Transforming Masculinities through Family and Community: Post-Conflict Lessons for Gender Equality

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Abstract
This study examines the transformation of masculinities within family and community settings in post-conflict regions of Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro, drawing on a secondary analysis of the dataset from Reconstructing Masculinities: Gender Dynamics After Conflict in Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro Mindanao (Affiat, Rahmadhani & Nakayama, 2024). This study applies a qualitative thematic approach grounded in theories of hegemonic and caring masculinities to explore the expression of masculinities in household and communal practices. The findings indicate a norm shift away from physical aggression as a marker of manhood, but persistent reinforcement of dominance continues to reproduce gendered hierarchies within households and community institutions. Provider- and protection-based roles remain central to male identity, sustaining their decision-making authority and reinforcing constraints on women's autonomy and economic participation. Simultaneously, men's increased inclination to value peaceful conflict resolution and responsibility in fatherhood opens the way for caring masculinities grounded in relational interconnectedness, shared caregiving and domestic duties. However, these shifts are hindered by unresolved trauma, economic insecurity, and religious and customary authority as defenders of the norm. Masculinity transformation requires systemic gender-responsive interventions that strengthen the emotional and economic infrastructures of care and structural inequality, as well as engage the family and community as sites of change.
Keywords: *Caring Masculinities, Community, Family, Gender Norms, Gender Transformative, Post-Conflict, Social And Cultural Transformation*

1. Introduction

Masculinity—understood as the socially constructed norms, expectations, and practices that define what it means to be an "ideal man" in a given society—plays a critical role in shaping everyday behaviors, relationships, and power dynamics (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). In many different contexts, idealized forms of masculinity often emphasize physical strength, assertiveness, dominance, and competitiveness, among others, and function as social codes for interpreting men's roles, thereby determining how they interact with partners, children, and community members. When such ideals valorize dominance or equate manhood with control, they can legitimize uneven power relations and normalize certain forms of violence in both the private and public spheres.

In family and community settings, masculine norms profoundly influence care distribution, decision-making processes, and conflict responses. Family members often dictate the role of men as breadwinners, and the prevailing norms in society shame men's emotional expression, which is deemed incompatible with manhood. These masculinity markers shape men's engagement in nurturing roles. Norms that associate masculinity with authority and aggression contribute to patterns of violence in domestic and communal settings. These everyday practices reflect broader gender hierarchies but are continually negotiated within households and communal networks, making these sites crucial for understanding how gendered power is reproduced or challenged.

Empirical insights from earlier research in Indonesia and the Philippines illustrate how these norms operate at the micro-level. In many households, men are renegotiating their identities as fathers, partners, and community members amid shifting economic realities and exposure to peacebuilding and social development initiatives (Affiat, Rahmadhani, and Nakayama, 2024). At the community level, similar tensions emerge as men navigate expectations to act as protectors while being encouraged to engage in collaborative forms of conflict resolution and local governance (Affiat et al., 2024). These patterns reveal that masculine norms are not constant; instead, they are dynamic, contested, and negotiated in response to changing social conditions.

Transforming masculinity has direct implications for achieving the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Goals related to gender equality (SDG 5) and peaceful, inclusive societies (SDG 16) cannot be achieved without addressing how everyday masculine norms shape care practices, interpersonal relationships, and community cohesion. Transformations in masculinity at the household and community levels, such as increased men's involvement in caregiving, more equitable partnership dynamics, and nonviolent forms of conflict resolution, have far-reaching impacts that extend beyond the private sphere. Such shifts can reduce gender-based violence, strengthen social capital, and promote more inclusive forms of participation, thereby advancing progress on multiple SDG targets. By centering the analysis on how masculinity is constructed and enacted within family and community settings, this discussion highlights the importance of the micro-level sphere as a site of social change in achieving gender equality. The micro-level spheres, including men's relational networks and their expression of masculinity in everyday practices, provide critical insights into how restrictive norms can be challenged and how gender equality, peacebuilding, and collective resilience are strengthened.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Masculinity, Manhood, and Fatherhood

Drawing on hegemonic masculinity, this study examines how dominant gender norms impact manhood and fatherhood practices. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) conceptualize hegemonic masculinity as the culturally exalted configuration of gender practice that legitimizes men's collective dominance and naturalizes gender hierarchy through institutional and interpersonal processes, and not simply the opposite. Rather than functioning as a description of men's lives, hegemonic masculinity is a normative ideal that organizes expectations of male identity—something won through and protected by everyday power practices. It determines how men perceive their place in society and how they interact with others.

Compliance with masculine expectations is not guaranteed, as men are sometimes not entirely conformist. Typically, however, men play a part in upholding the aspirational goals and being privileged by gendered systems that place them above women and men whose masculinities deviate from the standards of the hegemonic model (Connell, 2000). Identity adjustment occurs when men are subjected to pressure to conform to hegemonic norms, resulting in the complex phenomenon of masculinity negotiation (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Plantin et al., 2003). Where men are threatened by such standards of behavior, violence may be used to legitimize masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). According to Cockburn (2004), violence is situated on a continuum that spans day-to-day interpersonal domination, from extreme discipline, duress, and intimate partner violence to the militarized and political arena. In fact, norms that provide justification for aggression at home are justified in open conflict. This demonstrates the ongoing maintenance of normative masculinity through a society that reorients the expectations of what it means to be a man, involving aggression and domination (Cockburn, 2004).

In the context of hegemonic constructions of manhood, fatherhood frequently serves as a vehicle for articulating the expectations of men/fathers as providers and protectors, strengthening hierarchical family forms in which an authoritative, controlling, and emotionally detached status serves as a normative index (Ammari & Hwang, 2008; Ammari & Schoenebeck, 2015). Within the context of a crisis (i.e., war and conflict when law and order have been ruptured), gendered violence is amplified along broader sociopolitical pathways. Cockburn (2004) explains that domestic violence grows in the context of militarization, highlighting how structural pressures encroach on family dynamics and engender violent behaviors at home. This creates household micro-sites where gender power is reaffirmed, and men's use of violence serves as a means of maintaining authority and control.

