The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

College of the Liberal Arts

EXPLORING THE NATURE OF GENDER-EQUITABLE ATTITUDES

AMONG GHANAIAN MEN: A MIXED METHODS STUDY

A Dissertation in

Sociology

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

August 2009

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Abstract

Gender inequality in sub-Saharan Africa has far-reaching implications; fertility, mortality, sexual behavior, infant health, and domestic violence are all negatively impacted by inequalities between men and women. Gender gaps in education depress economic growth in the region, and scholars and practitioners alike assert that the amelioration of gender inequality in Africa is critical for further development on the continent. Because the preponderance of research on gender in sub-Saharan Africa examines women's perspectives, we do not know the full extent to which African men endorse gender equity, or the best approaches to gaining men's support for greater equality. In the discourse, men are often treated as homogenously problematic and resistant, rather than as a potential source of support for gender equality and gender-focused policies.

Through a mixed methods approach, this study utilizes 33 in-depth interviews with gender-equitable Ghanaian men and the 2003 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (2003 GDHS), to identify the processes through which some Ghanaian men develop gender-equitable attitudes within this male-dominant context. Using social cognitive theory as a framework to investigate the life course experiences that shape men's gender-equitable attitudes, an exploratory analysis of the 2003 GDHS reveals that men's gender attitudes differ by men's individual, family and environmental characteristics. In-depth interviews with gender-equitable Ghanaian men reveal that natal families, schooling environments, and peer relationships influence the emergence of gender-equitable attitudes. Additionally, men can develop more gender-equitable attitudes in adulthood through experiences that replicate familial, peer, and schooling socialization. As specified by social cognitive theory, men's personality characteristics are also important, as these influence how individuals understand and interact with their environments. Life course experiences work cumulatively to cultivate the emergence of gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men.

This study also explores the nature of gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men. Specifically, it identifies how Ghanaian men embody their gender-equitable attitudes, and the social costs and benefits of living out these attitudes. Respondents share a set of core beliefs that guide their gender-equitable perspectives, and a commitment to exhibit these values in their daily lives. Gender-equitable Ghanaian men experience a number of social costs as a result of their gender-equitable perspectives, but respondents agree that the personal benefits of their gender attitudes outweigh these costs.

This study provides guidance as to where crucial intervention points exist for shaping greater gender-equitable attitudes among men, and offers a constructive commentary on current gender-related policy and programmatic interventions in the region. Also, these findings expand empirical and theoretical understanding of men and masculinities in sub-Saharan Africa, and contribute to the deconstruction of the pervasive assumption that all African men are barriers to gender equity.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my foremost appreciation to my committee members who supported this research endeavor and encouraged my growth as a scholar in countless ways. Their insightful feedback, enthusiasm, and professionalism made the dissertation process an enjoyable one. In particular, I would like to thank my advisor, Francis Dodoo, who showed unwavering faith in my abilities as a social scientist, gave me incredible freedom to explore my research interests, and consistently pushed me beyond my own self-expectations. In addition, as Director of the Regional Institute for Population Studies (RIPS) at the University of Ghana, he was essential to the success of the data collection for this study.

I would also like to thank Gordon De Jong, who went above and beyond his duties as a committee member in numerous ways, and Paul Amato, who provided remarkably helpful feedback on the quantitative analyses at multiple stages of this project. I must also thank Michael Johnson for guiding my study of feminist theory and men and masculinities, which greatly shaped this study. Special thanks also go to Carolyn Sachs; her expertise in qualitative methods was a tremendous asset.

I would also like to thank those who played an integral role in my fieldwork in Ghana. I received financial support from several Penn State institutions including: The Africana Research Center, The College of the Liberal Arts, and The Department of Sociology. In addition, I received financial, technical, and logistical support from the Regional Institute for Population Studies (RIPS) at the University of Ghana. I would also like to thank RIPS students Naa-Dodua Dodoo and Enoch Hanockh, who offered me their friendship during my three months in Ghana. Most importantly, I extend many thanks to the 33 gender equitable Ghanaian men who entrusted me with their stories.

Also, I give thanks to my good friend Jennifer Buher-Kane who mentored me through the quantitative component of this dissertation. She offered me technical guidance, moral support, and unending patience. Additionally, I would like to thank Judith Bedford, my mother-in-law, who copy-edited my entire dissertation in less than a week. Your contributions were priceless.

I have been extremely fortunate to have a wonderful group of women with whom I traveled the entirety of the graduate school experience. Elisa Rustenbach, Julie VanEerden, and Kristin Burnett are dear friends who have picked me up after setbacks, celebrated my successes, met me for weekly happy hours, and reminded me that above all else in life, one must prioritize fun.

Additionally, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my mother, Kathy Frost, and my father, Jim Frost. My achievements are a direct result of their unconditional love and support. Throughout my life, my mother has shown me the incredible power that women possess, and my father has demonstrated that men, too, can be feminists. I thank my sisters, Michelle and Heather, and my brothers-in-law, K.C. and Travis, for your support. I love you all.

