



**Men  Boys
Project**

HIV/AIDS and Sexual Violence Risk Behaviours in Contexts of Abrupt Gender-Role Change: A Mixed Methods Study from rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

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Qualitative Research

CIHR funded, 2003-2006: Global health Research initiative: Transforming Violent Gender Relations to Reduce Risk of HIV/AIDS Infection among young Women and Girls*

Focus groups

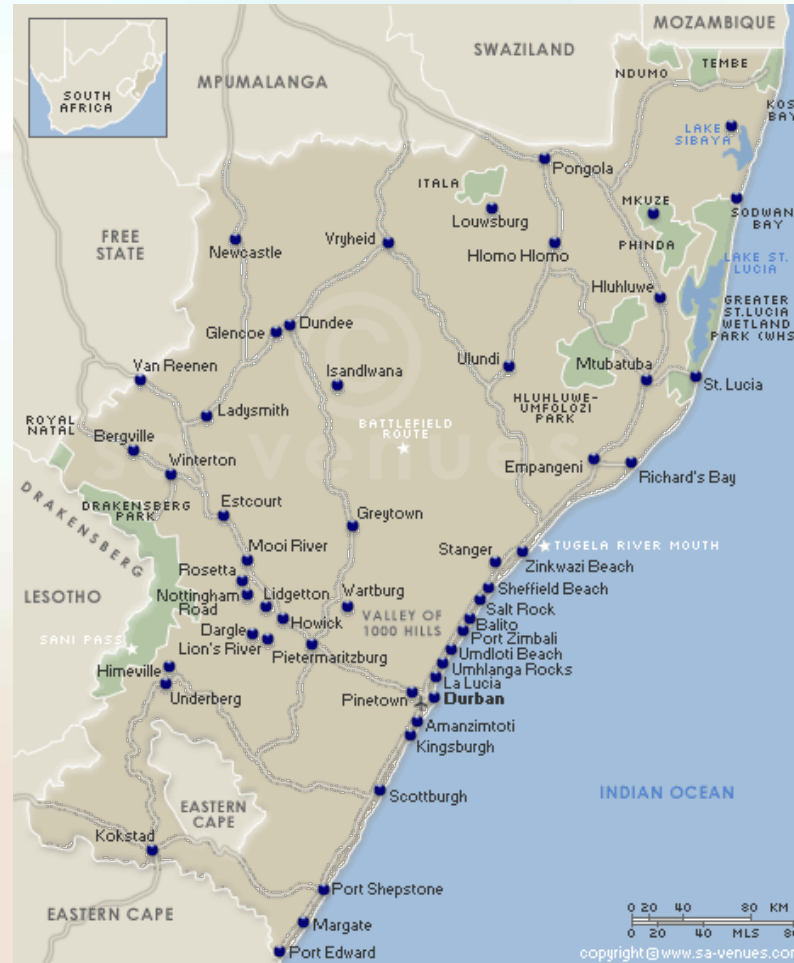
- Girls and women
- Boys and men
- Western trained healthcare workers
- Indigenous and faith healers

Key informant interviews:

- Prominent community members
- Health care providers
- Victim-survivors of gender-based violence

* Will Boyce and Rosemary Jolly, Alan Jeeves and Nomusa Mngoma, Queen's University; Sarita Verma, University of Toronto; Steve Reid, Centre for Rural Health, University of KwaZulu-Natal (critical review of the proposal, instruments, procedures and data collection); Eleanor Preston Whyte, HIVAN, University of KwaZulu-Natal; Tracy Vienings, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Johannesburg, and Claudia Mitchell, McGill University (critical review of the proposal and procedures); Belinda Dodson, University of Western Ontario (critical review of the proposal and data collection).

KwaZulu-Natal





Men & Boys
Project

Sisonke District





Key Findings

- the new(ish) Constitution:
Men feeling threatened;
women disempowered
- Men and women both lack
skills to renegotiate relations in
post-apartheid era

(Jolly & Jeeves, forthcoming in *Canadian Journal of African Studies*)

Conclusions

Both men and women struggling to assimilate changes in the law regarding rights *and* actual changes in gender roles

Need to work with boys and men:

- To establish an understanding of Zulu masculinity
- To develop community-based preventative program