2.2 A collective expectation of reputational and respectable masculinities

Connell contends that patriarchal privilege operates as a foundational mechanism that endows men with privileges, emphasizing that masculinity is not fixed but dynamic (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). This plurality and fluidity of masculine identities inform how men and boys position themselves in

response to the aggregated expectations of masculinity and fatherhood in specific social contexts, as explored in the studies below. One qualitative study in rural Rakai, Uganda, indicated that male behaviors associated with sexual partnerships, violence, and alcohol use were co-occurring constructs of masculinity (Park et al., 2022). First, reputational or "cool" masculinity prioritized sexual prowess, multiple partners, and the accumulation of desirable material goods—qualities that revolved primarily around male peer cohorts.

Applying these expectations to fatherhood contexts can lead men to be seen as showing male fertility and being "in it together," not as active participants in caretaking and housework. In contrast, respectable or "responsible" masculinity focuses on performing socially defined adult roles: obtaining work, owning a home, getting married, having children, and providing for a family (Park et al., 2022). This reflects the hegemonic fatherhood idea, in which authority and provision—not child-rearing alone—are considered the primary indicators of manhood status. In this context, the hierarchical arrangement of values within closely knit communities, where community values such as honor and reputation take precedence over individual growth and free choice, further entrenches tight gender roles (Baker et al., 2009). In a study of stay-at-home fathers (SAHFs) in extended family households in Pakistan, Shah (2025) found that they are often subjected to severe stigmatization, criticism, and negative responses from both extended family members and the surrounding community. In these contexts, threats to masculine identity are more acute, as the collective construction of honor renders the experiences of SAHFs especially complex and burdened by social obstacles.

2.3 Caring masculinity: a vision to alternative masculinity

Connell further suggested that hegemonic masculinity is both historically contingent and subject to collective renegotiation (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Likewise, Cockburn (2004) identifies feminist and peace movements that counter militarism and expose the gendered foundations of conflict, allowing political space to reimagine gender relations. In this paradigm, manhood and fatherhood are not biologically fixed but socially constructed and historically transformable. Connell's theory has been criticized for placing too much emphasis on masculinity in relation to power, often portraying it as primarily defined by positions within and relations between economic and political power (Elliott and Robert, 2023).

Elliott (2016) also developed the concept of caring masculinities as a corrective to hegemonic masculinity that sees caring, interdependence, relationality, emotional openness, and nonviolence as key to manhood. Instead of treating care as incompatible with masculinity, Elliott contends that caring masculinities recast care and emotional labor as legitimate and respected masculine acts. Critically, Elliott theorizes caring masculinities not merely as identity claims, but as practice-based transformations (Elliott, 2016). Accordingly, engaged fatherhood can be an essential entry point into a renewed redefinition of masculinity, where men can replace dominance-driven roles with nurturing, egalitarian, and nonviolent roles.

Elliott's analysis builds on Hanlon (2012), who argued that multiple factors foster men's involvement in care work, ranging from valuing caregiving and expressions of men's emotions to adopting looser understandings of what caregiving entails, all of which lead to the rejection of male dominance and privilege. This challenges the consensus that authority, control, and emotional distance define effective fatherhood. Instead, caring masculinities redefine caregiving (not limited to children, the elderly, or ill people, but also self-care and care for society)—rather than dominationas a constitutive category of masculine identity and social respectability.

Mapping masculinity in rural Rakai, Uganda, provides evidence that emerging tensions within hegemonic masculinity emerged as younger men engaged in gender-transformative interventions, rebelled against violent norms, and articulated more equitable values, such as consensual sex, fidelity, and communication (Park et al., 2022). Such programs, by revealing discrepancies between the competing pressures of reputation and respectability, foster alternative fatherhood frameworks. Caring masculinities attempts to theorize this form of masculinity while also expanding upon and extending hegemonic masculinity, drawing emphasis on the changing nature of masculinity today, particularly in

the lives of younger men, in relation to gender relations. It seeks to address a new form of masculinity that moves against hegemonic masculinity by contesting the claim that gender transformation is initiated by affluent and middle-class men occupying a hegemonic position (Wojnika and de Bois, 2025).

Building on Hooks (2004), Elliott writes that "transformation is produced from among those marginalised, such as gay men, men of colour and working-class men, and is then appropriated by those further ahead." These peripheral communities have significantly influenced elite men's conceptions and practices of care (Wojnika and de Bois, 2025). Finally, Elliott (2016) warns that caring masculinities must be interrogated to avoid becoming a mere rhetoric. She also points out that caring practices alone are not enough to dismantle institutional patriarchal privilege: caring masculinities need institutional policies (such as parental leave policies, workplace flexibility, and cultural validation) to effect lasting change. This emphasizes that caring fatherhood is both a personal practice and a social enterprise that demands radical cultural, policy, and relational changes to completely overturn the dominant masculinity.

3. Research Method

This study uses a qualitative, desk-based review that combines a focused literature review with a secondary analysis of existing empirical research. The primary empirical basis for this research is the report Reconstructing Masculinities: Gender Dynamics After Conflict in Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro Mindanao (Affiat, Rahmadhani, and Nakayama, 2024), which produced a dataset of gender norms and masculinities within the three areas. As a validated empirical source, this report presents ample insights into how gender roles, household dynamics, and masculine identities are negotiated in post-conflict periods. This study employed quantitative surveys with random sampling, with the sample analyzed collectively across the three regions and separately by region at the local level. Significant relationships between the survey variables were tested using statistical tests (chi-square, adjusted Pearson residuals, and Spearman rank-order correlations). Qualitative local data were collected through focus group discussions (FGDs) and interviews.

This study uses a thematic method that integrates the report results with the current literature on hegemonic and caring masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Elliott, 2016). This method allows us to interpret existing empirical findings without attempting to reproduce the analytic model of the central article. The analysis focuses on matters relevant to caring masculinities in post-conflict families and communities, such as men's roles in domestic labor, household decision-making, protective roles, gatekeeping, past trauma, and structural constraints to changing norms. Through its conduct, the study constructs a conceptual nexus between empirical research and theoretical inquiry into how caring masculinities emerge and are constrained in post-conflict contexts. This approach is directly relevant for addressing the research questions of this study.

1. How are masculinities transformed within family and community settings after conflicts?
2. In what ways do masculine expressions in everyday practices contribute to a broader culture that reproduces gendered power hierarchies?
3. What forms of caring masculinities can be identified, and how do they interact with the dominant norms?
4. What implications do these shifts have for gender equality in peacebuilding and larger contexts?

