do men with less or more restrictive masculinity show different rates of being bullies?

Perpetration of bullying

		Tease	p	Social	p	Hurt	p	Any	p
Guyana	More restrictive masculinity	38%	0.00	17%	0.02	18%	0.02	43%	0.01
	Less restrictive masculinity	30%	0.00	13%	0.02	13%	0.02	34%	0.01
Suriname	More restrictive masculinity	41%	0.21	20%	0.03	22%	0.01	47%	0.04
	Less restrictive masculinity	33%	0.21	12%	0.03	14%	0.01	39%	0.04
Trinidad and Tobago	More restrictive masculinity	42%	0.00	17%	0.02	17%	0.01	45%	0.00
	Less restrictive masculinity	31%	0.00	12%	0.02	11%	0.01	34%	0.00

Perpetration of bullying - LOGISTIC regression results

n	2720			
Likelihood ratio chi2 test	102.83			
degrees of freedom	11	2708		
p-value	0.00			
Pseudo R-squared	0.03			
	Odds Ratio	Std. Error	z statistic	p-value
Constant	1.00	0.19	0.02	0.99
Education				
Upper Secondary	0.94	0.14	-0.45	0.65
Vocational/Technical	0.89	0.15	-0.73	0.47
Post Secondary	1.10	0.19	0.55	0.58
Age (Younger)	0.92	0.08	-1.06	0.29
Has a partner	1.04	0.09	0.46	0.65
Has children	0.73	0.06	-3.76	0.00
Economic Comfort	1.05	0.05	1.02	0.31
Social desirability	0.78	0.05	-3.85	0.00
Man Box score	0.69	0.03	-7.92	0.00
Country				
Guyana	0.95	0.09	-0.59	0.56
Suriname	1.06	0.13	0.44	0.66

This is a LOGISTIC regression model because the DV used was a binary of has perpetrated vs has not perpetrated bullying.

Substance Abuse

Figure 7 - Do men with less or more restrictive masculinity show different rates of binge drinking?

Figure 8 - Do men with less or more restrictive masculinity show different rates of smoking weed?

Substance Use

		Binge drinking	p	Smoking weed	p
Guyana	More restrictive masculinity	16%	0.02	7%	0.09
	Less restrictive masculinity	11%	0.02	4%	0.09
Suriname	More restrictive masculinity	13%	1.00	5%	0.05
	Less restrictive masculinity	13%	1.00	2%	0.05
Trinidad and Tobago	More restrictive masculinity	14%	0.23	15%	0.00
	Less restrictive masculinity	12%	0.23	9%	0.00

Alcohol Abuse - LOGISTIC regression results

n	2720			
Likelihood ratio chi2 test	17.58			
degrees of freedom	11	2708		
p-value	0.09			
Pseudo R-squared	0.01			
	Odds Ratio	Std. Error	z statistic	p-value
Constant	0.28	0.07	-4.98	0.00
Education				
Upper Secondary	0.78	0.15	-1.29	0.20
Vocational/Technical	0.78	0.17	-1.16	0.25
Post Secondary	0.77	0.18	-1.13	0.26
Age (Younger)	1.03	0.12	0.26	0.80
Has a partner	1.06	0.13	0.51	0.61
Has children	0.89	0.11	-0.96	0.34
Economic Comfort	0.86	0.06	-2.04	0.04
Social desirability	0.91	0.08	-1.07	0.28
Man Box score	0.84	0.05	-2.66	0.01
Country				
Guyana	1.07	0.14	0.54	0.59
Suriname	0.96	0.17	-0.25	0.80

This is a LOGISTIC regression model because the DV used was a binary measure of binge drinking

Marijuana Use - LOGISTIC regression results

n	2720			
Likelihood ratio chi2 test	86.25			
degrees of freedom	11	2708		
p-value	0.00			
Pseudo R-squared	0.06			
	Odds Ratio	Std. Error	z statistic	p-value
Constant	0.16	0.05	-5.82	0.00
Education				
<i>Upper Secondary</i>	0.64	0.15	-1.90	0.06
<i>Vocational/Technical</i>	0.51	0.14	-2.43	0.02
<i>Post Secondary</i>	0.47	0.14	-2.53	0.01
Age (Younger)	1.28	0.20	1.61	0.11
Has a partner	0.96	0.15	-0.27	0.79
Has children	1.05	0.17	0.33	0.74
Economic Comfort	0.92	0.08	-0.89	0.37
Social desirability	1.27	0.15	2.10	0.04
Man Box score	0.70	0.06	-4.29	0.00
Country				
<i>Guyana</i>	0.40	0.07	-5.32	0.00
<i>Suriname</i>	0.37	0.10	-3.73	0.00

This is a LOGISTIC regression model because the DV used was a binary measure of using marijuana

Mental Health

Figure 9 - Do men with less or more restrictive masculinity show different rates of depressive symptoms?