1996 Chapter 2 of Democratic Constitution

- Section 9: Provides for equality before the law and equal protection
“Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit before the law”
- Section 9.5 Bans “Unfair” discrimination on multiple grounds
HOWEVER
- Individual rights-based system is a new concept in rural Sisonke¹
- Patriarchal values & norms still strong in rural Sisonke
- Enforcement of the equality provisions of the law/absent; ineffective³;
- ‘Traditional’ gender relations and amaXhosi decisions in cases of gender conflict operative

¹Jolly & Jeeves, forthcoming in CJAS, 2009; Jolly, R. *Cultured Violence*, forthcoming from U of Liverpool P, 2009

²*Report on Violence against Women*. Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement of Quality of Life and Status of Women, Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, May 2002. URL: <http://www.info.gov.za/otherdocs/2002/violence.pdf>.

³“The Deputy Minister for Provincial and Local Government, Ms N. Hangana speaks at the anti-rape strategy working retreat,” 27 September 2006. URL: <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2006/06100210451002.htm>.



Men's Resilience in Face of Change

I don't want to be the kind of man who when he comes home, children get out of the way. To be respected, one does not necessarily need to be feared. *

*Boyce and Jolly, *et al.* 2006, Men, ages 36-45.



Gender Role Confusion

WOMEN from Sisonke, KZN:

PERSON A: In the past a man was only allowed to either hit you with a stick or a belt, if he used a whip, he would end up in jail, but they were never put in jail, a man would whip you and nothing would be done, nowadays it is not acceptable.

PERSON C: These rights are good.

PERSON A to PERSON C: No they are not good at all!²

²Boyce and Jolly, *et al.* 2006, Women, ages 46-55



Men on Changes in Gender Roles*

I would say that there are indeed more pressures now because of the disappearance of the culture of respect. (Men, 46-55)

What has happened now, is that roles have been reversed. Men are now oppressed. Because of Human Rights [women's rights], women are now able to take men to court if they fail to support them and their children financially. (Men, 25-35)

The extent of the violence that men mete out to women these days is also fuelled by their [men's] perception of women's rights. These days when a man beats his wife, he is often scared that if he leaves her alive she will take the matter to the police and he will definitely be condemned by the justice system which favours women. (Men, 25-35)

*All quotations from Boyce and Jolly et al, 2006



Women on Changes in Gender Roles*

Interviewer: Have human rights laws affected men's relations with women?

Person B: If you rudely show him that you know your rights, he will see that as a problem. But if you tell him nicely, or even before he does something abusive, ... make him aware that you know your rights, he may understand your rights.

Person C: Yes there are rights but sometimes they don't work because then you don't rely on each other for anything... You your own way and he does the same. (Women, 25-35).

What is problematic nowadays is that we as women are enlightened, when there is a problem and you realize that you are being abused, you want to find the solution for that problem, whilst trying to find the solution, there is that pressure coming from men, they oppress you at that point and that makes it difficult (Women, 25-35).

*All quotations from Boyce and Jolly et al, 2006



Quantitative Analysis

- ACASI-based survey
- Extensive field consultation and pre-testing
- Quasi-probability area sampling
- 450 men and boys, 14-67 years old
- Research questions
 - What beliefs do men hold about gender roles?
 - Are beliefs about gender roles related to perpetration of gender-based abuse and violence?



Gender Role Measures¹

- 13 items
- 4-point Likert scale
 - 1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree
- Principal components analysis identified two subscales
 - Abstract gender equality (5 items)
 - Mean (SD) = 1.84 (.66)
 - Cronbach's alpha = .60
 - Concrete patriarchy (6 items, reverse coded)
 - Mean (SD): 2.96 (.66)
 - Cronbach's alpha = .64

¹from a revised version of the Acceptance of Conventional Gender Roles (O'Neil et al., 1993)



Concrete

Item	SA/A	Loading
Men should make the major money decisions for the family	69%	.77
Men should be in charge in the workplace	68%	.71
Women should be responsible for looking after children	64%	.64
If a man gives a woman money or gifts and she flirts with another man, he has the right to beat her	46%	.59
The government has done too much in providing women with equal rights	80%	.30
Those who emphasize the rights of women have caused problems between men and women	68%	.33

Abstract

Item	SA/A	Loading
I feel angry when negative remarks are made against women just because they are women	74%	.70
I feel angry when women are regarded as inferior to men	68%	.63
I agree with equal rights for men and women as provided for under the Constitution	82%	.63
When women get more rights, it does not mean that men lose their rights	83%	.59
I feel upset when people accept men as superior to women	60%	.43



