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MASCULINITY, MALE EMPOWERMENT, AND HIV/AIDS RISK IN CAPRIVI, NAMIBIA

Mark Perry
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MASCULINITY, MALE EMPOWERMENT, AND HIV/AIDS RISK
IN NAMIBIA

By

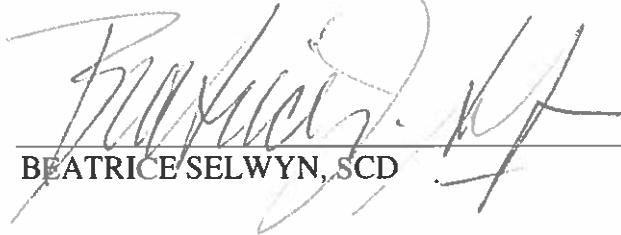
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2014

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IN NAMIBIA

by

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BA, Washington University, 1985
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for the Degree of

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MASCULINITY, MALE EMPOWERMENT, AND HIV/AIDS RISK

IN NAMIBIA

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The University of Texas

School of Public Health, 2014

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Namibia has a generalized HIV epidemic, with 13% of adults being infected. Its East Caprivi Region has the highest prenatal HIV prevalence in the country, 21%, among girls and women aged 15-24 years. In recent years, researchers have pointed to men who express their masculinity through high-risk sex as driving the epidemic in East Caprivi. This exploratory study examined the role that men and their masculinity concepts played in transmission, how those concepts were evolving over time, what was influencing the change, and in which directions. Employing grounded theory methods and guided by Robert Connell's theoretical framework on masculinities, the study employed in-depth interviews with community leaders and focus group discussions with men 18-24 years of age to elicit characterizations of dominant masculinities in East Caprivi, their developmental contexts, motivations, support systems, and their rewards. A preliminary theory was generated suggesting that socio-cultural, and economic changes introduced into Caprivi following Namibian Independence in 1990, interacted with older, hegemonic masculinity concepts to stimulate new, adaptive ways of performing manhood, accompanied by higher-risk behavior. Through special exercises with focus groups, multiple alternate, culturally-acceptable models of masculinity at lower

risk for HIV were also elicited. After applying the Diffusion of Innovations criteria, one was selected as most likely to be adopted by young men in Caprivi. Across focus groups, young men selected a fairly austere, rather than moderate-risk masculinity as their preferred model. The alternates and the forces of transformation may each present opportunities to gendered intervention programs to insert themselves into the adaptive process, providing young men the support and guidance that they need in order to achieve the hallmarks of manhood that they ultimately want – respect and broad recognition – with lower risk for HIV.

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INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Namibia is one of five countries in southern Africa with the highest estimated prevalences of HIV/AIDS in the world (13% in 2012) (MOHSS, 2012a). A reported 50% of deaths of persons aged 15-49 years of age are HIV/AIDS-related (PEPFAR, 2009). The predominant mode of transmission in the country is through heterosexual contact, and women are increasingly the most vulnerable and most-affected group.

A recent analysis of the epidemic in Namibia specifically concluded that men's sexual behaviors were fueling the epidemic, stating that "...the risk for many women stems from their choice of partner rather from their own behavior" (de la Torre, Khan, Eckert, Luna, & Koppenhaver, 2009, p. ix), and that a more effective national intervention strategy would address changes to social norms, rather than individual behaviors, to discourage, among other factors, high risk sexual behaviors driven by men: multiple and concurrent sexual partnerships, transactional sex, and intergenerational sexual relationships.¹ This relatively recent verdict underscores the limitations of prevention work in Namibia to address transformations of gender, and specifically masculinity, to reduce HIV transmission. Many men are socialized to express their masculinity through prodigious sexuality in southern Africa, yet most HIV prevention interventions over the past 20 years have targeted women

¹ "Multiple and concurrent partnerships" refers to the practice of maintaining multiple, overlapping sexual relationships; "intergenerational relationship" refers to a sexual relationship in which the age-disparity of the partners is 10 years or greater; and "transactional sexual relationship" refers to any relationship based uniquely upon the trade of sex for a good or service (food, money, transportation, clothing, cell phones, school fees, etc.). It resembles prostitution, but is not considered by either partner to be such.

rather than men, or have treated sexual behavior, in general, as a matter of individual choice, ignoring its social and cultural aspects.

In this study, the hypothesis was that an effective masculinity-transformative intervention would be one that would not only be culturally-acceptable, but one actually derived from the culture, itself. That is, the most appropriate alternative model for high-risk “masculine” behavior would be one that is not merely lower-risk, but one that already exists in the same culture and society that has competitive advantage over other alternatives, in terms of its cultural value and standing, and one that most men would feel is achievable. Because gender must be interpreted within a specific cultural context (Malhotra, Schuler, & Boender, 2002), this study researched the alternative masculinity in the Caprivi Region of far eastern Namibia, a southern African country with hyper-endemic prevalence of HIV/AIDS, extreme socio-economic inequality (United Nations Development Program, 2010), and noted gender inequities.

The study explored alternate masculinities through focus group discussions and key informant interviews with young rural and urban men in East Caprivi, which of several masculinity alternatives might have the greatest chances of broad adoption among their peers, and then proposed which, if successfully promoted by social change interventions, could bring about reductions in sexual drivers of the HIV epidemic.

BACKGROUND

Global perspectives on Gender and HIV/AIDS

Women represent the fastest growing group at risk for HIV/AIDS, worldwide (World Health Organization), and in sub-Saharan Africa, they represent the majority (60%) of infected persons (UNAIDS, 2009). This feminization of the HIV/AIDS epidemic has intensified interest in addressing inequalities of gender and power in affected cultures and societies. Gender is not a synonym for the biological sex of an individual, but represents a socio-cultural construct that defines the range of behaviors to which biological males and females are expected to conform within a given social context, and that also assigns, by sex, various authorities, decision-making power, and access to resources (Gupta G. R., 2000). It is these differences that affect not only individual health and well-being outcomes, but ultimately those of families, communities, and even whole societies (Sudha & Rajan, 1999) (Sen, 1999) (Varkey, Kureshi, & Lesnick, 2010) (Sweetman, 2008). The relatively lower position and power of women, specifically, have been viewed as critical to explaining the increases in HIV prevalence among women (Gupta G. , 2002) (Harrison, O'sullivan, Hoffman, & Dolezal, 2006). Women who are in the most inequitable relationships are also at greatest risk of HIV infection (Wood & Jewkes, 1997) (Ehrhardt, Sawires, McGovern, Peacock, & Weston, 2009).

Yet, while the HIV/AIDS literature is reaching consensus on the importance of gender to the epidemic (as Urdang (2006) has argued, "...the *disease* is a health issue, the

epidemic is a gender issue” [original stress, p. 177]), much research and interventions concerning gender relations have been lop-sided – that is, targeted exclusively at women – as though there were only one gender (feminine) that warranted attention in the epidemic. This largely unbalanced approach has received growing criticism (Harvey, 2000) (Mane & Aggleton, 2001) (Dworkin, 2005) (Peacock, Stemple, Sawires, & Coates, 2009) (Higgins, Hoffman, & Dworkin, 2010). A growing body of literature suggests, moreover, that empowerment interventions targeted uniquely at women may, paradoxically, lead to resistance or backlash from males who attempt to reassert their power and the status quo (Goetz & Gupta, 1996) (Silberschmidt, 2005) (Mantell, Dworkin, Exner, Hoffman, Smit, & Susser, 2006). Such interventions do not often recruit male participation, despite the dependence of program success upon at least tacit male complicity with the process of change (Hashemi, Schuler, & Riley, 1996) (Armendariz & Roome, 2008) (Masbout & van Staveren, 2010), and, therefore, “empowerment” for women may not lead to greater gender equity if men begin to feel “disempowered” by changes that leave them less able to fulfill their own gender identities (Shefer, et al., 2008).

In the increasing discourse on gender and HIV/AIDS over the past decade, therefore, greater attention is being given to the role of men – or more specifically, masculinities – in the reduction of infection rates and transmission risk, with the view that men are in need of particular “empowerment” over their own risk behaviors (Harvey, 2000) (Harrison, O’sullivan, Hoffman, & Dolezal, 2006) (Ehrhardt, Sawires, McGovern, Peacock, & Weston, 2009) (Ragnarsson, Townsend, Thorson, Chopra, & Ekström, 2009). Much research concludes that almost globally, societal notions of masculinity value risk-taking,

assertiveness, alcohol consumption, prodigious sexuality, control of women, and a certain degree of heedlessness of one's own health (Aronson, Whithead, & Baber, 2003) (Higgins, Hoffman, & Dworkin, 2010). The drive to embody and reflect such characteristics appears to lead many men to engage in, among many other activities, high-risk sexual behaviors, and to do so, ostensibly, less out of a heedless desire for sex, than out of a greater need to fulfill some esteemed conceptualization and image of "manhood" (Aronson, Whithead, & Baber, 2003). Flood (2008), noted that in "homosocial" environments such as a military academy, men may be driven to demonstrate sexual prowess with women in order to receive affirmation of their masculinity from other men. Conversely, in a more "heterosocial" environment, such as a co-educational institution or community, women may play a more direct role in shaping masculinities, such that men may engage in sex that they, themselves, do not want, fearing that by declining sexual opportunities, or that by demonstrating "poor" sexual performance, they will appear less "masculine" to their female partners (Bowleg, 2004) (O'Sullivan, Hoffman, Harrison, & Dolezal, 2006) (Hyde, Drennan, & Howlett, 2009). Research in South Africa similarly suggests that young women both desire and potentially reinforce different masculinities in men depending upon the romantic or platonic relationship context (Talbot & Quale, 2010).

In the sections that follow, I present a brief background of the interplay of gender and HIV in southern Africa, where the epidemic is most severe, followed by a review of HIV prevention and social change strategies employed to present.

Masculinity and the HIV/AIDS Epidemic in Southern Africa

An Overview of the Problem

The importance of sexuality in masculinity constructions, and its consequences for the HIV/AIDS epidemic, have been extensively reported in southern Africa, where the nine countries with the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence in the world are all to be found (Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS, 2009). In this part of the world, where the epidemic is regarded as principally heterosexual, risk-enhancing masculinity constructions may become evident by the early teen years (Ragnarsson, Onya, Thorson, Ekström, & Aarø, 2008). Some research suggests that high-risk sexual behaviors, here, are related to colonial policies that removed men from their traditional rural household and familial responsibilities in order to generate a black, male, workforce to support mining, farming, and other industries (Lurie, 2000) (Hunter M. , 2005). The confinement of women to traditional household and farming occupations in isolated ethnic “homelands,” caused gender dynamics to evolve such that men began to view occupations and labor that had previously been shared as “women’s work.” They then perceived their own new roles less as vested partners in the marital relationship than as the “breadwinners” upon whom women were now dependent in a new way, with an associated lower status (Clowes, 2005) (Silberschmidt, 2005). Research from South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, and neighboring Zimbabwe suggests that colonial practices created “circular migration” (where men migrate to urban, mining, and farming areas for work, engage in sex with new, local partners, and then return to their rural homes

and their spouses) which continues to have important impact upon the transmission of HIV and other sexually-transmissible diseases (Lurie, Williams, Zuma, & al., 2003) (Hunter M. , 2005) (Zuma, Lurie, Williams, Mkaya-Mwamburi, Garnett, & Sturm, 2005) (Hargrove, 2008). Increasing unemployment, however, has reduced the resources available to many men necessary to support a spouse and family, and consequently has reduced the basic building blocks of their masculine image – still principally those of husband, provider, and authority figure in the household. Increasing costs of *lobola* (the customary bride price), driven by commercialism and changes in the valuation of the token, have contributed to delayed marriage, and to the decline in marriage rates. According to many studies, the marital state has increasingly been substituted by men and women with shorter-term, lower emotionally-invested relationships of a transactional nature; that is, men continue to fulfill the social expectation that they should be good providers by offering gifts, food, money, alcohol, or other commodities in exchange for a relationship that includes sex (LeBeau & Mufune, 2001) (Ragnarsson, Onya, Thorson, Ekström, & Aarø, 2008). The relationships are only as enduring as the transactions are sustainable, and though such relationships often resemble prostitution, neither partner views the relationship as such. Transactional sex between such “boyfriends” and “girlfriends” or “sugar daddies” and “sugar mommies” is reportedly very common in Namibia and other parts of southern Africa (Mufune, 2003) (Social Impact Assessment and Policy Analysis Corporation, 2008) (Social Impact Assessment and Policy Analysis Corporation, 2009). Men may seek such relationships with multiple women concurrently as insurance against loss of one or more partners over time, and as protection from being seen as “woman-less,” and, therefore, as lacking manly

prowess, by other men as well as by women (Ragnarsson, Townsend, Thorson, Chopra, & Ekstrom, 2009). Having multiple girlfriends provides a ready means of affirming masculinity through prodigious sexuality, though at a cost of longer term relationship stability, and loss of partners' trust in fidelity (Shipena & Khuruses, 2007) (Wood & Jewkes, 2005) (Aboim, 2009). Sometimes justified as a modern re-interpretation of pre-colonial polygynous practices, multiple partnerships confer rewards of status upon a man without the restrictions and systems of accountability that characterized the original, traditional polygynous practices (Mufune, 2003) (Edwards L. , 2007) (Ragnarsson, Townsend, Thorson, Chopra, & Ekstrom, 2009). Some research suggests that culturally sanctioned polygamy, characterized as it may be by rules of accountability, may even have been protective against HIV risk (Reniers & Watkins, 2010).

While marriage rates are decreasing, childbirth outside of marriage is on the rise. In Namibia, 43% of all births to women 15-49 years of age occur prior to the first marriage, and 60% of first births are likewise premarital (Garenne & Zwang, 2006). Having children signifies fertility, which is important to fulfilling gender identities of both men and women across ethnic groups in Namibia and elsewhere in southern Africa. Fatherhood is an important masculinity building block that remains very accessible to men (Brown, Sorrell, & Raffaelli, 2005) (Higgins & Hirsch, 2008). Both Pauli (2007) and Thomas (2007) point to these changes as contributing to the transformation of masculinities in directions that facilitate HIV/AIDS transmission, with the tragic effect of increasing men's own HIV infection risk, that of their multiple female partners, and of undercutting a whole social fabric and economic base with long term, perhaps generational impacts (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010).

Yet, it is in these ways that even men of lower social and economic status can achieve expression of their manhood in the absence of alternative models of masculinity with comparable social rewards.

Current Theories and Approaches to Reducing the Problem

Despite evidence of the role played by masculinities in HIV/AIDS risk behaviors and disease transmission, HIV prevention programs have been slow to incorporate gendered components targeted at men in general, usually limiting their attention to specific groups (men who have sex with men, incarcerated men, etc.) Part of the reason for this has been the continual application of non-gendered theoretical frameworks to intervention program design. Indeed, most of the models for HIV behavioral interventions in use internationally for the past quarter century have been gender-less, and based upon cognitive behavioral theories, i.e., those focusing upon individuals, which propose that change can be effected in individuals if they can be educated to perceive their own risk and motivated to respond to that risk. A worldwide review of sexual risk behavior change programs, their theoretical bases, and their reported impact upon HIV-related behavioral changes, concluded that most programs overemphasized individual-level behavior change, and that this had “undermined the overall research capacity to understand the complexity of HIV transmission and control” (UNAIDS, 1999). The principal behavioral theories used in intervention program designs today continue to be dominated by the health belief model, the theory of reasoned action, and social cognitive theory (Fishbein, Triandis, Kanfer, Becker, Middlestadt, & Eichler, 2001) (Global HIV prevention working group, 2008), and such theories continue to play an

important role in HIV/AIDS intervention program design and outcome measurement. An important reflection of their influence is the pervasiveness of the so-called “ABC” intervention model -- “Abstain from sex,” “Be faithful to (one) partner,” and “use a Condom” -- the cornerstone of the majority of interventions in Africa, constituting the three principles understood to be most effective in interrupting sexual transmission of HIV. ABC was credited with helping one African country, Uganda, to produce a well-documented reversal of its HIV epidemic in the pre-antiretroviral era of the 1990s (UNAIDS, 2001) (Okware, Kinsman, Onyango, Opio, & Kaggwa, 2005). The strategy has since had mixed results in many of the contexts in which it has been used. It is criticized for overly simplifying the complexity of human sexuality, and for ignoring the impacts of structural barriers, including gender inequalities on individual behavior (Wellings, 2006) (Collins, 2008) (Coates, Richter, & Caceres, 2008).

Structural interventions, particularly those addressing gender, have often been perceived as being outside the “traditional” role of public health (Sumartojo, 2000), but these perspectives are changing. While a number of successful, gendered interventions have been implemented with more varied theoretical frameworks, including men in the *transformation* of their own gender attitudes towards women (World Health Organization, 2007) (Barker, Ricardo, Nascimento, Olukova, & Santos, 2010), they have largely been conducted in small workshops, small groups, and in individual communities. Our understanding of the larger societal impact of these programs is, therefore, limited. The challenge before such gender transformative programs as Stepping Stones, working in some 40 countries (Jewkes, et al., 2006) (Jewkes R. , 2007), and Men as Partners (MAP), in South Africa (Peacock & Levack,

2004) (Mufune, 2009), is how to effectively promote the transformation of masculine identities on a larger geographic scale (i.e., nationally, regionally), and at multiple levels of societal organization.

Many in the field now argue that if the epidemic is to be more effectively addressed, social, cultural, and environmental-level structures must be better integrated with individual-level interventions (Parker, 2001) (Campbell & Mzaidume, 2002) (Sawires, Birnbaum, Abu-Raddad, Szekeres, & Gayle, 2009). The Global HIV Prevention Working Group (2008) has indicated that in “hyperendemic” areas of the world (i.e., the southern African region), interventions “require concerted attention to the social factors that increase HIV risk and vulnerability...” (p.20), and in its latest report, it continues to stress the need for attention to social factors and social trends that have impact upon the epidemic (Global HIV Prevention Working Group, 2010). Other research specifically stresses that to understand how transformations of masculinities take place, one must “look to the wider societal representations and interpretations of masculinities” and “should not look to the individual for transformations of gender relations” (Warin, 2006, p. 524).

However, translation of these recommendations to practice presents a particular challenge to intervention programs working with masculinities, however. The existing research on gender in southern Africa has been more descriptive of gender inequalities and their relationship to women’s HIV vulnerability (Ampofo, Beoku-Betts, Njambi, & Osirim, 2004) (Barker & Ricardo, 2005) than analytical or evaluative of the processes by which masculinity transformation may actually occur – information more directly serviceable to

intervention design. As Mane and Aggleton (2001) proposed, “[t]he challenge for those working in HIV prevention and care lies in identifying and reinforcing the kinds of oppositional and alternative masculinities that lead to greater equality in gender relations, and which are associated with lower levels of HIV-related risk”(p.33). Barker (2005) echoed this concern, reminding researchers that “[f]or every young man who refuses to use a condom, there is another who discusses sexual health issues with his partner. In discussions of male pathologies, particularly in discussions related to HIV/AIDS and to violence, these alternative voices are often lost” (p.6). Accordingly, the predominance of gender research in southern Africa has concerned itself with what appears to be a single vision of masculinity – that associated with the worst outcomes for women – and has largely ignored the utility of examining contrary, but co-existing masculinities, in the same social context. Peterson (2003), reviewing international trends in masculinity research, further argues that “[a]n enduring problem in research on gender, from any perspective, has been the tendency to focus on differences between women and men and to overlook extensive similarities between the sexes and even the extensive variation within each sex...”(p.58). Masculinity research in southern Africa, and elsewhere, has thus given little attention to the inconsistencies in masculinities that may represent important opportunities for broader social change.

In the realm of HIV/AIDS prevention, it appears that little has been done to critically analyze the mechanisms by which alternative, lower-risk masculinities routinely resist or subvert societal norms that support high-risk behavior. Much of the literature that discusses alternative masculinities in Africa covers them briefly as secondary findings in studies focusing on the higher risk-associated masculinities (no doubt because of the latter’s

importance to the epidemic). This is true, for example, in Namibia, where gender inequalities and their relationships to HIV have been well catalogued (Mufune, 2003) (Brown, Sorrell, & Raffaelli, 2005) (Becker H. , 2006) (Edwards L. , 2007) (Thomas F. , 2007) (Pauli, 2007), but where this researcher has found no published work (and little, elsewhere, in the southern African region) examining the various masculinities to understand the origins of their differences (Simpson, 2007) (Sathiparsad, 2008) (Aboim, 2009), the processes by which masculinity constructs relate to each other and to risk outcomes (Harrison, O'sullivan, Hoffman, & Dolezal, 2006) (Kaufman, Shefer, Crawford, Simbayi, & Kalichman, 2008), or analyzing in any depth the ways that different masculinities relate to each other within the structures of a given culture and society (Morrell R. , 2001). It is however, just such gendered analyses that finally move the discourse on masculinity and HIV/AIDS in Africa beyond the present unitary, descriptive level.

Further research is needed that may more intently analyze how masculinities with lower risk behaviors for HIV/AIDS are both similar to and different from those with higher risk behaviors, how and why they diverge, how and why they are valued differently within the same culture and society, and how and where they are located within the given social power structures. It is such analysis that may uncover ways in which masculinity constructions are sensitive to transformations, and where risk reduction among men might be stimulated more broadly than at the individual level.

Research Objectives

The purpose of this exploratory study was to generate hypotheses for reducing high-risk sexual relationships such as multiple and concurrent, intergenerational, and transactional sexual relationships through the identification of cultural ideals that refuted expression of masculinity through high-risk sexual partnerships. Its intent was specifically to research opportunities for promotion of these ideals to create socio-cultural, rather than individual behavior change. It proceeded from the ontological perspective that masculinity is a social construction achieved through social interaction and discourse (i.e, the expression and sharing of ways of thinking, through language and media). These discourses were investigated through community-level group discussions on different conceptualizations of 'manhood,' their attributes, and the expected sexual relationships with which each conceptualization was associated.

The specific objectives of the study were:

- (1) To identify and describe two socially-competitive notions/images of masculinity (one with higher and one with lower HIV risk) within a defined socio-cultural context in Namibia (the Caprivi region).
- (2) To compare the characteristics of the two masculinity types, their support systems, and rewards for their sexual behavior, and to propose hypotheses for the differential outcomes that appear to be associated with them.
- (3) To identify the constructs and processes of the higher risk masculinity that may be relatively stable, and those that may be undergoing change.
- (4) To propose how the findings of this research may inform behavioral and social change interventions for HIV prevention.

A brief overview of the theoretical frameworks for this research is presented, below.

Theoretical Frameworks underlying the investigation

Hegemonic masculinity

The framework for interpreting the nature of masculinities, their power structures, and their mutability in this study was provided by R. W. Connell's theory of Gender and Power (1987) and selected refinements of it (Connell, 2005) (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) (Coles, 2009) (Lusher & Robins, 2009). Connell suggests that multiple masculinity constructions exist in all societies, with a dominant, "hegemonic masculinity" at the top of the masculinity hierarchy, which subordinates less powerful masculinities that are complicit with the hegemonic form, and those that are further subordinated, sometimes called "marginalized," and "protest" masculinities. The hegemonic form is defined as "the currently most honored way of being a man...[inducing] all other men to position themselves in relation to it" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). This seminal concept of masculinity has been highly influential (and controversial) in the field of masculinity studies, internationally, for over 20 years. To Connell, all masculinity definitions are culturally and temporally located, and therefore are neither monolithic nor necessarily transferable from one culture to the next, nor are they so static as to be immune to change over time. Yet, wherever they are found, hegemonic masculinities are "based on practice that permits men's collective dominance over women to continue" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 840). The principal characteristics of this dominant masculinity – its power and its hegemony – are due

to its endorsement by many sectors and facets of a whole culture and society. It derives its ascendancy over other forms of masculinity through its permeation of all of these sectors and through its regular expression in cultural values, enactment and depiction in popular entertainment, reproduction in media and images used in marketing, daily practices in social milieus and institutions, and through daily gender relations. Because of its ubiquitous manifestations, it need not depend upon violence, brutality, or other forms of oppression to assert its dominance, and for all its hegemony, a hegemonic masculinity is normative without necessarily being the most commonly practiced form of masculinity; it is an ideal which perhaps few men can actually ever achieve, yet almost all men will be guided by it.

The hegemonic masculinity is also always evolving. According to Connell, all masculinities are constructed through contrasts and interactions with other masculinities and femininities, and “dominance in gender relations involves an interplay of costs and benefits” between the genders (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 848). It is, therefore, the constant negotiation of the most favorable and sustainable (though not necessarily equitable) balance that sets the limits of power and dominance of one gender over the other. This point is of particular relevance to gender transformation as it suggests that the terms and conditions under which the hegemonic masculinity retains its social dominance can be renegotiated. Connell likewise indicates that a hegemonic masculinity is susceptible to displacement by competing forms of masculinity, and that women, though clearly dominated by it, play important roles in its construction (and those of all masculinities).

Subsequent researchers have extended the theory in ways important to this research. Courtenay (2000) describes the impact of hegemonic masculinity upon men's health behaviors, contending that men acquire power by demonstrating strength and forbearance, using their bodies to project physical size, strength, and dominance, while at the same time suppressing their own needs, denying pain and vulnerability, and taking risks with their health. Moreover, to the extent that these behaviors are continually re-produced by men, they are responsible for reinforcing a general belief that men's minds and male bodies are inherently stronger, and less vulnerable than women's minds and female bodies, giving them, therefore, a "natural" position of authority and superiority over women and femininity. Courtenay posits that health-seeking and health-promoting behaviors are therefore regarded by many men as admissions of weakness and vulnerability, and are therefore "feminizing." This behavior has also been observed by others (Gough, 2006) (Emslie & Hunt, 2009) and may help to explain behaviors of some men in southern Africa who exhibit high-risk sexual behavior accompanied by denial of, or low perception of their HIV infection risk, and consequently exhibit low HIV-testing behavior (Halperin & Epstein, 2007). Some research suggests that transformation does not occur until men perceive "failure" to achieve their masculinity goals (i.e., by succumbing to disease, serious injury, or other life-changing event), and thus have to negotiate a "lesser," if however, healthier, alternative (Irvine & Klocke, 2001) (McVittie & Willock, 2006).

Non-hegemonic masculinities

The intensive research focus on hegemonic masculinity has limited the depth and degree of attention given to alternative masculinities in the literature, and especially to their agency under hegemonic domination, and the opportunities that they may provide to improve gender relations. Lusher and Robins (2009)'s model of the masculine hierarchy is particularly helpful in that it stresses the relativity of masculinities in the system (hegemonic, complicit, and subordinate), and the dependence of more powerful levels upon the compliance and perceptions of the lower levels. These lower levels are, therefore, endowed with potential to induce change to the system by changing their compliance with and/or their perceptions of the ideological norms of other actors in the system. Attention to the nature of power relations between masculinities is important to intervention programs in that power differentials represent the principal obstacle to promoting gender transformation (Freud, 1994).

Theoretical framework for identifying appropriate alternative

Because the present research must evaluate the adoptability of lower-risk masculinity norms by the target population, some features of the Diffusion of Innovations theory (Rogers, 2003) are helpful. Briefly, the theory proposes five indicators of an innovation's adoptability by a population: (1) relative advantage, (2) compatibility, (3) complexity, (4) trialability, and (5) observability. To Rogers, relative advantage is the strongest predictor of adoption, and is associated with an individual's motivations related to costs and benefits, such as improvements in social status. In the present research, the issues of compatibility and complexity of the innovation were addressed by finding the "innovation" amongst existing

desirable alternative masculinities in the target population -- therefore, already being compatible with culture at some level, and practicable. Trialability refers to the flexibility that potential adopters have to try and then discard the innovation before choosing to adopt, and observability, to the prominence and general visibility of the practice of the innovative behavior, perhaps through visible role models.

These five indicators were used to evaluate the potential of a given alternative pattern of masculinity construction for successful cultural adoption if promoted by a context-sensitive intervention design.

Fundamental to such an intervention's success will be its endorsement of the idea that men also deserve to be targeted for empowerment programs and this study proposes that HIV-risk reducing transformation of masculinity represents an important (even life-saving) form of empowerment for southern African men. Borrowing Kabeer's (2001) definition of empowerment ("the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them"), the study took take the rarely-investigated perspective of applying it to men. It argued, as others have (Peacock, Stemple, Sawires, & Coates, 2009), that many men face severe censure from their societies and loss of social rewards when they do not adhere to prevailing codes of masculine conduct, and may, therefore, lack "power" to make safer and healthier behavior choices for themselves. In the African context, large divergences from (challenges to) dominant hetero-normative masculinities can be much less than empowering and tend to be vigorously contested (Bhana, Morrell, Hearn, & Moletsane, 2007); in the case of homosexuality, they are actively repressed with political and legal force (Ottosson, 2009) (Currier, 2010). This investigation proposed

that the study of socially-competitive and lower-risk alternative masculinities in a society will support an important agenda for men to become empowered over their HIV/AIDS risk behaviors in culturally-acceptable ways.

Gender transformative interventions, must not only identify alternative masculine behaviors derived from the cultural base, but must consider strategically how these alternatives are likely to be adopted at scale. Hatch (2004) reports that intervention programs should "...acknowledge and participate in the culture's own dynamic processes, fitting one's ambition into the flow of stability and change from which the culture itself is constituted. This involves, perhaps above all else, a simultaneous focus on what will be preserved (and how) and what will be changed. The present either-or mentality hampers the dynamics of culture and undermines ability to influence either outcome" (p.195). The challenges that HIV prevention implementers continue to note in the slow-paced acceptance of protective sexual behaviors, particularly by men, in high-HIV-prevalence areas of southern Africa seem to suggest that cultures are tenacious of their ideals of manhood and womanhood, and may not modify them easily in the absence of *culturally-acceptable and desirable alternatives* that at once intersect with cultural dynamics of change and allow for amenable cultural re-interpretations of the changes. In a number of countries, such as South Africa and Mozambique, progressively egalitarian, national constitutions abrasively contravene dominant notions of masculinity, leading to resistance and cultural protectionism which obstruct social change efforts (Bhana, Morrell, Hearn, & Moletsane, 2007) (Aboim, 2009). These challenges suggest that societal constructions of "manhood" may be more responsive to selective, adaptive mutations, or incorporation of subtle substitutions into their

configurations than to broad, “blunt” efforts to re-shape their norms. Others have similarly suggested that incremental changes to gender may result in longer term successful change (Sullivan, 2004), and that all changes should be aligned with standing cultural beliefs and practices (USAID, 2001) (Gausset, 2001) (USAID, 2002) (Peacock & Levack, 2004) (Okware, Kinsman, Onyango, Opio, & Kaggwa, 2005) (Wyrod, 2008).

Public Health Significance

The hypotheses resulting from this research intended to point to the possibility of selectively using masculinity concepts derived directly from a culture to develop interventions to reduce HIV risk in men, and consequently, in women. This analysis proposed the processes by which risk-reducing or risk-enhancing changes to masculinity conceptualizations have been occurring within a defined, high-risk society, and how these changes were, theoretically, affecting behavioral outcomes. These processes are potentially important to intervention programs that are seeking to amplify the scalability of masculinity transformation. If the social processes by which masculinity discourses are changing in desired directions, or the specific elements of those discourses that are vulnerable to change can be identified, they can be co-opted for use in interventions to promote culturally-acceptable masculinity transformation, and stimulate normative changes at a higher level and broader scale than that of the individual, small group, or community.

Hypotheses and Research Questions

Because this study was exploratory, it sought to develop, but not test, hypotheses about the relationship of social discourses on masculinity to risk behaviors in Caprivi men.

The research questions, stemming from the previously-stated objectives, were:

- (1) What role do masculinities play in young men's contributions to the epidemic in Caprivi?
 - a. How do Caprivi men 18-24 years of age define the "most venerated" (hegemonic) view of "manhood?"
 - i. What are the characteristics of the hegemonic construction and their properties?
 - ii. What characteristics are associated with the specified HIV/AIDS risk behaviors (as outcomes)?
 - iii. What characteristics are associated with lower-HIV-risk, yet venerated, behaviors?
- (2) What are the overlapping constructs that may suggest opportunities for transformation of behaviors from higher-risk behavior to lower-risk?
- (3) How are conceptualizations of masculinity evolving? What changes appear to be occurring in the conceptualization of the higher risk, hegemonic, masculinity?

These questions stress the importance of identifying intrinsic qualities in masculinities that can be co-opted for use by interventions. How masculinities change and evolve at the cultural level is particularly important to understand. Demetriou (2001) reports

that dominant and hegemonic masculinities change reactively, selectively modifying their constructions (incorporating characteristics of competing masculinities) as an adaptive strategy by which to neutralize instability in power relations with other masculinities, and maintain their hegemony. That is, hegemonic masculinity selectively submits to transformation, and does so without surrendering to a change in the *relative* power structure.

The field of anthropology offers similar conclusions about selective change. Hatch (2004), in an overview of anthropological theories of cultural change, reports that “[a]cculturation studies consistently show that [inter-cultural] borrowing is selective. In borrowing, people typically accept what promises to be rewarding, and reject what seems unworkable or disadvantageous” (p.199). It would seem reasonable to assume that cultures and societies probably do tolerate modifications to their masculinity ideals, but may be highly selective in doing so, and will resist changes that threaten the ideal and its social dominance (Shefer, et al., 2008). Brown et al. (2005) also suggest this, noting that many Namibian men’s conceptualizations of masculinity might be modifiable through the use of alternative role-models “who endorse and display progressive responses to the [HIV] crisis and who *also* possess the markers of socially desired masculinity [added emphasis]” (p. 596). Through deliberate and selective substitutions, the essential values of culture are preserved, while safer, modified expressions of gender-based practices are tolerated and adopted within a culture, and within its power structures (Tamale, 2008) (Kotanyi & Krings-Ney, 2009).