Figure 10 - Do men with less or more restrictive masculinity show different rates of suicidal ideation?

Depressive Symptoms and Suidical Ideation

		Depressive Symptoms	p	Having thoughts of suicide	p
Guyana	More restrictive masculinity	45%	0.38	34%	0.00
	Less restrictive masculinity	42%	0.38	25%	0.00
Suriname	More restrictive masculinity	33%	0.90	23%	0.48
	Less restrictive masculinity	33%	0.90	21%	0.48
Trinidad and Tobago	More restrictive masculinity	41%	0.51	28%	0.51
	Less restrictive masculinity	39%	0.51	26%	0.51

Depressive Symptoms - LOGISTIC regression results

n	2720			
Likelihood ratio chi2 test	95.52			
degrees of freedom	11	2708		
p-value	0.00			
Pseudo R-squared	0.03			
	Odds Ratio	Std. Error	z statistic	p-value
Constant	1.46	0.28	1.96	0.05
Education				
Upper Secondary	1.16	0.17	0.95	0.34
Vocational/Technical	1.10	0.18	0.57	0.57
Post Secondary	1.33	0.23	1.66	0.10
Age (Younger)	0.93	0.08	-0.83	0.41
Has a partner	1.07	0.09	0.77	0.44
Has children	1.02	0.09	0.25	0.81
Economic Comfort	0.68	0.03	-7.59	0.00
Social desirability	0.84	0.05	-2.78	0.01
Man Box score	0.90	0.04	-2.37	0.02
Country				
Guyana	1.05	0.10	0.58	0.56
Suriname	0.55	0.07	-4.63	0.00

This is a LOGISTIC regression model because the DV used was a binary measure of the depressive symptom screening standard.

Suicidal Ideation - LOGISTIC regression results

n	2720			
Likelihood ratio chi2 test	112.66			
degrees of freedom	11	2708		
p-value	0.00			
Pseudo R-squared	0.04			
	Odds Ratio	Std. Error	z statistic	p-value
Constant	1.68	0.35	2.54	0.01
Education				
<i>Upper Secondary</i>	0.70	0.11	-2.26	0.02
<i>Vocational/Technical</i>	0.56	0.10	-3.25	0.00
<i>Post Secondary</i>	0.74	0.14	-1.63	0.10
Age (Younger)	0.95	0.09	-0.52	0.60
Has a partner	0.79	0.07	-2.50	0.01
Has children	0.98	0.09	-0.23	0.82
Economic Comfort	0.67	0.04	-6.91	0.00
Social desirability	0.78	0.05	-3.59	0.00
Man Box score	0.86	0.04	-2.96	0.00
Country				
<i>Guyana</i>	1.04	0.10	0.42	0.67
<i>Suriname</i>	0.57	0.08	-3.93	0.00

This is a LOGISTIC regression model because the DV used was a binary measure of the depressive symptom screening standard

Men's Friendships & Emotional Connection

Figure 11 - Do men with less or more restrictive masculinity show different rates of breaking up fights?

Men's Friendships & Emotional Connection

		Crying	p	Friends	p	Fight	p	Support	p
Guyana	More restrictive masculinity	34%	0.65	75%	0.23	72%	0.58	90%	0.85
	Less restrictive masculinity	32%	0.65	72%	0.23	70%	0.58	91%	0.85
Suriname	More restrictive masculinity	34%	0.94	71%	0.11	64%	0.09	87%	0.04
	Less restrictive masculinity	35%	0.94	65%	0.11	58%	0.09	92%	0.04
Trinidad and Tobago	More restrictive masculinity	32%	0.06	70%	0.06	67%	0.33	91%	0.66
	Less restrictive masculinity	37%	0.06	75%	0.06	64%	0.33	92%	0.66

Break up a fight

n	2720			
Likelihood ratio chi2 test	4.00			
degrees of freedom	11			
p-value	0.00			
Pseudo R-squared	0.01			
	Coefficient	Std. Error	z statistic	p-value
Constant	2.01	0.09	21.91	0.00
Education				
Upper Secondary	0.07	0.07	0.97	0.33
Vocational/Technical	0.02	0.08	0.21	0.84
Post Secondary	0.09	0.08	1.12	0.26
Age (Younger)	-0.09	0.04	-2.25	0.02
Has a partner	0.06	0.04	1.59	0.11
Has children	0.01	0.04	0.17	0.87
Economic Comfort	-0.02	0.02	-0.64	0.52
Social desirability	0.02	0.03	0.77	0.44
Man Box score	-0.06	0.02	-2.76	0.01
Country				
Guyana	0.15	0.04	3.49	0.00
Suriname	-0.05	0.06	-0.91	0.36

This is a LINEAR regression model, preserving the frequency range of having stopped a fight.