For transparency, Table 1 from the primary report is reprinted to illustrate the scope and distribution of the empirical dataset that informs this study. No new fieldwork was conducted after this study.

Table 1. Sample Size by Provinces, Sub-Regions, and Gender

Sub-region	Women	Men	Total
Province: Aceh			
Banda Aceh and Aceh Besar	363	344	707
Central Aceh	180	187	367
Bener Meriah	145	155	300

Pidie and Pidie Jaya	342	328	670
Total	**1030**	**1014**	**2044**
Province: Maluku			
Ambon	447	441	888
Tual City	111	89	200
Central Maluku	55	56	111
Southeast Maluku	149	157	306
Buru	292	203	495
Total	**1054**	**946**	**2000**
Province: Lanao Del Sur			
Total	**539**	**522**	**1061**
Province: Maguindanao			
Total	**491**	**485**	**976**

Note: Reprinted from Statistical Appendix in *Reconstructing masculinities: Gender dynamics after conflict in Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro Mindanao*, by Affiat, R., Rahmadhani, P., & Nakayama, M., 2024, Sasakawa Peace Foundation.

4. Results and Discussions

4.1 The Endurance of Gendered Hierarchies

Quantitative data from the studies conducted by Affiat, Rahmadhani, and Nakayama (2024) indicate that masculinities in post-conflict societies in Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro have undergone partial transformation, with a noticeable decline in the valorisation of physical strength and aggression as dominant markers of manhood. However, the structural expectations of male authority remain deeply embedded in domestic and community settings. Men continue to construct masculine identities through roles tied to economic provision, protection, and household decision-making, while women remain associated with caregiving and reproductive labor. Support for these patterns is illustrated in several statistical findings (see Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5).

Table 2 highlights the importance of different factors for men. Survey asked male respondents: "Do you agree that the following factors are important part of being a man?" On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 was not important at all and 10 was very important. In all the sub-regions across the regions, "being employed," "protecting your family," "being a good father to your children," "solving problems peacefully," and "being married" are considered highly important factors for a man. However, on average, "being physically strong" is considered very unimportant in all regions (Affiat et al., 2024).

Table 2. Average Importance of Each Factor for a Man

	Aceh		
	Sub-Region 1	**Sub-Region 2**	**Sub-Region 3**
Being employed	9.1	8.3	9.6
Protecting your family	9.3	9.1	9.9
Being a good father to your children	9.3	9.2	9.8
Being physically strong	1.9	2.7	1.6
Being married	9.1	8.0	9.4
Being capable of violence	6.7	6.5	7.9
Solving problems peacefully	9.0	8.4	9.3
	Maluku		
	Sub-Region 1	**Sub-Region 2**	**Sub-Region 3**
Being employed	9.5	9.2	8.8
Protecting your family	9.6	9.6	8.9
Being a good father to your children	9.5	9.4	8.9

Being physically strong	1.8	1.9	2.4
Being married	9.3	8.5	8.0
Being capable of violence	6.9	7.5	6.9
Solving problems peacefully	9.2	8.9	8.6
	Mindanao		
	Sub-Region 1	**Sub-Region 2**	
Being employed	8.9	9.1	
Protecting your family	9.8	9.4	
Being a good father to your children	9.7	9.4	
Being physically strong	1.6	1.7	
Being married	9.2	9.2	
Being capable of violence	6.3	3.1	
Solving problems peacefully	8.9	9.1	

Note: Reprinted from Statistical Appendix in *Reconstructing masculinities: Gender dynamics after conflict in Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro Mindanao*, by Affiat, R., Rahmadhani, P., & Nakayama, M., 2024, Sasakawa Peace Foundation.

Table 3 highlights individual views on violence across the three regions, showing men and women's rejection of physical violence (especially towards children, women, and community members) (Affiat et al., 2024).

Table 3. Individual Views on Violence

	Strongly Disagree	**Disagree**	**Neutral**	**Agree**	**Strongly Agree**
Children may be beaten to instill discipline	11%	41%	19%	27%	2%
If someone insults me, I have to resort to violence to defend my reputation	7%	54%	22%	17%	1%
We need to resort to violence to protect our families	6%	45%	23%	23%	2%
We need to resort to violence to keep the security at community level	6%	46%	24%	23%	1%
In any circumstances resort to violence is not justified	3%	16%	22%	48%	11%
We need to intervene if we witness violence against women	2%	13%	18%	53%	14%

Note: Reprinted from Statistical Appendix in *Reconstructing masculinities: Gender dynamics after conflict in Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro Mindanao*, by Affiat, R., Rahmadhani, P., & Nakayama, M., 2024, Sasakawa Peace Foundation.

Table 4 highlights men and women's perceptions of gender roles. As shown in this table, an even split by gender is found for different statements about gender roles (e.g., "men should work outside and women take care of the household," "men must be the breadwinner of the household," "household work and childcare need to be done by women," "care for elderly members need to be done by women," "childcare should be done exclusively by mothers while they are small"). A statistical correlation was measured between whether men were the heads of the household and whether they agreed with the statement that "women deserve to make decisions in the household." A significantly large number of male respondents who were heads of households disagreed with the statement, "women deserve to make decisions in the household" (Affiat et al., 2024).

Table 4. Perceptions About Gender Roles

	Aceh					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**		**Sub-Region 3**	
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Men should work outside and women to take care of household	58.7	66.7	93.6	86.3	61.7	52.3
Men must be the breadwinner of the household	74.4	76.6	95.7	91.5	82.2	70.2
Household works and childcare need to be done by women	45.3	55.6	91.5	81.3	63.2	54.8
Care for elderly family members needs to be done by women	26.5	48.8	81.1	67.3	37.7	41.8
Childcare should be done exclusively by mothers when children are small	42.4	59.2	93.0	77.8	69.3	67.1
	Maluku					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**		**Sub-Region 3**	
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Men should work outside and women to take care of household	63.2	52.2	65.0	55.0	71.4	51.7
Men must be the breadwinner of the household	79.5	68.1	74.8	61.9	78.3	62.3
Household works and childcare need to be done by women	63.2	53.6	55.3	50.0	64.5	56.8
Care for elderly family members needs to be done by women	43.5	46.6	45.1	45.4	58.1	52.4
Childcare should be done exclusively by mothers when children are small	74.0	72.1	58.9	61.5	68.0	66.1
	Mindanao					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**			
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**		
Men should work outside and women to take care of household	88.4	78.8	64.9	63.6		
Men must be the breadwinner of the household	91.3	84.2	64.9	62.2		
Household works and childcare need to be done by women	73.9	76.2	58.6	54.7		
Care for elderly family members need to be done by women	66.5	68.5	57.3	57.5		
Childcare should be done exclusively by mothers when children are small	62.3	67.5	63.5	64.0		

Note: Reprinted from Statistical Appendix in *Reconstructing masculinities: Gender dynamics after conflict in Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro Mindanao*, by Affiat, R., Rahmadhani, P., & Nakayama, M., 2024, Sasakawa Peace Foundation.

