

PRACTICING WHAT YOU PREACH

Accountability as a critical enabler to reducing gender-based violence and violence against children in a community mobilization trial in rural South Africa

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BACKGROUND

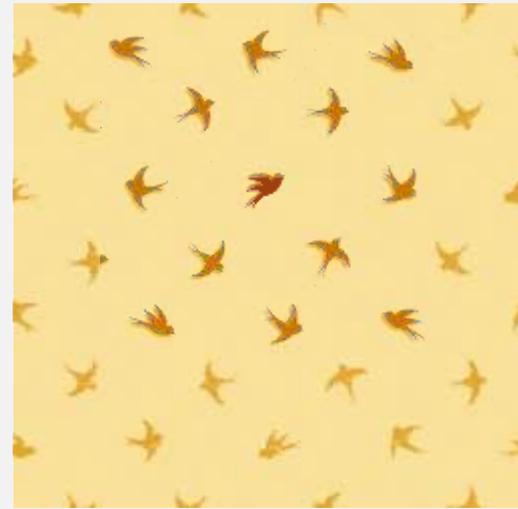
VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Extremely high rates of intimate partner violence, non-partner sexual violence, violence against children and assault

Gender-transformative programming as primary prevention



PREVENTION APPROACHES: ADDRESS STRUCTURAL DETERMINANTS



ONE MAN CAN

- Gender, Power and Health
- Gender and violence
- Gender & HIV/AIDS
- Alcohol
- Healthy relationships
- Human rights
- Taking action



COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION

- Inherently a community process
- “Activities that target and aim to empower individual community members should be distinguished from community mobilization efforts which seek to construct a **collective** entity out of a group of individuals.” Evans et al. 2010

A defined or shared concern/problem

Community sensitization or critical consciousness

Organizational structure with links to networks

Leadership

Collective or shared activities/actions

Social Cohesion

CLUSTER RANDOMIZED CONTROL TRIAL

- **Design:** Village level randomization (N =22): 11 villages received CM and 11 control villages
- **Goal:** Promote gender equitable behavior through community mobilization
- **Target Group:** Men 18-35
- **Content:** Gender transformative programming developed in collaboration with Sonke Gender Justice
- **Activities:** Workshops, leadership meetings, activities
- **Timeline:** 2 year intervention (May 2012-June 2014)

RCT FOUND SOME PUZZLING RESULTS

- 33% of men in intervention villages participated in at least one two-day workshop; and 2/3 had high exposure to OMC
- Improvement's in men's gender equitable norms, but not women's
- Non-significant decrease in IPV victimization in the last 12 months but no change in men's perpetration

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

- **Qualitatively explore individual and community-level facilitators and barriers to individual-level changes in use of violence using longitudinal qualitative data**

METHODS

QUALITATIVE STUDY DESIGN

	2012			2013				2014		
Intervention	X									
Mobilizers (n=13)			X							X
CATs (n=11)			X							X
Community (n=14)			X				X			X

PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

	M	F	Description
MOBILIZERS (n=13)	7	6	OMC employees hired to conduct workshops, community activities, leadership and community engagement
CATS (n=11)			Volunteer groups supporting the mobilizer's activities. Groups ranged in size from 3-9 CAT members. CATs were mixed gender but generally more women than men.
COMMUNITY MEMBERS (n=14)	8	6	Community members who had participated in OMC workshops were recommended for participation by mobilizers

DATA COLLECTION & ANALYSIS

- In-depth interviews and focus groups
- Audio recorded, simultaneously translated and transcribed
- Coded

MATRICES

ID	Type	M/ F	Time 1	Time 2	Thoughts about Change
XX	MOB	F	She describes why violence stays hidden; no violence in her house; improved her communication; used to hit child;	GBV rare in her community; has a hard time stopping hitting her child-- expresses guilt but also a bit defensive (child did something wrong/only do it inside the house)	Struggling with disciplining her child without yelling or violence

ANALYTIC MEMOS

Theme: Accountability

Group: Community Mobilizers

Interpretation

Code Occurrence by Gender/Time
Code Co-occurrence

Illustrative Quotes

Sarah Yeeva Kegan
Analytic Memo

Accountability - Community Mobilizers

Unlike many individual-level behavior change interventions, community mobilizers underwent these changes in the context of a trying to change the norms and behaviors of their fellow community members. This means they underwent a deeply relational process along with others, family members, community leaders who may or may not be sharing the process. Further, they affirmated the process in an explicitly public way - both because mobilizers were from the communities in which they were mobilizing and therefore community members knew them and how they used to act and how they currently acted. How reported having to struggle against their "former selves", if they had a history of violence, and serve to the community that they no longer acted that way.