METHODS

Study Setting

The following section describes the site in which the research was conducted, the staffing assembled to carry out the study, and details of the methods used to investigate societal notions and cultural valuations of different masculinities, and their associations with risk behavior outcomes.

Choice of the study setting and its history

This study was conducted in East Caprivi (Figure 1),^{2, 3} a remote region of Namibia, selected because it represented a well-defined geographic setting with one of the highest HIV prevalences in the world, at 37.7% (MOHSS, 2012b).⁴

Consisting of a finger of territory projecting into the centre of southern Africa, the Caprivi “strip” was carved by the former German colonial power, in 1890, in a futile attempt to link its then colony of South-West Africa with its East African possessions. Slicing across

² The region was named after the German Imperial Chancellor, Count Georg Leo von Caprivi, in 1890. In August 2013, the government of Namibia approved the re-naming of the region to Zambezi, after the major river which serves as the region’s natural northern border. The name change occurred after this research was completed and, therefore, the former name has been used in this document.

³ The region is divided into east and west Caprivi by the Kwando River, also known as the Mashi by Caprivi inhabitants. West Caprivi, which comprises a 20-mile wide rectangular “strip” of land sandwiched between Angola and Botswana, is a protected nature reserve, and thinly-populated principally by the Khoe-San (“Bushmen”). Only East Caprivi has been settled with farms, villages, markets, and an urban center. East Caprivi is always meant wherever “Caprivi” is used without modifier in this paper.

⁴ Prevalence is based upon the proportion of pregnant women (15-49 years of age) testing positive for HIV at their first visit to an antenatal clinic during the current pregnancy. Namibia has no sentinel sero-surveillance system for the general adult population, and all prevalence estimates come from antenatal clinic data or statistical modeling.

pre-colonial boundaries and indigenous ethnic groups of the Lozi-ruled Barotse Empire,⁵ the resulting territory, which lies at the intersection of modern Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana, had no social, historical or cultural link to the peoples of the rest of the colony, today's Namibia (Fisch, 1999a). Its geographic proximity and access to British colonies, moreover, gave Caprivi both English and Silozi as *linguae francae*, as opposed to Afrikaans and German used in the rest of South West Africa (Fisch, 1999b). After World War I, when Germany lost its colonies in war reparations, the mandate for management of the affairs of South West Africa passed to South Africa. Administered as a distant, semi-autonomous "native reserve" (Legal Assistance Center, 2005) (Becker H. , 2006) (Thomas, 2007), Caprivi remained isolated from colonial influence in Windhoek and, because whites were prohibited from settling there, it received essentially no attention for development by the apartheid South African government over the ensuing decades. Rather, the remote territory was long administered independently from South West Africa by agents in Pretoria, and it became a hotbed for separation movements both from that colony and for independence from South African rule.

Caprivi actually began a process towards self-governance and quasi-autonomy in 1971, but in 1977, the early promise of an independent Caprivi began to be subsumed by the growing centralization of South West Africa's administration in Windhoek (Fisch, 1999b). When South African rule ended with Namibian independence, in 1990, the social, cultural, and political isolation of the region to that time had largely helped to preserve the strength

⁵ The Caprivi Region had been part of the Barotse Kingdom, the center of which lay in western Zambia. The kingdom survives as Barotseland, which became a semi-autonomous province of newly-independent Zambia, but which is today incorporated into the country's Western Province.

and influence of its traditional governing institutions. Since independence, the traditional authorities (TA), consisting of local chiefs, village headmen (*manduna*, plural of *induna*), and traditional councils (*khutas*), have been officially recognized and integrated into local government, and continue to administer customary law within their ethnic jurisdictions.

However, this remoteness has also continued to affect the rate of the region's economic development. In 1993, 81.3% of Caprivi's households lived in poverty, and though this improved over the past two decades, at 50.2%, today, Caprivi remains the second poorest region, and has the highest proportion of severely poor (35.2%) of any region in the country (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2012). With a total population of just 90 100 residents (National Planning Commission, 2012), unemployment among men above 15 years of age has been increasing from 16% in 2001 (National Planning Commission, 2001) to 21% in 2012 (Namibia Labour Force Commission, 2012). Traditional, subsistence agriculture represents the primary employment, given that Caprivi's fishing (Tvedten, 2002) and agricultural potential makes it the only region in Namibia that "virtually feeds itself" (Harring & Odendaal, 2012, p. 8).

East Caprivi and the HIV epidemic

East Caprivi lies at the intersection of much international travel, commerce, and wildlife tourism and experiences a high volume of truck traffic along the trans-Caprivi highway. This traffic plays an important role in disease transmission in the region by supporting a thriving commercial sex industry catering to migrant workers and truckers (LeBeau, 2006). The region maintains the highest prenatal HIV prevalence in the whole of

Namibia. Today, with a population of 90,100 residents (NPC, 2012), Caprivi remains the country's most affected area, and annually reports the highest antenatal HIV prevalence (21.5% in 2012) among 15-24 year-old women -- the age group providing the proxy for incidence (MOHSS, 2012b). A 2006 survey found, nonetheless, that HIV prevention campaigns have led to high proportions of both men and women aged 15-49 years being knowledgeable of prevention methods (de la Torre, Khan, Eckert, Luna, & Koppenhaver, 2009). This finding also contrasts with evidence that men and women in Caprivi each achieve higher levels of education than their counterparts in many other regions of the country (Macro International, Inc., August 2008).

Caprivi men acknowledge that using condoms every time that they have sex is protective (96%), but limits their sexual contacts to just one uninfected partner (94%), or even abstinence from sex (88%). Nonetheless, 57% of all sexually-active Caprivi men reported high-risk intercourse (unprotected, with multiple partners). While nearly 10% of Caprivi men reported having paid for sex within the previous 12 months, 41% of these also failed to use a condom with that sexual partner. Similarly, a higher proportion of Caprivi men (8%) reported engaging in transactional sex (money, alcohol, or gifts in exchange for sex) than did men in other regions of the country.

The sex trade, however, appears only to partially account for the epidemic in Caprivi. Like other former, isolated, ethnic homelands, it has maintained a number of traditional, gendered practices, some of which potentially underlie behavioral health outcomes, with particular implications for increased risks among young persons. Polygamy is practiced by at least 7% of men (second highest proportion in the country), and various other practices, the

prevalence of which is not known, such as *kutamunwa*, “sexual readiness” testing and initiation of pubescent girls by older male relatives; *kuomisa busali*, vaginal drying prior to sex; *malebe*, the stretching of young girls’ labia minora to increase their sexual desirability; and *kufwamena*, “widow/er cleansing” the forced sexual “purification” of a widow by the man who will be her next husband, or the sexual purification of a widower, often with an adolescent girl, are also believed to contribute to the elevated HIV/AIDS prevalence of women in the region, though such practices have reportedly been condemned even by traditional authorities for their associations with HIV risk. The actual extent of such practices however is unknown (Thomas, 2007) (Women's Leadership Center, 2011).

East Caprivi, HIV and the Youth

According to national estimates, over 40 % of new infections in Namibia occurred among young people aged 15-24 years during the 2011-2012 period (MOHSS, 2012a). The majority of these infections (67 %) were among young women. Though incidence estimates are not available below the national level, decreasing prevalence of HIV amongst young Caprivi women 15-24 years of age (39% in 2004 to 22% in 2012) suggests decreased incidence in this group. This prevalence, nonetheless, remains higher than that recorded for this age group at any other regional surveillance site in the country (MOHSS, 2012b).

The behavioral changes associated with the decline are enigmatic. Three quarters of Caprivi residents aged 15-24 years are sexually-active, and one-third of such young men, and one fifth of young women report having had their first sexual encounter before 15 years of age. These proportions are higher in Caprivi than in other parts of the country (Macro

International, Inc., August 2008). The rate of teen births (a proxy for teen pregnancy) in Caprivi is, among the highest in Namibia (121 live births per 1000 girls 15-19 years of age, over a 3-year interval). The proportion of Caprivi men aged 15-24 years who report having had five or more lifetime sexual partners is nearly twice as high as that reported by men the same age, nationally (40% vs. 22%), and condom use by both men and women is reportedly among the lowest in the country, across age groups (de la Torre et al., 2009). Male circumcision, a recognized risk-lowering intervention for men, is not part of the region's traditional practices of initiating boys to manhood, and only one percent of Caprivi men aged 15-24 years report having been circumcised (de la Torre et al., 2009).

Caprivi youth of both sexes also engage in practices stemming from a clearly global influence. Global media and especially male sports figures, provide many of the new resources from which masculinity is being constructed by young Namibian men (Hailonga van Dijk, 2005). Adolescent boys and young men look for ways to emulate these models, including having multiple girlfriends and impregnating them. Young women, too, see their status as increasing through sexual association with men who display these behaviors, and reward men who can provide them material goods in exchange for sex, and may reject those (especially those their own age) who cannot (UNICEF, 2010).

These data suggest that new infections are likely to continue to be important among young people in the region, and that closer examination of the risk behaviors of young men in this age group is particularly important to HIV prevention.

The research was conducted in one (1) urban and three (3) rural areas, all of which were registered conservancies (NACSO, 2008).⁶ Three conservancies, Mayuni, Wuparo, and Salambala were selected non-probabilistically, with the criteria being that one was a conservancy along the trans-Caprivi highway with little prior exposure to HIV/AIDS peer education (Salambala); one was such a conservancy with established peer education exposure (Mayuni); and one was not traversed by the trans-Caprivi highway (Wuparo). The selected conservancies also reflected the ethnic diversity of the region; each had its own principal home language (Subia, Sifwe, and Siyeyi, respectively), and its own recognized traditional authority structure.

The single urban area in the region, Katima Mulilo, is the Caprivi regional administrative center, and is the regional headquarters for the NGOs partnering in this research. In all sites, focus group and key informant interviews were held primarily in community centers and/or schools, given their ability to accommodate the basic needs of focus group discussions (accessibility, contextual neutrality, space, and toilet facilities).

Local Research Partners and Project Staff

Project Management

Mr. John Odeke, the coordinator for rural HIV/AIDS education at the Integrated Resource Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC) office in Caprivi, a non-

⁶ The conservancy program is the approach taken by the government of the Republic of Namibia to promote community-based natural resource management (CBNRM). Conservancies are self-defined rural communities that consolidate their common economic interests and register themselves as legal entities with the rights to exploit the resources of their communal land (animal husbandry, communal forestry, wildlife management for tourism, etc.) The goal of the program is not only resource conservation and management, but increased income-generating potential and distribution of wealth to poor, rural inhabitants.

governmental organization (NGO) that focuses on rural development, was hired as an independent consultant on the project. His work with IRDNC gave him regular access to volunteer public health educators in rural communities, and it was through him that recruiters were hired in targeted conservancies. In his capacity as Field Research Coordinator (FRC) for this project, he was responsible for management of logistics (transportation, organizing meetings with officials, payment of field staff), as well as conducting interviews ,

Interview Staff

In Katima Mulilo, Catholic AIDS Action (CAA), a faith-based NGO dedicated to HIV prevention, contributed one male staff member and IRDNC, a community volunteer, to work as interviewers on the study. The two men were between 25-30 years of age, and belonged to two different Caprivi ethnic groups. These persons were not selected from among residents of any of the study sites, which further protected participant confidentiality, and were paid a negotiated fee for each focus group discussion conducted, almost all of which were scheduled on weekends and outside of normal business hours.

Data Processing Support Staff

Two additional partners, the Society for Family Health (SFH) and the University of Namibia (UNAM) language department in Katima Mulilo, supported data processing activities. Two former students from the University of Namibia (UNAM), Caprivi Regional Campus at Katima Mulilo, transcribed recorded interviews in Silozi, and then translated the transcripts from Silozi to English. Transcription/translation was compensated by the project at a negotiated rate per satisfactorily-completed interview or transcript.

Quality assurance of translations was performed by Prof. Elvis Malumo of the Katima Mulilo campus' Language Department for a negotiated flat fee per transcript. Data management (backup, storage, and shipping) functions were provided as an in-kind service by the SFH office in Katima Mulilo. Neither of these organizations was a recipient of US government funding for participation in this research (the project was entirely funded by the PI).

Training of Field Staff

The PI provided interviewers with five, 8- hour trainings in qualitative interviewing techniques, group facilitation, gender sensitivity, use of the data collection instruments, documentation procedures, management of the recording devices, study protocols, completion of an online ethics course (www.citiprogram.org), and other basic requirements of the research. Finally, training involved the pre-testing of the focus group and key informant interview guides in the field. In two, 45-minute sessions, interviewers practiced facilitating a discussion with small groups of male volunteer participants drawn from one urban and one rural site, using both English and Silozi versions of the tools. Two additional 45-minute sessions were arranged for the PI and FRC to practice the key informant interviews, in English, with subjects from community-based organizations in the urban site, only.

Training in transcription standards was similarly provided by the PI during one 8-hour day for the two transcription/ translation team members, using content from the interviewer

training. The transcription team did not take part in interviewing, but also was also required by the PI to complete the online ethics course given their role in handling study data.

Participant Recruitment Method and Incentives

A formal process of community sensitization was completed by the principal investigator and the Field Research Coordinator (April-May 2011), and early approbation of three courts of Traditional Authorities (*Kuthas*), headed by a chief, and staffed by administrative officers (*Indunas*), was received to conduct this research, in addition to approvals of the local heads of villages in which recruiting took place (August 2011). These traditional bodies ensured that all persons under their jurisdiction would know that their participation in the research had been sanctioned.

Actual recruitment did not take place until one year later, however, in August 2012, after the research was approved by both the Republic of Namibia Ministry of Health and Social Services (MOHSS) and the IRB of the University of Texas Health Science Center-Houston (UT-HSC). Recruiters were hired to re-sensitize communities about the research, and then to advertise it by word of mouth in the targeted urban and rural areas as a discussion on “Men, Manhood, and Romantic Relationships,” without mention of HIV/AIDS or HIV-risk behaviors. Given its high HIV prevalence, the Caprivi region has been heavily targeted by HIV prevention messages and campaigns for more than a decade, and many residents are very familiar with the terminology and language of prevention campaigns. The PI consciously attempted to distance the research from stigma associated with the disease, and at the same time discourage participant “regurgitation” of memorized HIV prevention

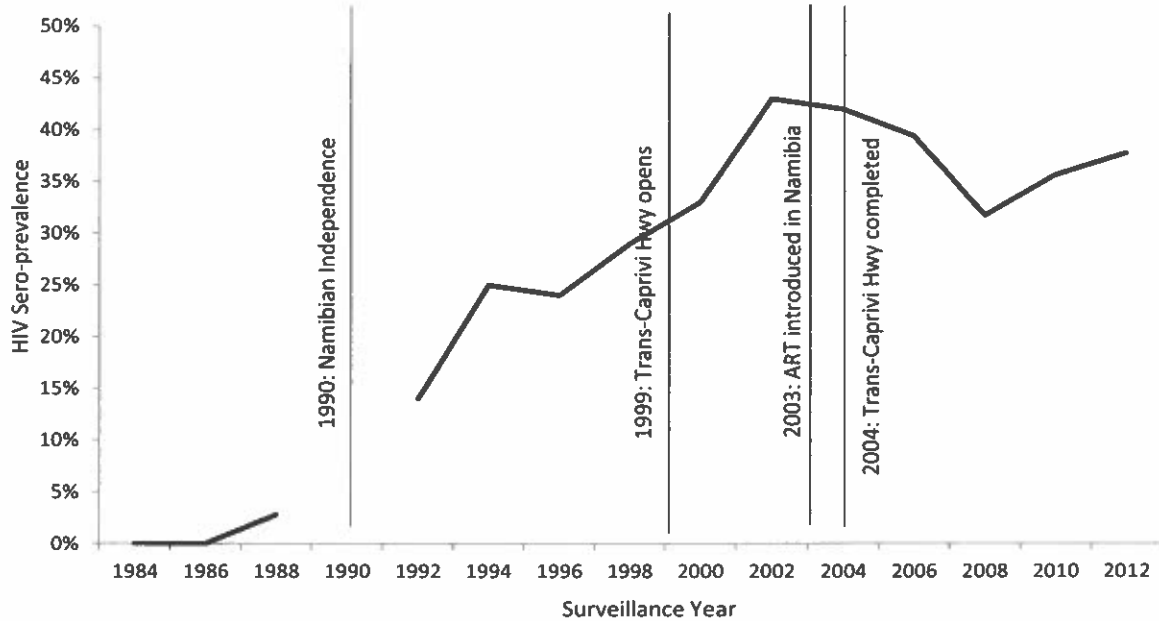
messages in their discussions of how a man “should” behave. Recruiters sampled community members on the basis of desired sample characteristics (age, employment status, marital status, known or purported risk behaviours), informed them of the study, and arranged a venue and meeting time for the focus group interview. They did not administer the informed consent process, nor did they collect interview data from any person.

A second type of participant, the key informant, was recruited directly by the FRC or the PI. Community leaders were of both sexes, targeted on the basis of their in-depth knowledge of the culture and traditions of Caprivi, and for their involvement in institutions which exerted influence on social change. Among these were the courts of traditional authorities, public schools, male-involvement programs in family planning, gender-based violence reduction, and HIV prevention programs.

Monetary incentives were not expected by research participants; rather, light refreshments were accepted as appropriate incentives, and were given to all persons who agreed to be interviewed, regardless of whether the interview was completed or terminated early by the participant.

Figure 2: HIV sero-prevalence among pregnant women 15-49 years of age in Caprivi, Namibia, 1992-2012, juxtaposed against selected historical events.

Also shown are prevalence data prior to 1990, reported by isolated surveys that included males and females. These are not comparable with the post-1990 sentinel antenatal surveillance data. The break in the prevalence curve represents years in which no surveillance was conducted (MOHSS, 2012b; Lecatsas, G., et.al,1988).



Study Subjects

Participants were conversant in Silozi and/or English. The study sample inclusion criteria for focus groups were:

- Subjects of key informant interviews were of either sex, and 18 years or older;
- Focus group participants were comprised of males only, aged between 18-24 years at the time of the interview;
- Subjects were residents of one of the study sites.

Education and occupation characteristics were sampled broadly, rather than specifically, with the intention of obtaining a spectrum of representation of these characteristics among participants. Exclusion criteria included persons who were incarcerated, institutionalized or hospitalized for illness or infirmity.

Sampling and Sample Size Calculation

A total of four (4) focus group discussions (FGDs) with males aged 18-24 years were conducted to investigate the various cultural notions of masculinity, and to identify one predominant (hegemonic) and one alternate conceptualization. Each FGD was comprised of 8 to 10 participants (i.e., a total of 32-40 participants). The sampling strategy (Table 1) was intended to incorporate major population demographics believed to be associated with variations in gender constructions. Efforts were made to recruit subjects using stratified purposive sampling, drawing them from rural and urban environments, and from a mix of occupations (including unemployed, informal and formal sector employment) and varied levels of education (no formal education to secondary and higher).

A separate sample of Community leaders (n=10) was selected non-probabilistically on the basis of their in-depth knowledge of the culture and traditions of Caprivi and their insights into gender relations in Caprivi society.

Table 1. Stratifications (by rural/urban residence) used for focus group and key informant selection in eastern Caprivi, Namibia, 2012-2013.

Focus Groups	RURAL			URBAN
	Mayuni Conservancy	Wuparo Conservancy	Salambala Conservancy	Katima Mulilo town
Age group	18-24 years	18-24 years	18-24 years	18-24 years
No. Of FGDs	(1) All-male	(1) All-male	(1) All-male	(1) All-male
Key informants (Community Leaders)	Traditional Authority (1) <i>Induna</i>	Traditional Authority (1) <i>Induna</i>	Traditional Authority (1) <i>Induna</i>	
	(1) Teacher, (3) health care workers (male and female nurses, HIV counselor); (2) CBNRM development workers; (1) religious worker **			

** Many Community Leaders resided and worked in both rural and urban settings.

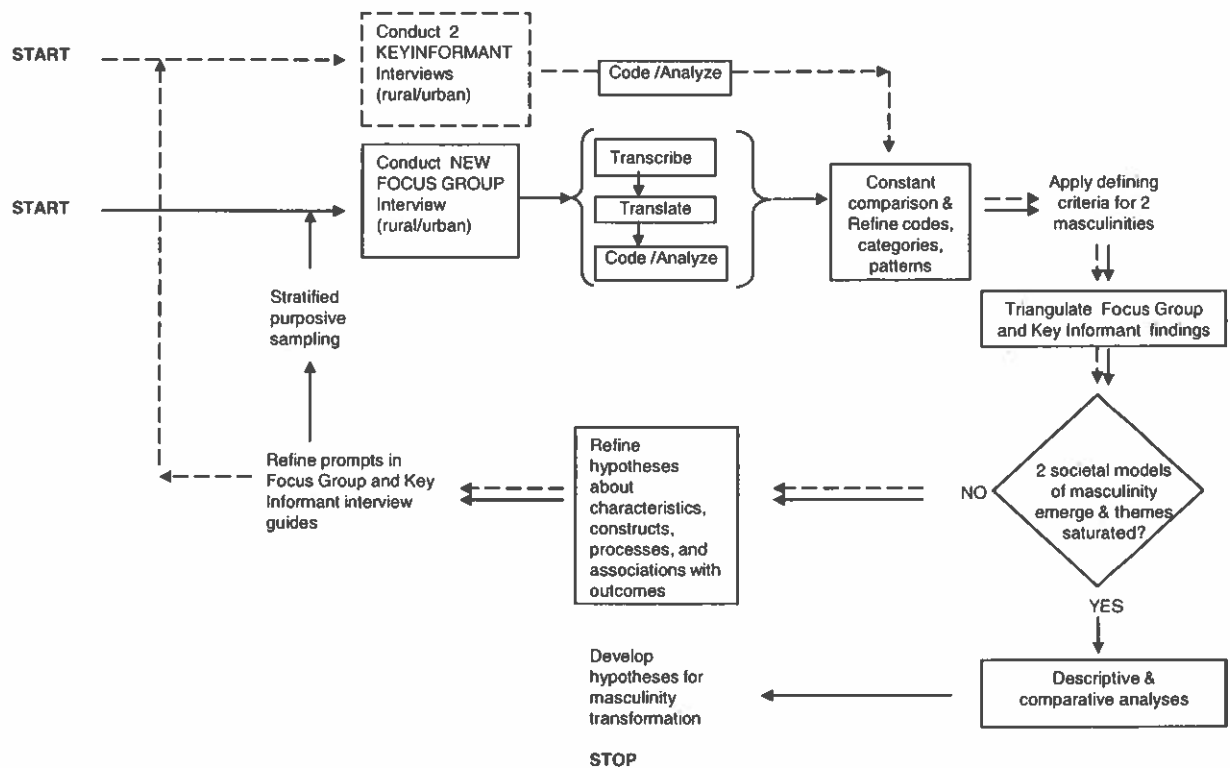
Data Collection

Data collection, data processing, and analysis are described, below. These activities took place in cycles, over an 11-month field period, from August 2012 through the end of June 2013.

Informed Consent and Demographic Survey

Informed consent was obtained from all focus group participants by the interview team on the day of the interview (see Appendix F; see also Human Subjects Considerations at end of this document). One read the informed consent to the whole focus group in English or Silozi, and fielded questions from the group concerning the study purpose, why they were selected

Figure 3: Flow chart of two data collection/analysis activities (focus group and key informant interviews) conducted during the field period in Caprivi, Namibia, employing components of Grounded Theory research methods (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 1998, 2008).



to participate, their rights as participants, what was expected of them as participants, and the roles and responsibilities of the two facilitators. Afterward, each facilitator led individual participants to a location at a comfortable distance from the group, for privacy, to obtain their individual consent for participation. If obtained, they administered a brief demographic survey (see Appendix F), collecting age group, residence in a study site, marital status, education, and employment, but did not request individual, identifying information. Each consenting participant was given a unique ID badge (linked to the pre-numbered survey document), and was referred to during the digitally-recorded interview only by this ID

number. The IRB of the University of Texas Health Science Center – Houston determined that the anonymous interview subjects need not indicate their consent with a signature, and therefore, only verbal consent was obtained from each participant. All participants were given a blank copy of the informed consent document in English or Silozi, as they preferred, for their reference.

Community leaders similarly gave verbal consent in this way and completed the demographic survey, but were interviewed individually, by me or by the FRC.

Demographic data were entered into a Microsoft Excel 2007 spreadsheet to provide a descriptive analysis of participants engaged in the study, and to ascertain where gaps in sampling of particular demographic characteristics might occur (i.e., marital status, education, occupation). The survey and the associated database were maintained by the PI, and were not shared with project staff or partners except to provide aggregate statistics to improve sampling.

Data Collection: Conduct of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews

One member of the interview pair served as the focus group facilitator while the other largely performed support functions such as note-taking on flip charts, managing the audio recorder, setting out refreshments, etc. This person also assisted the facilitator in identifying questions, remarks, and issues needing further probing during the discussion. Focus group participants were told to expect discussions to last an average of 2 hours.

The discussion began by having participants identify the behaviors that they believed that most men in their community admired in other men and that “most men” that they knew, their age, were actively emulating. The discussion guide (see Appendix F) contained open-ended questions about these behaviors (“If I am your brother/friend/son/boyfriend in this community, what do you tell me to do to act like ‘a man’?” “Do you think that most men in your community would agree that the man you described here is someone they most want to be? Why? Why not?”)

The group’s responses were understood to represent their shared understanding of the societal conceptualization of *hegemonic* masculinity – of the notions of manhood that guide and shape most men’s conduct in their society. From their common experiences and perceptions, the group then associated that masculinity with the types of relationships with women that were likely to be pursued, and the processes that this “type” of man followed in choosing to engage in a particular (hetero)sexual relationship (“If I am this type of man, what kind of relationship(s) do I want with women?” “What kinds of women am I likely to seek?” “Do I choose these relationships myself, or do I get help from someone?” “Who else is interested in my choice of relationship? Why?”)

The group then identified elements in their communities that facilitated the formation of the relationships by men who subscribe to this masculinity, and the social rewards to the man with such a masculinity construction (“Which of my behaviors do wo/men support/not support if I am this kind of man?” “How do wo/men help/discourage me to behave the way that I do?”)

Thereafter, they were put through an exercise of identifying alternatives to the hegemonic version that they believed were realistic in terms of their requirements and achievability (that is, men they knew, cared about, and respected – such as a brother, friend, or son -- would and could do these things), while at the same time they agreed upon those “hegemonic” behaviors that, even if viewed negatively by some or most participants, could be “forgiven” and tolerated if reproduced in an alternate masculinity (“If I cannot do all of these [hegemonic] behaviors, is there something different that I can do to still show you that I am a man that other men can want to be like?” “Since I’m only human and not perfect, are there some behaviors that you will forgive in me, if I am this [different] kind of man?”) The group went on to explore and describe the alternative notion of masculinity in all the same ways in which the hegemonic form was described (types of relationships pursued, facilitators of masculine behaviors, rewards for behavior). This process was reiterated, each time revealing a different, but overlapping conceptualization of masculinity that the group agreed would be socially acceptable, each time reducing various risk behaviors evident in the original, hegemonic template, until it was agreed that no further modifications (no new iterations) could be made to a masculinity’s components without risking its respectability in the culture. At that point, the group was understood by the investigator to have revealed its (and its culture’s) maximum tolerance *for risk reduction* in a desirable model of masculinity.

Finally, the group was asked to evaluate the relative social value of all of these variations (“If your neighbor has a son like this man, would you want him as a husband or boyfriend for your sister/daughter?” “Which of these men receives the most respect or is most admired in your community? Which is 2nd most respected? 3rd?” “Why?”) and then to

rate them in terms of their achievability (that is, men they cared about and respected – such as a brother or friend -- would and could do these things) with “1” representing the most achievable masculinity.

It was not considered necessary that masculinities constructed through these discussions be based upon actual, living persons; rather it was the extent to which commonalities could be found among all of the *notions* of masculinity that were being reported across the different focus groups and key informant interviews that was significant to this research, and it was the contrasts that could be made between these notions that would form the basis for development of theory.

Data were collected in cycles, with one focus group discussion being conducted approximately every two-to-three months, interspersed with key informant interviews, and a review of current literature, thus allowing time for transcription/translation and for constant comparative analysis, as prescribed by grounded theory. The researcher maintained contact with the Community leaders and re-interviewed them, as needed, to probe new questions, or to resolve discrepancies found in their narratives.

Reflexive Notations

This documentation was used as a tool to monitor, and account for bias in qualitative research. Reflexivity causes the researcher to analyze the way in which the interviewers, the interview environment, the manner of questioning, language and comprehension, and other variables may all be influencing the ways in which the participant responds, and, therefore, how the researcher both contributes to the data as they are being generated, and interprets

them as findings. Reflexivity was encouraged with all members of the interview team through verbal de-briefings, as a group, on the conduct of each interview, immediately following its completion. This analysis was very important both for improving the quality of each successive interview, and for providing context to later interpretations of the data and their limitations.

Quality Assurance, Monitoring, and Project Management

This researcher was responsible for overall project management and monitoring. Since data collection occurred in cycles, rather than all at once, a review of the transcripts from each cycle provided an opportunity to review with interviewers the quality and depth of their probing and interviewing. The first focus group discussion, conducted entirely in one of the local, Caprivi, languages, underwent two phases of quality assurance:

- (1) The FRC selected random segments of the original audio recording and examined the corresponding segments of the original language transcript for accuracy, requesting revisions if needed.
- (2) Once the Silozi transcript was complete and then translated to English, random segments of the English-language transcripts were given to one of the two research assistant translators (one who did not perform the Silozi-to-English translation) to back translate from English to Silozi. Prof. Elvis Malumo of the Language Department at UNAM compared the back translation with the original Silozi transcript for accuracy/consistency.

These steps were necessary early in the data collection period to ensure quality of the end products. The review of the very first focus group interview's content revealed that the quality of the data was disappointingly poor and thin, and the interview procedure was changed to correct the quality in all ensuing interviews by conducting them primarily in English (see Results section for detail). Thereafter, the researcher performed all quality assurance using step (1) above, only.

Data management

Interview data was collected on digital audio recording devices and paper (brief demographic survey and reflexive notes) by the interview team. All were submitted to the researcher or to the FRC as soon as each interview was completed. When the researcher was not present at an interview, the FRC shipped the data in separate packets via courier service to my Windhoek post office box (1200 kilometers from the study site). Audio recordings were first copied to two CD-Rs by the Society for Family Health [SFH] a partnering research organization in Caprivi experienced in confidential data management: one copy served as a back-up, stored by SFH for the duration of the study, the other was shipped via courier service to the PO's Windhoek post office box. Original data on the audio recorders, themselves, was deleted by the FRC before returning the devices to interview teams for use in their next interviews. All items shipped to Windhoek were stored in a dedicated file cabinet, in a locked office at the researcher's Windhoek residence.

The FRC managed two laptops purchased for use by the transcription/translation team. He provided original audio recordings (in Silozi) on CD-RW to each of the

transcriptionists, the quality of whose work was reviewed as previously described. At the conclusion of the study, laptops used in the field were cleaned of data and returned to the researcher. All backed up copies of digital audio recordings and transcripts held by SFH were collected by the researcher and maintained indefinitely, for purposes of further research or inquiry.

Data Analysis

Data analysis followed the grounded theory procedures described by Corbin and Strauss (1990) (2008). The process integrates data collection and analysis procedures, and entails using cumulative understandings of the data to guide each later stage of data collection. In this way, theory is constructed inductively from empirical data. However, the analytic strategy that used did not represent “pure” grounded theory research and differed from it in three important ways: firstly, the research was directed by specific research questions that were established *a priori*, and theory did not derive purely from the inductive investigation process. Whereas traditional grounded theory requires the researcher to be free of pre-conceived theoretical notions regarding an event or phenomenon (i.e., no previous literature review, no framing of research using pre-existing theories), the current research is very much influenced and framed by established theories in the field of gender. Grounded theory research has been criticized for ignoring the relevance of prior research in the formulation of new theory (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010). Secondly, it used focus groups, rather than individuals, as the unit of study in order to more efficiently arrive at societal (rather than individual) notions of masculinity. And thirdly, it adapted the traditional

technique of theoretical sampling to fit focus groups. Theoretical sampling is used to challenge the researcher's assumptions, conceptualizations, and hypotheses about actions, and processes, to account for variations in data. However, rather than to seek individuals who either reflect or do not reflect hypothesized masculinity conceptualizations and configurations (i.e., negative cases), specific probes in the interview guide were modified over time to test developing assumptions on each new focus group that was formed. In other respects, the analysis was typical of the grounded theory process (Table 2). Analysis of the earliest focus group discussions determined what emerging hypotheses needed to be investigated in the next round of data collection, and the analysis of all data cumulatively, thereafter, determined the focus of each subsequent round of data collection. Data collection/analysis continued in this manner until themes/categories, as well as their properties and dimensions were thoroughly described, and thus, "saturated." This process represented an essential component of grounded theory development and was key to the "constant comparative" method (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The work of Miles & Huberman (1994) provided specific data-reductive analytic tools and strategies to assist in cross-case and within-case comparative analyses.

Finally, focus group findings, key informant findings, and gender, behavioural, and anthropological literature focusing on the Caprivi and southern African context were triangulated to increase the rigor of the analysis and strengthen the validity of the conclusions of the comparative analyses.

Descriptive Analysis of masculinity conceptualizations

Initial analysis was descriptive, exploring the commonalities and differences in various conceptualizations of masculinities produced by the different participant groups – their gender constructs, associated behaviors, reward systems, their relative social value and position in the masculinity hierarchy, and processes involved in arriving at behavioral health outcomes (sexual relationships). The result of this analysis was the consolidation of common conceptualizations into three masculinities, one the Caprivi “hegemonic” and most socially-desirable model (labeled “Traditional Man”, an unexpected competitive and non-hegemonic model (labeled as “Current Man”) and a lower-risk, alternative selected through a bargaining process by each focus group (labeled as “Alternate”). The extent to which commonalities in characteristics and social valuation of these masculinities could be found across groups (especially when triangulated with key informant interview findings and pertinent literature), established the construct validity of those masculinity concepts.