Table 5 highlights the division of labor between men and women across all regions, where women perform the majority of household chores (Affiat et al., 2024).

Table 5. Division of Labor

	Aceh					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**		**Sub-Region 3**	
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Buy the food	42.6	57.0	47.8	52.1	33.4	66.6
Prepare and cook the food	11.9	87.6	7.9	92.0	16.0	84.0
Wash the dishes	17.8	82.0	6.5	93.2	15.3	84.6
Wash and fold the clothes	13.9	85.0	7.7	91.7	12.1	87.7
Clean up the house	27.0	72.8	10.1	89.6	26.5	73.3
Caregiving	0.0	61.8	0.0	75.1	0.0	62.1
	Maluku					
	Sub-Region 1		**ub-Region 2**		**Sub-Region 3**	
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**

Buy the food	25.3	74.5	47.3	52.7	22.2	77.4
Prepare and cook the food	11.0	88.7	17.4	82.6	7.5	92.1
Wash the dishes	15.1	84.8	17.6	82.4	15.4	84.6
Wash and fold the clothes	12.7	86.7	19.1	80.3	8.3	90.9
Clean up the house	24.0	75.9	29.6	70.2	21.2	78.6
Caregiving	0.0	71.6	0.0	62.7	0.0	76.6
	Mindanao					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**			
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**		
Buy the food	53.5	45.8	69.8	29.8		
Prepare and cook the food	13.9	85.7	47.6	51.7		
Wash the dishes	9.0	89.8	28.5	70.7		
Wash and fold the clothes	17.6	81.2	20.0	79.0		
Clean up the house	11.2	87.9	25.3	73.6		
Caregiving	0.0	80.0	0.0	53.9		

Note: Reprinted from Statistical Appendix in *Reconstructing masculinities: Gender dynamics after conflict in Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro Mindanao*, by Affiat, R., Rahmadhani, P., & Nakayama, M., 2024, Sasakawa Peace Foundation.

Affiat, Rahmadhani, and Nakayama(2024) explain that the relatively smaller gender gap in household labor in the Bangsamoro region is closely linked to continuing *rido*—clan conflicts over land and resource access rooted in complex socioeconomic and security dynamics. In these conflicts, influential, educated, and affluent men, often family patriarchs, are targeted by rival clans seeking to weaken their opponents, with both sides wielding considerable economic, political, and military resources, including private militias. As a result, forced displacement (*bakwit*) is largely driven by *rido* rather than by confrontations between the Armed Forces of the Philippines and Moro armed groups. In this climate of insecurity, men tend to uphold "protective masculinity," prioritizing the defense of their families and communities, which can escalate into militarized masculinity as access to weapons becomes tied to notions of safety. Conversely, women in Bangsamoro often assume more responsibilities outside the home than women in Aceh and Maluku, partly due to the heightened risks men face and the prevailing belief that women are less likely to be victims of violence (Affiat et al., 2024).

The findings reflect the negotiation between shifting gender values and persistent patriarchal structures. While statistical data show a declining value of physical aggression and strength in men, they continue to define themselves through roles consistent with respectable masculinity, anchored in decision-making power and authority. However, such respectability maintains gender hierarchies and sustains the expectation that women must continue to shoulder domestic labor, as reflected in Table 5, where women overwhelmingly perform nearly all household tasks in every region.

Simultaneously, elements of reputational masculinity—where masculine status is tied to defending honor and demonstrating toughness—remain deeply embedded and are intensified in conflict-affected environments such as the DRC. Although respondents generally reject violence as an everyday norm, the comparatively high importance placed on "being capable of violence" (6–7.9 across many sub-regions) highlights an ongoing belief that men must demonstrate preparedness for force when collective security or family honor is threatened. This aligns with Connell's (2005) observation that militarized and defensive masculinities emerge in contexts of political instability, as shown in the Bangsamoro case of continuing *rido*. In such settings, reputational masculinity becomes central to survival and clan legitimacy, reinforcing male dominance, even amid broader normative shifts.

However, this context also opens up possibilities for transformation. Elliott's (2016) concept of caring masculinities, which calls for emotional engagement, peace-oriented conflict resolution, and shared caregiving, resonates subtly with emerging trends in these regions, such as the strong valuation of peaceful problem-solving (8.4–9.3 across regions) and the prioritization of fatherhood as a key masculine identity.

4.2 Families, Religious Authorities and Customary Institutions as Sites of Gender Socialization and Control

Families remain the primary arena in which gender norms are shaped and legitimized. Statistical data show that parents and spouses play central roles in reproducing men's expectations (Affiat et al., 2024). These patterns are supported by the statistical findings (see Table 6). Table 6 shows the importance of the different personas in teaching what it means to be a man. The survey asked male respondents: "Do the following people play a big role in teaching you what it means to be a man?" On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 was not important at all and 10 was very important. The following table shows the average scores out of 10 by sub-regions. Across all sub-regions, female friends have the least average importance in teaching what is needed to be a man, while parents have the highest average importance (Affiat, et al., 2024).