All the male mobilizers, but almost none of the female mobilizers, identified being held accountable for their actions by the community was a significant motivator to change. Being affirmed in their work and receiving (or becoming) respected in their community related to "walking the talk" or acting in the way in which they are encouraging other community members to act. This included having better conflict management, avoiding conflict all together, not using violence in their homes or out in the community, reduced alcohol use and reducing their number of sexual partners. This seemed to be a significant driving force of personal behavior change as mobilizers reported being community member's respect or being "unrespected" by participants if they acted in a way that contradicted DMC messages.

It could be that female mobilizers felt less accountable as the violent behavior that they were trying to change happened more in the private sphere, specifically against their children. Many of the men reported having challenges maintaining non-violent behavior; one woman talked about using violence towards her children but only doing it privately and only when he did something wrong.

Number of mobilizers who discuss accountability and number of times accountability discussed by gender and wave of data collection

People	Accountability No of People	Accountability No of Quotes
Men Time 1 (n=7)	6	8
Men Time 2 (n=7)	4	7
Women Time 1 (n=5)	1	2
Women Time 2 (n=5)	1	0

Code co-occurrence table

	Accountability
V6.0 ANTECEDANTS OF NON-VIOLENCE	0
V6.1 Communication	3
V6.2 Empathy	2
V6.3 Respect	2
V6.4 Harm Reduction/Concrete alternative	0
V6.5 Accountability	—
V7.0 BARRIERS TO NON-VIOLENCE	0
V7.1 Resistance from others	4
V7.2 Personal challenge	4
V7.3 Structural barrier	0
V7.4 Need time to change	3
V8.0 SOCIAL NORMS CONTEXT	0
V8.1 Religion	0
V8.2 Community structures	0
V8.3 Economy	0

Illustrative quotes

I find do you talk like in some neighborhoods in DMC Men Can't? It has a link because I've been taught about this and it was, it should not be there but this. So I want to be someone to people that I'm teaching. If I call things to people it should be what I'm doing that's something and not being a. Because when people look at me, they know that I'm being what I tell people. (M083)

(1)

I where... can you give me a story on what you have done that is counter to DMC ideas?

F: For example, well... to negotiate one it was not an easy thing. But now I am able to do it, I am able to negotiate now and I don't demand it. I negotiate it and I know that concepts do exist... it is by all means in every time I have one I have to be so focused and I don't force it, it's like that we agree on together.

F: Where... how do you talk this with your involvement in DMC?

F: Definitely this is a big thing I got from DMC. It doesn't bring anything when I tell people that you need to be negotiated and don't do it. Well... I must walk the talk. I have to be what I tell people. DMC has taught me that one needs to be negotiated and it makes me be precise it with my partner. I don't have to tell people and not precise it. I do precise it, so even when I tell them that they I do it and you have to do it to not demand. You know, but not to say do it and what about the because I have to do it well. So I can be able to tell others to do it.

F: Where... what do you think that the community would think about this?

F: Well... you know, many people don't agree... but I do negotiate one because I give examples... when we talk about healthy relationships I give many examples, I give examples they give back at me like from what we do. Many people don't believe that I do negotiate and I understand I was violent in my girlfriend I think I was 17 years old... and but her with a mark here... JD: he was pointing the star because I was demanding you, you know. Some are still reminding me about it even now... JD: we agreed yes it was a mistake what I did and it doesn't mean that when I'm done a mistake I won't be able to fix that mistake I did. And you have other mistakes so why don't you fix them. (M0809)

(1)

I Can you describe a time in the past near the when you realized you acted in a way that was against the DMC ideas about gender equality? Like having unprotected sex outside of a girl with your partner.