Comparative analyses of masculinities

The original proposal was to have attempted two different approaches to comparative analysis: (1) a “within-case” comparison (examining only variations in the high-risk case) providing information on those masculinity constructs that may be relatively stable and those that may be undergoing change (suggesting points of “instability” and areas in which men may express “empowerment” to act outside the high-risk norms). Such a definition of empowerment has been used in other research, though with a focus on women (Williams, 2005). Yet, the data strongly suggested that the hegemonic, Traditional Man, and the high-

risk competitor, Current Man, were related, and that one (Current Man) had evolved from the other (Traditional Man) and thus the “within-case” analysis was conducted as an analysis of how this evolution took place, and of how those aspects in a low-risk masculinity eventually developed into higher risk expressions of masculinity. (2) A “cross-case” comparison of two masculinities followed, (Current Man vs. the Alternate) examining the different support systems and cultural valuations that appeared to be associated with the two masculinity types. The cross-case analysis of focus group data, triangulated with findings from separately-conducted key informant interviews and pertinent literature, resulted in theoretical propositions that could be tested in future research (specifically through the sampling of individual men who behave in ways that varyingly exemplify the identified masculinities).

Table 2. Overview of the analysis process and accompanying tools used in the development of descriptive and comparative analyses of masculinities in eastern Caprivi, Namibia, 2012-2013.

Analytic Process (iterative steps)		Tools used in process
Data Reduction & Preliminary Analysis	1. Open coding (first level of coding) & Category coding	a. Coding directly in Atlas.ti v.6.0. b. Code book in Atlas.ti v.6.0 c. Memoing – MSWord, and Atlasti.
	2. Axial coding	
Hypothesis generation for each case	3. Pattern coding 4. Triangulation with findings from other methods, literature, other theory	d. Partially-ordered concept matrix e. Pattern matrices f. Memoing – MS Word and Atlasti g. Peer-reviewed research, unpublished/“grey” literature

Theory development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Selective coding 6. Theory development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> h. Summary memo i. Memoing – MSWord and Atlasti
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(1) *Open coding and Category coding*, were the first steps of the analysis, in which raw text from focus group and in-depth interview transcripts were mined for their concepts and encoded with conceptual labels in order to generate abstractions from the data. Open coding was performed on all focus group discussions and the first five key informant interviews, using double-spaced, English-language transcripts. Thereafter, the codes developed from that process provided the basic concepts for which all other interviews were coded.

These included codes for conditions/context, processes by which context acted upon concepts, strategies by which certain types of masculinities “acted out” a particular response strategy, and the outcomes of those strategies (Strauss, 1987). Some codes were *in vivo* codes (concepts labeled in the vernacular of the study participants, themselves – whether in their local language or in English). Coding of the first few interview was performed on paper, but was later transferred to Atlas.ti v 7.0, where codes in each transcript were linked to source text in all transcripts, and used to build a code book. New codes identified in each round of data collection were compared against those previously defined, and this allowed for “constant comparison” of existing and emerging evidence to determine whether interpretations continued to be supported, whether they represented

different concepts than initially suspected, or whether they needed to be revised/re-formulated. These methods of challenging the conceptualizations of the codes helped to establish both their construct and internal validity through “saturation” (exhaustion) of perspectives on the categories that were identified in the data (Green & Thorogood, 2005).

Axial coding was done concurrently with open coding, and entailed linking codes and categories to others that represented their *properties* (attributes and characteristics) and then further defining each property by still lower-order concepts representing *dimensions* or a continuum of variations on each property. Axial coding assisted with data reduction (consolidation of the plethora of initial codes) and promoted “saturation” of potential themes. Groups of related codes with well developed properties and dimensions were formulated as a new category (theme) provided that it conveyed the context, the “conditions that give rise to it, the action/interaction by which it is expressed, and the consequences it produce[d]” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 8). Memos were used to document and explain how and which codes and categories are involved in these relationships.

(2) *Pattern coding*. Patterns were derived from the paradigm used in grounded theory research, which states that “[p]eople play an active role in shaping their lives by the way they handle or fail to handle the events or problems they encounter, and their action/interactions/responses [are] based...on their perceptions of those events” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 88). Conditions and other antecedents to some event or problem were

often recognizable in the transcripts from the participant's own language – “when...” this or that happens, “then...,” or “because...” or “since Independence...” The elements of the paradigm (conditions, events, responses) were coded during the open coding process. The broader, more abstract interpretation of their combined relevance to final outcomes was captured in the form of a pattern code. Pattern codes were identifiable by the prefix “PATT.” Pattern codes were used to characterize processes and influences that acted upon (or were used by) different masculinities to produce differing behavioral risk outcomes. Patterns connected themes – similar contexts, experiences, processes and response strategies across transcripts, and the relative *frequency* of such patterns across masculinity types was used as the indicator of the importance and strength of a pattern (the strongest patterns have been summarized in Table 3 of the paper “Alternate masculinities and HIV risk reduction in Caprivi, Namibia: which one will work?” Pattern codes were described in *pattern memos* and helped to build evidence of associations between conditions and particular constructs, as well as temporal patterns between conditions, responses and actions, and the consequences of those actions. Analysis and writing of the pattern memos was assisted by the use of a series of data visualization tools, specifically matrices, which assisted the progressive reduction of data during the analysis process. For example, the primary data table collected data from focus groups on the characteristics of “types” of men, and ordered them on their relative “respectability” within the culture and provided an indication of the “achievability” of each masculinity. Data entry into this table consisted of coded concepts and brief, illustrative text provided by participants in each group. Looking across the ordered table, it was possible to identify

the commonalities in conceptualizations across study groups, the relative importance of each masculinity in the social hierarchy, and the relative social “value” assigned to a masculinity type. Indicators of “respectability” and “achievability” of a model of masculinity were measured with a simple index provided by the focus groups, themselves (on an ordinal scale, with “1” being the highest value). The rewards that each masculinity sought tended to be very similar and were coded for the Traditional Man, the Current Man, and the Alternate as “respect” – in the sense of (i.e., with properties of) “admiration,” “honor,” “recognition/status” and “fear.” These properties of “respect” were identical for the first two masculinities, whereas the property of “fear” was lacking from the Alternate when focus groups spoke of respect for this type of man. Even when focus groups reported “sex,” and “attention” as rewards that the high-risk Current Man sought, with further analysis, these too were reduced to the code “respect” as sex and attention were most rewarding to the Current Man when obtained in a public setting, where witnesses could attest to his drawing power, and admire him for his prowess. It therefore appeared that all three masculinities essentially sought the same rewards for enacting masculinity in very different ways.

Identification of Hegemonic and Alternate Masculinities

The hegemonic masculinity was identified using the following criteria, developed in keeping with Connell’s theories:

- It showed consistency in its characteristics, and these were recognizable to all or almost all groups (an indication of its hegemony) and,

- Its characteristics were highly emulated (“most admired/venerated”) and,
- It was associated with higher levels of “respect”(a proxy in this study for “power” and social influence) than other masculinities and,
- It was associated with high, if not the highest, levels of behavioral risk outcomes (Courtenay, 2000). This last criterion was later deleted, when analysis revealed that the hegemonic model of masculinity, in Caprivi, was not the high risk masculinity (see reflexive notes on this analysis, below).

The alternative masculinity had to meet the criteria for “adoptability” of an innovation proposed in Diffusion of Innovation theory (Rogers, 2003).

- *Compatibility*: It had to co-exist and be practiced in the same society and culture in which the hegemonic form was found;
- *Relative advantage*: It had to already meet with a relatively “high” degree of social acceptance and receive higher social rewards than most other alternatives;
- *Complexity*: It had to be perceived as being as achievable by the “average” 18-24 year old Caprivi male as the higher-risk alternative (i.e., focus groups had to report that this was a masculinity option that many of their peers would *be able* to do);
- *Trialability*: Focus groups across socio-demographic strata had to believe that many of their peers would be *willing* to practice this model of masculinity;
- *Observability*: It was not a rare model of masculinity, and living examples of it were reported by the focus groups.

Memos. Three different types of memos were used to organize and coordinate the data collection-analysis process. Atlas.ti v. 7.0 software was used to store early/preliminary “code memos” (code book). These memos were analytical logs in which understandings of each code, and their relationship to other codes (*axial coding*), were documented and continually revised as the understanding or interpretation of their meaning changed. *Category memos* were drafted to document my rationale for organizing related codes into a larger category, justifying it with empirical data, providing the context that gave rise to the category, and the processes and responses associated with the concepts underlying the category (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Code and category memos were linked to text excerpts that demonstrated the empirical basis for my interpretations of them. A final type of memo, a *summary memo*, simply examined the broad picture that was developing. Corbin & Strauss (2008) recommend developing it to integrate all other memos throughout the research effort. It also included literature reviews to identify previously-published findings that might support or challenge some of the relationships that appeared in the data and, thus, formed the explanatory narrative (the *story line*), and basis for the eventual theory.

(3) *Selective coding.* After the data were sufficiently reduced and resulting codes and categories were demonstrated to be relatively robust in the face of exploratory challenge and had been “saturated” (their properties, dimensions, and important variants had been well-explicated), one category was *selected* as the dominant or key theme of the “story” underlying and connecting the codes for *all masculinities* investigated in this research.

Strauss (1987, p.36) proposed five (5) criteria for designation of a category to play such an all-encompassing role (paraphrased here):

1. It should encompass and be related to all other major categories revealed by the data.
2. It must appear frequently throughout the data; in most or all cases the key theme is evident.
3. It should be a logical choice, consistent with the data, and not forced as the unifying theme over the data.
4. It should be broad and sufficiently abstract as to facilitate the development of a general theory.
5. Explanatory power of the category should increase as a result of the relationships that it has with all lower-level categories.

All other codes, categories, and patterns were then organized and related to that single code as explications and clarifications of the central one, and a “story line” (description of, logical arguments for, and explanations for the outcomes associated with masculinities) was generated. The relationships of all categories now having been brought together in relation to one, over-arching concept, within-case and cross-case comparative analyses were conducted.

Triangulation of findings – As particular themes and processes emerged from the focus group data, it was appropriate to examine the results of focus group interviews with Community leaders, and the literature for evidence of convergence of findings and

interpretations to support or contrast conclusions that I made about the masculinities.

Triangulation was integral to defining the two masculinities and it was, therefore, documented in the pattern and summary memos.

Human Subjects Considerations

Informed Consent Procedures

Participants in this study were all adults, aged at least 18 years, for whom similar consent processes were required by both the MOHSS and the UT-HSC.

The rights of each participant were explained in simple, clear English or Silozi at 6th grade reading level in an informed consent document, of which the participant received a copy (see Appendix F). The English-language version was approved by the University of Texas Health Science Center's IRB in August 2012. The interviewer first read the consent script to the participant, after which, the participant was given time to ask questions. As no personal identifying information was sought from any participants, and they remained anonymous, they were asked only to give verbal consent. The consent form explained: why the subject was being asked to participate in research; the purpose of the research and the number of subjects involved; the expected duration of the interview; that the subject's participation was voluntary and that there were no consequences for refusal to participate; that electronic recording devices would be used; how the research would benefit the target groups and/or the participant, or society; potential risks to the participant, if any; costs or compensation for participating; confidentiality of the individual's responses; and the contact information for the PI and the Namibian Ministry of Health and Social Services whom the

subject could contact with any pertinent questions about the research, or to whom the subject might issue a complaint. A blank copy of the consent form was given to each participant in his preferred language (Silozi or English).

Community leaders, recruited for their specific insights from particular institutions with impact upon gender formation, were readily-identifiable by the interviewer, but as no identifying information was captured during their interviews, they were also asked only to provide verbal consent to interview. Rather than a copy of the consent form, the UT-HSC IRB found it sufficient to provide them a brief description of the study, only. During the course of the investigation, this researcher found it valuable to be able to re-interview these Community Leaders, to clarify points made in an earlier interview and to obtain their impressions/interpretations of my emerging hypotheses. I both requested and obtained authorization from UT-HSC IRB to re-interview these individuals, in May 2013.

Protection of Identifying Information

A brief demographic survey tool assigned an ID to each participant, but the ID was unlinked to any other data source. Completed survey questionnaires were maintained 1200 km from the research site in a locked file cabinet and locked office in the private residence of the researcher, in Windhoek during the field period. The survey data were entered into an MS Excel database by the researcher. The original survey questionnaire will be destroyed by the researcher 3 years after the conclusion of the field period. Digital recordings, identifiable only by the subject or focus group ID, as well as all original and English-language

transcripts, are maintained by the researcher indefinitely for purposes of further research or inquiry. Copies of these materials may be furnished to MOHSS or UT-HSC upon request.

Benefits of the Study

There are no direct benefits of this study to any individual participant. The study proposes to derive information that may be useful in the design of interventions to develop, over time, local gender behaviors in young men that reduce their risk for HIV/AIDS.

Harm reduction

The subjects of this research were requested to provide their insights into local culture and notions of gender. Because they were not requested to provide information on their personal gender behaviors, the risk of harm to any individual participant was believed to be minimal. To increase anonymity, subjects were not interviewed by the same persons who recruited them in their home town or conservancy. There were no known risks (i.e., social stigma) to any subject for simply being identified as a participant in this research – which was advertised without association with HIV or any other stigmatizing condition. Having followed the procedures for protecting data security and the anonymity of each individual participant, there were no other known or suspected short or long term concerns for the health and/or welfare of any person as a consequence of participating in this research. As a group, however, men’s behavior within sexual relationships has been negatively portrayed in much previous research on gender relations in Caprivi. This has contributed to some negative stereotyping of Caprivi men in general. While portrayal of men’s risk-enhancing

(and therefore, undesirable) behaviors was necessarily a part of this study, an effort was made to balance the portrayal with parallel depictions of lower-risk behaviors in men in the same population, society, and culture, thus reducing the risk that study results should be seen as reinforcing stereotypes of Caprivi men as a group.

RESULTS

The major findings of this research have been reported in two manuscripts found at the end of the results section of this document.

The first paper, “Men ‘in between’: masculinity transformation and HIV Risk in Caprivi, Namibia,” addresses Objectives 3 and 4 of the study, concerning the identification of a surprisingly lower risk, “hegemonic” masculinity in Caprivi (Traditional Man), and examines the social processes that have led to the evolution of higher risk masculinity constructs, and suggests those that may be driving conceptual changes in directions of lower risk. Finally, the paper suggests how those processes may be informative to interventions for HIV prevention.

The second paper, “Alternate masculinities and HIV risk reduction in Caprivi, Namibia: which one will work?” addresses objectives 1 and 2 of the study, which concern the descriptions of two socially-competitive notions/images of masculinity (one with higher and one with lower HIV risk) in the Caprivi region. The two are compared in terms of their support systems and social rewards to suggest where divergences begin, and thus, where interventions may be targeted, theoretically, to support broader propagation of lower-risk masculinity concepts.

Additional analyses were only briefly accommodated within the page and word limits of those reports, and the sections that follow are dedicated to reporting selected analyses in greater detail, drawn from analysis memos written during the course of the study.

Reflexive notes on the data collection process

The interview team reflected upon the interview process following each focus group discussion. Two particular matters were highlighted in this researcher's reflexive notes: questions regarding the sampling process, and challenges with the data collection process. These two issues were felt to be particularly relevant to the outcomes of the study. Each is discussed, below.

Reflections on the sampling process

It was important in this study to draw a sample that reflected a variety of concepts and attitudes held by young men that could affect their masculinity conceptualizations, rather than a sample that reflected the broader demographics of the 18-24 year old group. The participating peer health educators at each site were instructed to use their knowledge of individual young men's behavior and reputations for gender attitudes, in addition to their employment, marital, and educational status, when sampling and recruiting participants. They reported no challenges in doing so, given that they resided in the communities from which participants were recruited, and were familiar with them. However, this researcher began to question whether this procedure were being carried out when the first two focus groups (Salambala and Katima) revealed many concepts of masculinity that were suspiciously consistent with each other. It seemed that participant views could not be so homogeneous if they had been sampled with the express intention of increasing their variability. Recruiters insisted, nonetheless, that *most* men who participated in focus groups

had been sampled purposefully, as planned.⁷ This researcher, therefore, observed the recruiting practices for the next two focus groups and found that a variety of methods were actually being used: It appeared to be true that, on the day of the interview, as the FRC's pick up truck passed through various villages, specific men responded to the recruiter's call by name, and climbed into the truck without questions, having been previously informed of why they had been called together (as the researcher was able to confirm through questioning of various passengers). However, when the recruiter could not find the specific man who had previously been recruited, he was promptly substituted with another male family member, near neighbor, or with any man convenient who fit the basic sampling criteria. Such men were given a very brief orientation to the study in their local language, asked whether they were interested, and were offered a ride to the designated focus group site. This happened in the case of three young men in Wuparo and two in Mayuni conservancies. This researcher witnessed only one refusal among such replacements, for a reason that was not probed. However, that young man offered his neighbor, who after screening and a brief orientation, agreed to come to the interview site to receive further information and to give informed consent.

However, it was not possible for the researcher to verify the extent to which recruiters succeeded in acquiring a *varied* sample in terms of attitudes and concepts. It was not part of the study protocol for interviewers to ask individual participants about their personal

⁷ An unfortunate oversight of the recruitment process was that no data were collected to examine a response rate. During the piloting period, it appeared that refusals to participate were very unusual, as participants seemed to enjoy being offered the opportunity to give their opinions, provided that they were not otherwise occupied at the time of the interview. Recruiters reported "a few" refusals, apparently from young men who were busy with chores at the homestead, or who were engaged in fishing at the time. How these men differed from those who finally participated in the focus group discussions was not otherwise determined.

behaviors or beliefs, and though the demographic survey (see Appendix F) asked about types of relationships in which each participant was involved, it, unfortunately, omitted useful surrogate questions that might have indicated gender beliefs and attitudes. Two of these might have asked about the number of children that the participant had, and the number of partners who were the mothers of these children.

Nonetheless, interview transcripts do suggest that some variation in gendered opinions was expressed in the sample. Notably, the Katima Mulilo group engaged in a debate over the issue of rape and whether it was acceptable for a man to rape his own wife or girlfriend:

P16: [T]he importance of marriage is that you cannot go and rape other ladies. You are having your own and you can do it [have sex] any time you want.

P11: No, not any time, because if your wife refuses, then you are also raping her.

P16: Who says?

P11: It is the law...

P16: No, any time you want. If you buy food, no one will come and arrest you for stealing food from your own house.

Other men in this group clearly felt that rape was caused by carelessly provocative women, while others argued the contrary, and that rape occurred even in the absence of such “provocation” (as in the rape of aged women and small children).

The researcher also specifically sampled “negative cases” among in-depth interview subjects (Community leaders), by interviewing two male development workers in Katima Mulilo. These men had been referred by female co-workers because of their reputations of having “very high risk” sexual behavior. These men, Development Workers #1 and #2, were obliging and willing to talk of their sexual exploits quite openly. Both men were in their 30s, employed and educated, knew that they were attractive to young women, and were proud of their ability to command such attentions. In the interview, they were not asked to speak of their own conduct, yet they often offered to do so, particularly in contrast to other men who did not behave as they did:

Researcher: Why do you think that “most men” behave the way they do?

Development worker#1: Different guys behave in different ways. That’s fine, I think. Not every guy wants to be me, and I don’t want to be like some of those guys, either! (laughs). Some of them are so old fashioned, you know? I mean, the old guys, not so much the young ones.

Researcher: What do you mean by “old fashioned?” How are young and old guys different?

Development worker#1: You know...the old guys, they are very traditional, they aren’t up to date. In their time, men had to get married, have

a farm, have kids, and all that. Nowadays, in these modern times, guys my age, they don't want to do that stuff. There is nothing to do on the farms and in the village. The first chance they have to get out and have some fun, they go!

Researcher: So, old guys live in villages and work, and young guys move to town and play?

Development worker#1: (laughs) Well...No, of course they work, too. They come here looking for money and a job. So, it's different work. It isn't that young guys don't respect the older ones, or their way of life. Most of them, they do. But they just can't be like them, not nowadays, in these modern times. They...

Researcher: Why is that? Why do you think they can't be like the older guys?

Development worker#1: Some of them can, most of them can't. If you have any education, want anything in life...in this modern time, you can't just stay in the village -- there's nothing there! Maybe old people can go there and retire, but for young guys and young girls...[and then] you come here [to Katima] and you see how other young people are living -- the clothes, cars, beautiful girls everywhere -- and you don't want to go back. There are other ways to live.

At least a few men in each focus group were able to describe the process of negotiating for casual sex with women in shebeens (local bars), and even how their prowess rewarded them with the admiration of their peers. It was not possible to discern whether these participants were speaking of their own behaviors and attitudes towards women, were simply recounting what they had seen others do, or were repeating what they had heard others say.

However, it is significant that such views and experiences did get expressed, and even more so that they sometimes found debate by others in the group. This researcher found this to be plausible evidence that variation in sampling characteristics had been achieved, though the extent of that variation could not be determined.

Reflections on the quality of data

The researcher had determined from the outset that focus group discussions would largely be held in the native languages of the participants, to facilitate discussion. In the first discussion group, held in Salambala, discussion was held almost entirely in Silozi, intermixed with Subiya. This researcher had determined to interfere as little as possible in this interview and to allow it to be conducted in a language unknown to him, believing that he would thereby provide an environment favoring the richest and most authentic exchanges between participants.

While the interview team reported no particular difficulty with the interview process, this researcher noted his discomfort and disappointment with the interview itself: there was insufficient probing on the part of the team; understanding neither Silozi nor Subiya, the researcher unexpectedly felt isolated from the data collection process because he found few opportunities to participate in the focus group discussion and to guide its questioning; he was able to follow the conversation through the notes that were being taken down on flip charts by the interviewers, which were largely recorded in English, however, his efforts to intervene and pose his own prompts caused disruptions, and slowed down the interview, which made the researcher all the more reluctant to interfere.

When the transcript and translation of the recorded interview were completed, over one month later, his concerns were confirmed. The first focus group lasted under 1.5 hours, and the transcript revealed little probing of questions, and very thin data on the group's perceptions of masculinity.

Following this interview, the researcher re-trained the interviewers on probing techniques, the importance of probing, and debated with them the benefits and disadvantages of holding the interviews at least partially in English. The team decided that the next interview, which was held with the Katima Mulilo urban group, would easily be conducted primarily in English, and that the team could otherwise support intermittent exchanges in one of the local languages, as required.

The second interview lasted more than 2.5 hours, but provided, in the team's view, much richer data than the first. Participants did occasionally struggle to understand questions posed by the researcher, who had to rephrase and simplify questions and rely upon the interview team to translate, but conducting the interview principally in English, from the start, did not appear to hamper the flow of discussion, or to restrict the authenticity of responses. Transcripts of the interviews appeared to confirm this, with participants making ample use of their option to respond to the researcher's questions in their own language, when desired, rather than in English. When this happened, either another focus group participant, or one of the facilitators from the interview team would immediately paraphrase what was said, in English – thus allowing the researcher to participate without having to make obvious disruptions to the flow of discussion. Having been part of the discussions from the beginning, the group seemed “primed” to keep the researcher included, throughout.

Despite the improvement of data quality brought about by the researcher's greater participation in the interview process, the length of the interview was subsequently viewed as problematic. To arrive at richer data required not only longer time, but proved demanding of participants in other ways, as described further, below.

Reflections on interviewer influence upon the data

The second part of the focus group interview dealt with negotiating, as a group, socially-acceptable variations on the primary models of masculinity (hegemonic and New Man masculinities). Defining all masculinities beyond the first alternative posed challenges, as subsequent constructions were each more hypothetical, and groups were less certain of what to expect of alternate visions of manhood. The construction of each alternate masculinity represented a bargaining process between focus group members, who debated what their society would expect of, and also tolerate in a young man. The process was not linear, and required behaviors to be listed, inconsistencies found, scratched out, replaced, clarified, and re-written. The process was exhausting to focus groups.

The investigative team reflected on this process after the first focus group discussion became unproductive beyond the third iteration of masculinity: How were the interviewers shaping the responses? Were they forcing the content of new masculinities? The team listened to the recorded discussion and determined to step back, not point out inconsistencies that were seen, but to ask the group to explain choices and let them debate and resolve inconsistencies, if any. The team also abbreviated the process by asking later groups to

produce no more than three alternate configurations, with the third representing the *minimal* behavioural requirements that would give the brother respectability in society.

The success or failure of the sampling strategy became especially important by the third focus group interview, which seemed to indicate not only that all focus groups converged in their descriptions of “most men,” but that they were also converging on both the respectability and feasibility of very similarly austere versions of a culturally-appropriate alternate masculinity. The team began to question its own influence upon the results. Did we somehow guide the focus groups to come up with such similar, alternate models of masculinity?

The researcher discussed this issue repeatedly with the interview team for insight, but found no agreement that there had been any particular method of questioning, or non-verbal cues given that may have guided focus groups to make similar conclusions. On the contrary, the team felt that it tried actually very hard, perhaps too hard, to press focus groups to be less austere in defining the alternate, saying “you are being very tough on your brother/friend. Is there nothing (more) that you will forgive and let him do?” This was the clearest instance where the interviewer might have had a direct effect upon the data. The team agreed that it had probably had little effect on the choice of alternate masculinity made by each group. The focus groups were inflexible in their choices. Moreover, focus groups were able to defend those choices and explain why their alternate had such austere requirements.

In follow up interviews with selected Community leaders, a special effort was made to obtain individual perspectives on the alternate as a way to triangulate the findings of the focus groups. Community leaders were first asked what they felt would be an acceptable

alternate for the 18-24 year old “Current Man,” and then were presented with the actual choices of focus groups and asked to comment on them. Community leaders held remarkably similar (and conservative) views about what the suitable alternate should be like, and what it would require to “grow” such a masculinity in their communities. However, these informants were uniformly amused, and a few, astonished, to learn that their views closely reflected those of the focus groups. Most Community leaders interpreted the similarities as welcome evidence that their “culture” was still alive and not so forgotten by youth as they had feared. Similar to the focus groups, these informants considered concerns that young men had for gaining “respectability” in their society, for recognition and being trusted as being motivators for the more conservative choice of masculinity model by young men. A male HIV counselor believed that young men recognized and appreciated its benefits.

P: The benefits, I think are there. But for a person who is not behaving well, I think, it’s not good, because most of the people will point, “ah that one, he drinks too much; that one is having more girl friends... I think the benefit’s there.

I: So, can you describe for me one of the benefits?

P: The benefits are...he will be more respectable. And people will try to trust him. You know? Respectable, trust him...and befriend him, also.

I: Ok, why do you think that these things, like what you have just said, the respect, trust, that they are important to these young men?

P: It is important because, if a person is more respectable, he can be chosen to be one of the leaders...in a community, they will look at that particular person, who is self confident, you know, they will not go to someone who is not behaving well...

Again, like the focus groups, other Community Leaders spoke of the importance of parental models, and of the importance of women's roles as "advisors" in building a more gender equitable relationship and masculinity. An *Induna* from Masubiya Traditional Authority described his own experience with choosing a masculine role model that also reflected that constructed by the young men in focus groups.

TA: I think the society respects me, I think so. Because I copied the way somebody else is living, and the way they are accepted in the society.

I: Can I ask, did you copy the man at the top, the most respected, or you found a model in between, somewhere?

TA: No, I didn't copy from the most respected person, you know (laughs).

I: So you chose someone that was a little bit lower.

TA: An ordinary person doesn't work even. I just copied that from my parents. I just copied what my parents used to do...the way they taught me, the way I saw the way they were living, that's what I followed, that was my role model.

I: Can you tell me, what did they do that you said, “I must copy this, I respect this?”

TA: In my family there were no fights.

I: Between your parents?

TA: Yes, between my two parents. There were no quarrels, nothing – even when they quarreled, we never knew that these two persons were annoyed with each other. And at the same time, you will find that wherever they will stand, they were just laughing, laughing and joking with us. So, that’s the kind of life I want, myself.

I: Can I ask, who had the more say, the more authority in your family, between your father and your mother?

TA: Although, both of them...not both, I think authority still remains with the male. But before he takes a decision, they must sit together.

I: So there was a balance...

TA: There was a balance of decision-making. And that to me is very important. Me and my wife, you will never hear that we quarrel, we quarrel in the bed room, we advise each other, but when we walk out from this door here, you won’t know that we quarreled.

A few other informants believed the opposite, and found the alternate masculinity identified by focus groups implausible. They felt that young men were more likely to

appreciate an alternate with more risk behaviors than the groups were claiming to be acceptable:

Most will not go towards the one who is most faithful, and up to his work.... Most will go to the one who has the prominence, but he can also have fun... Have more money, becoming successful, and have lots of children, *making* it – “damn! It’s you -- they’re hearing about you!” That’s what they look forward to (Male Pastor).

These guys...they may talk like that, and some of them, they probably believe in what they’re saying...but belief and what they do in real life are different things.

(Development Worker #2)

A female nurse similarly believed that young men would not likely be enticed by such an austere, if however, “respectable” model.

I: Do you think that most young men would value the same benefits that these [older] respected men value?

P: Not really. Because the respect for those ones, it’s not like these ones.

I: So, do they also admire these people who are respected? Do they wish to be like those men?

P: I don’t think so. If only they could be wishing [to be like that], they could change. Maybe they don’t even see.

I: They don’t see...because they feel they are already on the right track?

P: Yes, they are on the right track. If you advise them, if you even talk to them -- they are given education, the [HIV] campaigns are there -- they are not

following...they think they are, like you say, they think they are in the right track. That's why they can't admire the ones who are at least respected.

Similarly, a female school teacher reported her doubts that the alternate masculinity proposed by young men could be found in the present day, and found such concepts to have been embodied only in older generations.

I: Do you think that there are many such men in your community, or is such a man rare?

P: (laughs) They are few because most of the elders, they are already gone, they are dead...the ones who were respected, and who would respect other people also. Now, there are just these teenagers, they can't even listen to what you are saying, even if you have a problem. They say, "Ah, what are you telling me, now? Just go there and solve your problem...go and solve your problem, yourself." Then I think, there is no one there....

I: So you want to tell me that, with this new generation, there is no man who is respected, anymore? There are few?

P: There are few...still there are those teenagers who are still struggling to not respect others....

I: ...[W]hy do think that the number of people who are respected are becoming few now?

P: I'm saying that because, you see, if you look back, if you picture back where you've come from, you can see that even if you ask someone, if you ask "can you give me water?" Even if you ask...[say] a child, he will kneel down and give you. He talk to you with respect. But this time, he can even say, "Ah, why don't you go and take, you, yourself?" Because of their rights, that's why, they are not doing it....

Interestingly, she specifically linked the loss of cultural definitions of “respect” to introduction of new laws in Namibia that gave young people “rights,” and allowed them to operate outside the rules of traditional etiquette. She, therefore, felt that it was unlikely that young men would easily return to being respectful in the manner in which they had been expected to be in the past.

It was not possible to explore observations from focus groups on this issue (they were only convened once), but it appeared to this researcher that focus group participants had been adamant, across cultural and ethnic groups, that their Alternate masculinity would achieve the status and respect that young men are most eager to achieve by returning to a more traditional behavioral template (aligning themselves closer to Traditional Man(hood)). They also seemed clearly convinced that it was feasible to do so – if young men were groomed properly to develop in that direction. The Alternate, therefore, has been portrayed in the analysis as the focus groups designed it. Only further research will be able to determine whether it is truly a feasible and realistic model of safer manhood for these young men, or not.

Reflections on the Hegemonic Masculinity (Traditional Man)

Study objectives 3 (“to identify the constructs and processes of the higher risk masculinity that may be relatively stable, and those that may be undergoing change”), and 4 (“to propose how the findings of this research may inform behavioral and social change interventions for HIV prevention”) drove the search for the hegemonic masculinity in the data. This section describes how that masculinity was identified.

Only two masculinities had originally been envisioned as resulting from this investigation (a high-risk “hegemonic” masculinity, and one somewhat lower-risk alternative). The literature review for this research had made it apparent that there was an aggressive, violent, and sexually profligate masculinity to be found in many other parts of the world and in southern Africa that many researchers labeled as “hegemonic,” (Townsend, et al., 2011) (Dageid, Govender, & Gordon, 2012). Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) reviewed various critiques of the theory of hegemonic masculinity, one of these being that it had misled researchers to assign all-negative masculinity concepts to hegemonic males. The authors clarified that,

It is not surprising that in some contexts, hegemonic masculinity actually does refer to men’s engaging in toxic practices – including physical violence – that stabilize gender dominance in a particular setting. However, violence and other noxious practices are not always the defining characteristics, since hegemony has numerous configurations. (p.840)

This researcher was, therefore, prepared to identify as hegemonic a masculinity that departed considerably from that described in much global and southern African research on gender (particularly in the context of HIV/AIDS). The researcher was, however, surprised to find more than one seemingly “hegemonic” masculinity appearing in the data. Both were easily recognizable to *every focus group and individual* who provided data for this research -- one as an ideal conceptualization of what it meant to be “a man” (embodied by a dying breed

of man belonging to an older generation) and the other, as the conduct characterized by “most men,” embodied by young men of today.

Each focus group responded in the same manner to the simple question, “What do I have to do to show that I am a man?” The immediate, top-of-the-mind response from each was a description of their “ideal” of a man. These descriptions showed strong consistency across groups, and all reported this configuration as best representing the values of the “culture.” This description was not of a violent, abusive, oppressive, alcohol-consuming, over-sexed type of man, but rather one that was very much the opposite, that was paternalistic, protective, supportive, was a good counselor, was in a stable, married relationship with a woman (or women), was responsible and who provided for his family and was responsible to his community. This ideal and its component concepts were built into a data category labeled “Traditional Man,” in this analysis. Again, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) support that,

“[m]ost accounts of hegemonic masculinity do include such ‘positive’ actions as bringing home a wage, sustaining a sexual relationship, and being a father...violence, aggression, and self-centeredness...may mean domination but hardly would constitute hegemony – an idea that embeds certain notions of consent and participation by the subaltern groups” (p. 840-1).