Table 6. Average Importance of People in Teaching What It Means to be a Man

	Aceh		
	Sub-Region 1	**Sub-Region 2**	**Sub-Region 3**
Spouse	8.2	8.2	8.6
Religious leaders	8.8	9.0	9.0
Community leaders	8.4	8.2	8.5
Father	9.2	8.6	9.8
Mother	9.2	8.8	9.7
Male relatives	8.2	7.5	8.0
Female relatives	7.8	7.1	7.6
Male friends	7.6	7.1	7.4
Female friends	6.7	6.4	6.0
	Maluku		
	Sub-Region 1	**Sub-Region 2**	**Sub-Region 3**
Spouse	8.3	8.3	8.3
Religious leaders	8.4	8.4	8.1
Community leaders	7.8	8.1	7.7
Father	9.2	9.5	8.6
Mother	9.3	9.5	8.5
Male relatives	7.8	8.0	7.5
Female relatives	7.6	7.9	7.3
Male friends	7.3	7.4	6.8
Female friends	6.8	7.0	6.1
	Mindanao		
	Sub-Region 1	**Sub-Region 2**	
Spouse	9.3	9.3	
Religious leaders	9.5	9.0	
Community leaders	8.5	8.8	
Father	9.8	9.5	
Mother	9.7	9.5	
Male relatives	8.5	8.5	
Female relatives	8.4	8.1	
Male friends	7.8	8.0	
Female friends	7.5	7.3	

The qualitative findings indicate that religious leaders reinforce moral frameworks that naturalize men's leadership and women's domesticity, while customary and clan systems regulate access to public authority and community resources for women. Participants from all three regions emphasized the significant influence of religious leaders in shaping ideas about manhood, particularly in Aceh and Bangsamoro, where their role is seen as more prominent than in Maluku (Affiat, Rahmadhani, and Nakayama, 2024). In these two predominantly Muslim contexts, figures such as *imams* and *ustadz* are regarded as key arbiters of masculine behavior. In Maluku, where Muslim and Christian populations are more balanced, religious leaders from both faiths guide norms within families and communities, typically reinforcing men's responsibilities as breadwinners and heads of households and women's duties as caregivers and homemakers (Affiat et al., 2024).

However, the delivery of religious teachings on masculinity differs substantially between Aceh and Bangsamoro. In conflict-affected areas of Bangsamoro, young men and boys often encounter weapons in their daily lives. In some *madarasa*, although in small numbers, religious leaders provide instruction on *jihad* and the qualities of a *mujahidin*, framing the struggle against the Christian-majority Philippine government as part of a masculine identity. This context contributes to the development of militarized forms of masculinity, shaped by both religious discourse and exposure to armed conflict (Affiat et al., 2024).

Family and community institutions function as the primary architects of respectable and reputational masculinities, shaping the moral and social expectations that define how men should behave and who is considered a "proper" man. In many contexts, these institutions prescribe provider- and protector-based roles as the core of respectable masculinity. Young et al.'s (2024) study in South Africa demonstrates how families and communities socialize boys into a dominant ideal of manhood rooted in responsibility, strength, and leadership, in which men gain respect by fulfilling these roles and lose status when they fall short. The pressure to live up to these ideals is not merely symbolic; it is enforced through everyday interactions, expectations, and judgments that discipline men's behavior and restrict the boundaries of acceptable masculine expressions. Such forms of masculine governance underscore how gender norms are maintained through intimate relational power rather than policy frameworks alone.

Simultaneously, these networks also police and constrain emerging forms of caring masculinities, treating practices such as childcare, emotional openness, and domestic labor as threats to established gender orders. Shah's (2025) research on stay-at-home fathers in Pakistan reveals how extended families mobilize the language of honor (*ghairat, izzat*) to sanction men who embrace caregiving roles, framing such practices as violations of respectable masculinity and reputational standing within the community. Men who attempt to take on nurturing roles face ridicule, surveillance, and moral questioning, illustrating how family and community structures actively suppress alternative and more egalitarian gender performances.

Shah (2025) also showed that when familial support is present, caring masculinities can take root, challenging traditional norms and demonstrating the transformative potential of intimate institutions. Similarly, Affiat, Rahmadhani, and Nakayama (2024) demonstrated that some women and men are actively renegotiating gender relations as they adjust to post-conflict realities. Higher socioeconomic status among men and women is associated with reduced gender inequality in household labor, and increased educational attainment is linked to declining support for assigning domestic and caregiving responsibilities exclusively to women. Furthermore, men who participate more substantially in household labor are less likely to support traditional gender norms related to breadwinning and domestic work (Affiat et al., 2024). Any effort to shift masculinities must engage with the dense social ecology of families, kin networks, religious authorities, and community norms—settings where gendered power is reproduced, contested and occasionally remade.

4.3 Gendered Power, Economic Gatekeeping and the Constraint of Women's Agency

Women's economic participation and mobility are heavily mediated by male authority, particularly among husbands and household heads (Affiat, Rahmadhani, and Nakayama, 2024). Married women experience heightened restrictions because their employment may undermine men's breadwinner identities (Affiat et al., 2024). Support for these patterns is illustrated in several statistical findings (see Tables 7 and 8).

Tables 7 and 8 highlight the individual views of men and women across the three regions on women's leadership and the right of women to work outside the house. Statistical correlations were measured between male and female households in these two tables. Male household heads agree more with the statements "I don't want to have female bosses" and "women should not be decision-makers and/or leaders at work" compared to female household heads. Male household heads are less likely to agree with the statement "a married woman should have the same rights to work outside the home as her husband" compared to female household heads. A significantly large number of married women respondents note that they are not working because they are not allowed to, relative to other women. As men's socioeconomic status increases, agreement with the statement that "women are encouraged to work outside their homes if it contributes to household income" decreases (Affiat et al., 2024).

Table 7. Individual Perceptions About Women Leadership by Gender

	Gender of Respondent		**Gender of Household Head**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
I do not want to have female bosses	36%	30%	36%	29%
Women should not be a decision maker and/or leaders at work	34%	27%	35%	26%

Table 8. Individual Views About Women Having Rights to Work

	Gender of Respondent		**Gender of Household Head**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
A married woman should have the same rights to work outside the home as her husband	56%	70%	56%	69%
Women are encouraged to work outside their homes if it contributes to household income	70%	80%	70%	79%

Note: Reprinted from Statistical Appendix in *Reconstructing masculinities: Gender dynamics after conflict in Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro Mindanao*, by Affiat, R., Rahmadhani, P., & Nakayama, M., 2024, Sasakawa Peace Foundation.