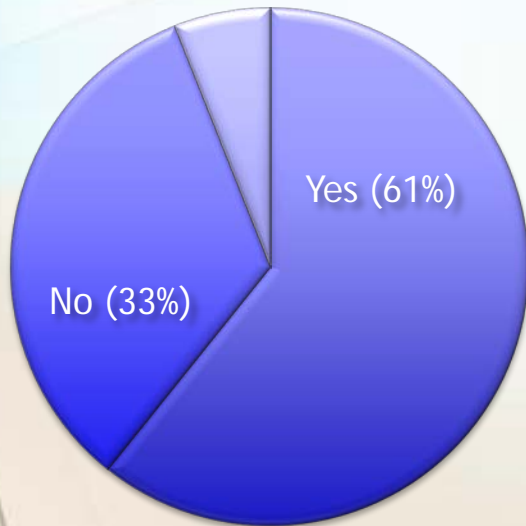
Gender-Based Abuse and Violence Measures²

- Past year (any female)
- Three measures
 - Psychological abuse (16 items)
 - E.g. Shouted or yelled at her
 - Non-sexual violence (12 items)
 - E.g. Slapped her, punched her, or kicked her
 - Sexual violence (6 items)
 - E.g. Physically forced her to have sex
- 4 response options collapsed into 3 categories (Yes, No, Refuse to answer)

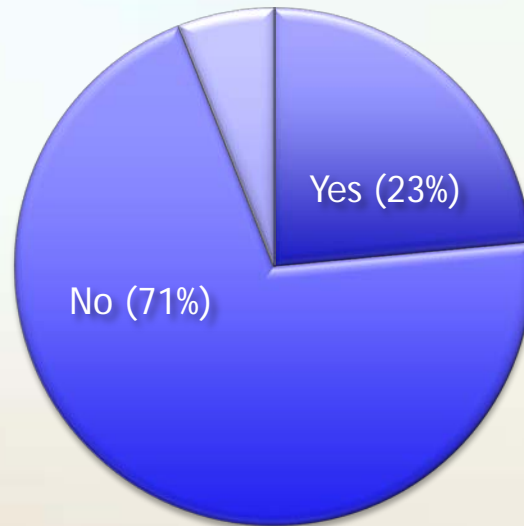
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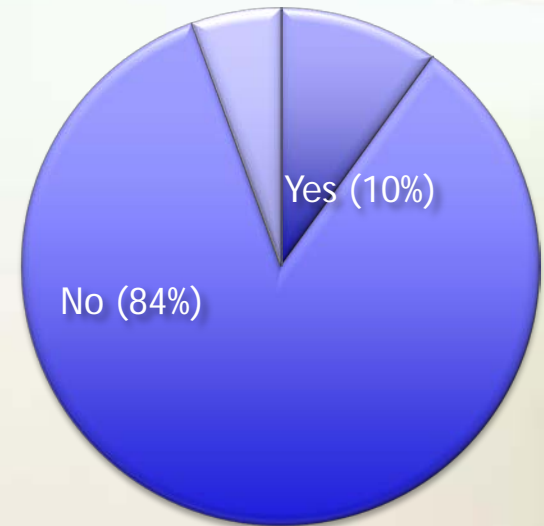
Psychological Abuse



Non-Sexual Violence



Sexual Violence





Method: Analysis

- Research question 1
- Research question 2
 - Six ANOVAs comparing gender role scores of self-reported perpetrators, non-perpetrators, and those who refused to answer
 1. Psychological abuse
 - Abstract
 - Concrete
 2. Non-sexual violence
 - Abstract
 - Concrete
 3. Sexual violence
 - Abstract
 - Concrete
 - Post-hoc tests



Results: ANOVAs

	Psychological Abuse	Non-Sexual Violence	Sexual Violence
Abstract:	$F_{(2, 446)}=.36, n.s.$	$F_{(2, 446)}=1.19, n.s.$	$F_{(2, 446)}=4.20, p<.05$
Concrete:	$F_{(2, 446)}=1.40, n.s.$	$F_{(2, 446)}=.13, n.s.$	$F_{(2, 446)}=.56, n.s.$

Results: Post-hoc Tests

	Sexual Violence Perpetrators (n=45)	Sexual Violence Non-Perpetrators (n=381)	Refuse to Answer (n=23)
Mean (SD) Abstract Scores	2.11 (.71)	1.81 (.64)	1.89 (.84)
Significant (p<.05) Differences	< non-perpetrators	> perpetrators	