It was only upon asking a simple follow up question, “Is this the way that most men behave in your community?” that the second masculinity became evident. All groups responded with a resounding “no” to the question, and then proceeded to describe the anticipated, high-risk masculinity – the one that this researcher would otherwise have

recognized as “hegemonic.” This masculinity, consistently referred to in the data as being characteristic of men “today,” and “nowadays” was categorized in the data as “Current Man,” an emerging competitor with Traditional Man for hegemony in Caprivi.

This discovery forced a re-thinking of the data and the investigation of the masculinities. Allusions had been made to Traditional Man by other researchers, but had, for some reason, been discounted or dismissed. Brown, Sorrell, & Raffaelli (2005), investigating masculinity notions in north-central Namibia, among the Ovambo ethnic group, found that those communities also evoked images of a Traditional Man:

Informants recalled past ideals of masculinity with reverence as well as an acknowledgement that change was happening...most described grandfathers and old head men as examples when asked what it used to mean to be a man (p. 590).

Moreover, they reported that “[w]hen asked what it meant to be a man, respondents showed widespread agreement on what constituted traditional and contemporary ideals of masculinity” (p. 594). Such strong consistencies in representations of “traditional manhood” are not uncommon (Dover, 2005) (Thomas F. , 2007).

Yet, researchers have often ignored such accounts, and have concentrated their efforts only on those current ideals that have been associated with higher risk. Becker (2005) has stated that,

Masculinities research in southern Africa has been overwhelmingly geared towards the study of gender-based violence and the spread of HIV/AIDS. Many studies...have revolved around discursive constructions of bodies and sexuality and discourses of 'manhood' at the expense of more comprehensive studies that would take into consideration the actual desires, aspirations, fears, and behavior of men. (p.21)

And further stated that such

“discourse-based, social constructionist studies emphasize idealized, hegemonic versions of gendered identities and ignore the shifting reality of people’s experience as gendered beings.” (p.21)

Thus, the relevance of a revered, lower-risk masculinity to the gender order (even as it conceptually survives and “shifts” into the current time), and its potential hegemonic position and power have remained under-explored. Becker found reports of “traditional” masculinity very relevant to the present day construction of masculinity, however mythical, “imagined,” and distanced they might be from the historical reality of that “tradition.” She explained that all cultures may re-interpret the past through present-day lenses, and this type of revisionism may be a double-edged sword – extolling the virtues of a past culture while obfuscating its negative aspects, and even using the elevated stature of the past to justify extending various of its provisions into the present. She (2007) and Hunter (2005) have warned of the unreliability of interpretations of “traditional manhood” made by present-day respondents, and have suggested the use of caution in their interpretation.

These authors, however, were comparing contemporary interpretations with supposed “pre-colonial” realities, rather than with current cultural practices. The present research, however, took the position that historical accuracy of interpretations of “tradition” was less critical than was their consistency *in the present time*, specifically because culture and traditions are known to change over time. As Becker (2005) found, even “romanticised” notions of tradition still had import in guiding construction of young, contemporary masculinities. It appeared to this researcher that it was not possible to discount the Traditional Man so easily, when the evidence of his presence in local culture and images of masculinity seemed so manifest. Whether “imagined” or not, these images continued to exert power in the concepts shared by the men and women interviewed in this study, of how men were expected behave and to relate to others in their gendered society. This research, therefore, considered it a legitimate masculinity for investigation. As Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) state emphatically,

...hegemony works in part through the production of exemplars of masculinity...symbols that have authority despite the fact that most men and boys do not fully live up to them. (p.846)

This researcher concluded that masculine symbols of the past may, therefore, have power and relevance in the present whether they are historical or simply “legend.” Returning to the criteria developed for this study by which the hegemonic masculinity would be recognized and described, it appeared that both Traditional Man and Current Man were competitive for “hegemonic” status in the data. Yet, this researcher found Traditional Man to

have the stronger claim (at the present time, in any case) to hegemony. The Traditional Man was the *first* image of a man conjured by participants, and represented a cultural ideal that satisfied three of four hegemonic masculinity criteria: there was strong agreement among participants of its characteristics; it was revered above all other masculinities, and it was given top score (“1”) by all focus groups for respect/influence (this study’s proxy for “power”).⁸

In follow-up interviews, community leaders affirmed that this masculinity was more than an ideal, and was still quite palpable, and that a few decades earlier, there were “*many*” examples of this masculinity, but at present, there were “*few*”, many being deceased. From these data, it appeared that Traditional Man was not only a predecessor of Current Man masculinity, but that it survived into the present time, and maintained power, at least in part due to its continued endorsement by local traditional institutions. Connell and Messerschmidt remind us, moreover, that the number of actual enactors of a masculinity is not a defining characteristic of its hegemony. “Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But, it was certainly normative” (2005, p.832).

⁸ During the piloting of the discussion tools, young men had difficulty interpreting the word “power,” seeing it principally as ability to oppress or to control, whereas the intention of this investigator had been to have it be understood as “influence” or “ability to lead.” These words were similarly not understood in the same ways by the men on whom they were tested. The one (imperfect) term that seemed to be well understood by young men was “respect.” A “respected” man was one of high social position, or one possessing positive qualities that made others take notice of him and seek him out. People would listen to such a man, whereas they would be much less likely to listen to a man of little social position or of poor reputation. “Respect” could, therefore, be plausibly linked with “ability to influence,” and by extension, with “power.”

Current Man appeared to be a strong contender for the “hegemonic” position, and this researcher was surprised that it failed to satisfy all criteria for that position. It was reportedly a model for “most” young men; its construction showed strong consistency in the data, and it was clearly associated with high-risk behavior. Yet, it lacked the reverence accorded by participants to Traditional Man, and groups rated it low for its respect/influence (“4”).⁹ Current Man appeared to have developed from Traditional Man concepts, but remained secondary to it in terms of hierarchical power, having not yet fully displaced it to achieve hegemony. Current Man is likely what Connell (2005) calls a “protest masculinity...a marginalized masculinity, which picks up themes of hegemonic masculinity in the society at large, but reworks them in the context of poverty” (p.114). Current Man developed from the same basic building blocks as Traditional Man, but reinterpreted them over time, during fairly recent periods of intensive social and economic transformations in Caprivi since Independence.

Perhaps most convincing of Traditional Man’s hegemony was the evidence provided by focus groups in the latter part of their interviews, wherein they proposed alternate versions of masculinity that they would find acceptable for their “brother” or “friend.” Their choices of alternates strongly drew upon Traditional Man concepts, while eschewing those of Current Man.

⁹ This, at first, seemed a contradiction in terms: Current Man was clearly a popular model, yet had low “respect” and “influence?”

The criterion of having to demonstrate high risk behavior, therefore, did not appear to be valid for the identification of the hegemonic masculinity, and it was dropped from the criteria to avoid the unintended bias that it created. Moreover, the researcher found one instance of relevant research in which a masculinity strikingly similar to the Traditional Man described in this paper was also called “hegemonic.” Dover (2005), reported finding a *mumume akasimba*, “man of power,” a hegemonic masculinity among the Goba people of southern Zambia who was “hardworking...provide[d] all his family’s needs and help[ed] his kin...he [was] always calm and decisive, slow to anger...generous and people come to him for advice” (p.178).

Given this evidence, the more convincing features that distinguished the hegemony of Traditional Man over Current Man, finally, were their power differentials, and their positions within the culture. Current Man was consistently spoken of in terms of its distance from culture and tradition (such men “have forgotten their culture”), while Traditional Man embodied these fully. It appeared clear that all study participants found that respect and influence (“power”) grew as a man behaved in accordance with cultural expectations.

The Core Concept/Category

This section briefly describes the core category identified during the grounded theory process, and the general theory built around it. Details of the categories and other codes that underlie the theory, and presentation of supporting data, are reported in the two manuscripts framed within this document.

The number of basic codes produced during the data collection-analysis period changed repeatedly as codes were aggregated, subsumed by others and refined. They were reduced to 171 by the time that the last interview was coded. Three major categories were developed from this coding process, each representing a masculinity: one an unexpectedly low-risk “hegemonic” masculinity (Traditional Man), one a competing, and high-risk dominant masculinity (Current Man), and three lower-risk masculinities (only one of which, the Alternate Man, was selected for development in a comparative analysis with the high risk masculinity). Linking these was a core category that seemed most central to the other categories, and which seemed to fit Strauss’ criteria (1987): “Becoming a man: a process of adaptation.” Per Strauss, the core category should encompass and be related to all other major categories revealed by the data, and should appear frequently throughout the data, being evident in most or all cases, thus marking itself as a key theme. Looking across both key informant (community leader) and focus group data, a consistent theme was that the Traditional Man, Current Man, (and even a possible “New Man”) masculinities were not absolutes and were not by any means static; they were in motion – they not only existed in the present time, but they had origins, roots, history, and they were continuing to move forward from the present, being pushed and formed by different forces to generate newer masculinities. Moreover, the changes in the ways in which men enacted “manhood,” involved an interaction between the individual man, his society, and the broader history of that society – and affected his choices and options, his weighing of costs and benefits, his acknowledgement of his fears and of his disease risk, and his general negotiation of how to achieve what was best for his own welfare. The underlying theme of change evident across

all masculinities was elevated to the core category, because what made change relevant to the research was the *adaptability* of masculinities to the influences that they faced over time. The masculinities under investigation were altered, but were not effaced by the social, economic, political, and cultural upheavals that were occurring.

This core category, as Straus indicated, appeared to be a logical choice, consistent with the data, and not forced as the unifying theme over the data, and was sufficiently abstract as to facilitate the development of a general theory. Moreover, the concept of “adaptability” was closely linked to nearly all lower-level codes in the data, which, together, through their associations with the masculinity categories, increased the explanatory power of the over-arching core category.

The theory (“story line”) proposed by the core category (“Becoming a man: a process of adaptation”) responds to the primary question, “What role do masculinities play in the epidemic in East Caprivi?” The theory developed by this research is that risk behavior for acquiring and transmitting HIV infection in Caprivi grew since Namibian Independence, in 1990, at least in part due to young men’s ways of adapting to social and economic changes that were rapidly ushered into their formerly isolated environment. The theory rejects essentialist views that would consider any of the masculinities discovered by the research as being inherent in young Caprivi men, or as being inherent to their cultures or traditions – though the masculinities are clearly influenced by these last. But the ways in which men in Caprivi have been acting out “being a man” have much more to do with the way that men, themselves, have chosen to adapt to their changing circumstances. Their performance of new

gendered behaviors has been part of an adaptive process, seeking to establish stability in their gendered position vis-à-vis other men, and women in a changed environment. The changes that they made to their behavior have, by necessity, also further modified that environment. For example, as some men began to find value and reward in higher-risk sexual behavior in post-Independence Caprivi, they also began to form systems supportive of other men who wished to follow suit, and the dynamics of HIV transmission began to be intensified. This finding resonates with Connell's argument that,

...masculinities are configurations of practice structured by gender relations. They are inherently historical; and their making and remaking is a political process affecting the balance of interests in society and the direction of social change (Connell, 2005, p. 44).

What the theory then suggests is that a dominant, lower-risk, "Traditional" masculinity in Caprivi evolved over a fairly short period since Namibian Independence, in 1990, in response to new freedoms brought about by new laws, new mobility into and outside of Caprivi, the weakening of traditional institutions that controlled sexuality, and the development of new value systems and consumerism, formed a new masculinity performed with higher- risk behavior for HIV than had been common before. The new masculinity (labeled Current Man in this research) is historically linked to the older Traditional Man masculinity, and possesses important analogous features of that masculinity, but performs

gender in ways that are very different and, unfortunately, that tend to be more harmful as they enhance risk for HIV infection. In a context of poverty, where the resources formerly available to construct the lower-risk Traditional Man masculinity (farm, house, wife, occupation, children) have become either depleted or have become devalued in some sense, post-Independence, many young men are unable to access newer resources that allow them to demonstrate manhood in post-Independence terms (e.g., acquiring a source of income to buy or provide a house, get married, compete with other men to purchase luxuries like car, “smart” clothes, cell phones, television), and may change their strategies to express masculinity in ways that exploit those resources that *are available* to them (e.g., sexuality, children) to win recognition. This was clearly expressed by the male pastor in in-depth interviews:

I: So you have told me about... most young men, they are looking also for status by drinking, having many women, and having children. So, what is the benefit to them, do you think? Where do they get that status? Who gives them that status, if they do these things? Is it other men their age? Is it older men? Women? Who gives them this sense of status by having more....

P: Mostly, it's society. I don't know what it is about being notorious and being popular... so, anything that's associated with strange behavior, or extreme, I don't know how it makes people to be so prominent and so famous, and everyone wants to associate with this guy, because, the funny thing that been happening around. I

think also, the community at large has a role in the way we perceive our young people who are notorious.

I: When you say, "Community" is it just everybody, or are their pieces of that community, segments of the community that....

P: If we say that amongst their same peer, their same age group it's life, that's the way it's supposed to be. It's like, everyone will look forward to being like that. But the way the fathers perceive it, or the way the mothers perceive it, as well, is in a way as...it's tolerated. They will look at it, "ok, they had a new birth"...If you look at it, they will say, "Ok, this is it."

This research posits that the enactment of high-risk sexual behavior by young men is not simply attributable to ignorance of the health consequences of their conduct (participants in this research indicated how familiar they were with HIV prevention messages), but rather, that the resources they have found for enacting "manhood," are often those that are heavily dependent upon exploitation of their own sexuality. Moreover, to the extent that their communities (especially older members of the society) are not empowered to address the changes in young men and to re-direct them, they may feel powerless, and their acquiescence may be accepted as a sign of approval by young men who are eager for endorsement of the ways that they have found to construct masculinity.

It stands to reason that if “becoming a man” involves a process of constant adaptation, then young men’s searches for masculinity-building resources should provide opportunities to intervention programs support their formulation of lower-risk “configurations of practice.” It is important to realize that such an intervention would go beyond trying to alter men’s *sexual* practices (such as encouraging the use of condoms). Rather than being a behavior-change intervention, it would seek *to develop resources* that young men and their communities could readily accept for constructing masculinity, that would bring recognition of “manhood,” and that would be as accessible as sexuality. These resources would need to be coupled with interventions to strengthen existing social networks which promote lower-risk, and more socially-responsible behavior. This research indicates that such networks already exist (i.e., traditional authorities, village headmen, clergy), but have not been sufficiently targeted for capacity-building such that they can build greater resistance to high-risk sexuality development in young men (and women) to reduce HIV transmission. The data from young men and from many of the community leaders interviewed in this study strongly suggest that (1) young men need jobs or some capacity-development projects, (2) and need close nurturing by older men and women – and should specifically be taught to resist the pressures of their peers, male and female, if they are to develop into men with a safer, healthier future. When negotiating with each other for the type of masculinity that they would most want their own “brother” or “friend” to adopt, no group of young men selected a man with high risk behavior as that model. They were highly discriminating in terms of those manly behaviors that they wanted to preserve, and those that would be discarded – but did so assuming that a rather specific set of resources would be

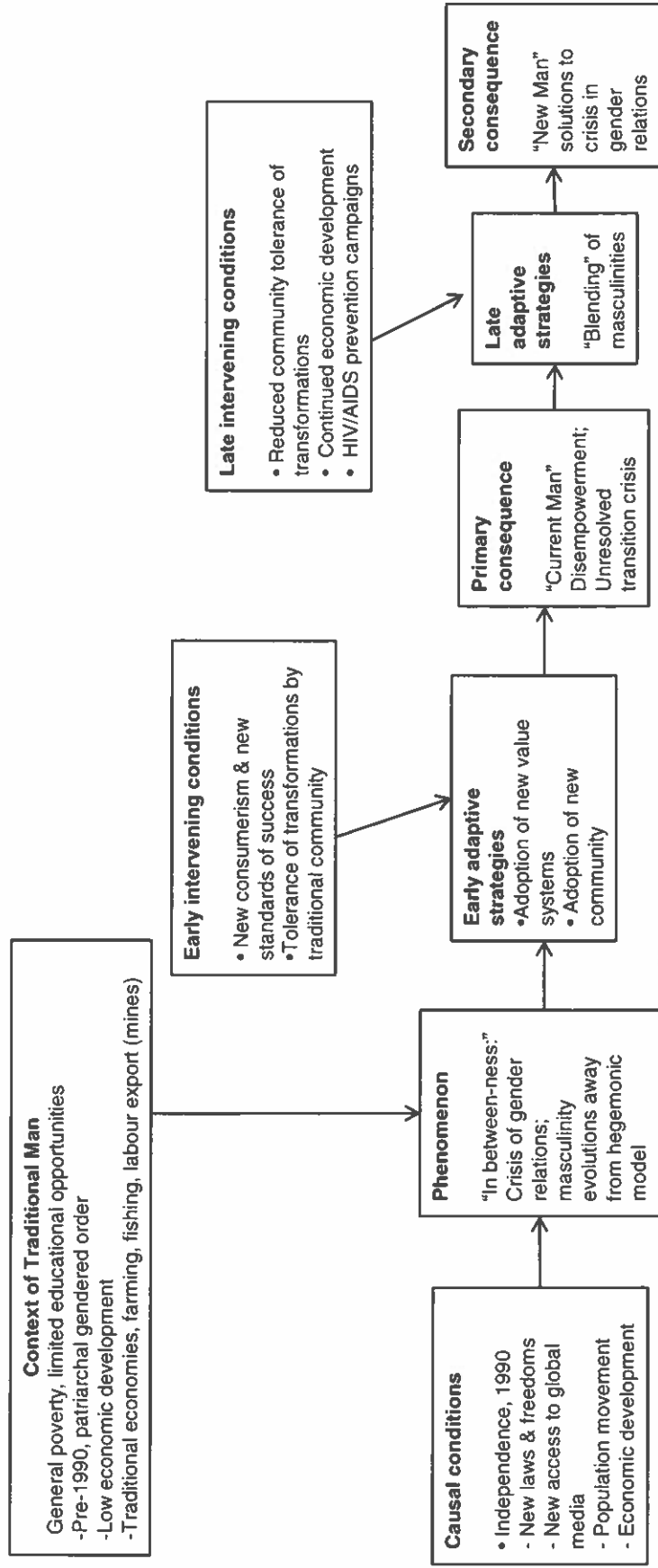
available to that brother or friend: as a “man” he would have work and income, and some means to build a home; he would go to school and get an education which would enhance his status as a man and as an “advisor;” he would select no more than one girlfriend (as an “advisor,” to help him develop into a highly-respected man), and he would remain during his development as a man within the sphere of influence of parents and elders in order to receive the necessary rewards and encouragement for staying on a more positive and lower-risk path.

Interestingly, however, young men, themselves, clarified in focus groups that these behaviors were only necessary during a young man’s formative years – specifically to keep him from adopting a Current Man masculinity. But once he was established and grown, he was expected to fulfill the responsibilities of the Traditional Man masculinity to the fullest extent possible, which included not only displaying leadership and carrying out responsibilities beneficial to the larger community, but responsibilities for reconstructing a “benevolent” patriarchy within his society, and enjoying honored symbols of status of accomplished men, such as having multiple wives, and multiple children by each. They upheld these as manly virtues that continued to be valued, though with the caveat that such a man could only be seen as honorable if he could provide for and maintain his wives and his children. It was such evidence that further convinced this researcher that the power of the Traditional Man was still felt, and that it continued to function as the underlying and hegemonic masculinity in Caprivi society.

The theory is further depicted in Figure 3, which provides a schematic of the context, intervening conditions and strategies involved in the evolution of masculinities in Caprivi

since 1990. The components of the model are discussed in the paper, “Men ‘in between’: masculinity transformation and HIV risk in Caprivi, Namibia.”

Figure 4: Theoretical model of transformations in dominant masculinities in Caprivi, Namibia, since Independence, 1990-2013.



JOURNAL ARTICLE

Men 'in between': masculinity transformation and HIV risk in Caprivi, Namibia

African Journal of AIDS Research

Abstract

Much research on the role of masculinities in the HIV epidemic in southern Africa focuses narrowly on men's attitudes and so-called 'hegemonic' norms as the basis of high risk behaviour. Less attention is given to these high risk behaviours as adaptive strategies for enacting 'manhood' in response to changes to socio-cultural and economic environments. This exploratory study in the Caprivi Region of Namibia proposes that the interactions of pre-independence socio-cultural contexts (poverty and isolation, and traditional institutional authority) and subsequent intervening conditions (economic growth, access to media, new gender-equitable laws) introduced since Namibian Independence, were instrumental in stimulating new, adaptive social processes that brought about re-conceptualisations of masculinity that drove higher-risk behaviour. These adaptive processes, however, present opportunities to gendered intervention programs to insert themselves into the adaptive process, a strategy that remains relatively little explored. Employing grounded theory methods with community leaders and focus groups with men 18-24 years old, this study generated a preliminary theory of the drivers of masculinity transformation in directions of higher risk. Perhaps controversially, this study suggests that the often static interpretation of 'hegemonic' masculinity as being equated with high risk behaviour is inappropriate for all contexts, and deserves consideration in future research.

Key words: masculinity, hegemonic, Caprivi, HIV, Namibia

Background

Namibia has one of the highest estimated adult prevalences (13.4%) of HIV/AIDS in the world (MOHSS, 2012a). The predominant mode of transmission in the country is believed to be through heterosexual contact. Incidence has been declining since 2000, partly attributable to a decade of behaviour change campaigns, though men have been insufficiently targeted (MOHSS, 2009). Approximately 40 percent of all new HIV infections continue to be diagnosed among young people aged 15-24 years, with 67% of these occurring among young women (MOHSS, 2012a).

Few of these interventions have addressed the role of gender relations in HIV transmission. An analysis of the drivers of the epidemic in Namibia specifically concluded that men's high-risk sexual behaviors were fueling the epidemic, stating that '...the risk for many women stems from their choice of partner rather than from their own behaviour' (de la Torre, Khan, Eckert, Luna, & Koppenhaver, 2009, p. ix). This damning judgment is corroborated by a large body of research in southern Africa. The generally lower social and power positions of women are commonly understood to underlie their risk and vulnerability to HIV, as they are less able to negotiate safer sexual relations with coercive male partners (Gupta, 2002; Harrison, O'sullivan, Hoffman, & Dolezal, 2006). Women who are in the most inequitable relationships with men are at greatest risk of infection (Wood & Jewkes, 1997; Ehrhardt, Sawires, McGovern, Peacock, & Weston, 2009).

Much research on the roles of men and masculinities in the HIV/AIDS epidemic in southern Africa has, therefore, focused upon high-risk behaviours, sexual promiscuity, oppressive attitudes toward women, and gender-based violence (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). However, this narrow research focus has contributed to a static view of African men and masculinities which 'ignore[s] the shifting reality of people's experience as gendered beings' (Becker, 2005, p. 21). Taking the social-constructionist perspective, this paper argues that it is important for both research and intervention programs to recognise the changes that high-risk masculinities experience, and the social processes that underlie them, particularly as the resources available for masculinity re-construction

change over time. As Hatch (2004) explained, interventions might have higher chances of adoption if tailored to, and embedded in, local processes of cultural change.

How high-risk, southern African masculinities change on a large scale needs further exploration. Hunter (2005) explored a century of changing cultural meanings and valuation of the masculinity concept of *isoka* (a man with multiple sexual partners) in Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa. Through the lived experiences of interview subjects, he demonstrated how meanings evolved with capitalism, migrant labour, and increasing male unemployment, and how men continued to re-interpret meanings in the era of HIV/AIDS. Similarly, Walker's interview study (2005) of men in a South African township found that democratic and legal changes since the end of apartheid, in 1994, produced 'highly contradictory effects' in the re-negotiation of masculinity constructions. Aboim (2009) also examined the effects of a 2003 law in Mozambique that re-defined the roles of men and women since the colonial period, and created more egalitarian responsibilities within the family. She described the new legal code as having led to adaptive struggles in young men's individual masculinity conceptualisations, while also creating mixed, new realities at the socio-cultural level. Other research has similarly highlighted the complex interaction of structural changes, such as the creation of 'native reserves', and the contract, migrant labour system with existing gendered practices and their transformative effects upon southern African masculinity and HIV risk (Lurie, 2000; Clowes, 2005). These research efforts point to the non-static and adaptive nature of masculinities, and view men's gendered behaviours as the variable products of complex social, political, and economic interactions, rather than as inherent characteristics in need of 'fixing'.

Purpose and theoretical framework for this research

The present, exploratory, study builds upon the foregoing research. East Caprivi, Namibia, was selected as the locus for this study because of its remoteness, historical isolation, and its high HIV prevalence. This paper addresses the questions, 'What role do masculinities play in young men's contributions to the epidemic in Caprivi?' and 'How have they been evolving'? It presents a preliminary theory of the social, political,

economic, and cultural stressors that have occurred in East Caprivi since Namibian Independence in 1990, and that have induced adaptive changes to masculinity conceptualisations in directions of higher-risk sexual behaviour. Suggestions are made of possible entry points for gendered interventions.

The grounded theory approach (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) was employed to build theory from qualitative interviews with community leaders and all-male focus groups, sampled in rural and urban sites of East Caprivi, Namibia. Connell's theory of masculinity (2005) provided the analytical framework, defining masculinities as 'configurations of practice structured by gender relations' (p.44). Masculinities, therefore, exist only within a relational context, and are inevitably reshaped by changing gender relations over time. Connell states that multiple masculinity constructions exist in all societies, with a dominant, 'hegemonic' masculinity at the top of the hierarchy, which subordinates less powerful masculinities, some of which contend with it for social dominance. The hegemonic form is defined as being 'the currently most honoured way of being a man...[inducing] all other men to position themselves in relation to it' (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). This masculinity derives its power and hegemony from this cultural veneration and reconstruction throughout a given society. In much research globally, hegemonic masculinity is equated with demonstrations of power, risk-taking, oppression of women, and hyper-sexuality – characteristics which put it at special risk for HIV infection (Courtenay, 2000; Aboim, 2009; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011). Yet, being culturally defined, its conceptions may vary considerably.

The term 'traditional' is used as an *in vivo* code in this investigation, preserving the binary conceptions of the 'traditional' vs. 'modern' society as expressed by study participants, themselves. The analysis, however, negates modernist assumptions that "tradition" is something fixed, authentic, and distinguishable from 'modern'. Similarly, others warn of the unreliability of interpretations of 'traditional manhood' made by present-day respondents (Hunter, 2005; Becker, 2007). This paper, however, takes the position that historical accuracy of interpretations of 'tradition' may be less critical than is their consistency *in the present time*. As Becker (2005) found, even 'romanticised'

notions of 'tradition' (however amalgamated they may, in fact, have become with non-indigenous values over time) still had import in guiding construction of young, contemporary masculinities. Such strong consistencies in representations of 'tradition' are not uncommon (Brown, Sorrell, & Raffaelli, 2005; Thomas, 2007).

Methods

Research site context

Caprivi is a thin strip of land carved into the center of southern Africa in 1890 by a British and German colonial accord, in a futile attempt to link Germany's then colony of South West Africa (SWA) with its East African possessions, via the Zambezi River. The resulting territory, lying at the intersection of modern-day Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana, had no social, historical or cultural link to the peoples of the rest of SWA, today's Namibia (Fisch, 1999a). The little-inhabited western section was maintained as a nature reserve, while the eastern was targeted for development. Given its distance and inaccessibility, the colonial government administered Caprivi only indirectly, through its local chieftainships. After World War I, South Africa acquired administration of SWA, and continued to govern indirectly up to Namibian independence, in 1990. Considered a 'Bantu homeland' and labour reserve (Becker, 2006; Kangumu, 2011), it received little attention from the South African government until the 1960s, when development efforts became necessary to address local discontent and thwart insurgency against the regime (Zeller, 2009). East Caprivi's geographic location gave it both Silozi and English as *linguae francae*, as well as access to higher educational opportunities outside the apartheid system, in British colonies (Fisch, 1999b).

Caprivi's long, indirect colonial administration helped to preserve the influence of its traditional governing institutions (Thomas, 2008; Haring & Odendaal, 2012). The traditional authorities (TAs), consisting of a chief, council (*khuta*), and officers (*manduna*, or *induna*, singular), regulated many facets of Caprivi culture and society, including gender. These controls were diminished with Namibian Independence, in 1990.

HIV was unknown in East Caprivi until shortly before independence. A serosurvey conducted in 1985 found no infection (Slotten, 1995). Caprivi soon found itself at the cross-roads of the war for Namibian independence, and being sandwiched between countries with emerging epidemics, Caprivi was especially vulnerable. By 1988, seroprevalence had reached 2.6%, with females 10-19 years of age being most affected (Lecatsas, Joubert, Schutte, Taylor, & Swanevelder, 1988).

Independence brought new freedoms, but also introduced economic and social changes (particularly through the opening of the Trans-Caprivi Highway, which increased migration), and new laws that conflicted with, or over-rode traditional ones that controlled sexuality in both men and women. This paper suggests that these changes generated a crisis of gender relations which increased HIV risk. By 1992, HIV antenatal seroprevalence had reached 14% in Caprivi, the highest in Namibia (MOHSS, 2007). Today, with a population of 90,100 residents (NPC, 2012), Caprivi remains the country's most affected area, and annually reports the highest antenatal HIV prevalence (21.5% in 2012) among 15-24 year-old women -- the age group providing the proxy for incidence (MOHSS, 2012b). The majority of Caprivi men (96%) readily acknowledge that using condoms every time that they have sex is protective, yet, condom use by both men and women of all age groups is among the lowest in the country (de la Torre et al., 2009). Similarly, 94% of men recognise the importance of limiting their sexual contacts to one uninfected partner, or even abstaining from sex (88%), yet, 57% of all sexually-active Caprivi men report high-risk intercourse, i.e., unprotected, with multiple partners (MOHSS, 2008).

Procedures

Ethical approval

Ethics approval was received from the University of Texas-Health Science Centre (UTHSC) Committee for Protection of Human Subjects, in Houston, Texas and from the Research Management Committee of the Government of Namibia, Ministry of Health and Social Services (MoHSS), in Windhoek, Namibia.

Site selection/ environment

Katima Mulilo, East Caprivi's only urban area, and three rural conservancies (registered communal lands) were selected purposefully, with the criteria being that one lay along the Trans-Caprivi highway (Mayuni) with prior HIV/AIDS peer education exposure, one had peer education exposure, but was not traversed by the highway (Wuparo), and one had little peer education exposure (Salambala). The three conservancies reflected major ethnic groups of the region (Mafwe, Mayeyi, and Masubiya, respectively). Approval was obtained from TAs to conduct research in their jurisdictions.

Participant recruitment and enrolment

Community-resident health workers, hired for a fee to recruit in the targeted conservancies, advertised the study by word-of-mouth, under the title 'Men, Manhood, and Romantic Relationships in Caprivi'. Participants were blinded to the study's intention to examine HIV/AIDS risk behaviour to reduce social desirability bias in discussions of men's sexual conduct. Recruiters purposefully sampled males 18-24 years of age and verbally screened candidates for eligibility (age, residence in a targeted area). Efforts were made to recruit across socio-economic strata and to vary recruits based upon their known (or reputed) gender attitudes and behaviours. Light refreshments were offered as the only incentive.

Informed Consent

Two, locally-hired and trained, male interviewers and one project coordinator, obtained verbal consent from participants on the day of the interview, using a language in which the participant was competent. All participants were given a blank copy of the informed consent document in either English or Silozi.

Sample size

Men aged 18-24 years were enrolled into one urban, and three rural focus groups (8-10 participants each) to provide insights into the masculinity conceptualisations held by the target population.

To obtain insights into local culture, history, and social change, 10 community leaders were enrolled for in-depth interviews. All were adult men and women representing *khutas*, faith-based organizations, healthcare, educational, governance, and community development programs in the region.

Data collection

Data included qualitative interviews and a brief demographic survey (collecting age, residence in a study site, marital status, education, and employment). Data were collected from August 2012 to July 2013. Focus groups were convened for an average of 2 hours. Interviews were conducted principally in English and Silozi, and were digitally-recorded, with permission. Two interviewers facilitated the focus groups, while the principal investigator observed, took notes, and introduced prompting questions, as suited the discussion.

To elicit descriptions of hegemonic notions of manhood (those that guided the behaviour of 'most men' in their society), focus group participants were asked to share their understandings of cultural values and norms related to 'manhood', but were not asked to reveal their personal behaviours. They were asked, "If I am your brother/friend, what do you tell me to do to act like 'a man'"? and "Do you think this is the type of man 'most (young) men' in your community are trying to be" (See Appendix A)? From their common experiences and perceptions, the group then associated that masculinity with the types of relationships with women that he likely pursued and the processes involved therein. Further questioning sought to identify the social forces that rewarded formation of various types of relationships (marriage vs. girlfriends, casual partnerships), and those that worked against it, what social rewards were associated with the masculinity, and what changes occurred in the construction, the masculinity constructs and behaviours, over time. Group responses were displayed on flip charts and posted on walls to facilitate discussion. This process was re-iterated to elicit variations of culturally-acceptable masculinities. At the end of that process, focus groups were asked to evaluate the relative respectability (a proxy for influence) of all

variations (with '1' being highest). The present analysis concerns only the first two masculinities elicited.

To the extent that conceptualizations of masculinities bore commonalities across rural, urban, and ethnic divides, they provided the empirical basis and construct validity for development of theory about hegemonic masculinity conceptualisations in Caprivi. Guided by Connell's theory, specific criteria were developed to identify the hegemonic masculinity during analysis: (1) its characteristics showed consistency and were described by all or almost all participants (an indication of its hegemony), (2) its characteristics were 'highly esteemed', (3) it was associated with higher 'respect' than other masculinities (a proxy for influence and power) and (4) it was associated with risk-taking behaviour.