Having female family members, such as wives, mothers, daughters, or sisters, engaged in external employment can be interpreted as a failure to live up to the masculine expectation of being the sole provider (Affiat, Rahmadhani, and Nakayama, 2024). Shifts in gender norms intensify anxieties that financially independent women with decision-making authority might challenge male dominance and that spending time outside the domestic sphere could compromise women's roles as devoted wives and mothers. Consequently, even when men earn enough to support their families without women's contributions, they may experience feelings of shame or inadequacy and respond by imposing restrictions to reassert control over women (Affiat et al., 2024).

Qualitative findings further showed that in areas and communities affected by conflict, such as Bangsamoro, the persistence of insecurity often becomes a justification for limiting women's mobility, framed as a measure to protect them (Affiat, Rahmadhani, and Nakayama, 2024). Ongoing instability,

combined with conservative religious interpretations of gender roles and entrenched beliefs about male authority, leads some men to restrict women's movement and participation in work outside the home. These gatekeeping practices are sometimes reinforced by women themselves, who understand that going against family and cultural expectations can create significant psychological and social pressure for women pursuing employment or public leadership (Affiat et al., 2024).

These findings reveal that women's economic participation and mobility remain deeply circumscribed by entrenched systems of male authority embedded in household and community life in the region. Men—particularly male household heads—demonstrate significantly stronger resistance to women's leadership and to equal rights for married women to work outside the home, compared to women respondents, as evidenced by the differences in Tables 7 and 8. Married women face intensified constraints because their income-earning activities can be interpreted as destabilizing men's breadwinner status or challenging their position as heads of the household (Connell, 2009; Barker & Flood, 2021). When women enter the labor force, it threatens the symbolic power of men, challenging men's legitimacy, which is countered by restricting female mobility and gatekeeping access to opportunities (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

These dynamics intensify in conflict-affected settings, where insecurity and conservative religious interpretations provide additional structural rationales for limiting women's public roles. Persistent instability is deployed as a protective discourse to justify keeping women in private domestic spaces, reinforcing gender hierarchies under the guise of safety. Such constraints reveal that patriarchal power is not only imposed by men but also reproduced by women who internalize social expectations and fear community judgment, illustrating the functioning of the patriarchal bargain (Kandiyoti, 1988), where women comply with restrictive norms to avoid conflict or sanction. Overall, this suggests that transforming gender norms requires not only improving women's opportunities but also addressing the patriarchal structures that shape men's identities and their fears. Cultivating caring masculinities—which disconnect male honor from economic dominance—can open critical pathways for women's expanded agency and financial autonomy in Pakistan.

4.4 The Interplay of Conflict Trauma and Structural Inequality in Masculinity Formation

Conflict-related trauma profoundly shapes post-conflict gender relations and attitudes toward violence across Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro. The research demonstrates that individuals who directly experience or witness violence during conflict are more likely to accept the use of violence, including domestic and community-level violence (Affiat, Rahmadhani, and Nakayama, 2024). However, trauma is rarely reported due to patriarchal norms that prioritize family honor and silence survivors—particularly women—who fear stigma, blame, and loss of social support. The qualitative findings highlight that the underreporting of physical and sexual violence masks widespread psychological distress and normalizes harmful behaviors, including substance abuse, among young men struggling to meet the expectations of protective masculinity. While demand for trauma healing and mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS) is high, services remain limited, uneven, and reliant on poorly resourced civil society actors and informal religious or customary practices. As a result, unresolved trauma continues to shape social behavior and reinforces cycles of fear, insecurity, and violence (Affiat et al., 2024).

Table 9A highlights men and women's experiences of violence during conflict. Table 9B highlights perceptions of domestic violence. Statistical correlations were measured between Tables 9A and 9B. A significantly large number of men respondents who experienced sexual violence during the conflict note agreement with the statement "we need to resort to violence to keep security at the community level." A significantly large number of male respondents who witnessed physical violence during the conflict noted strong agreement with the statement "women and children should not be beaten even within the family" (Affiat et al., 2024).

Table 9. Experience of Violence During Conflict Era

	Aceh					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**		**Sub-Region 3**	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Any physical violence	9.4	4.1	34.4	15.9	8.5	2.2
Forms of sexual attack	1.1	1.5	2.8	3.1	0.9	0.0
Witnessed physical violence against other	21.1	19.8	39.9	22.9	15.0	7.3
Witnessed forms of sexual attack against	2.2	2.9	6.3	2.2	1.5	0.4
Endured any forms of traumatic experience	14.7	17.0	32.9	34.8	15.1	14.5
	Maluku					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**		**Sub-Region 3**	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Any physical violence	5.4	3.2	4.3	3.9	1.6	2.6
Forms of sexual attack	0.6	0.5	0.6	1.6	0.6	1.0
Witnessed physical violence against other	16.2	13.3	14.4	11.6	3.8	4.4
Witnessed forms of sexual attack against	2.0	2.2	0.8	1.6	1.0	1.4
Endured any forms of traumatic experience	9.0	11.8	6.9	11.6	1.4	3.0
	Mindanao					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**			
	Men	Women	Men	Women		
Any physical violence	12.7	8.3	0.9	1.0		
Forms of sexual attack	3.3	2.4	0.3	1.0		
Witnessed physical violence against other	25.6	21.4	1.7	1.4		
Witnessed forms of sexual attack against	5.2	4.6	0.4	0.9		
Endured any forms of traumatic experience	14.0	19.8	0.5	1.6		

Table 10. *Perceptions About Domestic Violence*

	Aceh					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**		**Sub-Region 3**	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Children may be beaten to instill discipline	16.6	10.2	22.9	19.3	21.3	8.0
If someone insults me, I have to resort to violence to defend my reputation	10.8	5.2	16.5	21.9	15.2	15.4
We need to resort to violence to protect our families	18.3	12.1	25.3	25.1	22.2	15.7
We need to resort to violence to keep the security at community level	15.1	8.0	15.2	20.8	23.4	12.6
In any circumstances resort to violence is not justified	50.9	66.9	44.2	64.3	60.8	72.9
We need to intervene if we witness violence against women	59.0	83.2	63.1	69.9	81.3	83.4
	Maluku					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**		**Sub-Region 3**	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Children may be beaten to instill discipline	28.2	28.5	40.7	38.5	32.5	24.3

