

# Toxic Masculinity and Intimate-Partner Violence amongst men in North India: Issues of definitions, measurement and associations

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# Background

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# Intimate-Partner Violence (IPV)

*“Any behavior within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological or sexual harm to those in the relationship”*

- Heise and Garcia-Moreno (2002)

- Highest proportion of ever violence by WHO region is in South Asia with 37.7% women reporting IPV
- High level of VAW but also female infanticide resulting in a skewed sex ratio (940 females/1000males (India 2011 census))
- New programs targeting men and boys. We need to know if these impact ‘rigid or harmful or toxic masculine ideology’. Which we define here as “internalized idealized cultural beliefs” (Wedgwood 2009). Typically done using GEMS (Gender-Equitable Men Scale) which tries to capture a belief system around ‘masculinity’





# Masculinity- Theoretical Underpinning

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Masculinity is not the same as gender. It is possible for some females to be “masculine” or some men to be “feminine”. It is linked to an ideology and there are many types of masculinities (e.g. subordinate, hegemonic, marginalized etc.). Hence making it necessary to assess and capture changes in harmful aspects of masculinity....

The theory of Masculinity in this presentation is driven by some of Connells (1995, 2005) work:

- “All societies have cultural accounts of gender, but not all have the concept ‘masculinity’”
  - “Masculinity does not exist except in contrast with femininity”. Historically, women were seen as inferior, lacking capacity for reason
  - Theory of gender relations as being about Power and Labor
- As per Nanda et al. (2014) it constitutes behavior (relationship control) plus ideology (as measured by GEMs)

# METHODS

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# Study design

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- The survey was conducted by ICRW in collaboration with UNFPA.
- Surveyed a total of 9,205 men aged 18-49. Of these 6081 were married.
- Multi-stage sampling- 75 PSUs in each state of which 44 rural and 31 urban. There were 22 men per PSU creating a representative sample
- The following 7 states across India: Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra
- These were chosen because of their large size in terms of population, diverse demographic compositions and their varying sex ratio trends.

# Results of the original study

It adapted the IMAGES methodology to obtain a deeper understand of masculinity's intrinsic relationship with son preference and intimate partner violence in seven Indian states (Nanda et al., 2014).

Used 26 items to create an index of attitudes towards gender equal norms

Combined the scores of 9 questions of 'relationship control' with that of 'attitudes to gender equal norms' to obtain three categories of masculinities: equitable, moderate, rigid

## Multi-variate regression results:

Determinants	Odds for Men	
	Odds Ratio	Confidence Interval
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitudes and Relationship Control)		
Equitable ( <i>Reference</i> )		
Moderate	1.09	0.94 – 1.26
Rigid	1.35**	1.15 – 1.57

Note: \*Significant at 95%; \*\*Significant at 99%

Adjusted for age, education, residence type, wealth index, caste, religion, type of family, economic stress, childhood experience of violence, perception of law, knowledge of violence laws.

# GEMS

Our focus is on having a measure of toxic or harmful ‘masculine ideology’ and seeing how this relates to instances of IPV

Brazilian measure of gender equitable men's (GEMs) scale has 24 items and 2 subscales: equitable and inequitable (Pulerwitz and Barker, 2008). The India adaptation had 15 items, 11 original items and 4 new items specific to the country.

GEM scale in the Indian context has to be modified and shows no correlation with violence in a study done by Promundo and ICRW (Barker et al., 2011); Similar concerns in other settings (Gotttert et al., 2016)