Community leaders were individually interviewed in English, by the investigator. These persons were asked to provide their interpretations of cultural values in Caprivi society, past and present, and their observations on current directions of social change and masculinity transformation, such as 'is this way of being a man part of culture and tradition, or does it come from something else'? and 'What benefits does such a man receive' (Appendix B)?

Focus group discussions were transcribed in their original languages and translated to English by two Caprivi students from the University of Namibia (UNAM), with quality assurance being provided by a language program faculty member at UNAM, in Katima Mulilo. Interviews with community leaders were transcribed by the investigator.

Data Analysis

Data were collected in cycles, with one focus group discussion being conducted approximately every two months, interspersed with community leader interviews, and a review of current literature, allowing time for constant comparative analysis as prescribed by grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Demographic data were analysed descriptively to monitor sampling of participants. The technique of theoretical sampling of concepts was modified to fit focus groups, and rather than to seek negative

cases among individuals, specific probes in the interview guide were modified in order to test developing assumptions on each new focus group, or community leader, who was interviewed.

All data were coded by this investigator, with inputs from the interviewers and project coordinator during the data analysis process, including interpreting *in vivo* codes, phrasing new prompts, and critiquing emerging categories. The elements of grounded theory's paradigm (conditions, events, responses) were coded during the open coding process, and selective coding was used to identify the dominant theme underlying all codes. Reflexive analysis (Green & Thorogood, 2005) was conducted as a group activity following each focus group discussion, and by the investigator, alone, in analysis of in-depth interviews.

English-language transcripts were loaded into Atlas.ti7.0 software for coding (open, axial, and selective). Codes with well-developed properties and dimensions were formulated as new categories (themes) provided that they incorporated context, the 'conditions that g[ave] rise to [the category], the action/interaction by which it [wa]s expressed, and the consequences it produce[d]' (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, pp. 7-8).

Results

Thirty-eight young men participated in the focus groups. Most (61%) were single with no partner, 29% were married or living as married, and few (4) reported being in a casual sexual relationship. Many (71%) had secondary or higher education, yet most (84%) were unemployed. Each focus group was convened only once, resulting in 8.5 hours of audio recordings. Ten community leaders, six men and four women, aged between 28 and 62 years, provided in-depth interviews. All were employed. Some were interviewed more than once to probe new questions or to resolve discrepancies found in their narratives, resulting in 16 hours of audio recordings. A total of 241 pages of English language transcript were produced for analysis.

The selective coding process produced one core category that seemed most central to the data: 'Becoming a man: a process of adaptation'. This category formed the basis of the theory developed by this research, that being that sexual risk behaviour for acquiring and transmitting HIV in Caprivi grew rapidly since Namibian Independence, in 1990, at least in part due to many young men's specific responses to the social and economic changes that were taking place in their formerly isolated environment. Their development of riskier ways of performing 'manhood' has been part of an adaptive process, seeking to establish stability and a new gendered position vis-à-vis other men, and women in a changed environment.

When focus groups were asked what it meant to "act like 'a man'", the response anticipated by this researcher was a description of the unitary, 'hegemonic' masculinity referenced in the southern African literature. Instead, the immediate, top-of-the-mind response, without exception, was a description of an ideal man with a strong sense of social responsibility and low risk behaviour for HIV. This unexpected response prompted a follow up question, "is this how 'most men' behave"?, which yielded a very different masculinity description. The data thus revealed strongly divergent conceptualisations, and suggested a powerful rivalry between the two for hegemony. The sections, below, present the analysis of this divergence, and suggest its possible future directions.

Traditional man: hegemonic masculinity in Caprivi

The descriptions of the 'ideal' man showed strong consistency across groups (Table 1), and all reported this configuration as best representing the values of the 'culture'. The data revealed five properties of the ideal, categorised as 'Traditional Man':

Provider

First and foremost, a 'real man' was a provider, which incorporated concepts of being a 'care taker', 'responsible', and 'loving', the dimensions of which were rooted in responsibility for seeing to the physical, emotional, and financial needs of not only his

immediate family, but his extended family, and even his community. Such a man had to have a house and a job or way to earn a living, and was required to be self-reliant.

...everything that the family needs, it is on top of you (Katima group).

Employment, money, and resources were necessary to enable the man to fulfil this role, and 'caring' was most strongly associated with the paternalistic sense of seeing to the basic needs of others (food, money, clothing, housing, education, etc.)

Husband

All focus groups and almost all community leaders reported marriage as a requirement of the Traditional Man. Having a wife conferred status over the unmarried man and was expected of all men of rank, such as community leaders and *manduna*. It had three dimensions: 'head of household', 'partner', and 'virile man', and was always achieved through an official ceremony (customary or civil). *Libali* (polygamy) was acknowledged by all participants as being accepted in the culture, though there was disagreement among focus group participants whether it continued to receive social approbation in the present day – with direct reference being made to church teachings which stressed monogamy. However, there was uniform agreement that whether a man had one or more wives, he was not a 'real' man unless he could 'take care' of all of them – another reference to the essence of the Traditional Man as a Provider.

...Even my [colleague], he's married to three women, but they are eating from the same pot. That means the culture is valued, and they respect each other...They are still living in culture...[t]hey live within the limits of their pockets. This is why they eat from the same bag of maize meal. (Induna, Masubiya TA)

No study participant described the traditional Husband as being a man of force, abuse, asserting physical dominance, or sexual excess – though his authority was manifest, and patriarchy was upheld by both male and female participants. Almost all accepted that a man should be the head of his household, and should retain final authority in

decision-making, yet did not view him as a dictator in that respect, even when there was disagreement:

'Let's say sometimes there is a quarrel, a man must not talk angrily; he must talk gently so that people can say 'this one is talking nicely with the head'' (Salambala group).

Some asserted that it was the wife (or wives) who managed the balance of power and peace by playing the role of private counsellor within the home:

[People] don't even respect a home without a wife... when you look into the better homes, you will say, this woman is an advisor. If a man is not married, he has no advisor (Male nurse).

If I have something to plan in life, I must make sure that I have money, and I have to have a wife, in order not to spend money in shebeens, drinking (Mayuni group).

Outside the home, however, the Traditional Man was expected by participants of both sexes to play the role of 'advisor' to the community at large.

Advisor

A man's ability to give good advice to others – friends, children, neighbours – was highly valued. The dimensions of Advisor included the *in vivo* codes of 'good listener', 'teacher', 'problem-solver', and 'leader by example'. As one Salamba participant remarked, 'as a man, your presence must be felt. You must be noticed'. This property was valued because it was closely associated with men of high status -- religious authorities, teachers, and *manduna*, who led, instructed, and worked for social harmony as part of their social obligation. It was a property enhanced first by age and seniority, and then by educational status. A key attribute of the Advisor was repeated throughout the data: he avoided having many 'friends' as these were seen as having a corruptive

influence, and as pressuring men to conform to behaviours that primarily served the ‘friends’ own interests. An Advisor was, therefore, expected to be highly selective of his company.

Father

Fatherhood was a quintessential building block of the Traditional Man. Fatherhood was valued because of its properties of ‘protector,’ ‘disciplinarian,’ ‘fertility’ (reflected in the number of children he produced), and ‘wealth’ (reflecting the human resources – wives and children – who tended his farm). It was closely linked to the properties of Provider and Advisor, given the strongly convergent accounts of participants that the number of children that a man fathered increased his status only if he could properly care for all of them, and that a Father also had responsibility to advise beyond his own household, to persons in the community.

Guardian of Culture

This last property was not well-developed through the inductive process, but participants referred to it in terms of a man’s responsibility to uphold respect for certain institutions, such as church, marriage, communal duties, and authority structures (*‘respecting elders,’ khutas*, chiefs, customary laws).

The Traditional Man was the *first* image of a man conjured by participants, and represents a cultural ideal that seems to have very low risk of HIV. This construction satisfied three of four hegemonic masculinity criteria: there was strong agreement among participants of its characteristics; it was revered above others, and it was given top score (‘1’) by all focus groups for respect/influence. However, these properties contrasted sharply with much global literature on ‘hegemonic’ masculinities (in the context of HIV/AIDS risk) by not being associated with high-risk behaviour. In follow-up interviews, community leaders affirmed that this masculinity was more than an ideal, and was still quite palpable, and that a few decades earlier, there were *‘many’* examples of this masculinity, but at present, there were *‘few’*, many being deceased. Connell and Messerschmidt remind us, however, that [h]egemonic masculinity was not assumed to

be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But, it was certainly normative' (2005, p.832). In relation to its rival, Current Man (see below), its hegemonic position becomes clearer.

Background underlying today's masculinity crisis

A few community leaders specified that these hegemonic concepts began to change dramatically after Namibian independence, in 1990. Three codes in the data ('poverty', 'isolation', 'traditional institutions') represented the pre-independence context in Caprivi, and three others ('economic growth', 'global media access', and 'new legislation'), the antecedents of the re-conceptualisations of hegemonic masculinity.

Context: Poverty and isolation

Only a few, older, community leaders were able to speak from lived experience of economic conditions before Independence, and did so in terms of isolation ('*we had little development*', '*we were left to ourselves*', '*we could not go out*'). Apartheid policies and Caprivi's remoteness played major roles in its underdevelopment. The little early development it received came from religious missions in the area. However, during the 1960s, the South African government began an unprecedented effort to develop Caprivi as a self-governing 'bantustan', principally to detract local support from SWA freedom fighters based in Zambia (Zeller 2009). While they built free schools, a post office, hospital, and offered unskilled labour jobs to men in construction projects, South African officials also closed borders and restricted personal movement, thus limiting further economic growth (Zeller, 1998). Male unemployment was addressed by the contract labour system, which exported hundreds to Zambian and South African mines (Pretorius, 1975). This system, which obliged single men to work for months, far from their families, often contributed to multiple sexual partnering, and may have nurtured today's higher-risk conceptions of masculinity in Caprivi.

By the end of the 1970s Caprivi's development came to a virtual stop, as South Africa's attention and declining resources shifted away from Caprivi to war against freedom fighters based in Angola. Caprivi again slipped into isolation (Zeller, 2000). Most men continued to pursue traditional occupations of fishing and subsistence agriculture, and

these remained the primary employment at independence (Tvedten, 2002; Haring & Odendaal, 2012). An *Induna* compared the sense of poverty prior to independence, to that after:

No one had much money, but everyone had a job: there were fields to plow, seeds to sow, cattle...but now they [young people] ignore agriculture, they want to chase money. (Induna, Mafwe TA)

Context: Traditional institutions

Prior to independence, South African officials governed Caprivi through the two TAs of that time, the Mafwe and Masubiya (Flint, 2003). The two ethnic groups had similar political structures and cultural practices, and their *khutas* exercised considerable authority over the daily social, cultural, and legal affairs within their ethnic jurisdictions. They had the power to uphold patriarchy and to enforce their common views of hegemonic masculinity, yet they were subjugated to the authority of colonial officials. An *Induna* spoke of those earlier powers, saying,

In the olden days [people] would respect, because traditional authorities could punish...a person severely, even kill (Induna, Masubiya TA).

Arranged marriages of young girls (or infants) to older men were practiced by both ethnic groups until prohibited by colonial administrators, and substituted with consenting relationships closer to their own cultural model (Shamukuni, 1972; Pretorius 1975). Providing *lobola* [bride-wealth] as a prerequisite to marriage was not a practice of the Masubiya, as it was among the Mafwe, for whom it consisted of the gift of two garden hoes to the parents of the bride. Yet, the South African economic presence in Caprivi also caused revaluations of that token such that by the 1970s, gifts of livestock and cash came to represent the closing of the marriage deal for both groups (Shamukuni, 1972).

Neither group practiced initiation rituals for boys into manhood (such as circumcision), though such rites existed for girls (i.e., *sikenge*, a ritual beginning at menstruation, wherein older women taught girls wifely duties, including submissiveness and sexual responsiveness to men). Yet, balances were maintained in gender relationships. Both groups required prospective sons-in-law to lower themselves, and live with and work for the parents of the bride for a number of years to earn recognition of their worthiness as husbands. Husbands in both cultures had power over wives and children, but were expected to show restraint and care; they could punish wives for disobedience, but *khutas* were unsympathetic towards abusers, and could require damages to be paid to the wife or order divorce (Pretorius 1975). These and other *de jure* powers of the TAs were sustained up to independence.

Antecedents of change: Global media access, economic growth, new legislation

Focus group participants had little perspective on the historical antecedents that interacted with these contexts to produce masculinity change except one: global media access. They readily reported that many young Caprivi men were in conflict with their elders for '*ignoring*' their culture, characterised by imitating '*other people's cultures*' from mass media. A (female) nurse observed that,

P: There is a lot of technologies... They are trying to imitate what they hear from the radios, and what they see on the TV. I think, now, imitating those things, they go beyond what they see.

I: So, is this new? In the olden days the TVs were not there?

P: They were not there.

I: So, these technologies, when did they become available?

P: Long back. Maybe 1980s, 1990s.

Namibia's 'grey literature' provides many reports of the influences of 'Western' media on the sexual behaviour of adolescents and young adults (MGECW, 2009). This literature also suggests that such influence increased during the years since Namibian

independence. At Independence, only 7% of households in the Kavango-Caprivi regions had electricity and access to televised media would have been limited (MOHSS, 1993); While radio was accessible prior to Independence, its content was controlled by the South African government, broadcasting from Johannesburg. After independence, access to radio remained high (85%), while increasing (21%) household access to electricity also expanded television access (NPC, 2003). In 2000, 18% of Caprivi men and 16% of women had access to television on a weekly basis, and this increased to 25% and 35%, respectively, by 2006 (MOHSS, 2008). By that time, still only about 10% of Caprivi households may have owned a TV set (MET, 2010). Such limited access did not prevent the transmission of images, music and values to young people through their peers.

Hailonga-van Dijk (2005) described inter-generational tensions as being associated with globalisation and the negotiation by young people of a 'third space' for enacting gender and sexuality between 'traditional' and global discourses. Other research indicates that global discourses conveyed via Western media have replaced 'traditional' strategies of inter-generational communication on sex, as the latter have declined over time. While it was traditionally taboo to speak openly about sex, cultural rituals like *sikenge* provided a space for older women to teach girls about sex. Pre-independence missionaries, and post-independence activists (Women's Leadership Center, 2011), have worked to eradicate these practices in Caprivi, and young people have increasingly resorted to their peers and the media for guidance. Lacking initiation rituals, young men have ostensibly long been obliged to seek their masculinity/sexuality education from other young men, and usually through acts of bullying to 'demonstrate' their manhood in specific ways. The sexuality of American gangster rap music and imagery appeals to young men, as does watching pornographic media in the company of their peers (Research Facilitation Services, 2003). The gap between elders and young people appears to be growing, and the sexual education that young people receive is neither from parents, nor school, but rather from more experienced peers and the media (Talavera, 2007).

Economic change

In the decade after independence, Caprivi remained a remote territory, with little development. In 1993, 81.3% of its households lived in poverty, and at 50.2%, in 2012, Caprivi remains the second poorest region, and has the highest proportion of severely poor (35.2%) of any region in Namibia (NSA, 2012a). Military conflict associated with a failed attempt at secession from Namibia in 1999 shut down tourism to Caprivi for years (Jones, 2003). Unemployment among adult men who were actively looking for work increased to 25.3% in 2004, and nearly 44% by 2008 (NLFC 2006, 2010). The opening of the Trans-Caprivi Highway (1999) and the new bridge to Zambia (2004), transformed Katima Mulilo into a hub of commerce, facilitating both population migration (Zeller, 2000) and growth of a sex industry along the trucking route (LeBeau, 2006; de la Torre et al., 2009). Transactional sex, wherein not just money, but gifts, food, or other commodities are exchanged for sex, is reportedly very common in Namibia and other parts of southern Africa (Mufune, 2003; MOHSS, 2008).

With increasing urbanization, fewer households have depended upon farming for income, (declining from 28% in 2001 to 21% in 2011), while more are earning livings from non-farming related businesses (from 23% to 29%). Male unemployment declined to 10% by 2012 (NLFC, 2012). Yet, available work has tended to be short term, and between jobs, few recreational activities exist for youth. This inactivity affects young men in particular ways, as a pastor explained:

P: Most young people I've talked to here, they say, 'there is nothing to do in Katima.'

I: A job or something....?

P: Yeah, like something for them to do. It's like if they don't drink, and they don't party, then there's nothing else to do.

The lack of income and occupation creates a space for alternate, higher-risk resources (parties, sexual encounters, alcohol) to be sought for masculinity re-negotiation.

Post-Independence legislation

Following independence, the powers of the TAs were codified under The *Traditional Authorities Act of 1995* and *2000*, endorsing their continued administration of customary law within their ethnic jurisdictions while curtailing and subordinating their powers to the new Namibian Constitution and to civil government and laws (Becker, 2006). Article 14(2) of the Constitution made all marriages a consensual process, outlawing traditional practices involving arranged or forced marriages; the *Married Persons Equality Act of 1996* abolished the husband's automatic authority as 'head of household' and his control over a couple's property in civil marriages, but left these matters unresolved in traditional/customary marriages; the *Communal Land Reform Act 5 of 2002*, protected widows' rights to communal land tenure; the *Combating of Rape Act of 2000*, introduced progressive laws on rape, with stringent penalties; corporal punishment of children became illegal in schools; and the *Domestic Violence Act of 2003* covered physical, psychological, sexual, and other violence between both married and unmarried partners, and also parents and children. Interviewees spoke of changes in society brought about by post-independence laws, suggesting their contribution to the breakdown of former social controls:

...even children now, they are having their rights. If you beat your child...he can even open a docket at the police station (Female teacher).

They also removed infractions for cultural taboos like sex before marriage, which now became a matter of individual rights, as did marriage, divorce, and parenthood:

...nowadays, a lady can just fall in love with a boy and then they get married and then the parents will get nothing. You'll be lucky to be paid lobola today. You see, constitutionally, it's their right. You, being a parent, you like it, or you don't like it (Induna, Mayeyi TA).

Men 'In-between': Instability of masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity responded to the interaction of the foregoing contexts and antecedents with instability and crisis. One community leader described it thusly,

....I don't know if I can call it the transition or the ...'in-between'... of our culture and Western culture. So there is that idleness, or not-knowingness, the blank space of where to belong – here or there (Male pastor)?

At least two factors in the data appeared to mediate resolution of this 'in-betweenness'. The first, coded as 'Negotiating spaces', concerned the social spheres in which masculinity change was being re-negotiated. It had two aspects: 'sphere of elders' (represented by 'home', 'farm', 'church') dominated by 'father', 'mother', and 'other elder'; and 'sphere of peers' ('shebeens/bars', 'school', 'street') dominated by 'friends' (specifically, male age-mates). All focus groups and participants described two spheres of influence in relation to the resolution of instability in young men's masculinity development. Young men who remained within the sphere of elders aligned themselves with the hegemonic construction; those influenced by the sphere of peers were greatly transformed.

The second code, 'questioning culture', appeared to be an individual appraisal of cultural institutions and rules and their utility versus that offered by new civil laws and personal freedoms. This code was suggested by community leader data, rather than by those of focus groups. Such questioning was apparently performed by young men independently of the process of 'negotiating spaces', with an implied effect upon masculinity construction. One community leader described men's questioning and confounding of traditional and civil laws:

In the olden days, once you divorce... you share that property in between. But nowadays you find that men tend to say, 'you are the one who divorced me so, you can go, you are not taking anything from here.' They are confusing [things], because before, the woman could not divorce – only the husband could do that, so he had obligations [to her]. So now, women are divorcing...and [men] think they have no obligation. [W]e are trying to pump sense into the men, so they

realize that they still have to work together on those things (Induna, Masubiya TA).

This statement also suggests the challenges that the TAs have to balance patriarchal notions with newer, egalitarian notions of marriage. Other community leaders similarly stated that culture is finding increasingly fewer adherents, over time. As one *induna* remarked, *'the culture is... going down'*.

Early adaptive strategies in response to instability

Masculinity instability began to resolve through development of adaptive strategies to two broader conditions that were developing after independence: 'New consumerism and new standards of success', and 'Passive acceptance of change'. The adaptive strategy used for each supported transformation from hegemonic masculinity.

Intervening condition: new consumerism and new standards of 'success'

Whereas the hegemonic hallmarks of masculine success were represented by having an education, a farm, a homestead, wives, children, and social capital within the village community, the data suggest that many of these standards were being replaced. Global media images introduced new concepts of success in the form of men in *'smart'* clothing with *'well-paying jobs,'* western-style houses, cars, televisions, and cell phones. Beyond seeing just images, young men encountered living embodiments of those images among local businessmen and government officials in Katima Mulilo, with emblems of success that were distinct from those of their parents and grandparents. Consumerism also penetrated elders' ranks, inflating the traditionally symbolic value of *lobola* to that of an actual cost.

Traditionally, if you want to marry you must have money...ok, long back they used to say you must have heads of cattle. If not heads of cattle, they will say, OK, your in-laws will give you a piece of a job, do this [work for the family] and then you take my daughter. But today, you simply must have money (Induna, Mayeyi TA).

Participants reported an increasing sense among young people of their own poverty compared to their neighbours who could afford to participate in this consumerism. This manifested itself in jealousy, and a willingness to engage in behaviours that made it possible to acquire the 'modern' hallmarks of success, despite the health risks.

And this is the thing that brings about all these problems -- living better. They compare themselves to all those people who are living well, not knowing that you can't. Live within the limits of your parents' pocket (Induna, Masubiya TA).

Strategy: Adoption of new value systems

Participants described significant changes to value systems brought about by new legal rights, consumerism, and access to mass media.

You ask a learner today the purpose of going to school, he will tell you that I want to buy a car. It always used to be a house. A man is not a man without a house, but you can do without a car (Katima group).

Many began to seek achievement of new standards of success through notoriety:

Have more money, becoming successful, and have lots of children, 'making it' – 'damn! It's you! They're hearing about you!' That's what they look forward to (Male pastor).

Young people, particularly, were described as readily adopting new behaviours, including sexual freedoms, that participants regarded as belonging to 'other people's cultures'.

...[T]hese kids, you just go in the street and you will get them kissing each other in front of everybody, whereby, the elders, it's like disrespecting them. They are copying these things from television and stuff (Wuparo group).

Increasing costs of *lobola* altered masculinity notions in different ways. For some, it interacted with new civil laws regarding marriage partner equality to neutralise the gendered aspects of the tradition, while for others, high costs of marriage worked to objectify women in young men's eyes as purchased property, rather than as partners. Table 2 presents extracts of interview data expressing some interpretations of *lobola*. Cost notwithstanding, the proportion of adult Caprivians who enter traditional marriages (34%) has remained stable (2001-2011), and far exceeds civil marriages (6%) (NSA, 2012).

For young Caprivi men, marriage was uncommon even at Independence (6% for males aged 15-24 years, 1991 Census), while it was much more common for women the same age (22%). Since then, for many young men, having girlfriends rather than wives may have become an economical solution. Similarly, sex became currency with which to acquire emblems of 'success' and necessities, in the absence of jobs. Transactional sex, which closely resembles prostitution, lost its stigma for many young people, and became commonplace.

[You] ... just provide her with some few things and you buy sex, with food, small groceries, to help that woman, and you know she will help you, she won't refuse [to have sex]. Then you'll tell your friend, 'that woman also, I bought her body,' and that friend he will buy her the same food, and she will accept also (Mayuni group).

Intervening condition: Passive acceptance of change

Participants noted an apparent tolerance on the part of elders. There was a clear rural-urban dichotomy in the data in this regard, with urban dwellers being perceived as living 'out of culture', and rural dwellers, 'in-culture'. Young men in rural Caprivi are closely monitored by elders, and have difficulty behaving in unsanctioned ways. But, those who go to Katima Mulilo are far enough away to behave as they will. A pastor noted that some parents first learn of their children's marriage when the children come looking for

advice on the relationship. Being unable to control their children's decisions not to marry, or to have children outside marriage, parents have come to tolerate facets of the new reality.

The way the fathers perceive it, or the way the mothers perceive it, is in a way...it's tolerated. 'Ok, they had a new birth'... [and] they will say, 'Ok, I guess this is the way it is' (Male pastor).

An *induna* acknowledged that community elders could do more to regulate young people's conduct, saying, *'partly we are to blame'*, and that by not intervening, *'they [youth] think that the culture is outdated'*.

...[I]n the olden days... wherever elderly [people] were drinking, youngsters were not even allowed to come closer. But this time, we mix with the young ones, in bars. They can ask you for a cigarette, 'hey, leave me that stub,' [and] we share with a young boy. Which means that they are losing respect. Austerity begins at home (Induna, Mayeyi TA).

Two community leaders explained that parents discipline less for fear of being reported to the police. This suggests an interaction between traditional practices and child protection laws, something also reported in earlier research in Caprivi (Thomas, 2007).

Strategy: Adoption of a new 'community'

Young men who lost social capital among the traditional community, regained it among a community of peers with similar values. Reduced parental restrictions allowed a new 'community' to arise where new values and behaviours alien to the older culture were readily embraced. The data are rich with descriptions of the 'friends' that form this 'community', always in a negative sense, as having a corruptive influence on young men through peer pressure. It is for this reason that all focus groups and two-thirds of community leaders stressed that a young man should have few 'friends'. Otherwise, 'friends', defined in terms of being *'bad company'*, and *'friends who drink'*, caused a

man to drink and to pursue sexual opportunities through peer pressure ('*you're not man enough, 'that man is useless*'). Conformity could include committing acts of violence.

...[T]hey may even say, "today, I beat my wife, and you also must beat [yours] if she asks, 'where were you'"? So, while [you were] even not beating [your] wife, if you are stupid, then you can beat your wife also, just to adhere to that friend -- instead of thinking about it, you just go and do it (Female teacher)!

The Current Man: Consequence of conditions, context, and adaptive strategies

The data suggest that adoption of these strategies was associated with the development of a masculinity in Caprivi often reported as 'hegemonic'. Yet, this masculinity was conjured by focus groups only secondarily, in response to the follow-up question, 'Do you think [the Traditional] type of man is what 'most men' in your community are trying to be'? The response was negative among all community leaders, and all but one focus group, which was divided in its opinion. The groups very energetically described a masculinity that behaved in specifically 'non-traditional', but widely practiced ways. This masculinity was frequently described as '*men of today*', '*men nowadays*', and thus formed the category, 'Current Man'. Some community leaders specifically reported the growing visibility of this masculinity in Caprivi since Namibian Independence, in 1990.

This researcher had expected to find Current Man as 'hegemonic', and was surprised that it failed to satisfy all criteria for that position. It was broadly adopted among 'most' young men; its construction showed strong consistency in the data, and it was clearly associated with high-risk behaviour. Yet, it lacked the reverence accorded by participants to Traditional Man, and groups rated it low for its respectability ('4'). Current Man appeared to have developed from Traditional Man concepts, but was secondary to it, having not yet fully displaced it to achieve hegemony. Current Man is likely what Connell (2005) calls a "protest masculinity...a marginalized masculinity, which picks up themes of hegemonic masculinity in the society at large, but reworks them in the context of poverty" (p.114). In the case of Caprivi, this "poverty" includes

both the legacy of social inequalities created by colonialism, and the loss of traditional masculinity resources brought about by socio-cultural and economic changes. Current Man developed from the same basic building blocks as Traditional Man, but reinterpreted them at a time of great social and economic transition. Focus group participants indicated that enactors of Current Man masculinity claimed ascendancy over the hegemonic version because Current Man was “*updated*” and “*modernized*”. The rules governing hegemonic masculine conduct could therefore be overruled.

Current Man seeks a social status comparable to that of the Traditional Man, though with new hallmarks suited to the evolving socio-economic context. Achievement of new measures also requires new – not traditional – strategies, particularly in an environment that is now burdened by the presence of HIV. HIV is a powerful new context for Current Man to reckon with, and rejecting Traditional Man’s old-fashioned practices, Current Man has had to account for it in constructing masculinity without benefit of a prototype. However, accounting for HIV is antagonistic to the sexual expression of Current Man masculinity, and therefore, the new strategies often ignore it, resulting in observed higher-risk sexual behaviour. Connell (2005) states that for such men, ‘there is a response to powerlessness, a claim to gendered power, a pressured exaggeration...of masculine conventions’ (p.111).

Current Man had three major properties, coded ‘*Big Man*’, ‘Master of Harem’, and ‘Sire’. All were analogous to properties of the Traditional Man.

Big Man: This property, an *in vivo* code, resembles the Provider, but specifically lacks its care-taker qualities. It appears that a shift occurred in the nature of providing – from being a paternalistic responsibility, to becoming a means by which to obligate others and extract dividends from their dependence. Focus groups described ‘*big men*’ as being ‘*rich*’ – a label given to men who dispose of their cash easily, for show, or in exchange for favours – but also as being ‘*selfish*’ and as using their resources to influence others.

You find that, if today, [a man is] having money, [he] will try by all means to show everyone 'now I'm having money'. Not even fear anyone – he will think that he will be the boss of everyone, because of money, so, most...all women they will run to him (Male HIV prevention counsellor).

The Big Man is sought by his 'friends' for what he can *give to them* (cash, clothing, grocery items, alcohol), and their relationship is mutually exploitive, with alcohol and sex becoming currency in these interactions.

Women want to be close to him, because they know the moment he takes two, three beers, he begins dishing [cash] (Katima group).

The concept of the Big Man includes a range of specifically negative characteristics, from being a 'drunkard' and 'loan shark', to being a 'bully', a 'whoremonger', and even a 'rapist'. In this last regard, a few participants of one focus group sympathised with the commission of rape, blaming women for disregarding rules of engagement with Big Men.

[When] girls will kiss a man... when she finishes taking money from him, she will not have sex with that man, and what she will do is run away with that money...[A] man will not wait for things to go in a good way. He will just rape that girl in order to replace the money that she took (Katima group).

No rural group spoke in any depth on the question of rape, but within the Katima group, masculinity concepts conflicted over the nature of rape, showing interaction with post-Independence legislation.

P16: [T]he importance of marriage is that you cannot go and rape other ladies. You are having your own and you can do it [have sex] any time you want.

P11: No, not any time, because if your wife refuses, then you are also raping her.

P16: Who says?

P11: It is the law...

P16: No, any time you want. If you buy food, no one will come and arrest you for stealing food from your own house.

Master of a Harem: This property is analogous to the traditional Husband quality, but necessarily implies multiple and concurrent sexual relationships, accomplished within or without a state of 'marriage'. Current Man's definitions of marriage are clearly fluid in the data: 'girlfriends' may also be considered 'wives', depending upon the level of commitment in the relationship (Edwards, 2007).

Most men in Caprivi, they have behaviour for polygamy. They tend to have more than one wife -- although not in marriage -- but a lot of girlfriends (Female nurse).

These relationships, associated in the data with increasing costs of *lobola*, new consumerism, and new standards of success, nonetheless, lack commitment and are easily terminated. Current Man's ability to attract many women gives him status among his 'friends,' and fosters a belief in his special virility, since he could not otherwise 'manage' so many women at once. 'Management' consists of being able to put a face of monogamy and fidelity on each relationship, and keeping the women apart from each other while providing for their needs. The relationships suffer from mistrust, however, and their disintegration contributes to a cycle of multiple partnering.

... I've heard some other girls say, [he] can go sleeping around, but I don't care as long as I'm the wife...As long as I have everything of him, it's ok'. So as a man, you know, if I hear that, yes – I'll continue... (Katima group).

This suggests that some young men believe that wives, like girlfriends, are only interested in the resources that they provide, which may contribute to men's lower emotional investment in the marital relationship.

The Sire: Study participants reported a negative perception of Current Man as an irresponsible breeder. The data suggest decay of the traditional concept of Father, and its reinterpretation among Current Man as 'paternity without obligations.' The Sire property represents a masculinity building block that is highly accessible to 'most men,' even those of lower socio-economic status. Births in Namibia outside of marriage are, consequently, very common (Garenne & Zwang, 2006; Pauli, 2007). The dimensions of the Sire are limited to 'occasional father,' and 'absent/dead-beat dad.'

Though both Traditional Man and Current Man demonstrate fertility by the number of children that they can produce, in the former case, procreation outside of marriage was forbidden, and child-rearing was a manly obligation, whereas in the latter, these restrictions and duties have been lifted. The social nature of the Sire property was clearly described by a key informant:

Everyone just knows ...they will even tell you, 'now you have grown, now you are a man, but you still just go on just like every boy.' Most young men, when they reach a certain age, they just have to impregnate... and most young women when they reach a certain age, they just have to be pregnant. So those things have gone on, and on, and on, I think 'cause they are associated with being a real man, or a real woman (Male pastor).

Other properties of Current Man: The data provide no counterpart to the Advisor in the conceptualisation of Current Man. He, apparently, neither gives nor receives good counsel, given that he is influenced by too many 'friends'. Unlike the Traditional Man, the data yield no evidence that the Current Man derives much in the way of social capital from his 'friends' because what he provides has ephemeral value, and because he has no advice to give.

...there is no advice that I will accept from a drunkard... What will he tell me' (Salambala group)?

He seems to gain a 'false' social capital from his community, and may lose both influence and support once he has nothing more to give. A participant in the Katima focus group spoke from personal experience:

I had a brother [returned] from exile. Along his way coming home, my parents tried to advise him to at least get a wife and stay with his own children. When he got sick [HIV], no one was taking care of him. Everything he had was destroyed by his friends... he lost his life.

A New Man? Signs of continuing evolution

Data indicate that the Current Man discourses are still evolving. All study participants were asked whether they perceived changes in 'most men's' behaviour over time, how it was changing, and why. Three conditions emerged as potentially moving Current Man conceptualizations in what may be risk-reducing directions: (1) HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns, (2) economic development, and (3) an evolution in the community's tolerance of the Current Man.

HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns

Years of HIV/AIDS prevention campaigning in the region have left their imprint on the vocabulary and concepts of sexual behaviour of participants in this study. Despite efforts to specifically avoid mention of HIV/AIDS in this investigation, young men in all focus groups readily connected the masculinities that they described with HIV/AIDS messages. The data provide numerous instances of their use of terms such as 'faithfulness', 'sticking to one partner', 'multiple' or 'concurrent partners', 'risk', 'condom,' 'sexual networks,' and 'peer pressure'. They used these same concepts when asked whether they felt that 'most men's' behaviour was changing:

Multiple girlfriends, [t]his is not happening much anymore. Only among the young who are not married... (Mayuni group).

...They stay with one wife; having different wives now is changing from worse to better now (Wuparo group).

While not all groups or community leaders agreed that a change in high-risk masculinity among young men was so apparent, others reported that HIV-related programs had begun to reach out more to men.

People are now involving in men's things, so even coming to this HIV prevention, nowadays, men understand what is HIV, what is AIDS, compared from the past, because people are more educated (Male, development worker).

Economic development projects

The same economic development that contributed to the emergence of the Current Man, appears to promote its continued evolution. Participants perceived that development initiatives in the region (principally construction work) have had a positive effect on men in that *'they don't have time to sit in the shebeens'*. The bridge crossing the Zambezi has made Katima an important market for the southern Zambian region, and many make their livelihoods from cross-border enterprises, both legal and illegal (Zeller, 2009). Participants likewise reported that increasing government promotion of community-based natural resource management programmes (CBNRM) has allowed more young men to find employment in the growing wildlife tourism industry (Brown & Burt, 2011), and young men working at commercialised traditional crafts like wood carving (a male-dominated activity), represents *'a change from previous years'*. With these changes, resources and opportunities are becoming available to reconstruct masculinity in ways that diverge again from Current Man conceptualisations.

Evolution in community tolerance of the Current Man

Despite a degree of tolerance of Current Man masculinity, there is also some evidence that Caprivi's traditional community has begun to resist it. Participants were asked how the masculinity was supported or not supported, and by whom. Three strategies were identified by which the general community resisted Current Man: 'public disapproval',

'distancing', and 'increased parental guidance'. Older community leaders, especially the TAs, reported that public resistance to the Current Man has been continuous, saying that '*our culture is still there*', and that traditional sanctions are imposed despite a perceived weakening of their influence in the lives of many young people.

...the Traditional Authority receives very little respect from the young people. They tend to think that we don't know what is going on...but of course, we discipline them. We bring them together and tell them the values of the culture. They must not put it aside and follow the Western Life. So we are still trying... (Induna, Masubiya TA).

Two focus groups reported instances of wife beating and child abuse that were reported by *neighbours*, to the TAs. They believed that such public disapproval was something new, given that in the recent past, neighbours would not interfere in another household's affairs. Similarly, these focus groups described threats of social isolation as having transformative effects. The men in a village will now sometimes give the local drunkard an epithet '*...so, in order to avoid that label, the following week [he] will go to church, so they will not name him! He is afraid of that label.*' The spectre of the HIV epidemic is also being used by community members to threaten isolation ('*some say, when you get HIV, who will take care of you? Who will support you?*') Moreover, despite the cultural importance of children, a failed father who passes his obligations to others, is beginning to be viewed differently.

If he's not supporting [them] then, that is bringing the community down. [S]ome people will think, 'why this man he's having all these kids, but he don't have anything to give them' (Mayuni Group)?

This concern is being raised by grandparents who bear the burden of childcare while the mothers of those children go off to look for work. Community leaders reported that some parents were beginning to enforce some greater controls over their adolescent children. Those who could were sending their adolescent children to school in rural

areas of neighbouring Zambia as a preventive measure, to remove them from '*this rotten thing*' (consumerism) of Caprivi.

Parental interventions were noticeable in other ways. There was also some suggestion that young men were negotiating the social acceptability of a 'New Man' masculinity, located somewhere between Current Man and Traditional Man. In both Mayuni and Wuparo groups, specifically, young men reported their perceptions of changes in young men with Current Man masculinities that were 'new', and 'not there before', facilitated by a form of rapprochement between parents and sons.

...They now say, to become a man, you have to keep close your elder parents... and take advice from the parents (Mayuni group).

Specifically, these groups reported that some men their own age who had children with multiple women were beginning to take care of them, though they still '*d[id]n't have anything to give them and [we]re still depending on [their] parents*'. They were 'becoming advisable'. Some 'friends' were becoming better educated, beginning to own their own houses (with the help of parents), drinking less, and the claim was made by the Wuparo group that '*most men in this community are becoming good advisors*'. This change was specifically attributed to a new tendency among young men to seek advice at home.

Discussion

Much research on HIV/AIDS and southern African masculinities has tended to create a static view of southern African men, limiting our understanding to what men do, rather than why they do it. Increased attention by researchers to the motivations, concerns and aspirations that men at high-risk have, of the rewards that they seek and receive, and of the broader socio-cultural contexts and socio-economic developments that interact with their own self images, might support a better understanding of men's behaviour in relation to women, to other men, and to the HIV epidemic in southern Africa.

This study employed qualitative interview methods to obtain the perspectives of young men and community leaders on a high-risk masculinity, and to develop a preliminary theory of the social processes involved in driving risk among young men, and high HIV infection, in Caprivi. These processes, as reported by young men, were triangulated with the perspectives of generally older community leaders, and allusions to historical contexts were supported by literature review.

The study theorized that a powerful, high-risk masculinity emerged in East Caprivi in association with socio-cultural and economic transitions that intensified after Namibia's Independence, in 1990. The study argued that these high risk behaviours represented neither an innate African 'manhood', nor 'traditional' hetero-normative masculinity; rather they resulted from adaptive strategies responding to complex stressors that depleted resources (i.e., employment, property, marriage) for reconstruction of the hegemonic masculinity. The weakening of traditional institutions was accompanied by the development of new value systems, and competition for new emblems of 'manly success'. Bhana & Pattman (2011) also describe the impacts of increased materialism upon the gendered expectations that girls have of boys in a South African township, and the reaction of boys in terms of how they should demonstrate manhood. In Caprivi, substituted resources were used, and continue to be used in exaggerated displays of 'masculine' conduct (hypersexuality, violence) to obtain recognition of manhood. Silberschmidt (2012) reports that men in East Africa, who feel disempowered by a lack jobs and income to command the respect of their wives and communities, lose self-esteem and seek affirmation through violence and increased sexual partnering. Macia, Pranitha & Ashley (2011) similarly found in Mozambique that young men struggle to find definitions of manhood at which they can succeed (even if harmful), and that win them visibility and social affirmation.

It came as an unexpected finding that the 'hegemonic' model in this investigation represented a very different masculinity than that described in the literature. Dover (2005), however, described a hegemonic ideal among the Goba people in nearby southern Zambia that was strikingly similar to that reported in this study, and others

have otherwise reported that such lower-risk masculinities in colonial southern Africa were not uncommon, associated as they were with high sexual regulation by their cultural institutions (Bhana, Morrell, Hearn & Moletsane, 2007; Thomas, 2007). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) also concede that it is 'perhaps possible that a more humane, less oppressive, means of being a man might become hegemonic...' (p. 833). Despite its relative decline, such a masculinity continues to provide the basic template of masculinity in Caprivi, today. This finding suggests particular opportunities for HIV intervention as it implies that the masculinity that underlies all others in Caprivi is *already* one of lower risk and social accountability. This research provides some indications that the high-risk masculine ideal is still evolving in concert with continued stress from HIV/AIDS campaigns, economic growth, and suppression by hegemonic masculinity through growing community resistance. These stressors provoke crisis in gender relations, and renegotiation of masculinity – which offers opportunities for intervention programmes to support masculinity reconstruction in healthier directions (Jobson, 2010).

Though this study developed a preliminary theory from a fairly small sample, saturation of many themes was achieved because of considerable homogeneity of the two masculinity conceptualisations across ethnic groups in East Caprivi. The theory can henceforth be strengthened and tested through theoretical sampling of first person narratives of a variety of men's own experiences with the effects of social and economic change upon their self images. Though this analysis presented a dichotomized view of competing masculinity conceptualisations, it does not mean to imply that Caprivi men be classified into these two 'types.' Most young men likely construct masculinity using resources from both cultural and global models (Hailonga van Dijk, 2005), such that their individual configurations and behaviours vary considerably. However, the two masculinities do represent archetypes easily-recognisable to the young men in this study, and many in Caprivi, theoretically, do refer to at least one of them in building their image of 'manhood'.

An area that needs further investigation is the suggestion that there is growing social recognition of Current Man masculinity's unsustainability, and of its high maintenance costs to society. Hunter (2005) reported that the social value of multiple sexual partnering as a way of enacting manhood was being re-evaluated by men of Kwazulu-Natal as their lives intersected with changing economics and the spectre of HIV infection. 'Managing' multiple partners is costly, and weakens trust and longer term relationship stability (Wood & Jewkes, 2005). Some research suggests that masculinity transformation does not occur in *individual* men until they perceive 'failure' to achieve their masculinity goals and thus have to negotiate a 'lesser', if healthier, alternative (Irvine & Klocke, 2001; Mcvittie & Willock, 2006). At the *socio-cultural* level in Caprivi, the loss of *community* affirmation of high-risk 'manhood', as suggested in this study, could similarly lead to failure of Current Man, and its adaptive reconstruction in more positive directions.

The data suggest that continued evolution of Caprivi masculinities in directions of lower risk is promoted by economic developments that allow men to gain employment, HIV prevention campaigns that involve young men, and by community censure of high-risk behaviour for HIV. A socio-cultural intervention will likely need to strengthen those factors by supporting the influential societal leaders who espouse healthier social mores, and supplying new, more positive resources for young men to build masculinity in the post-Independence era. Because young men expect that one measure of 'success' is to be seen as leaders who set 'good examples' (be Advisors) in their communities, an attractive intervention for young Caprivi men might market itself as 'community building' and focus upon nurturing and rewarding the masculinity characteristics that are already most culturally-esteemed, and that are also risk-reducing. Many young men between the ages of 18-24 years are unemployed. A community building intervention might be accomplished, even where employment opportunities are few, through volunteer work programs that employ young men in providing highly visible community services. Such activities teach skills, social responsibility, and bring the substantial rewards of social recognition, broad-based social capital, and potential, future, paid opportunities. Traditional leaders are no longer

able to influence social mores by threatening punishment, but rather by providing rewards of recognition. These rewards may, themselves, generate self-policing of risk behaviour. Integrated into such an intervention are services focusing on 'strengthening' young men's personal health and well-being (i.e, HIV counselling and testing, sexual health, and mental health), 'preparing' them to be Fathers (family planning, job training), and rewarding them for building strong, and stable relationships with women (becoming Husbands). Though the primary focus might be on young men, young women, too, should be a part of the intervention, as young men recognized them to be important 'advisors'. Such women may play an important role in helping men to negotiate less destructive ways of being a man.

Conclusion

The behaviours that drive HIV transmission in Eastern Caprivi, as some researchers have found in other parts of southern Africa, are related to a complex interaction between culture, history, economics, social change, and gender. Evolutionary changes in these factors create stress upon gender relations, and provoke re-evaluation of prevailing notions of masculinity. When this happens, particular opportunities are opened to interventions to resolve the resulting crisis in positive ways. Young men under these circumstances may scramble for resources with which to re-build their self images, and the resources that they find need not be negative or harmful to themselves and others. This study suggests that self-respect, social visibility, and endorsement by society are the rewards that young Caprivi men value most, and if presented with opportunities to empower themselves and be seen as forces that 'build communities', it is likely that most young men would sooner choose to enact masculinities beneficial to themselves and others, rather than masculinities with lesser benefits, or that would be seen as 'bringing the community down'. For these young men, a suitable intervention may be one that at once combines rewards for lower risk masculine conduct most endorsed by the society, and that at the same time supports safe, capacity-building in young men, focusing them on their development so that they focus less on exploiting their sexuality as the most accessible resource for constructing masculinity.

Table 1. Comparison of masculinity traits described by all-male focus groups, 18-24 years of age, Caprivi, Namibia, 2012-2013.

	Katima Mulilo (urban center) Varied ethnic groups	Mayuni Conservancy (Mafwe Traditional Authority) <i>Fwe ethnic group</i>	Wuparo Conservancy (Mayeyi Traditional Authority) <i>Yeyi ethnic group</i>	Salambala Conservancy (Masubiya Traditional Authority) <i>Subiya ethnic group</i>
<p>"Ideal man in Caprivi"</p> <p>(Traditional Man)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is married • Is responsible towards family and in all things • Advises children • Cares for the family – buys food, clothing, provide a house • Has children • Leads by good example • Shows love and caring • Listens, is a good listener • Seeks an education, is educated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is married • Supports family (incl. extended family) • Seeks advice from elders • Gives advice to others • Has children and cares for them • Has business or source of income • Is a role model • Is self supporting • Is educated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has a wife (one or many) and supports them • Does not beat his wife • Looks after the community • Takes care of others • Owns his own farm • Has children • Produces something (works) to care for children • Helps solve problems • Has a business, source of income • Leads by example • Has a house • Goes to church • Is educated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is married and is faithful (follows tradition) • Seeks advice from seniors • Is respectful of culture and everyone • Owns land • Has children • Drinks responsibly, (is not a drunkard) • Keeps relationship with parents for advice • Practices sexual self control (faithful) • Is independent • Has his own house • Leads by example in everything • Goes to church • Seeks better education
<p>"Most men in Caprivi"</p> <p>(Current Man)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neglects responsibility to family and community • Is selfish • Show no control- cannot be advised • Not caring, not helpful • Seeks multiple sexual partners (is not faithful) • Abuses children • Forsakes the culture; follows other cultures • Has no respect for others • Has too many friends • Spends money on girls and alcohol • Does not go to church 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doesn't take advice • Does not plan for the future • Shows off with friends • Seeks entertainments, pleasure, sex with young women • Seeks multiple partners and is (unfaithful)/woman izers • Some may get married • Has many friends • Drinks excessively (spends money on alcohol) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shows no self-discipline • Does not respect self or others • Does not take care of his children (but more are beginning to) • Has a business or source of income (more are doing this) • Has his own house (more are doing this) • Some beat their wives • Not faithful to wives; has many girlfriends • Spends most money on alcohol • Does not go to church (some are beginning to) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disrespects elders • Is selfish, does things for own benefit • Follows behaviours of other cultures • Has many children outside of marriage; doesn't take care of them • Has many sexual partners • Is not faithful • Abuses alcohol • Lacks self control (alcohol and sex) • Misuses his resources (money)

TABLE 2. Examples of re-valuation of *Lobola* (bride wealth) in Caprivi, Namibia, 2013.

<p>A: They think <i>lobola</i> is nothing but buying, it's like buying a person, you know? Yet, in the real sense, it's not like that. I'm paying a compliment to the parents by paying a certain fee. It's a token of appreciation of the type of person they brought up.</p> <p>Q: Is this token....is the cost going up?</p> <p>A: Yes, it is always rising. In the beginning, people would even marry with an axe, or a hoe, but nowadays, it's cattle, and now they charge anyhow (laughs).</p> <p>Q: So now, it has become so expensive, maybe this is one reason why they are not....</p> <p>A: It's too much. So, this couple here, because they are educated and they are working, they will share that...</p> <p>Q: Oh, they will both pay...(laughs)</p> <p>A: They will share it between! (laughs). We won't know that it is [not] coming from the husband. (laughs). But, because of all these new....even women can now <i>lobola</i> a man! This is what we are seeing. (laughs). But now it is "50/50", they claim they can do that! (<i>Induna, Masubiya TA</i>)</p>
<p>A: ... [T]raditionally, if you want to marry you must have money...ok, long back they used to say you must have heads of cattle. If not heads of cattle, they will say, OK, your in-law will give you a piece of a job, do this [work for the family] and then you take my daughter. But today, you must have money.</p> <p>Q: Why is that changing?</p> <p>A: That is what I was saying, the culture is, I mean, you know, going down, down, down, down. So, nowadays, you know, a lady can just fall in love with a boy and then they get married and then the parents will get nothing.</p> <p>Q: So, they just go around the <i>lobola</i>?</p> <p>A: Ja. They don't pay this kind of <i>lobola</i>. You'll be lucky to be paid <i>lobola</i> today. (<i>Induna, Mayeyi TA</i>)</p>
<p>A: Now, marriage... of course they would want to marry, but in this region to marry is quite expensive, so they'd rather not marry -- have children, and...or even cohabit.</p> <p>Q: So, the price of marriage, are we talking about maybe <i>lobola</i> or something...?</p> <p>A: Yes, <i>lobola</i>...</p> <p>Q: And, instead of paying that, they try to have the best of both worlds?</p> <p>A: Yeah, exactly. You're having children, but you're having someone who is not your wife, you're in just a union, and it's becoming acceptable. (Male pastor)</p>

Appendix A. Focus group discussion guide used to elicit multiple masculinities, Caprivi, Namibia, 2013.

1. **Imagine that I am your brother, or your friend. You want me to “act like a man.” As my brother/ friend, what do you tell me to do in order to show that I am man?**
2. **Is this the type of man that most men in your community are really trying to be, or that they most want to be?**
3. **Has this always been so? Is this type of man changing?**
[REVIEW LISTED ITEMS FROM Q1 and Q2].
4. **What if I can't do all of these things? Are there other things that I can do to show that I am a man?**
 - Since I am not perfect, are there some things that you will “forgive,” if I keep them? You will still respect me, even with these faults?
5. **With all the qualities on this list that I possess as this type of man, what kind of relationships should I be looking for with women?**
6. **How do I form the kind of relationship that I want with EACH type of woman that I choose on this list?**
7. **If I am like this man -- how do other *men* behave toward me?**
8. **How do you think *women* behave toward me if I am this kind of man?**
[CONTINUE TO ASK Q4 through Q8 for each of the other masculinities]
9. **Which of these masculinities is most respected (“1”) and admired in your culture? Which is second (“2”)? which is third (“3”)? etc.**
10. **Which of these do you think is the easiest (“1”) for your brother or friend to try to be? Which is second easiest (“2”)? Which is third (“3”)? Etc.**

Appendix B. Semi-structured in-depth interview guide used to elicit multiple masculinities from community leaders, Caprivi, Namibia, 2013.

1. **Based on your experience working with men in Caprivi, how would you describe the type of man that most men are trying to be?**
2. **Why do you think that most men are trying to be this kind of man? What motivates them to be this kind of man?**
3. **In your opinion, is this way of being a man part of culture and tradition, or does it come from something else? Why do you think so?**
4. **Are most men today different than they were “in the old days”? How so?**
5. **What benefits does such a man receive? Why are these seen as benefits?**
6. **Do you think “most men” are changing their behavior, or are they just staying the same, over time? Why do you think so? What is causing things to change (or to stay the same)?**
7. **Think of 3 men that you know, personally, who behave differently than “most men” in your community, but who are ALL well-respected by the community. Which one of these men is the most respected by the community? Why? What does he do that makes him more respectable than the other two? Which is the next most respected, and why?**
8. **Are such men in your community common? Why do you think so?**
9. **What benefits are there to a man to try to be so different from “most men?” What motivates him to be different?**
10. **Which of these three men is most achievable by “most men”? Why? Which is second?**

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JOURNAL ARTICLE

Alternate masculinities and HIV risk reduction in Caprivi, Namibia: which one will work?

Culture, Sexuality & Health

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Abstract

Much southern African research is concerned with describing high-risk masculinities and their implications for gender inequality and increased HIV infection risk for women. Lower risk, “alternate” masculinities are less commonly studied for the contexts in which they develop, and the social processes and rewards that support their reconstruction. This study used in-depth interviews with community leaders, and exercises with focus groups of young men, 18-24 years of age, in East Caprivi, Namibia, an area with high HIV prevalence, to elicit multiple conceptual models of masculinity considered at lower risk for HIV and also culturally acceptable. For each of these, the developmental contexts, support systems, and rewards were identified that would promote such “types” of men in the society. Applying the Diffusion of Innovations criteria, one such model was selected as most likely to be adopted by young men in Caprivi if promoted in a gendered intervention. Across focus groups, young men selected a fairly austere, rather than moderate-risk masculinity as their preferred model, with the rationale that they required discipline and limited distraction during their formative years of constructing masculinity to achieve the hallmarks of manhood that they ultimately sought – respect and broad recognition. The implications for use of the findings in HIV intervention design are discussed.

Introduction

Social and behavioural change discourses over the past decade have given greater attention to the essential roles that men – or more specifically, masculinities – play in HIV transmission. Increasingly, there are those who opine that men are in need of particular “empowerment” over their own risk behaviours (Harvey, 2000; Harrison, O'sullivan, Hoffman, & Dolezal, 2006; Ehrhardt, Sawires, McGovern, Peacock, & Weston, 2009). Much research (Aronson, Whithead, & Baber, 2003; Higgins, Hoffman, & Dworkin, 2010) concludes that almost

globally, societal notions of masculinity value risk-taking, assertiveness, alcohol consumption, prodigious sexuality, control of women, and a certain heedlessness of one's own health. The drive to embody such characteristics appears to lead many men to engage in, among many other activities, high-risk sexual behaviours, and to do so ostensibly less out of a heedless desire for sex, than out of a greater need to fulfil some esteemed image of "manhood" (Aronson et al., 2003).

The existing research on gender in southern Africa, where the HIV epidemic has been severest, has been more descriptive of gender inequalities and their relationship to women's HIV vulnerability than analytical of the social processes by which masculinities become empowered to reduce their risk. As Mane and Aggleton (2001) proposed, "[t]he challenge for those working in HIV prevention and care lies in identifying and reinforcing the kinds of oppositional and alternative masculinities that lead to greater equality in gender relations, and which are associated with lower levels of HIV-related risk"(p.33). Barker (2005) echoed this concern, reminding researchers that "[f]or every young man who refuses to use a condom, there is another who discusses sexual health issues with his partner. In discussions of male pathologies, particularly in discussions related to HIV/AIDS and to violence, these alternative voices are often lost" (p.6). The predominance of gender research in southern Africa has likewise concerned itself with what appears to be a single vision of masculinity – that associated with the worst outcomes for women – and has largely ignored the utility of examining contrary, but co-existing masculinities, in the same social context (Petersen, 2003).

Recognising the lower risk alternatives is critical, but it is only a starting point. At a recent meeting of HIV prevention implementers in Windhoek, Namibia, where this researcher proposed new research on masculinities and HIV, a participant pleaded:

Please do not give us another study telling us that there are different masculinities out there. We already *know* what those alternatives are. What we don't know is which one will work!

The speaker was referring to the complex challenge of not only identifying lower-risk masculinities, but one with sufficiently attractive and empowering qualities to make it culturally acceptable. The challenge is rendered the more difficult by the need to distil, at a socio-cultural level, a set of conditions and social processes involved in developing, supporting, and sustaining the reproduction of the desired masculinity so that they can be suitably “packaged”, marketed, and rolled out as an intervention. In southern Africa, it appears that little has been done to critically analyze the mechanisms by which alternative, lower-risk masculinities routinely resist societal norms that support high-risk behaviour. This is true, for example, in Namibia, where gender inequalities and their relationships to HIV have been well catalogued (Mufune, 2003) (Brown, Sorrell, & Raffaelli, 2005) (Becker, 2006) (Thomas, 2007) (Pauli, 2007), but where this researcher has found no published work (and little, elsewhere, in the southern African region) examining the contexts, the stresses, the support systems and the rewards that are part of “transformative” processes that may provide information more directly serviceable to intervention design.

This paper describes an effort to identify a lower-risk, and acceptable, alternate masculinity notion, that would be adoptable, by young men 18-24 years of age - a group at risk for HIV -

in East Caprivi, Namibia. Located at the crossroads of Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana, East Caprivi was selected as the locus of research because of its long history of socio-cultural insulation from colonial influences, its consequently undisrupted patriarchal traditional institutions, and because of the apparent rapid rise in HIV prevalence following loss of that insulation within a few years of Namibia's independence from South Africa, in 1990. East Caprivi experiences a high volume of truck traffic along the trans-Caprivi highway. This traffic plays an important role in disease transmission in the region by supporting a thriving commercial sex industry catering to migrant workers and truckers (LeBeau, 2006). However, evidence indicates that risk behaviours for HIV extend beyond these at-risk groups to much of the general population. Today, with a population of 90,100 residents (NPC, 2012), Caprivi remains the country's most affected region, and annually reports the highest antenatal HIV prevalence (21.5% in 2012) among 15-24 year-old women -- the age group providing the proxy for incidence. A 2006 survey found, nonetheless, that HIV prevention campaigns have led to high proportions of both men and women aged 15-49 years being knowledgeable of prevention methods (de la Torre, Khan, Eckert, Luna, & Koppenhaver, 2009). Unemployment among men above 15 years of age who are actively looking for work has decreased since the peak of the epidemic, from 25% in 2004 (MLSW, 2004) to 10% in 2012 (NLFC, 2012), yet Caprivi remains one of Namibia's poorest regions (NSA, 2012). Beliefs in traditional healers and in witchcraft remain strong.

The study is the second of a two-part investigation. The first, described more fully elsewhere (Shepard-Perry, 2014), investigated and theorised the social and historical processes involved in the transformation of an established lower-risk "Traditional Man" masculinity to a higher-risk "Current Man" configuration. It was theorised that continued reconstruction of the Current Man was driving HIV transmission in Caprivi.

The present study builds upon the findings of the first. From focus group and in-depth interview data, a lower risk alternate was compared to the high-risk Current Man masculinity construction in terms of contexts in which they developed, their support systems, rewards, and outcomes, to generate hypotheses for their divergent paths of development, and to suggest opportunities for intervention programs to support processes that engender reconstruction of lower risk masculinities.

Methods

Theoretical framework

Connell's work on masculinities (2005) provided the framework for interpreting the nature of masculinities, their power structures, and their mutability. Connell indicates that multiple ways of performing "manhood" (constructions of masculinity) exist in all societies, with a dominant, pervasive, and most-revered archetypal image of manhood presiding at the top of the masculinity hierarchy ("hegemonic masculinity"). Its power and hegemony are derived from its endorsement by many facets of a culture and society, and though all men are guided by it, perhaps few can ever actually achieve it. It subordinates less powerful masculinities (those "complicit" with, and benefitting from alignment with the hegemonic form, as well as those subordinated and "marginalised" by both, such as masculinities that incorporate "feminine" behaviours). Much global literature on masculinities links the hegemonic form with aggressive, domineering, risk-taking behaviour, and sexual promiscuity (Courtenay, 2000; O'Sullivan, Hoffman, Harrison, & Dolezal, 2006; Hyde, Drennan, & Howlett, 2009; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010), though its characteristics are actually culturally defined, and may vary considerably from this stereotype, from one culture to the next (Connell, 2005). A desirable alternate masculinity for an intervention, however, will likely need to be closely aligned with hegemonic masculinity (i.e., "complicit"), in order to have a competitive chance

at adoption; is it is unlikely to be one with low power, or one marginalised by more powerful masculinities.

Procedures

The research, developed for a doctoral dissertation, received human research ethics approval by the University of Texas-Health Science Centre (UTHSC) in Houston, Texas and the Ministry of Health and Social Services (MoHSS), in Windhoek, Namibia. The investigator also obtained the approbation of traditional authorities (TAs), consisting of local chiefs, their officers (*manduna*, plural of *induna*), and their traditional councils (*khutas*), to conduct the research within their ethnic jurisdictions.

Site description

Four sites participated in the study: the one urban center (Katima Mulilo), and three rural conservancies (communally-managed lands), Salambala, Wuparo, and Mayuni, representing the homes of major ethnic groups in the region, and varying in proximity to the Trans-Caprivi Highway. Both rural and urban residents of Caprivi are familiar with English, and use it, along with another regional language, Silozi, as a lingua franca.

Participant recruitment and enrolment

Young Caprivi men 18 to 24 years of age were targeted for participation in four focus groups. The study was advertised by word-of-mouth by locally-hired public health educators as an invitation to discuss views on “Men, Manhood, and Romantic Relationships in Caprivi”. Mention of HIV/AIDS was deliberately avoided in order to attract a variety of young men and to avoid regurgitation of commonly known HIV prevention messages in interview data (MOHSS, 2008). These educators lived among participants and purposefully screened and

recruited them to obtain a varied sample in terms of marital status, education, and gendered behaviours. The interview team (principal investigator, local research coordinator and two interviewers) subsequently obtained verbal consent of participants on the day of the interview. Only light refreshments were offered as an incentive. All participants were given a blank copy of the informed consent document in either English or Silozi.

To obtain insights into local culture, history, and social change, the investigator purposefully selected and enrolled 10 community leaders for in-depth interviews. All were adult men and women representing *khutas*, faith-based organizations, and healthcare, educational, governance, and community development programs in the region.

Data collection

Data were collected from August 2012 to July 2013. Community leader interviews were conducted in English only. Leaders were asked to provide their interpretations of “most men” in their society, the social and cultural values that underlay men’s conduct, and their observations on both current, and desired directions of social change. Some of these persons were re-interviewed for further insights as the study progressed.

Four focus groups (8-12 participants each) were convened for an average of 2 hours at each site. Discussions were held primarily in English and Silozi. Both parts of the study were conducted during the same focus group sessions.

In part I, focus groups were asked to report their common notions of “manhood”, to reveal the “hegemonic” masculinity. In fact, not one, but two dominant masculinities were revealed, one which was relatively low risk, and one which was higher risk. Groups associated each

with the types of relationships with women that were likely to be pursued, the systems supportive of each masculinity, and the social rewards associated with each.

The present study, part II, continued from that point, putting the groups through an exercise to elicit alternatives to the high-risk masculinity that they believed were socially acceptable among 18-24 year old men in Caprivi (see sample questions, Table 1). The groups were told to imagine that they were advising a brother or friend who wanted to be respected as a man, but who could not do everything that the hegemonic and high-risk masculinity did (from part I). Group participants then constructed an acceptable masculinity for him by negotiating with each other the selection of specific components from the two dominant “types”. Interviewers recorded focus group participant feedback on flip charts and displayed the data on walls to facilitate comparison of these constructions. When complete, the groups went on to explore and describe the alternative notion of masculinity in terms of the types of relationships he might have with women, his support systems, and social rewards. To elicit the next alternate masculinity, they were told that the brother/friend balked at performing even the “manhood” that they had just created for him. The process was repeated, revealing a different, but overlapping construction of masculinity that groups agreed would be socially acceptable, reducing various risk behaviours evident in the original, dominant high-risk template. This exercise was repeated until it was agreed that no further reductions were possible in a masculinity without risking its respectability in the culture. At that point, groups were understood to have revealed their (and their culture’s) maximum tolerance for risk *reduction* in a desirable model of masculinity. To the extent that these conceptual constructions bore commonalities across groups, they were understood to provide the empirical basis and construct validity for culturally-acceptable, alternate constructions of masculinity in Caprivi.

Finally, the groups were asked to evaluate the relative “respectability” (a surrogate of social “influence”) of these variations (a score of “1” being highest), and also to rate them in terms of their “achievability” (that is, men they cared about and respected – such as a brother or friend -- would and could do these things), again with “1” being highest.

All discussions were audio-recorded. Demographic data were collected from all participants and entered into a spreadsheet (age, residence, marital status, education, and employment) to ascertain where gaps in sampling existed. Two students from the University of Namibia campus at Katima Mulilo were hired to transcribe audio recordings in their original languages and then to translate them to English. Quality assurance of the transcriptions and translations was provided by a university faculty member.

Analysis

The investigation used the grounded theory approach (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) to inductively arrive at societal notions of masculinity. It adapted the technique of theoretical sampling to fit focus groups, and rather than to seek negative cases among individuals, probing questions were modified to test developing assumptions on each new focus group that was formed. Data were collected in cycles, providing time for transcription/translation and for constant comparative analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Though the principal investigator was uniquely responsible for coding data, the full interview team participated in the data analysis process, including interpreting *in vivo* codes, phrasing new prompts, and critiquing emerging categories. Reflexive analysis was conducted as a group activity by the team following each focus group discussion, and by the principal investigator, alone, for community leader interviews. Electronic transcripts in English were

loaded into Atlas.ti 7.0 software for coding (open, axial, and selective) and elements of the grounded theory paradigm (conditions, events, responses) were coded during the open coding process. Memos documented how codes and categories were related and interpreted, and selective coding was used to develop a narrative (*story line*) theorizing how contexts and social processes worked to create conditions that provoked masculinity transformations in East Caprivi. Key elements of those processes were contrasted between the high-risk and the selected alternate masculinity to suggest where the two diverged, and where points of entry might exist for an intervention. Each alternate masculinity construction was assessed for “adoptability” using criteria provided by Diffusion of Innovation theory (Rogers, 2003): compatibility, relative advantage, complexity, trialability, and observability. The work of Miles & Huberman (1994) provided strategies for cross-case comparative analyses of the two masculinities to examine the factors associated with each.

Findings

Thirty-eight men, 18 to 24 years of age, participated in focus groups from the four sites. Most (61%) were single with no partner, 29% were married or living as married, and few (4) reported being in a casual sexual relationship. Most (84%) were unemployed, but all had at least some formal education (66% having a secondary, and just two had a tertiary education). Each focus group was convened only once, resulting in 8.5 hours of audio recordings.

Six men and four women, aged between 28 and 62 years, served as community leaders. All were employed and all agreed to be interviewed more than once, resulting in 16 hours of audio recordings. A total of 241 pages of English language transcript were produced for analysis. The data revealed three, broadly-definable, masculinities:

Traditional Man (The hegemonic masculinity)

In response to the question, ““what do you tell me to do to act like a ‘man?’”, focus groups and community leaders revealed a hegemonic form of masculinity that was unexpectedly benevolent and, apparently, at low risk for HIV. That description (Shepard-Perry, 2014), was of a Traditional Man(hood), that began to decline after Namibia’s independence. Its construction consisted of four principal categories: Provider, Father, Husband, and Advisor, and one major code, Guardian of Culture, whose basic characteristics are summarized in Table 2.