If someone insults me, I have to resort to violence to defend my reputation	14.7	15.5	12.6	13.5	24.6	15.8
We need to resort to violence to protect our families	18.3	19.7	14.6	15.8	23.2	14.4
We need to resort to violence to keep the security at community level	20.5	18.5	15.9	15.4	24.1	17.1
In any circumstances resort to violence is not justified	59.4	58.0	58.5	65.4	47.3	54.8
We need to intervene if we witness violence against women	75.5	76.5	64.6	68.8	68.0	66.4
	Mindanao					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**			
	Men	Women	Men	Women		
Children may be beaten to instill discipline	38.8	42.0	60.1	54.7		
If someone insults me, I have to resort to violence to defend my reputation	23.1	28.3	44.8	43.0		
We need to resort to violence to protect our families	32.5	33.0	66.0	57.4		
We need to resort to violence to keep the security at community level	31.9	31.4	68.4	59.7		
In any circumstances resort to violence is not justified	57.6	57.0	79.0	68.7		
We need to intervene if we witness violence against women	42.4	40.5	85.9	77.5		

Note: Reprinted from Statistical Appendix in *Reconstructing masculinities: Gender dynamics after conflict in Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro Mindanao*, by Affiat, R., Rahmadhani, P., & Nakayama, M., 2024, Sasakawa Peace Foundation.

This trauma crisis is intensified by post-conflict reconstruction strategies that prioritize militarized and elite male interests—security, infrastructure, and political stabilization—while overlooking gender-responsive social recovery, justice, and economic inclusion (Affiat, Rahmadhani, and Nakayama, 2024). These patterns are supported by the statistical findings (see Table 10). The qualitative findings also show that the dominance of militarized governance has reproduced the structural causes of conflict, including poverty, land dispossession, unemployment, and exclusion from resource benefits. These pressures deepen the frustration among men who are unable to achieve the traditional ideals of masculinity as breadwinners and protectors, pushing some toward violence at the domestic or community levels (Affiat, et al., 2024).

Table 10 highlights the various indicators of peacebuilding achievement. Respondents across Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro generally view peacebuilding as having improved daily security, strengthened community participation, and rebuilt trust, with safety and freedom of movement seen as the most significant gains, although less so in Bangsamoro due to continued violence. However, they believe that key peace dividends, such as good governance, economic recovery, and poverty reduction, have not materialized. Since unequal access to resources and livelihoods was a major driver of conflict, low ratings of economic welfare reveal that the core structural causes of violence remain unresolved (Affiat et al., 2024).

Table 11. Achievement of Peacebuilding

	Aceh					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**		**Sub-Region 3**	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Safety and security of people	77.9	73.0	79.0	76.9	78.4	86.5
Good governance	38.4	44.4	39.3	57.3	50.3	64.0
People participation in decision-making	56.7	58.4	60.7	63.7	61.4	77.5
Welfare overcoming poverty and economic hardship	36.0	38.0	29.3	50.3	50.0	67.4
Trusting relationships at community level	63.7	68.0	62.5	69.9	71.1	79.7
Addressing and overcoming the root causes of conflict	54.7	50.7	38.7	54.7	59.9	74.5
	Maluku					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**		**Sub-Region 3**	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Safety and security of people	79.1	79.9	89.0	85.0	88.2	84.2
Good governance	50.5	51.2	77.6	80.0	63.5	54.5
People participation in decision-making	63.8	62.4	84.1	82.7	79.3	69.9
Welfare overcoming poverty and economic hardship	45.5	50.4	69.5	73.8	70.9	60.6
Trusting relationships at community level	71.0	70.5	90.2	86.2	80.8	78.4
Addressing and overcoming the root causes of conflict	61.0	64.1	85.8	81.9	77.3	76.0
	Mindanao					
	Sub-Region 1		**Sub-Region 2**			
	Men	Women	Men	Women		
Safety and security of people	58.6	52.3	78.6	74.6		
Good governance	51.1	45.0	69.4	56.9		
People participation in decision-making	50.3	46.0	65.3	64.6		
Welfare overcoming poverty and economic hardship	42.7	40.3	56.1	59.6		
Trusting relationships at community level	61.5	56.5	76.5	73.8		
Addressing and overcoming the root causes of conflict	45.5	44.5	68.8	63.5		

Note: Reprinted from Statistical Appendix in *Reconstructing masculinities: Gender dynamics after conflict in Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro Mindanao*, by Affiat, R., Rahmadhani, P., & Nakayama, M., 2024, Sasakawa Peace Foundation.

This dynamic closely parallels the experiences of Black male mineworkers in Marikana, who describe the provider role as "hard" and "painful" under conditions of racialized capitalism and dangerous, low-paid labor. Providing for one's family is framed as an inescapable demand, and failing financially becomes a source of shame, emotional pain, and social condemnation. As men internalize the provider role as central to their self-worth, they feel profound psychological distress when structural limitations prevent them from achieving it (Sikweyiya et al., 2022).

Both contexts demonstrate how the provider ideal operates as an ideological tool that masks systemic marginalization and transforms structural barriers into personal shortcomings. Across these cases, transforming masculinities requires confronting not only gendered norms but also the political-economic systems that undermine the socioeconomic conditions of men and women, and investing in trauma healing, social welfare, and labor justice as core conditions for change.

4.5 Discussion

Across Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro, masculinities are undergoing visible shifts, yet remain anchored in longstanding gendered hierarchies. While public expressions of physical aggression and militarized toughness have declined in the post-conflict period, men's authority within households and communities continues to be upheld through the intertwined logics of respectable and reputational masculinity. Men increasingly distance themselves from violence but continue to secure legitimacy through provider-protective roles and decision-making authority in the family. This reflects what Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) describe as the adaptive elasticity of hegemonic masculinity, where gender orders restructure themselves, maintaining the foundational logic of male dominance in ways that appear less overt yet remain deeply embedded in everyday life.

Masculinities that emphasize authority, protection, and economic dominance restrict women's mobility, labor participation, and leadership. Women's economic contributions do not translate into autonomy when the terms of their participation—access to markets, income control, or household decisions—are mediated by male authority. Everyday practices—financial gatekeeping, mobility restrictions, and decision-making monopolies—function as disciplinary mechanisms that reproduce gendered inequities, even within households where women contribute significantly to the economy. Such practices echo Kabeer's (2000) analysis of agency constraints under patriarchal bargaining systems, where women's economic activity is tolerated only insofar as it does not destabilize men's symbolic authority.