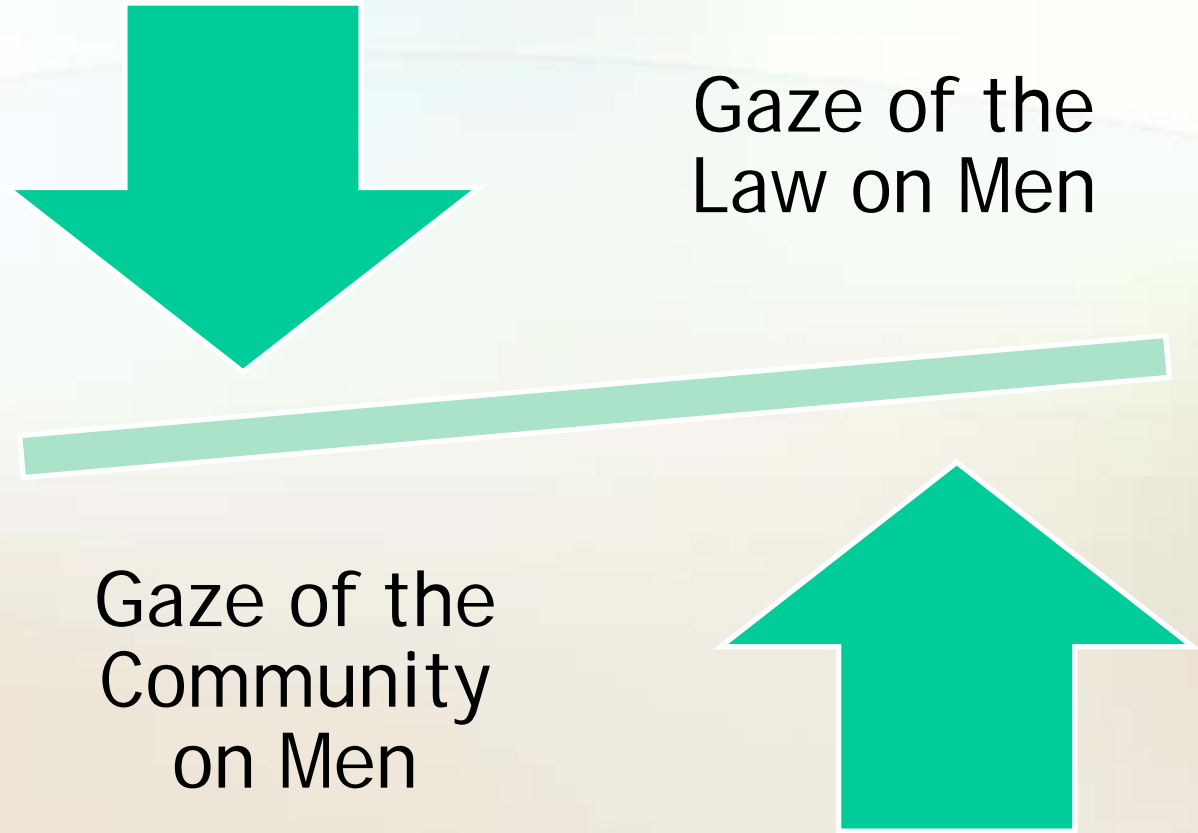


Discussion: Meaning of Concrete and Abstract Gender Role Division

- Division between actual practices and those perceived to be “proper” / new brought in through education
- Desire of participants to show themselves to be knowledgeable in the face of the law and gender equity provisions; to appear to conform as a modern, gendered subject
- Split between modern, individualized subject of rights-based law and the subject whose identity is constructed within community

IMPLICATION: Need to address split between law/education and actual practices explicitly in order to facilitate communities' successful negotiation of it

Discussion: Pressure of the Dual Panopticon*



*R. Jolly, *Cultured Violence*, forthcoming from Liverpool UP, 2009



Challenge Going Forward...

1. To develop community-based interventions targeted to assist men and boys to enunciate the challenges of gender role change in their own language
2. To use narrative approaches to research to further enhance understanding of rural communities' own conceptualization of the pressure boys and men experience in the face of such challenges
3. To obtain community co-operation to develop interventions targeted toward enabling men and boys to better confront these challenges to reduce HIV/AIDS & GBV and coercion

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