Current Man (The high-risk masculinity)

The follow up question, “Is this the way that most men behave?” drew the opposite response from participants. Participants reported very consistent constructions of a masculinity at high risk for HIV evolving since Namibian independence in “protest” against the hegemonic Traditional Man. The development of this “Current Man,” also described elsewhere, was theorized as resulting from the the interaction of a number of social, cultural, and economic changes that occurred after Independence, that contributed to the weakening of traditionally restrictive socio-cultural controls and the removal of many sexual taboos. Other researchers have similarly reported broad social change in Caprivi dating to Namibian independence (Thomas, 2008). The construction of this protest masculinity consisted of three major categories patterned after the hegemonic model: the Big Man, Sire, and Master of Harem. It had no analogue for the Advisor or Guardian of Culture. Its principal characteristics appear in Table 2.

The Alternate (low-risk masculinity)

Though the hegemonic masculinity was at low-risk, it could not serve as a model masculinity for intervention purposes because hegemonic masculinity was considered by focus groups to be an ideal generally unachievable by most young men their age. Therefore, a more accessible version had to be identified. The images of the foregoing masculinities were easily evoked by all groups and community leaders as they were based upon common observations of their society. This was less the case with the subsequent alternate masculinities (Table 2). Generation of the first alternate masculinity (Alternate #1), was relatively straight forward for all groups, as it represented a set of “corrections” to almost all of the characteristics of the Current Man – which meant bringing it nearer to the hegemonic masculinity. For example, the Current Man’s theme of “Sire” with the element “has many children outside of marriage” was corrected to “has one child” in the Alternate; the lack of advisory capacity (“shows no control – cannot be advised”) was corrected by introducing an Advisor property with elements reflecting self-control (“has good behaviour,” “does not drink alcohol,” “respects others”.)

Defining all masculinities beyond the first alternative posed challenges, as subsequent constructions became more hypothetical, and groups were less certain of what to expect of alternate visions of manhood. The construction of each alternate masculinity represented a bargaining process between focus group members, who debated what their society would expect of, and also tolerate in a young man. The process was not linear, and required behaviours to be listed, inconsistencies found, scratched out, replaced, clarified, and re-written. The process was exhausting to focus groups.

The investigative team reflected on this process after the first focus group discussion became unproductive beyond the third iteration: How were the interviewers shaping the responses? Were they forcing the content of new masculinities? The team listened to the recorded discussion and determined to step back, not point out inconsistencies that were seen, but to ask the group to explain choices and let them debate and resolve inconsistencies, if any. The team also abbreviated the process by asking groups to produce no more than three alternate configurations, with the third representing the *minimal* behavioural requirements that would give the brother respectability in society.

The requirements of manhood in latter alternatives became generally *more* restrictive, not less so. A brother who could not fulfil most attributes expected of him (Alternate #1) could still command respect with fewer of them, but only at the cost of foregoing all of the freedoms and excesses of the Current Man. Importantly, focus groups indicated that these restrictions were not intended to be life-long – they recommended it for the brother or friend their own age; as a man matured, he was expected to fulfil a hegemonic masculinity as closely as possible.

When asked to rank each masculinity (“1” being highest) in terms of respectability/ influence in their society, the Traditional Man invariably received the highest rank, and the Current Man, the lowest (“5”), with alternate masculinities being ranked in between. When asked to rate each masculinity in terms of its achievability (feasibility) as a model for behaviour for most men their age, today, the two ratings tended to be inversely related. The most respected configuration, the Traditional Man, was considered the least viable model (“5”) for most men, with two rural groups calling it “*too perfect*” and the urban group calling it “*unrealistic*” and “*old fashioned*”. The Current Man, on the other hand, was ranked “1” by two groups as

relatively “easy” for young men to achieve, but as “4” by two others because it was “very costly” (in terms of money and resources) to achieve and maintain, and had many more requirements than the alternates. In this way, focus groups negotiated a version of masculinity with minimal requirements for respectability/social influence, while tolerating few risk behaviours.

In analysis, the alternate constructions were compared for commonalities. The Diffusion of Innovation criteria were applied first, beginning with the two that were rated by the focus groups, and the results were examined. The criteria were:

Relative advantage: The preferred alternate should meet with a relatively “high” degree of social acceptance and receive higher social rewards than most other alternatives. Focus groups gave their alternates moderately high ratings in terms of relative respectability (“social influence”) across all focus groups. The highest ranking alternates were given scores of “2” and “3”.

Complexity: The preferred alternate should be perceived as being as achievable by the “average” 18-24 year old Caprivi male as the higher-risk masculinity (i.e., many of their peers would be able to do to do it). Focus groups gave their alternates high ratings for simplicity and feasibility of practice by young Caprivi men. The highest rank for this criterion across groups was “2”.

Thereafter, constructions from each group with the highest ratings for relative advantage and complexity were compared against the next three criteria.

Compatibility: The preferred alternate had to co-exist and be practiced in the same society and culture in which the high-risk masculinity was found. This was not directly assessed during focus group discussions, but afterward, in analysis of the compatibility of their most desirable alternates with each other. The rural Salambala group had two similarly-valued candidate configurations, which, lacking further criteria to distinguish them, were merged. All highest-rated alternate configurations (shaded cells in Table 2) showed good consistency in their descriptions across all focus groups. As these were produced by different ethnic and geographic groups in Caprivi, general compatibility of the alternates with an underlying, lower-risk masculinity notion among young men in the society was suggested.

Trialability: Focus groups across socio-demographic strata should report that many of their peers would be *willing* to practice the preferred alternate masculinity. It was not clearly established by the focus groups that most young men their age that they knew would be willing to try out/practice their highest ranked alternate models. They felt that the youngest of their peer age group would be most amenable to trying this masculinity, but older males would not. A few community leaders agreed, suggesting that many young men would probably migrate towards a masculinity that was not overly restrictive, gave them respect in some way, but still allowed them “*to have fun*” (partying, drinking, girlfriends) – qualities seemingly opposed to those of the proposed alternate in each focus group.

Observability: The preferred alternate should not be a rare model of masculinity, and living examples of it should be reported by the focus groups. The observability of living examples of the selected alternate configurations proposed by each group was

not uniformly established. Two focus groups, Salambala and Katima Mulilo, reported that such alternate masculinities existed, but were “rare”. Only in Wuparo and Mayuni did focus groups state that they were actually becoming increasingly visible over time.

Though none of the preferred alternates met all of the five Diffusion of Innovation criteria, they, nonetheless, performed well, and the compatibility of their constructions allowed for a single model to be compiled across all groups as the most viable model for an intervention (“the Alternate”). It represented a young masculinity clearly aligned with the hegemonic Traditional Man, and was a “Guardian of Culture,” whose masculinity was strongly defined by church and tradition; it represented a modest “Provider,” with a house and job, but who was responsible to his family; he was more likely to be a “Boyfriend” than a “Husband” at 18-24 years of age; and was a strong “Advisor”, meaning educated, taking and receiving advice, having few friends, being respectful to others, and drinking responsibly.

Cross-case analysis

Having identified a theoretically acceptable and feasible alternative to the high-risk, Current Man masculinity, a cross-case comparison of their constructions was performed, revealing three thematic areas of differentiation involved in masculinity development: societal context, social influences, strategies and rewards (Table 3).

Societal context

Poverty, media and consumerism, hegemonic masculinity, and HIV/AIDS emerged as four potent contextual influences upon masculinity construction among young men in Caprivi today.

Poverty

Despite Caprivi's general poverty, focus groups were adamant that being a "man" required being a Provider, and having access to some form of income ("farmer," "fish monger," "labourer," "teacher," "do some kind of business...anything"). Yet, they described most young men their age as being without financial resources of their own, as living at home with their parents, and therefore living a contradiction of being legally adult men, yet not quite having fully achieved culturally-defined "manhood".

All groups reported, moreover, that marriage, another important landmark of manhood, was not possible without a house and source of income. The dependence of many young men upon support by their own families, provided them few opportunities to become heads of their own households. Rare employment opportunities allowed some young men to escape these limitations, while others sought income through criminal activities -- a behaviour that groups associated principally with the Current Man, as one key informant also reported:

Most of these young guys don't have anything to do. There is nothing happening in the villages...I and some of my friends used to take [steal], you know, small things... The more you do it, you get a reputation...I used to be cool. (Male development worker #1)

Media and consumerism

All participants reported that mass media continue to interact powerfully with the context of poverty, and introduce distinctly "non-traditional" lifestyles and behaviours into Caprivi, marked by consumerism (fashions, cell phones, cars, etc.) Focus groups labelled these influences "Western," and associated them strongly, and negatively, with the Current Man.

They spoke of the “*jealousy*,” that is created among those who are unable to acquire materialistic trappings of “*success*,” and how the desire to acquire them also drives a market of goods and services for sex. Both masculinities are exposed to this context: the Current Man, associated with having income, is more strongly linked with this consumerism and related “*entertainments*” (“*movies*”, “*dancing*”, “*going out with friends*”) than the Alternate.

Hegemonic masculinity

The Traditional Man concept provides the template for both Current Man and Alternate masculinity constructions, and despite a reported decline in its prevalence, benefits from reinforcement at the community level by the *khutas*.

[M]en ... used to respect their cultures, but nowadays...[t]hey think culture is something of the past...They think they are more supreme to their women folk – which is totally wrong...We bring them together and tell them the values of the culture. They must not put it aside and follow the Western Life. (*Induna, Masubiya TA*)

However, because *khutas* eschew masculinities that exhibit (undesirable elements of) “Western” culture, hegemonic masculinity appears in the data to be more strongly associated with the Alternate than the Current Man. At the individual level, focus groups indicated that most of their peers learned how to be a “man” in the hegemonic sense, from a father or father figure (uncle, grandfather, village headman). There was, therefore, no perceived difference in exposure of either masculinity to this resource at home.

HIV/AIDS awareness

Caprivians are knowledgeable of HIV infection and prevention methods (Fisch, 1999b), and it is very much a part of the context in which masculinity is being constructed. Though mention of HIV was specifically avoided in all interviews, participants referred to it frequently. Specifically, “respectable” masculinities were expected to “*stick to one partner*,” avoid “*risk*,” and “*have self control*” by limiting “*sexual partners*” and alcohol consumption. However, they specifically associated attention to these messages with the Alternate, more so than with the Current Man masculinity, who was reported as being aware of, but ignoring HIV/AIDS awareness messaging.

Belief systems

Traditional beliefs in witchcraft also played a role in developing masculinities to the extent that they were believed to be used *by women to control men*.

And people will say, if you follow your woman too much, in our culture, they will say she gave you some *muti* -- some medicine, some African charms -- you are charmed!

(Male pastor)

Adjudging a man as “charmed” was seen as damaging to his masculine image as it represented the usurpation of his power and authority. Focus groups described the Current Man as being most strongly associated with beliefs in witchcraft, and as being reactive to implied loss of power in this way, including use of violence in relationships to reassert themselves.

All focus groups and most community leaders stressed “church-going” behaviour in the Alternate masculinity, because organized religion was seen as a stabilizing and educating force, and because it built faith in forces that could oppose witchcraft. The Current Man was poorly-associated with church-going behaviour and did not receive this benefit.

Support systems

Participants described distinct support systems that direct the masculinities to draw different resources from the foregoing contexts.

Influence from men

The data reveal clear generational differences in the types of influence that other men have upon masculinity construction in young Caprivi men. The Current Man is encouraged in his behaviour by his age-mates, young men who share his same values and consumerism, and who acquire benefits (notoriety) by association with him. They pressure him to support their lifestyles (alcohol, pleasurable pursuits), and to engage in sexual relationships traditionally considered illicit. At the same time, he is considered “*unadvisable*” by older men. One focus group suggested that a Current Man may learn to acquire his own resources early, thereby becoming less dependent upon his elders, and better able to afford to ignore their counsel:

[H]e struggles to get all the things he want[s]. He can be advised, but just for a moment... later on, again, he starts onwards, because he know[s] how he found his own things [resources]...he don't worry about his father. (Mayuni group)

The Current Man develops his own “community” of male and female peers who slavishly seek him for his resources (money, consumer items, food, etc.). He pursues lavish

consumerism in order to attract and maintain this network. The data describe him as developing a proprietary, rather than a paternalistic sense toward this “community”, including claiming the right to bully and threaten them, and even to commit rape. He can afford to have little respect for them, and can demand a high price in exchange for bearing the pressures of supporting them.

[I]f a person is having a lot of money, he will not even try to respect other people. He will think that, “no, now I’m the one on top”. (Male HIV prevention worker)

Not all men are violent or are seeking to dominate. But, you know, if you are the one always providing...everyone is eating from you, then you expect some respect. So, if you don’t get it, ja, you can be mad... (Male development worker #2)

The generally older community leaders reported that young Current Man masculinities avail themselves also of legal resources (e.g., child protection laws) to subvert restraints imposed by elders. A traditional leader recounted his personal experience with possible censure for disciplining a young relative, a developing Current Man masculinity that was under his charge:

[H]e goes to the bars and drinks with his friends. When he comes in the morning, he smells of beer, all over the house. And when I scream to him, I’m [the one] going to the police, ah! ... If they followed their culture, we used to whip... (Induna, Masubiya TA)

Thus, the Current Man may learn ways to “protest” against Traditional Manhood during adolescence. Another key informant perceived such protests as beginning at an even earlier age, in relation to post-independence legal realities.

If you ask[ed] “can you give me water?” [A] child, he w[ould] kneel down and give you. But this time [these days], he can even say, “Ah, why don’t you go and take, yourself?” Because of their rights, that’s why they are not doing it. (Female teacher)

The opposite is true of the Alternate masculinity. All participants regarded peer pressure as being particularly corruptive of young men. Focus groups explicitly described the desirable Alternate masculinity as having “*few friends*” among his male age-mates. Instead, his associations were expected to be with older men, who could counsel him productively on “*saving*” money or “*building a home*”, “*manage a farm*”, and “*gain employment*”. Focus groups found it important to encourage a dependence of young men on older men (and women) in order to promote longer and closer associations between the generations than were possible with the Current Man.

[H]e must not have friends – by so doing he will be able to follow his parent’s advice.
(Salambala group)

...If you start to have your own money...you will try to practice many things you are not supposed to do. Kids should only be dependent upon their parents. (Katima Mulilo group)

“Kids,” here, referred to a young Alternate masculinity’s developmental years, as focus groups clearly expected that he would acquire his own resources by the time he became an adult.

Influences from women

Older females were not reported as influencing the Current Man; his interactions are essentially with female peers. These peers, however, being superficially attracted to him for his resources, are too numerous, and too transient in the Current Man’s life to provide any useful counsel.

These ladies, especially the young ones, they are too bad! They want everything from you and if you don’t give...it’s a problem. Ja, I can say I have a few girlfriends... the girls, they are so many...they hear about you and just come! (Male development worker #2)

Such women manipulate him for his resources using alcohol and sex as currency, and retaliate when he fails to deliver by abandoning him, or publicly insulting his manhood (“*you’re not man enough,*” “*that man is useless,*” “*he’s not fertile*”), which sometimes prompts compensatory, or violent responses to set the record straight.

Focus groups did associate the Alternate masculinity with older women, who counselled on marriage and education. Yet, he was accorded just one close female age-mate -- specifically a girlfriend or a wife, while community leaders reported the significance of that monogamous relationship: without other female competition for his attention, she could be an “*advisor*”, and reduce the effects of peer influences – if she could act upon him early enough:

... [she] has the power of saying [to him], “no friendship with this kind”... On the other hand, if the man is already with friends, it becomes difficult for the woman to take him out. (Male pastor)

Strategies and Rewards

Social validation of “manhood” emerges from the data as the common reward sought by both Current and Alternate masculinities. Yet, this validation is acquired through very different strategies.

The four hegemonic qualities – Advisor, Provider, Husband, Father – are the templates for accomplishment of manhood for both masculinities. However, the “unadvisable” Current Man does not seek recognition through achievement of these traditional marks of manhood, and focus groups do not associate him with being an Advisor. Instead, his masculinity manifests itself through the Big Man, Master of Harem, and Sire qualities, accompanied by “non-traditional” sexual, spending, and drinking exploits that confer notoriety, and give him an aura of power that is attractive to his peers. As his number of “friends” grows, his prestige increases, which attracts more friends, and facilitates opportunities for both sexual conquest and procreation.

That is the scenario here, in Katima. It’s like everybody...they want to ‘taste’ [him]...
“Why is everyone going to that one? Let me also go, too...” (Katima group)

While focus groups associate the Alternate with regulated alcohol consumption and a private, conservative sexuality, for the Current Man, alcohol consumption and sexual pursuits are highly social activities. He becomes inebriated in the company of friends, rather than alone,

and arranges for sex with women, publicly. This is important because his exploits require witnesses to gain notoriety and status.

If I am getting a woman, the others [men] they are all getting jealous. Then, I just buy all drinks that she needs, then I go with her out and do my own business. When I come back, I tell him 'I got mine already, if you want her, just go take her.' Also him, he will make means [to have her] – whether he will go steal somewhere or make business [to get money] *so the girls can see, also, this man is cool* [added italics].

(Mayuni group)

The social and competitive nature of these exploits is key to the Current Man's definition of success, and several participants referred to such young men as striving to "win" women, achieving status through sexual conquest before male and female audiences. Facilitation of such conquests by collaborating male peers, has similarly been described in South Africa (Ragnarsson, Townsend, Thorson, et al., 2009).

The Alternate, by contrast, is guided by older contacts to find social recognition in a different manner. Focus groups stressed the primary importance of developing the Alternate as an Advisor, considering this to be the foundation for his *later* success in all four archetypal domains of manhood. He is shaped to show "*good behaviour*," meaning a willingness to listen to advice, be respectful to his elders, and demonstrate non-indulgence. These win him respect and augment his status in his community.

...an ordinary man who has no profession, for him to get a name, or a status, he has to be hard-working. [I]f he has his own home, but he's a nobody...he's faithful to that

small home, and the wife, he is able to provide for them, he will be an example.

(Male pastor)

He is rewarded by his community for subscribing to the hegemonic view of masculinity, though he has few resources of his own. As happens with the Current Man, he is also rewarded with attention from women, in this instance, specifically for his constancy and dependability as a potential husband, rather than as a ready source of cash and consumables.

[S]ometimes the mothers are looking for men for their daughters. They say, “look at him, he’s having good behaviour, he’s not drinking, he’s not smoking, even though doesn’t have money -- but those guys that are rich, they have a lot of girlfriends and they just bring sickness”. So, you find that there is already someone talking on your behalf. (Mayuni group)

Though focus groups limited the Alternate to just one female partner during his youth, most saw this merely as a temporary strategy, a form of discipline to help him avoid the early pitfalls associated with “friends”. Although demonstration of fertility through procreation was important to both the Traditional and Current Man masculinities, all focus groups gave procreation low priority to the young Alternate, allowing him no more than one child, and with only one woman – neither of which was a limitation of the other masculinities. However, once he became a man of his own means, the Alternate was permitted to acquire multiple wives and children, provided that he could care for all of them.

“It’s about managing.... the care you are giving your wives and the children you are having. Let’s say I can have a good job, and I am having five or six kids with different

wives, whereby I'm having every wife and every child on my budget... [s]o, I manage to feed them. It's ok. (Wuparo group)

To achieve such status, focus groups were adamant that as a young man, the Alternate would have to forego the immediate rewards acquired through Current Man strategies. All focus groups also regarded delaying traditional obligations (Provider, Husband and Father) as facilitating the acquisition of wealth and resources that would *later* enable the Alternate to fulfil these roles favourably.

There was that slogan which was saying "don't eat a sweet," you know? They were saying, if you eat that sweet, after, you will make that thing to be in practice [a habit]. They were saying we should wait, we should delay, until we get our marriages, or finish our school. I think the tradition is there, but we are copying from other people... (Male HIV prevention counselor)

The Alternate masculinity was, therefore, associated with living within his current means, and planning for the future. His close ties to senior figures in his community and his sensitivity to censure by them, also restrained his sexual expression, alcohol consumption, and his formation of friendships.

Discussion

This study contrasted social processes associated with the constructions of a higher and a lower risk masculinity in Caprivi, with the intention of identifying mechanisms by which an alternate, more empowered masculinity could be promoted within a high-risk context. To provide this comparison, this study used qualitative interviews with young men and their

community leaders to elicit the gendered qualities of both masculinities, then constructed conceptual models of socially-acceptable alternate masculinities, and ordered them in terms of respectability/influence. Finally, Diffusion of Innovation criteria (Rogers, 2003) were used to identify a single, alternate masculinity that theoretically held the strongest possibilities for adoption as a model for 18-24 year old men in Caprivi. To Rogers, relative advantage is the strongest predictor of adoption, and is associated with an individual's motivations related to costs and benefits. The discourse of participants indicated that "respect" was the most sought-after advantage of either form of masculinity that a young man performed. "Respect" caused others to take notice of a young man and to seek him out. People would listen to such a man, and be influenced by him. In every focus group, alternate constructions received higher ratings for respect than did the Current Man construction.

The study found no answer to the question of "what will work" in terms of promoting masculinity *transformation*; rather, its findings are more instructive of strategies to grow new, alternate masculinities among young men. Despite its supposed advantage, and simplicity/feasibility, the alternate did not strongly demonstrate "trialability" and "observability", suggesting that perhaps few role models would be available to support the transition of higher- to lower-risk masculine behaviour. It is interesting that focus groups selected an austere form of masculinity as their model. Community Leaders similarly showed little tolerance for overlap in the gendered behaviours of an acceptable, lower risk, masculinity and those of a higher-risk one, which may make it more challenging for young men who have already adopted higher-risk behaviours to find common spaces with alternate masculinities where transformation could be facilitated. Moreover, the men in this study only intended for their Alternate to be promoted among their peers who were still defining their

masculinity, to provide them discipline and guidance which will empower them to avoid the path taken by Current Men, and to develop in more “traditionally” appropriate terms.

As stark as the Alternate appears in contrast with the Current Man masculinity, it nonetheless provides concessions that may improve its competitiveness in an environment where many young men place a premium on sexual relationships, and siring children. These concessions suggest some blending of hegemonic concepts with messages from HIV prevention programs. Alternate masculinity empowerment strategies did not include sexual abstinence; having a sexual partner was considered relevant to the Alternate’s development and to his acceptance by society. Young men found it important to be “faithful” to just one sexual partner -- not simply to decrease HIV risk -- but specifically to secure an advisor during masculinity development; marriage was not required. Having only one or no children with that partner (an allusion to contraception and condom use) was intended to limit early parenting responsibility in order for a young man to empower himself through education and to save money in order to be better able to care for those under his charge. Thereafter, having “multiple sexual partners” was permissible for the Alternate, as it was for the Traditional and Current men masculinities, but only in later life, and only in the context of a marital or other stable relationship, provided that a man could provide adequately for each partner and any ensuing children.

Even with the concessions that it offered, the Alternate masculinity required considerable discipline, and nearly all study participants acknowledged the challenges that such a young men would face when growing up in Caprivi. The data revealed only two strategies for supporting young men through these challenges: preventing them from independently acquiring resources too early in their development, and keeping them within the sphere of parental influence long enough to establish lower-risk behaviours and values.

An intervention strategy might then focus on encouraging the growth of Advisors in the community, as a hallmark of youthful “success,” while muting other masculinity goals of building home and family, for instance. As the Alternate masculinity is strongly guided by older traditionalists, and this guidance begins during childhood and continues ostensibly through young adulthood, the intervention might seek to maximize opportunities for youth to closely interact with senior members of their society in ways that build their Advisor capacity over time. For instance, the intervention might create roles in which young men and women grow into increasingly responsible positions in their society (through community service, youth leadership), that are not separate from, but, rather, are *integrated* into domains of older adult leadership. Respected elders must be willing to publicly endorse and embrace youth in new leadership roles in their society. This is key, because the data suggest that the two masculinities are each motivated by a desire for social recognition and validation by their communities. Macia, Pranitha & Ashley (2011) similarly report from their study in Mozambique, that achievement of “social visibility” is important to young men, and they may choose a variety of strategies to attain it -- whether legal or illegal, healthy or unhealthy. It will be important, where economic opportunities are rare, that an intervention be able to give public recognition to desirable behaviour and to publicly reward youth for accomplishments. Each masculinity ultimately seeks recognition by the broader society, and opportunities created for positive social recognition of an alternate masculinity may also have appeal for, and positive impact upon, men with higher-risk masculinities.

A possible limitation of this study is that represents a theoretical framework that is derived principally from focus group data. It is possible that the cultural “compatibility” of the proposed Alternate masculinity, constructed as it was in a hypothetical context, may bear

little relation to its actual acceptability in Caprivi's communities. The possibility of such hypothetical bias was recognised, but could not be verified.

It is also possible that the sample reflected primarily conservative and "traditional" views, despite efforts to create diversity through purposeful recruitment. Though recruiters were asked to use their knowledge of an individual's risk behaviour in selecting recruits, it was not possible to directly assess the outcome of this effort, as participants were not asked to reveal their individual gender beliefs and attitudes during the interview process. The data do reveal, however, the expression of some risk-related attitudes among participants (i.e., admitting to petty theft and to multiple girlfriends), suggesting some diversity of group composition.

Further research is needed, particularly to investigate the hypotheses proposed by this preliminary study using theoretical sampling of individual young men who enact behaviours associated with the alternate masculinity, to identify their individual motivations, validate their support systems, the specific ways in which they do (or do not) lower their HIV risk, whether their masculinity construction is, indeed, achievable by many, or just a few young men, and whether its rewards would make it marketable at a broader scale.

Conclusion

Most intervention programs directed at the roles of men and masculinities in HIV transmission work to redress important problem behaviours and gender-inequitable beliefs of men that underlie those behaviours. These interventions are important, but may be framed too narrowly in the context of fixing something that is wrong with men (the entire concept of masculinity "transformation" is based on this presumption). Much less often do they address gender relations from a different, but probably equally important angle: supporting men for what they commonly do that is beneficial to themselves, women, children and their societies.

It appears that interventions are rarely ever developed for groups and communities in southern Africa to examine the ways that many young men are being successfully nurtured to be responsible adults, are being endorsed by their communities, and are reducing their HIV risk behaviour, and it is rare that interventions actively work to strengthen such *indigenous* systems for promoting positive behaviours. For young men who are eager for resources with which to construct their masculine image, such interventions may be more instructive of how to achieve social affirmation of their masculinity than may be messages focused on the ways in which they are failing at their obligations as men. There is a critical need to consider how HIV interventions may give greater empowerment to men to overcome their risk behaviours, not simply by telling them what not do, but by building the reward systems that help them to become what their cultures and societies most value and expect from them, and that support them in becoming what they, as individuals, most aspire to become.

Table 1. Interview guide used to elicit multiple masculinities from focus groups of 18-24 year old males in Caprivi, Namibia.

1. **Imagine that I am your brother, or your friend. You want me to “act like a man.” As my brother/ friend, what do you tell me to do in order to show that I am man?**
2. **Is this the type of man that most men in your community are really trying to be, or that they most want to be?**
3. **Has this always been so? Is this type of man changing?**
[REVIEW LISTED ITEMS FROM Q1 and Q2].
4. **What if I can't do all of these things? Are there other things that I can do to show that I am a man?**
 - Since I am not perfect, are there some things that you will “forgive,” if I keep them? You will still respect me, even with these faults?
5. **With all the qualities on this list that I possess as this type of man, what kind of relationships should I be looking for with women?**
6. **How do I form the kind of relationship that I want with EACH type of woman that I choose on this list?**
7. **If I am like this man -- how do other *men* behave toward me?**
8. **How do you think *women* behave toward me if I am this kind of man?**
[CONTINUE TO ASK Q4 through Q8 for each of the other masculinities]
9. **Which of these masculinities is most respected (“1”) and admired in your culture? Which is second (“2”)? which is third (“3”)? etc.**
10. **Which of these do you think is the easiest (“1”) for your brother or friend to try to be? Which is second easiest (“2”)? Which is third (“3”)? Etc.**

Table 2. Comparison of masculinity constructions produced by all-male focus groups, with ratings of “respectability”¹⁰ and “feasibility of adoption”¹¹ of hypothetical alternatives to the masculinity at high risk for HIV in the Caprivi Region, Namibia, 2013. Shaded cells represent alternate masculinities with the strongest possibilities for adoption by young men.

Focus Group	TRADITIONAL MAN (Hegemonic, low risk for HIV)		CURRENT MAN (High risk for HIV)		ALTERNATE 1		ALTERNATE 2		ALTERNATE 3	
	Respectability #1	Feasibility Variable (4-5 across groups)	Respectability #5	Feasibility Variable by group (1, 3, or 4)	Respectability #2	Feasibility #4	Respectability #4	Feasibility #3	Respectability #3	Feasibility #2
Katima Mulilo (Urban)	Guardian of Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Follows own culture Goes to church Provider <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has a business, farm, or source of income Has his own house Is responsible for nuclear and extended family Lives within his means Father <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has multiple children, cares for all Has children from sanctioned wives only Nurtures persons beyond his own family Husband <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is married (polygamy possible) (continues below)	[No Guardian of Culture category] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Forsakes the culture Follows behaviours of other cultures Does not go to church Big Man <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Seeks many friends Shows off/spends money on girls and alcohol Bullies, is aggressive Has a business or source of income (includes criminal activity) Has his own house Master of Harem <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Seeks multiple sexual partners (is not faithful) Is a rapist, commits rape May marry May beat his wife(wives) (continues below)	Guardian of Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goes to church Provider <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is responsible, supports and protects family Owens a farm, be employed Has a car Boyfriend <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has one girlfriend: does not marry Father <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has children from only one mother Advisor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is educated Accepts advice 	Guardian of Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goes to church Provider <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Takes initiative Has a job Has a farm Have a car Husband <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is married to one wife Advisor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is educated 	Guardian of Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goes to church Provider <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Takes responsibility for himself and extended family Has a job Advisor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is educated Has few friends (just two) 					

¹⁰ Focus groups rated each masculinity (1 being highest) in terms of the respect that it would command, relative to other masculinities, in Caprivi society. “Respect” was a proxy for influence and power of the masculinity within the society.

¹¹ Focus groups rated the relative complexity of each masculinity in terms of how feasible (1 being highest) they felt it would be for other young men to perform and adopt the behaviours of the masculinity.

Focus Group	TRADITIONAL MAN (Hegemonic, low risk for HIV)	CURRENT MAN (High risk for HIV)	ALTERNATE 1		ALTERNATE 2		ALTERNATE 3	
			Respect #3	Feasibility #1	Respect #2	Feasibility #2	Respect #4	Feasibility #4
Mayuni (Rural)	(continues from above) Advisor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has few friends Is educated (formally or life experience) Is self-respecting Advises, leads whole community Drinks moderately, not to point of drunkenness 	(continues from above) The Sire <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not caring, not helpful Neglects responsibility to family and community Is selfish Is abusive of children Has many children outside of marriage, doesn't take care of them <p>[No Advisor category]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shows no control-cannot be advised Does not plan for the future Does not give advice Shows no respect for others Smokes Drinks excessively 	Guardian of Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goes to church Father <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has no more than 1 child, but no more by accident Boyfriend <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is not married- has 1 girlfriend Advisor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is self-controlled, self disciplined Respects elders Develops himself (educated) Shows confidence Drinks responsibly 	Guardian of Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goes to church Boyfriend <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has only 1 girlfriend, a girl his age Advisor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is educated Has self respect Respects elders Has few friends Drinks responsibly and is never drunk 	Guardian of Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goes to church Advisor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is educated Respects elders Has self control (drinks responsibly) 			
Salambala (Rural)			Respect #2	Feasibility #3	Respect #3	Feasibility #2	Respect #4	Feasibility #5
Masubiya Traditional Authority			Guardian of Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Follows and respects tradition Provider <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has a house Husband/boyfriend <ul style="list-style-type: none"> May have a girlfriend or marry traditionally Advisor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has good relationship with his parents Has respect for others Is educated Drinks responsibly 	Guardian of Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attends church Provider <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is hardworking Advisor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is educated Has few friends Drinks responsibly Gives good advice 	Guardian of Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attends church Follows and respects tradition Advisor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Educates himself Has few friends Drinks responsibly Gives good advice 			

Focus Group	TRADITIONAL MAN (Hegemonic, low risk for HIV)	CURRENT MAN (High risk for HIV)	ALTERNATE 1		ALTERNATE 2		ALTERNATE 3	
			Respect #4	Feasibility #3	Respect #2	Feasibility #2	Respect #3	Feasibility #1
Wuparo (Rural) Mayeyi Traditional Authority	(Continues from above)	(Continues from above)	Guardian of Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goes to church Provider <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has a job or some source of income Has a house Husband <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is faithful to a girlfriend or a wife Advisor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Respects others Has good behaviour Is educated Drinks responsibly Gives helpful advice 	Guardian of Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goes to church Provider <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has a job Husband/boyfriend <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has a girlfriend or wife Advisor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Takes advice from elders Has self respect, respect for others Gives advice Is educated/looks to educate himself Has minimal entertainment Drinks occasionally 	Guardian of Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goes to church Provider <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has a house Is responsible for self and family Husband <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has a wife Advisor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is educated Has minimal entertainment 			

Table 3. Summary matrix of themes involved in masculinity construction, Caprivi, Namibia, 2013. Strength of association of factors with each masculinity construction (--- = no association, + = weak association, ++ = strong association), by relative frequency of report in focus group data.