Family, customary, and religious structures reinforce these boundaries by framing men's leadership as a moral duty and women's domesticity as a cultural expectation. The result is a dense governance system that disciplines both men and women: men are compelled to uphold provider- and protector-based respectability, and women are expected to maintain deference and compliance. Even as socioeconomic conditions shift, the normative hegemony of masculinity continues to shape how resources, opportunities, and authority circulate within families and communities. This aligns with critiques of institutionalized patriarchy (Hunnicutt, 2009), which argue that gendered domination is maintained not only through norms but also through resource distribution, social sanction, and institutional legitimacy. In this sense, gender orders in post-conflict societies are continuously regenerated through intimate, communal, and institutional practices.

However, as Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) note, hegemonic masculinity is not static; it is responsive to historical shifts. While hegemonic norms in the form of male control and authority continue to organize through family and community settings, men's growing desire to embody familial responsibility and stability opens space for relational and caring practices. Where men engage in domestic labor, support for women's autonomy and public participation increases, suggesting that the moral grammar of respectability may be shifting toward more relational expressions of masculinity.

These practices often face surveillance and sanctions from family members, peers, and religious gatekeepers, who interpret caregiving and domestic work as a deviation from respectable masculinity or a threat to reputational standing. As Shah (2025) and Elliot (2016) noted, caring masculinities often

provoke backlash because they expose the instabilityand arbitrarinessof hegemonic norms. Men who attempt to engage in caregiving often face ridicule, suspicion, and reputational penalties from peers and kin. Caring practices thus depend heavily on the degree of familial and communal support; when such support is present, men are more able to sustain alternative gender performances that expand the boundaries of normative masculinity. These dynamics underscore the role of families and communities as enforcement sites where alternative masculinities are disciplined back into conformity, revealing that gender transformation requires not only individual willingness but also structural shifts in the social institutions that govern shame.

Unaddressed trauma, economic marginalization, and weak social protection systems contribute to normative forms of masculinity characterized by emotional withdrawal, violence, and alcohol use—patterns consistent with Cockburn's (2004) continuum of violence. blurring the boundaries between wartime and domestic forms of harm. Simultaneously, economic precarity intensifies the pressure to perform breadwinner ideals, producing what scholars of labour precarity describe as structurally induced masculine failure (Ratele, 2019). Men bear psychological and material burdens under conditions engineered for their dispossession, a dynamic that transforms systemic inequality into personal inadequacy. Transforming masculinities in such contexts requires addressing not only normative expectations but also the broader political–economic conditions that constrain men's and women's capacities to renegotiate gender relations.

Taken together, the findings point to a critical yet hopeful conclusion: while gendered hierarchies remain institutionally entrenched, men's growing commitment to responsibility, care, and relational well-being represents a promising and politically significant entry point for transforming norms. Respectable masculinity—traditionally a source of patriarchal authority—can be redirected more towards revaluing care, emotional openness, and shared domestic responsibilities. Efforts to advance gender equality must work within social infrastructures—families, customary systems, and religious networks—where identities take shape, while also addressing the socioeconomic, political, and psychosocial conditions that intensify gendered burdens. Approaches that support caring masculinities, expand women's economic and political agency, and reconfigure the authority of family, customary, and religious structures have greater potential for reshaping gender orders. Only by addressing the material, emotional, and institutional foundations of masculine power can gender-transformative interventions disrupt the entrenched hierarchies in post-conflict societies and, in a larger context, advance SDGs commitments for peaceful and inclusive societies.

5. Conclusion

Masculinities in Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro are undergoing a gradual yet uneven transformation in the post-conflict period. Although the explicit valorisation of physical strength and violence has declined, provider–protector expectations continue to shape men's authority within households and communities, reinforcing gendered divisions of labor and limiting women's mobility, leadership, and economic autonomy. These findings reflect the continued endurance of gendered hierarchies, upheld through subtle forms of control instead of overt violence.

Simultaneously, growing commitments to responsibility, peaceful conflict resolution, and fatherhood reveal opportunities for nurturing caring masculinities that center on relationality, emotional openness, and shared caregiving. These emerging practices demonstrate promising entry points for gender-transformative change but remain fragile without supportive networks within the family and community and structural support. Sustainable progress requires addressing trauma, economic precarity, and the institutional power of religious and customary systems that regulate gender roles. Therefore, strengthening caring masculinities is essential for advancing gender equality and building socially just and peaceful post-conflict societies.

Limitations

This study has several limitations, particularly regarding the primary data. Sensitive topics such as sexual orientation, mental health, substance use, and domestic or sexual violence were significantly

underreported, likely due to stigma and concerns regarding confidentiality. Identities related to diverse SOGIESC were not systematically recorded because of safety risks and cultural pressures to protect family honor, resulting in a heteronormative bias in the dataset. While qualitative data allowed for some intersectional analysis by gender, socioeconomic status, and marital status, the study was unable to fully explore variables such as ethnicity, religion, or age, indicating the need for more nuanced intersectional work in future research.

Acknowledgement
The author gratefully acknowledges the Sasakawa Peace Foundation for supporting the research from which the primary data used in this study were drawn. Sincere appreciation is extended to Maho Nakayama and Rizki Amalia Affiat, whose leadership and authorship of the research report Reconstructing Masculinities: Gender Dynamics after Conflict in Aceh, Maluku and Bangsamoro Mindanao provided the foundational data that underpin this analysis. I also thank the local research partners in Aceh, Maluku, and Bangsamoro, whose field engagement, contextual knowledge, and community relationships enabled extensive data collection across diverse settings. The author further acknowledges the contributions of the research advisors and quantitative data analysts involved in the original study, whose methodological expertise and analytical rigor strengthened the reliability of this dataset. Their collective efforts and commitment to advancing gender-transformative peacebuilding research are sincerely appreciated. Additionally, as a non-native English speaker, I used the Grammarly and ChatGPT 5.1, to enhance the language improvement in terms of clarity and grammar of my manuscript. The study's analysis remains entirely my own.

Declaration of Ocnflict and Interest
The author(s) declare (s) no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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