F: Yes it once happened and it happened during December time every time I make sure that I arrive at home early but that day I needed the car and when I delayed to return home and I didn't drink and my wife is not used that, so we started to have a discussion about that time.

RESULTS

ACCEPTABILITY OF VIOLENCE

- **Increased knowledge and awareness** about different types of violence (esp. about **violence against children** and **emotional abuse**)
- Reported knowing how to avoid being violent (e.g. conflict resolution) and how to respond if saw violence (e.g. call police)
- Some **ambivalence** about acceptability of violence

CHANGES IN VIOLENCE

- **Reported changes in violence** against children, negotiating sex, male-on-male violence, arguing and some intimate partner violence
- **Most compelling narratives of change come from mobilizers**

CHANGES IN VIOLENCE

- *“I was unable to keep calm when I am angry. If I argue with my sister, I used to beat her. I used anything that I could to throw...to hit the person. At home I was harsh on children if I sent them to do something and they took a long time. I sometimes hit the child because I thought the person has disrespected me. **Now there is a change because I don't bother anyone...**”*

Male CAT member

Community Structures (e.g. religion, traditional leadership, etc.)

Shared Vocabulary

Dose/Role

Gender Norms

Reduced Violence

Accountability



GENDER NORMS

- *“We made a mistake when we took **women as half human**, when we are not taking them as human beings like us.”*

Male Mobilizer, Time 1

UNLEARNING VIOLENT BEHAVIOR

- ***It is difficult to change... it is not an overnight thing ... You are not perfect. I'm not either. I argued with my younger brother, and then I promised to beat him, you see. So, I feel like I violated him. And I was angry because I warned him many times to not do what he did, but he didn't listen to me ... So it happened. (Male mobiliser, Time 2)***

***Is this why we didn't see expected outcomes in RCT? We weren't specific or inclusive enough in our measures?**

SHARED VOCABULARY

*“After One Man Can taught us, we also **took this message and spread it further** – to tell other people and encourage them.”*

Male Community Member Time 1

*“**There is no one who doesn’t know about One Man Can**, even old people will tell you about it.”*

Male Community Member Time 3

ACCOUNTABILITY

*“For example, eeh... to negotiate sex it was not an easy thing. But now I am able to do it, I can able to negotiate sex and I don’t demand it....**It doesn’t help anything when I tell people that sex needs to be negotiated and I don’t do it. Eeh... I must walk the talk. I have to live what I tell people...***

Male Mobilizer Time 1

*“People will say **I’m making them fools** because I don’t practice what I preach.”*

Male Mobilizer Time 2

CHANGING IN PUBLIC

*...Many people don't believe that I do negotiate sex. I remember I was violent. **I beat my girlfriend.** I think I was 17 years old... And left her with a mark because I was demanding sex, you know. **Some are still reminding me about it even now...**"*

Male Mobilizer Time 1

OUT-PACING THEIR PEERS

- *“Previously I had to have three or four girlfriends at the same time. So since I joined OMC, I saw the risks of having multiple partners and also understand the pain that is there...when a person cheats on you....so I have changed there and had one girlfriend. The relationship failed and **maybe she didn’t understand me because of the lifestyle I have now.** So where it led me to be single again for one year and six months now...”*

Male Mobilizer Time 2

COMMUNITY PUSH BACK

- *“Because still there are men who don’t want to swallow the privileges that we were given by grannies and face truth, **there are some men who believe that gender equality is for white people. It’s a western life not for black people.** Though we are trying to engage them and there are some who are involved and see that it’s a good thing. **But there are still some who thinks it humiliates them.**”*

Male Mobilizer, Time 1

DISCUSSION

LIMITATIONS

- Not a true baseline
- Social desirability bias

IMPLICATIONS

- Gender-transformative programming promising for reducing IPV and violence against children
- Community mobilization strategy bolstered message and support, but did not address all barriers
- Accountability a critical factor in maintaining behavior change
- For those with a history of violence, may need additional supports to unlearn behavior and reduce stressors

PARTNERSHIPS

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Sonke Gender Justice



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