	New Man (18-24 years old)	Alternate (18-24 years old)
Societal Context		
• Hegemony of Traditional Man	+	++
• Traditional Institutions		
○ Traditional beliefs, witchcraft	++	+
○ Church	+	++
• Poverty	No differential association	
• Consumerism, media driven	++	+
• HIV/AIDS awareness	+	++
Social Influences		
• Influence from men		
○ male peers	++	+
○ older males	---	++
• Influence from women		
○ female peers	++	+
○ older females	---	++
Strategies and Rewards		
• Adoption of new community		
○ Few friends (peers)	---	++
○ Many friends (peers)	++	---
• Pursuit of sexual conquests	++	-----
• Procreation/Fatherhood		
○ No children	---	++
○ Few children (1)	---	+
○ Multiple children (>1)	++	---
• Social recognition/ validation		
○ Guardian of Culture	---	++
○ Advisor	---	++
○ Provider/Big Man	++	+
○ Husband /Master of Harem	++	+
○ Father/ Sire	++	+

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CONCLUSION

The behaviors that drive HIV transmission in Eastern Caprivi, as some researchers have found in other parts of southern Africa, are related to a complex interaction between culture, history, economics, social change, and gender. Evolutionary changes in these factors, as noted in this study, create stress upon gender relations, and provoke re-evaluation of prevailing notions of masculinity. When this happens, particular opportunities are opened to interventions to resolve the resulting crisis in positive ways.

Most intervention programs directed at the roles of men and masculinities in HIV transmission work to redress important problem behaviours and gender-inequitable beliefs of men that underlie those behaviours. These interventions are important, but they are, unfortunately, framed too narrowly in the context of fixing something that is wrong with men (the entire concept of masculinity “transformation” is based on this presumption). Much less often do they address gender relations from a different, but probably equally important angle: supporting men for what they commonly do that is beneficial to themselves, women, children and their societies. It appears that interventions are rarely developed for groups and communities in southern Africa to examine the ways that many young men are being successfully nurtured to be responsible adults, are being endorsed by their communities, and are reducing their HIV risk behaviour, and it is rare that interventions actively work to strengthen such *indigenous* systems for promoting positive behaviours. For young men who are eager for resources with which to construct their masculine image in culturally approved ways, such interventions may be more instructive of how to achieve social affirmation of their masculinity

than may be messages focused on the ways in which they are failing at their obligations as men.. This study suggests that self-respect, social recognition, and endorsement by society are the rewards that young Caprivi men value most, and if presented with opportunities to empower themselves and be seen as forces that “build communities”, it is likely that most young men would sooner choose to enact masculinities beneficial to themselves and others, rather than masculinities with lesser benefits, or that would be seen as “bringing the community down.”

There is a critical need to consider how HIV interventions may give greater empowerment to men to overcome their risk behaviours, not simply by telling them what not do, but by building the reward systems that help them to become what their cultures and societies most value and expect from them, and that support them in becoming what they, as individuals, most aspire to become. A suitable intervention may be one that at once combines rewards for lower risk masculine conduct most endorsed by the society, and that at the same time supports safe, capacity-building in young men, focusing them on their development so that they focus less on exploiting their sexuality as the most accessible resource for constructing masculinity.

Limitations of the study

A possible limitation of this study is that the theoretical framework is derived principally from focus group data, rather than from diversely-sampled individual narratives. It is possible that focus groups may have produced data that were more homogeneous than may have resulted from individually-sampled perspectives. This study attempted to reduce such an effect by purposively recruiting and sampling focus group participants in their communities. Unfortunately, though

recruiters were asked to use their knowledge of an individual's risk behaviour or attitudes in selecting recruits, it was not possible to directly assess the outcome of this effort, as participants were not asked to reveal their individual gender beliefs and attitudes during the interview process. It is also possible that even with a successfully-varied sample, verbal expression of diversity could have been hampered by focus group dynamics, and that a particularly conservative and 'hegemonic' view point consequently dominated discussions. The researcher, being a foreigner, may not have perceived subtle acts of group or individual censorship. He depended upon the interviewers in his team, all being from Caprivi communities, to be sensitive to cues of such conduct, but they reported no suspicions to him.

Nonetheless, there are indications that some diversity was captured within groups, and that non-'traditional' attitudes did get expressed. The data do reveal the candid expression of some risk-associated attitudes among participants (i.e. expressed sympathy with rapists), as well as intimate knowledge of some participants of the conduct of transactional sex – suggesting possible personal experience with the behavior.

This study's definition of a culturally-appropriate and desirable model of lower-risk masculinity for young Caprivi men warrants further investigation. It is possible that the cultural "compatibility" of the proposed Alternate masculinity, constructed as it was in a hypothetical context, may bear little relation to its actual acceptability in Caprivi's communities. The possibility of such hypothetical bias was recognized, but needs further research to be verified.

Finally, this study limited itself to examining the discourse between young men, and did not incorporate the discourses of young women. The researcher recognizes the importance of women to the building of masculinity, and of their power to reward various configurations of it

more so than others, particularly in contexts of poverty, where men who provide may “win” women’s endorsement more readily than those who cannot (Bhana & Pattman, 2011). The four women who participated in this study provided strong indications that women’s perceptions of both Traditional and Current Man masculinities are not different than those shared by the men in the study. However, as masculinity does not exist in the absence of femininity, understanding women’s roles in the reconstruction of both Traditional and Current Man masculinities, and their roles in the support and development of alternative masculinities deserves closer attention.

Recommendations for further research

Further research is needed, particularly to investigate the hypotheses proposed by this preliminary study using theoretical sampling of individual young men who enact behaviors associated with the alternate masculinity. It will be important to identify their individual motivations, validate their support systems, the specific ways in which they do (or do not) lower their HIV risk behavior, whether their masculinity construction is, indeed, achievable by many, or just a few young men, and whether its rewards would make it marketable at a broader scale.

This study’s suggestion that there is growing social recognition of Current Man masculinity’s unsustainability, by Caprivi society and of its high maintenance costs also warrants further investigation. It is not unexpected that communities have begun to mobilize to defend themselves against conduct that they feel is “bringing the community down” and it would be useful to explore the ways in which the community does this, how the agitators in this regard are supported, and the effects that their actions are having. The loss of *community* affirmation of

high-risk “manhood”, as suggested in this study, could potentially lead to failure of Current Man masculinities, and provoke their adaptive reconstruction in more positive directions.

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A. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

MEN, MANHOOD AND ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS IN CAPRIVI, NAMIBIA For use in Focus Group Discussions with MEN

Overview: This instrument is intended for use with Focus Groups. It provides the overall guidance for conducting semi-structured interviews, and for guiding the data collection effort to ensure that data pertinent to each of the research questions are obtained to the extent possible. Though the questions used in the guide are standardized, probes may be expanded or transformed as directed by the responses of participants.

Who should use it: Paired peer educators in Caprivi conservancies and towns, volunteer staff from partnering organizations and other project staff who have been trained in qualitative interviewing and group facilitation techniques.

Who is the target population: Rural and urban men of Eastern Caprivi region, aged 18-24 years who have (1) been sampled according to protocol, (2) been appropriately screened for eligibility, and (3) provided written consent to be interviewed.

Approximate length of time for administration: 2 hours.

Materials for ONE focus group discussion:

- 2 copies of Focus Group Discussion Guide
- 12 copies of Participant Survey
- 25 copies of Informed Consent Form
- 12 self-adhesive badges for participant number IDs, and interviewer names
- 1 copy of Focus Group Ground Rules to post visibly before each group
- 1 Flip Chart
- 3-6 colored markers
- Tape or other adhesive to post flip charts on a wall; if conducted in the open air, place flip charts on the ground and use stones to hold down/in place.
- Digital audio recorder
- Microphone
- Notepad
- Pens for note-taking
- Snacks and drinks for 12 participants (individually-packaged, if possible)

Environment:

Interviews in rural sites (conservancies) may be conducted in the open air, provided that, in the cases of both focus group and individual interviews, interviewing is conducted at a distance from most housing, on-lookers, and background community noise.

Interviews in urban sites must be conducted to the extent possible in context-neutral locations (i.e., school classrooms and community center conference rooms, for example, but preferably *not* in clinics, hospitals, counseling and testing sites, churches, etc. However, it is possible (and perhaps desirable) to conduct such interviews at sites recognized by most local men as a “mens’ hangout” or (for women) in a “women’s hangout” – provided that such sites have a space that is amenable to group interviews, and that an invitation to interview at such a site would be acceptable to all targeted subjects.

Instructions for Use:

1. Complete the Participant Survey and the Informed Consent documents with each participant in advance of the meeting, and outside the meeting environment, whenever possible. This is important both to protect the confidentiality of responses of each participant as well as to screen participants to ensure that all participants in a given group will be able to communicate comfortably in the same language. Make sure that each participant receives a blank, unnumbered copy of the informed consent document.
2. Confirm that the recruiters have organized between 8-10 participants who can fully converse in English and/or Silozi. Avoid creation of groups with smaller or larger numbers of participants. Be sure that recruits are men of a variety of backgrounds, jobs, education and incomes, and that all participants in a given group fit the description of just one of the four strata identified in the table, below.

Focus Groups	RURAL			URBAN
	Mayuni	Wuparo	Salambala	Katima Mulilo
Age Group	18-24 yrs	18-24 yrs	18-24 yrs	18-24 yrs
No. of FGDs	(1) Male	(1) Male	(1) Male	(1) Male
Education	Mixed (no education to secondary & tertiary)			

3. Seat participants in a semi-circle so that they can see and interact with each other, as well as with the interviewer. This also makes it easier for their voices to be picked up by the microphone.
4. Give each participant a self-adhesive badge with his correct participant ID number. Instruct participants to place this label on their shirts where they can be seen by other participants. Interviewers also wear these badges, but must write their names on them.
5. Go through Focus Group Ground Rules with participants. Post these on wall or elsewhere as a reminder.
6. Introduce use of a “talking stick,”¹² authorizing the possessor to speak. Stress the importance of speaking **one at a time** so that their voices are clearly recorded. Also stress importance of politely allowing others to express their opinions, of avoiding background discussions, and of always announcing their participant number when they speak.
7. Complete all questions on the guide in the allotted time. If participants are fully engaged and are willing, you may extend interview by 30 minutes to complete remaining questions.

WORK IN PAIRS

Each member of the pair assigned to a focus group has his/her own responsibilities. One member is the primary facilitator and interviewer – the person who is primarily responsible for listening to and interacting with the group and asks the questions, passes around the microphone, animates the discussion, and who is principally responsible for generating the interview data. The other partner is much more in the background, but plays a very important supportive role in three (3) ways: caring for minor logistical issues,

¹² Some concepts and elements of this guide have been adapted from a facilitation guide developed by Engender Health, Inc., *Engaging Boys and Men in Gender Transformation: The Group Education Manual*. See also <http://www.engenderhealth.org/pubs/gender/>.

careful listening, and analysis. Logistical issues: this person has the responsibility of ensuring that the microphone and recording device are ready for use and are functional; that all documents and interview materials have been distributed and properly collected and stored for submission to the PI and research team; and for ensuring that light refreshments have been set out and made available to all participants from the start of the interview session. Listening: during the course of the group interview, this person has the responsibility to listen carefully to not only the questions (including prompts) that the facilitator asks, but to the responses given by the participant (what he says/does not say), and to note where a question was not fully answered, or where more probing can/should be done that will be of benefit to the study. This person should then immediately communicate to the facilitator that the question/issue might be revisited and probed in greater depth. If the partners agree (beforehand), the supporting partner may occasionally interject at appropriate times during the interview and probe the questions, directly. Analysis: during the interview, the person in the supporting role also has the duty of recording notes on the conduct of the interview, itself. These are known as *reflexive notes* and are used as a tool to analyze the way in which the interviewers themselves, the interview environment, the manner of questioning, language and comprehension challenges, and other variables may all be influencing the ways in which participants respond. The analysis can also include observed group dynamics, tensions (or lack thereof), and possible power levels in the group that are influencing responses and either increasing, or reducing the quality (depth, breadth, variety) of the data that are being collected. This analysis is very important for later interpretation of the data and its limitations.

IMPORTANT REMINDERS:

- The “prompts” on this guide are not supposed to be asked as though they were questions on a survey. There is no need to ask all of them. They are merely *suggestions* to you as the interviewer to assist you in gathering pertinent data, and can be used, especially, if the interview seems to be losing focus or energy and needs to be re-directed or stimulated. Otherwise, you are encouraged to ask your own probing questions that based directly upon information that the participant provides during the interview.
- Listen carefully to the things that participants say in response to your questions, and encourage them to explain themselves as fully as possible.
- Be sure to ask questions “Why?” “When?” “How?” and “What if...?” These questions generate the “richest” and most informative data.
- Ask other participants whether they agree with opinions that have been expressed, and if so, why, and if not, why not. This generates the greatest diversity of responses and instructs on important levels of variation of the concepts gathered during the study.
- DON'T do all the talking, yourself. Promote and encourage expression of opinions by every participant. Remember that this is a focus group *discussion*.
- Protect and support the right of participants to (politely) disagree with each other. It is not necessary for a focus group to reach consensus on any given issue. The variety of opinions and concepts that come out in the discussions is very important to the research.
- Encourage participants to take their refreshments at the start of the interview and perhaps during a scheduled break during the discussion. Discourage taking refreshments during the discussion as movement from the group distracts from group concentration and reduces recording quality.

CONCLUDING THE INTERVIEW

- Thank all participants for their time and their contributions to this research.

Section 1: Identification of components of the “hegemonic” masculinity construction in Caprivi. (20 min)

- 1. Imagine that I am your young adult son (or your brother, or your friend). You want me to “act like a man.” As my father (brother, friend), what do you tell me to do in order to show that I am man?**

[LIST ALL OF THEIR IDEAS – ASK FOR ACTIONS, THINGS THAT YOU SHOULD DO]

- Do I need to be strong? -- What do you mean by “strong?” What must I do to show that I am strong?
 - Must I be brave/ fearless?
 - Must I be in control? How does I show that I am in control? Of whom? Of what?
 - Do I need to have a job?
 - Do I need to get a girlfriend? Just one? More than one? How many is enough?
 - How about a wife? Just one? More than one? How many is enough?
 - Do I need to have a child to show that I’m a man? Just one? How many? Am I more of a man if I have more children?
 - How about drinking beer, or whisky with my men friends? Do I need to be able to “hold my liquor?” Why? And should I drink more than, less than, or the same as my friends?
 - Are there other things that I can do to prove that I am a man that we didn’t list yet?
- 2. Is this the type of man that most men in your community are really trying to be, or that they most want to be?**
 - Do you think that most men in your community would agree that the man you described here is someone they most want to be? Why? Why not?
 - Do we need to add some qualities that are missing? Do we need to take some away?
 - 3. Do you think that your description of the “man that most men want to be like” has always been true in your community, or are some of the items on your list new? Are some of the ways of thinking about this type of man changing?**
 - If no changes, what causes them to stay the same?
 - If changing, which ways of being a man seem to be changing?
 - How are they changing – in what ways?
 - Why are they changing? What do you think is causing the changes?

Section 2: Identification of the competing/alternative masculinities. (30 min)

4. **Let's look again at what I have to do to be considered a man that other men want to be like and that women want. [REVIEW LISTED ITEMS FROM Q1 and Q2].**

What if I can't do all of these things? Are there things that I can do to show that I am a man that other men can want to be like, but that are *different* than some of the ways on this list?

[MAKE NEW LIST FOR THIS "DIFFERENT" MAN]

Prompts:

- What can we take away from this list and still make me a man that other men want to be and that women also value?
- **Are there NEW and different things that we should add?**
- **Since I am not a perfect man, are there some things from the earlier list(s) that you will "forgive," if I keep them? You will still respect me, even with these faults?**
- Who has stronger influence on men in our community: the first man, or the man that we're now looking at?
- Does everyone agree with these items on the list?
- If you agree, why do you think so?
- If you disagree, what are your reasons for disagreeing?

[CONTINUE TO REPEAT QUESTION (Q4), UNTIL GROUP HAS EXHAUSTED IDEAS OR NO LONGER SEES ANY NEW MASCULINITY AS "RESPECTABLE/CULTURALLY ACCEPTABLE."]

Section 3: Causation and Processes (30-40 minutes)

Let's talk about our relationships with our women. Let's look at each of these types of men that we've identified and tell me what you know about each:

[REVIEW THE QUALITIES OF THE FIRST TYPE OF MAN]

5. **With all the qualities on this list that I possess as this type of man, what kind of relationships should I be looking for with women?**

Prompts:

- What kinds of women and relationships with women am I likely to have?
- Which do I want to have?
 - a wife (formal or customary marriage),
 - an informal wife (living as though married),
 - a steady girlfriend,
 - a long-distance occasional girlfriend,
 - a one-time casual sexual partner,
 - sex worker
 -others?
- Which type of relationship is the most important for me if I am this type of man?
- Which is next most important? Why?
- Do I need or should have some relationships at the same time?
- Why or why not?
- Are there some types of relationships that I definitely do not want? Are there some that I try to avoid? Why or why not?

6. **How do I form the kind of relationship that I want with EACH type of woman that I choose on this list?**

- Which of my behaviors on the list do I use to attract and make EACH type of relationship? How do I use them?
- Do I want to choose women who are all my own age? Women who are older? Women who are younger? And why do I choose such women?
- Whose opinion is most important to me in shaping the type of relationship that I form with a woman? Why?
- Do I get help in choosing and maintaining the different kinds of relationships? How does it work?

[REPEAT Q5 AND Q6 FOR EACH OF THE TYPES OF MEN THAT WERE IDENTIFIED PREVIOUSLY].

7. **Do you know of a cultural label (or stereotype name) for each of these types of men?**

Section 4: Identification of reward/positive feedback mechanisms (30 min)

8. **Think of a man that you know who fits the description you've given of the "man that most men want to be like." If I am like this man -- how do other *men* behave toward me?**

[Go to the FIRST MAN. List POSITIVE and NEGATIVE feedback that may be received]

Prompts: -

- What do other men do to help me be this kind of man? What qualities on the list do they help to create or strengthen in me?
- When or under what conditions will men help me in these ways? Why?
- What behaviors or qualities on the list become stronger when they encourage me?

- Is there a quality or behavior on your list that I do that some men may not like or support?
- When other men do not approve of me, or stop supporting me, how do they show this? What do they do? Why?
- What behaviors or qualities on my list become weaker when they don't encourage me?

9. **How do you think *women* behave toward me if I am this kind of man?**

[List POSITIVE feedback, and NEGATIVE feedback that may be received, if any]

Prompts: -

- What do women do to help me be this kind of man? What qualities on the list do they help to create or strengthen in me?
- When or under what conditions will women help me in these ways? Why?
- What behaviors or qualities on the list become stronger when they encourage me?
-
- Is there a quality or behavior on your list that I do that some women may not like or support? When women do not approve of me, or stop supporting me, how do they show this? What do they do? Why?
- What behaviors or qualities on the list become weaker when they don't encourage me?

[CONTINUE TO ASK Q8 and Q9 for each of the other masculinities]

10. **Which of these masculinities is most respected and admired in your culture? Which is second,? which is third,? etc.**

- Why?

[END]

B. DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

MEN, MANHOOD AND ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS IN CAPRIVI, NAMIBIA PARTICIPANT SURVEY

Overview: This instrument is intended for use with all participants in the study. It is used to collect minimal demographic information on participants and to ensure that the sample represents an adequate mix of these demographics.

Who should use it: Paired peer educators in Caprivi conservancies and towns, volunteer staff from partnering organizations and other project staff who have been trained in qualitative interviewing and group facilitation techniques. This survey should be completed after the participant completes the informed consent and agrees to participate. The **interviewer should read the questions** to the participant in a private and confidential environment. The name of the participant should NOT be recorded on this document; only his/her participant number should be recorded here.

Who is the target population: Rural and urban men of Eastern Caprivi region, aged 18-24 years who have (1) been sampled according to protocol, (2) been appropriately screened for eligibility, and (3) provided written consent to be interviewed. This survey is also used by individual Community leaders.

Approximate length of time for administration: 5 minutes.

PARTICIPANT NUMBER: _____
(Copy from Informed Consent form)

- Focus Group Interview participant
- Key Informant participant

Check the appropriate category:

1. Age group:

- 15-17 Years
- 18-24 Years
- 25-49 Years

2. Location:

Town	Conservancy
<input type="checkbox"/> Katima Mulilo	<input type="checkbox"/> Wuparo
	<input type="checkbox"/> Salambala
	<input type="checkbox"/> Mayuni

3. Preferred language (circle one or more): English Silozi Other: _____

4. Highest educational level that you have reached:
None Primary (1-6) Middle (7-8) Secondary (9-12) Tertiary (13+)

5. Do you currently have a way to earn money? _____ (yes/no)
If so, what is your occupation? _____

6. What is your current marital status? (check all that apply):

Married (legally or by custom) _____
Living as married _____
Married with partner other than spouse _____
Not married with steady partner _____
Single with casual partner _____
Single (incl. divorced/widowed), no partner _____

Other: _____

C. INFORMED CONSENT

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS HEALTH SCIENCE CENTER - HOUSTON

Men, Manhood, and Romantic Relationships in Caprivi
HSC# SPH-12-0412

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THIS RESEARCH FOR KEY INFORMANTS

You are invited to participate as a key informant in a new research project called "Men, Manhood, and Romantic Relationships in Caprivi." Mr. Mark Shepard is the Principal Investigator for this project from the University of Texas Health Science Center. You are being asked to participate because of your professional and/or cultural position in Caprivi society, and your knowledge of customs, traditions, and gender norms in Caprivi. You may be invited to participate in a second interview if one interview is not sufficient to capture your knowledge and beliefs on this topic. You will then be asked a second time whether you agree to be interviewed or not.

This research project has been approved by the Research Management Committee of the Ministry of Health and Social Services in Windhoek, as Protocol Number "17/3/3," and by the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects (CPHS) of the University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston as Protocol Number HSC-SPH-12-0412.

DESCRIPTION OF THIS RESEARCH:

This study examines gender attitudes of young men, 18-24 years of age, in Caprivi. The study is concerned with discovering the ways that men this age feel that they should behave in order to be seen as "men" by their culture and society, how they view other men's behavior, and how they feel about the desirability of different ways of being a "man" in their society.

This study particularly seeks to understand how different ways of thinking of being a "man" may influence the types of relationships that Caprivi men choose to have with women. It is apparent that some relationships are less healthy for both men and women, and this study seeks to understand the ways in which culture and society support and value different ways for men to express their manhood, such that some seek out unhealthy partnerships with women, while others do not. At the end of this study, we hope to have a better understanding of the cultural and social forces that promote a healthier and more positive masculinity. This information could be used in new health promotion programs to target gender norm change and the reduction of men's entry into unhealthy relationships.

PROCEDURE:

As a key informant, you will be asked to talk to about your understandings of Caprivi men and



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culture. You will not be asked any questions about your own beliefs, attitudes, or behaviors. You will be interviewed by a team of two persons in a setting in which you feel comfortable and free to speak. One member of the team will ask questions, the other will take notes and operate an audio recording device. We would like to record the interview so that we can listen carefully to your thoughts and ideas at a later time, and do not miss or forget any important information. Your thoughts are never shared with anyone in your community, and we will never use your name on the recording.

TIME COMMITMENT:

If you are willing to participate in this study, we will ask for about 1 hour of your time.

BENEFITS:

There is no direct benefit to you for taking part in this study. However, your participation and your ideas may help us to find useful ways for community-based programs to encourage men to enter into healthier romantic relationships with women.

STUDY WITHDRAWAL:

You do not have to take part in this study. Even if you agree to participate now, you may change your mind and stop the interview at any time. If you participated in the study once before, and are asked to give another interview, you have the right to participate or not to participate again, as you choose. You are free to ask any questions at any time, and you may refuse to answer any question that you do not want to answer.

CONFIDENTIALITY:

You will not be personally identified in any reports or publications that may result from this study. No personal information about you will be gathered during this interview.

Please understand that representatives of the Ministry of Health and Social Services, and the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects at the University of Texas Health Science Center may review this study's research records for the purposes of verifying research data, but will not be able to identify you as a key informant. No other person, except the Principal Investigator, will see such information.

FEEDBACK ON FINAL STUDY RESULTS

The results of this study will be provided to the office of the National HIV Prevention Coordinator Ministry of Health and Social Services in Windhoek, as well as the director of the



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regional office in Katima Mulilo, Caprivi, and will be presented to the Sangwali, Bukalo, and Mashi Traditional Authorities representing the conservancies that participated in this research.

IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS:

You may contact the principal investigator, Mr. Mark Shepard, if you have questions or concerns about this study: Tel. (061) 400-761 Cell. (081) 6161-366 E-mail: mgspshepard@gmail.com or mark.g.shepard-perry@uth.tmc.edu

This research project has been reviewed by the Republic of Namibia Ministry of Health and Social Services (MoHSS, ref 17/3/3) and the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects (CPHS) of the University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston (HSC# SPH-12-0412). For any questions about research subject's rights, or to report a research-related injury, call the CPHS at +1-713-500-7943, or the Office of the Permanent Secretary, MoHSS, at 061-203-2510.



IRB NUMBER: HSC-SPH-12-0412
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D. KEY INFORMANTS

MEN, MANHOOD AND ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS IN CAPRIVI, NAMIBIA For use in KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Overview: This instrument is intended for use with individual Community leaders. It provides the overall guidance for conducting semi-structured interviews, and for guiding the data collection effort to ensure that data pertinent to each of the research questions are obtained to the extent possible. Though the questions used in the guide are standardized, probes may be expanded or transformed as directed by the responses of participants.

Who should use it: Paired peer educators in Caprivi conservancies and towns, volunteer staff from partnering organizations and other project staff who have been trained in qualitative interviewing and group facilitation techniques.

Who is the target population: Adult rural and urban men and women of Eastern Caprivi region (18 years and older) who work with government or non-governmental organizations involved in development, social change, and HIV or sexual and reproductive health work in Caprivi. Targeted persons must provide written consent to be interviewed.

Approximate length of time for administration: 1 hour.

Materials for ONE Key Informant discussion:

- 1 copy of Key Informant Discussion Guide
- 1 copy of Participant Survey
- 2 copies of Informed Consent Form
- 2 self-adhesive badges: for (1) participant number ID, and (1) interviewer name
- Digital audio recorder
- Microphone
- Notepad
- Pens for note-taking
- Snacks and drinks for 2 (optional)

Environment:

Interviews in rural sites (conservancies) may be conducted in the open air, provided that interviewing is conducted at a distance from most housing, on-lookers, and background community noise.

Interviews in urban sites may be conducted at a location convenient to the interview subject, often at his/her own workplace.

Instructions for Use:

1. Complete the Participant Survey and the Informed Consent documents with each participant in advance of the meeting, Make sure that each participant receives a blank, unnumbered copy of the informed consent document.
2. Recruit up to 10 Community leaders as detailed in the table, below.

Focus Groups	RURAL			URBAN
	Mayuni Conservancy	Wuparo Conservancy	Salambala Conservancy	Katima Mulilo town
Age group	18-24 years	18-24 years	18-24 years	18-24 years
No. Of FGDs	(1) All-male	(1) All-male	(1) All-male	(1) All-male
Key informants (Community Leaders)	Traditional Authority (1) <i>Induna</i>	Traditional Authority (1) <i>Induna</i>	Traditional Authority (1) <i>Induna</i>	
	(1) Teacher, (3) health care workers (male and female nurses, HIV counselor); (2) CBNRM development workers; (1) religious worker **			

3. Seat participants in a semi-circle so that they can see and interact with each other, as well as with the interviewer. This also makes it easier for their voices to be picked up by the microphone.
4. Give the participant a self-adhesive badge labeled with a participant ID number corresponding to the numbered Informed Consent form. Instruct participants to place this label on their shirts where they can be seen by other participants. The interviewer may also wear a badge (optional), but must write his/her name on it.
5. Complete all questions on the guide in the allotted time. If the participant is fully engaged and is willing, you may extend interview by 30 minutes to complete remaining questions.

Only one interviewer is needed to conduct the Key Informant interview. This person will have the responsibilities of facilitating the interview (interacting with and asking questions of the interview subject), and also of taking care of logistical issues (ensuring that the microphone and recording device are ready for use and are functional; that all necessary documents have been signed, properly collected and stored for submission to the PI; and for obtaining light refreshments, if necessary). The interviewer is also required to document his/her *reflexive notes* at the close of the interview to analyze the way in which the interviewer himself, the interview environment, the manner of questioning, language and comprehension challenges, and other variables may all be influencing the ways in which participants respond. This analysis is very important for later interpretation of the data and its limitations.

IMPORTANT REMINDERS:

- The “prompts” on this guide are not supposed to be asked as though they were questions on a survey. You are encouraged to ask your own probing questions that based directly upon information that the participant provides during the interview.
- Listen carefully to the things that participants say in response to your questions, and encourage them to explain themselves as fully as possible.
- Be sure to ask questions “Why?” “When?” “How?” and “What if...?” These questions generate the “richest” and most informative data.

- Encourage detailed responses to questions, but ensure that responses remain relevant to the questions, and do not lose focus. If this happens, gently bring the participant back to the main topic, perhaps by saying “To make sure that I’ve understood you correctly, can you please summarize again your response to my question?” Then repeat your research question.

CONCLUDING THE INTERVIEW

- Thank the participant for his time and contributions to the research.
1. **Based on your experience living in Caprivi, and working with men and women in this region, how would you describe the type of man that most men in Caprivi are trying to be?**
 2. **Some people say that men are acting in accordance with their culture/traditions when they try to be this man. In your opinion, is this way of being a man really part of culture and tradition, or does it come from something else? Why do you think so?**
 3. **Why do you think that most men are trying to be this kind of man? What benefit is there to them?**
 4. **Do other men play a role in promoting this way of being a man? If so, how? If not, why do you think so?**
 5. **Do women play a role in promoting this way of being a man? If so, how? If not, why do you think so?**
 6. **Based on your experience, do men or do women have stronger influence on shaping the way that most men behave? Why do you think so? Are there other influences beyond these two? (i.e., entertainment media, etc.)**
 7. **Has the way that “most men” behave been changing, or has it been staying the same, over time? Why do you think so? What is causing things to change (or to stay the same)?**
 8. **Think of 3 men that you know, personally, who behave differently than “most men” in your community, but who are well-respected by the community. Which one of these men is the**

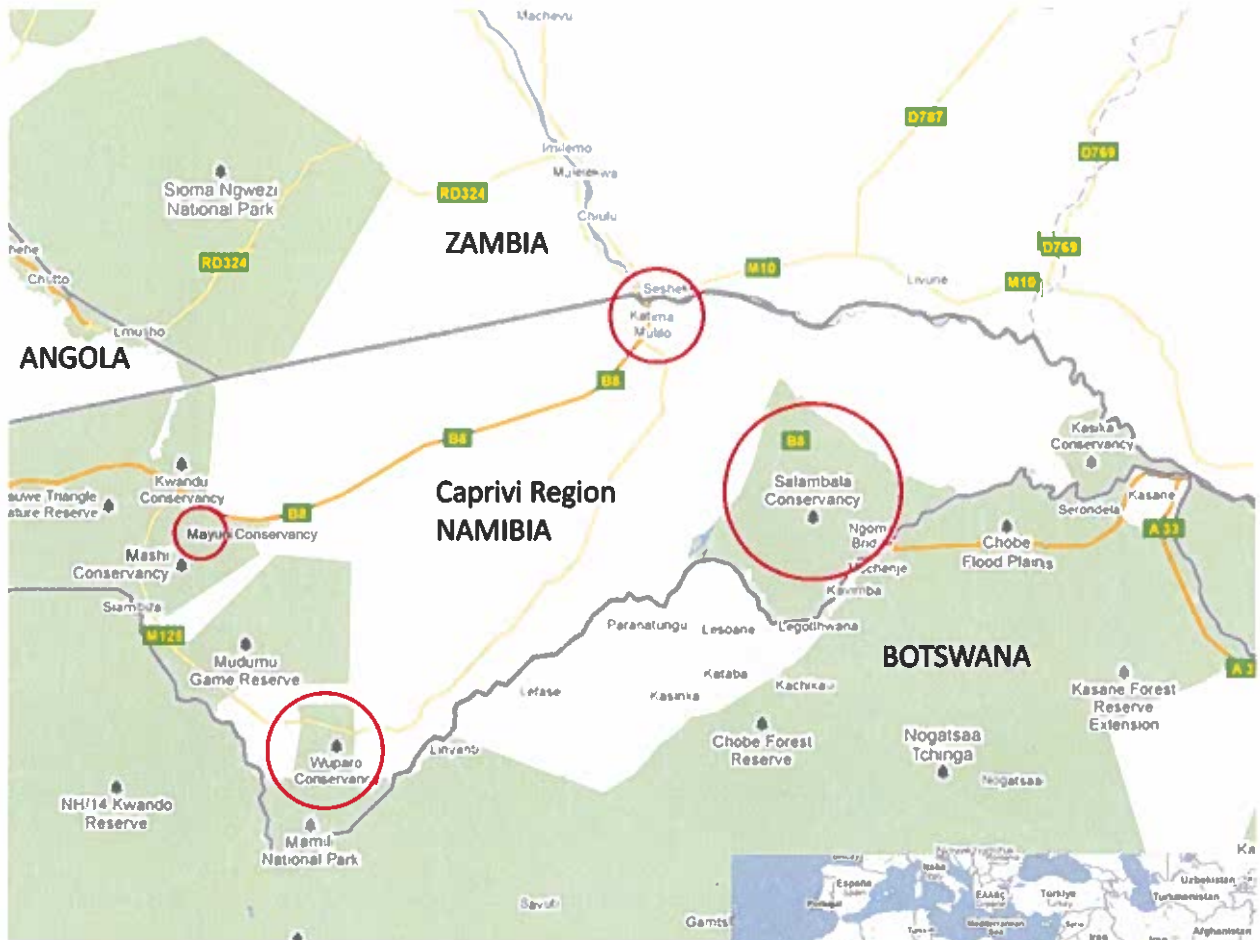
most respected by the community? Why? What does he do that makes him more respectable than the other two? Which is the next most respected, and why?

9. Do you think that there are many such men in your community, or is such a man rare/uncommon? Why do you think so?

10. What benefits are there to a man to try to be so different from "most men?" Do you think that "most men" would agree with you that these are benefits that they would value?

END

E. MAP OF STUDY AREA
EAST CAPRIVI REGION, NAMIBIA



Source: www.maps.google.com