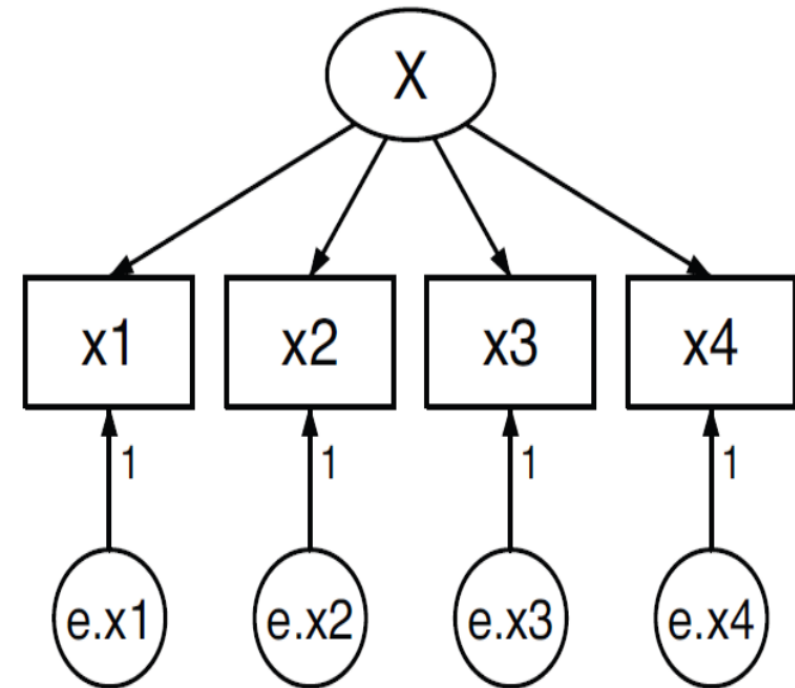
India	Physical violence against partner ever	Physical violence against partner in the last year	Sexual violence ever	Sexual violence in a group ever	Total Respondents
<b>Age</b>					
18-24	16	7	11	0	55
25-34	34	19	30	1	327
35-49	40	19	34	0	420
50-59	49	21	17	1	127
<b>Education</b>					
No Formal Education	<i>43</i>	<i>27</i>	28	0	135
Up to Primary Class V	<i>52</i>	<i>29</i>	29	1	96
Primary to Senior Secondary	<i>38</i>	<i>20</i>	25	1	343
Beyond Senior Secondary	<i>30</i>	<i>12</i>	22	0	355
<b>GEM</b>					
Low Equity	39	20	<i>27</i>	1	214
Moderate Equity	39	19	<i>26</i>	1	575
High Equity	29	14	<i>14</i>	0	140
<b>Work Stress</b>					
No	<i>30</i>	<i>12</i>	30	0	356
Yes	<i>43</i>	<i>24</i>	27	1	529
<b>Total</b>	37	19	24	1	

Cells where percentage figures appear in red italicized print represent those associations that were statistically significant at a  $p < .05$  level.



# Latent variables:

- Latent variables are unobserved variables that we wish we had observed. They can be thought of as a composite score of other variables. They are represented by ovals. The variable X is a latent variable in this path diagram.
- ‘Toxic Masculine ideology’ here is a latent variable but is being treated as an observed variable
- Does not account for measurement error
- Despite large number of items we are unsure if the ‘index’ is valid
- Average reliability (alpha < .68 or .7)



# Issues with the current analysis plan and how to fix it:

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## Issues:

- Creates an index which treats 'masculinity' as though it's observed
- The factor structure does not hold- CFA using GEMS- does not fit the variables
- Too many measures- cumbersome to carry out a survey when you're not sure what the responses capture

## Solutions:

- Treat 'masculine ideology' as a latent variable
- Carry out a EFA/CFA to find a factor structure that holds using a pre-set criteria to develop a scale
- Use PCA (principle component analysis) to reduce dimensions



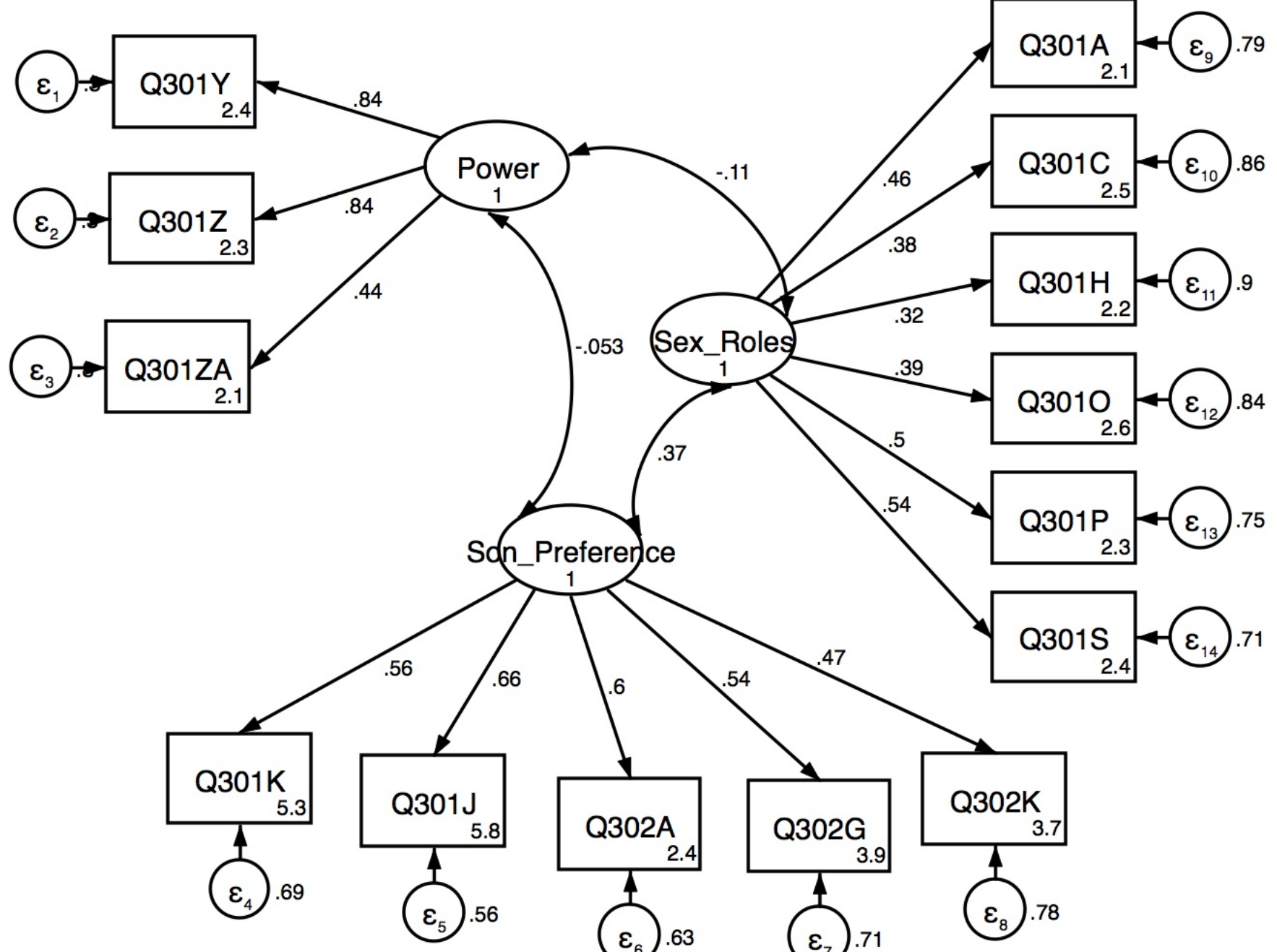
# Methods for developing a measure of 'toxic masculine ideology'

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- PCA using all items- GEMS plus more questions that capture cultural belief system around male roles and masculine ideology
- EFA on all 9000+ men- Based on theory, the scree plot and parallel analyses we specified 3 factors
- Used oblique rotation to account for correlation between factors and improved fit
- Item selection was based on:
  - To determine the factor structure to be retained we used the following criteria: (1) interpretability (i.e., the extent to which items within each factor seemed to be tapping into a common theme), (2) factor loadings that were  $>0.35$ , and significance,  $p < 0.05$  (3) adequacy of reliability of each factor
- GSEM to test validity- i.e. association between components of 'toxic masculine ideology' and IPV
- Normality of observed exogenous variables is never assumed with GSEM.

# Results

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# New Scale

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## **Factor 1 Power and control**

- Daughters/sisters can select the person whom they want to marry
- Daughters/sisters can decide when they want to marry
- Daughters/sisters can ask for share in the natal property

## **Factor 2 Son Preference:**

- Not having a son reflects bad karma
- A man with only daughters is unfortunate
- Fathering a male child shows you are a real man
- Having a daughter is a financial burden/loss
- A couple has good reason to put a female child for adoption

## **Factor 3 Division of Labor & sex roles:**

- Women's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family
- There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten
- To be a man, you need to be tough
- A woman should obey her husband
- I think that a man should have the final say in all family matters
- A woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband

# Convergent Validity: Association between toxic Masculinity and IPV

## GSEM results for association between the three latent constructs and IPV

Latent Variable	Odds ratio	CI
Power	1.602133**	1.48 1.73
Sex Role	.5852742**	.41 .83
Son Preference	.5971408 **	.52 .68

\*\* p<0.005; unadjusted correlation

# Discussion

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# Limitations and Strengths

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## **Strengths:**

- Explore a measure of 'toxic' masculinity' or 'toxic masculine ideology' in the Indian context adding an important aspect of gender-preference in addition to key domains in sexual relationships, reproductive health, disease prevention, and violence.
- Uses a rigorous study design- a large representative sample
- No cross loading

## **Limitations:**

- Self-reported measures of IPV and masculine ideology
- Measures 'masculinity' at an individual level- whereas it is a greater cultural phenomenon and part of a societies 'cultural unconsciousness'. Institutional masculinities and power structures are not explored
- EFA results are promising but need to be done on another independent sample and CFA
- Only men in north India
- Alpha measure/reliability is not ideal. Alpha is not low but not very high at .65
- Measurement invariance tests needed

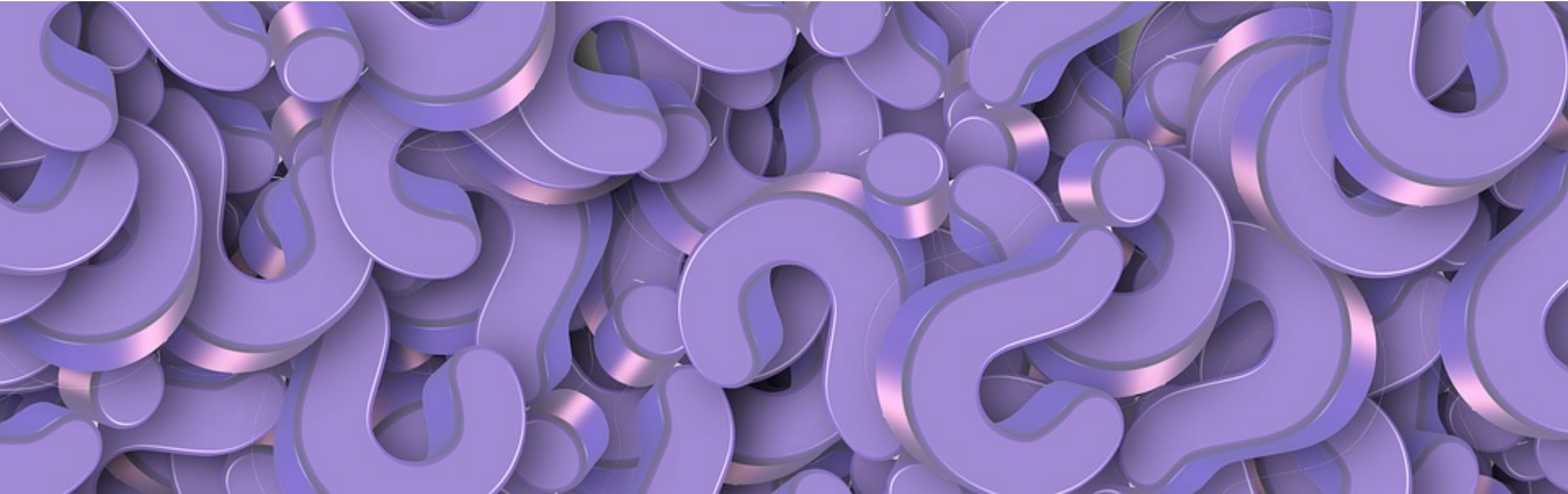
# Significance and next steps:

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- The study has the potential to lead to a measure of toxic masculinity specific to the Indian context
- May improve on the current factors in the GEM framework- which are limited to equity and inequity
- Can help us study links between ideology and behavior- to see how those relate
- Having a measure helps in making changes for men an actual outcome. The tool can be used to see if interventions can lead to changes in ideology and if these are then actually linked to changes in behavior

# Thank you! Questions?

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# Key References

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Barker, G., Contreras, J.M., Heilman, B., Singh, A.K., Verma, R.K., and Nascimento, M. Evolving Men: Initial Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES). Washington, D.C.: International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Promundo. January 2011.

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