There is one person who deserves my appreciation above all others. To my husband, Jason Bedford, thank you for your kindness, patience, love, and support. Not only did you spend three months in Ghana in a one-room dorm with me, but you carried the burden of cooking and cleaning in our household while I worked feverishly to meet deadlines. Without you, none of this would have been possible.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Arguably, no world region experiences greater gender inequality than sub-Saharan Africa. According to the UNDP's gender-related development index, a composite index that compares literacy, education, income, and life expectancy inequalities between men and women, sub-Saharan African countries represent an astounding 32 out of the 33 most gender unequal countries in the world (Watkins 2005). Gender inequalities in education have both direct and indirect negative impacts on economic growth in the region; during the 1990s, between 0.4% and 0.9% of the differential growth rates between sub-Saharan Africa and East Asia were attributable to gender inequalities in education (Klasen 1999). Beyond educational and economic consequences, gender inequity also has additional far-reaching implications for women's wellbeing, influencing fertility, mortality, sexual activity, infant health, and domestic violence among other things (Buor 2003; Caldwell 1990; DeRose, Dodoo and Patil 2002; Dodoo and van Landewijk 1996; Rani, Bonu and Diop-Sidibe 2004). Scholars and practitioners alike assert that an attenuation of gender inequality in Africa is crucial for further development on the continent, and significant foreign assistance and multiple international policy initiatives are already directed toward the rectification of inequalities between men and women.

Yet despite considerable international attention to gender issues in Africa, men's perspectives are largely absent from the discourse on gender inequality on the continent (Connell 2003; Miescher 2005; Morrell and Ouzgane 2005). Almost by definition, men in gender unequal societies hold considerable authority, and any lasting shift in the gendered distribution of power in Africa requires the support of men. Yet we do not know the full extent to which men endorse greater gender equity, the basis of their resistance (Goode 1992), or the best approaches to gaining men's support for greater gender equity. In the discourse men are often treated as homogenously problematic and

resistant, rather than as a potential source of support for equality and gender-focused policies. Particularly in developing country contexts where research funding is limited, the considerable variability of gender attitudes among boys and men remains unexamined (Guttman 1996). According to Barker and Ricardo (2005), "African young men are often stigmatized, and seen as criminals, delinquents or potential or actual troublemakers or predators. The language used to refer to young men—particularly low income, urban-based young men—in the African context is often pejorative" (2). This negative representation of African men works in conjunction with the assumption "that men cannot change their ways, that 'boys will be boys,' that rape, war, sexism, domestic violence, aggression or self-centeredness are natural to men" to create significant obstacles to change (Connell 2003:6). Many current approaches to address gender inequality on the continent do not take into consideration that men and boys are in fact the "gatekeepers for gender inequality," as gender inequality is integral to social definitions of masculinity and men's gender identities (Connell 2003:4). Moving toward more gender-equitable distributions of power inevitably requires men to rethink traditional notions of masculinity, and to change the nature of their relations with women and girls.

This study of the nature of gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men has two broad aims. First, it identifies the processes through which some Ghanaian men develop gender-equitable attitudes within the prevailing male-dominant context. Through an exploration of these processes, this research provides guidance as to where crucial intervention points exist for shaping greater gender-equitable attitudes among men, and offers a constructive commentary on current gender-related policy and programmatic interventions in the region. A number of studies have explored the experiences of gender-equitable men (including profeminist or antisexist men) in developed countries (Barker 1998; Christian 1994; Cornish 1997; Goldrick-Jones 2002; Vicario 2003; White 2008), and to a smaller extent, in developing countries (Barker 2000; Barker and Loewenstein 1997; Barker 2005). These studies have identified multiple pathways through which men in these contexts can

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develop gender-equitable attitudes, despite prevailing male-dominant norms. However, little research has explored how men develop gender-equitable attitudes in sub-Saharan Africa; an extensive literature review of the subject matter produced only one preliminary study of gender-equitable men in the region, which includes just four case studies of men who were identified as gender-equitable in Nigeria and Uganda (Barker and Ricardo 2005).

The second broad aim of this study is to explore the nature of gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men. Specifically, this study examines how men conceptualize and embody gender-equitable attitudes, and the social costs and benefits of living out these attitudes. This research aim expands empirical and theoretical understanding of men and masculinities in sub-Saharan Africa, and contributes to the deconstruction of the pervasive notion that all African men are barriers to gender equity. While studies in Great Britain, the U.S., and Australia have explored the experiences of men who embody feminist perspectives in developed countries (Digby 1998; Goldrick-Jones 2002; Schacht and Ewing 1998), and additional research has explored the diversity of masculinities in sub-Saharan Africa (Miescher and Lindsay 2003; Morrell 2001), no known research has examined how some African men actively embody gender equity. Through a mixed methods approach, this project addresses four specific purposes:

1. I investigate the sociodemographic characteristics that are associated with gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men using the preeminent source of demographic data in Africa (The 2003 Ghana Demographic Health Survey).

2. Through in-depth interviews with gender-equitable Ghanaian men, I explore men's experiences over the life course that influence the development of gender-equitable attitudes.

3. I examine the meaning of gender equity among gender-equitable Ghanaian men, and identify the personal costs and benefits experienced by gender-equitable men as a result of their attitudes toward women.

4. I discuss the implications of these findings for the field of men and masculinities, and provide recommendations for policy and programming that address gender inequality in this context.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant for a number of reasons. It contributes to the theoretical underpinnings of gender and development initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa, expands the body of knowledge on the construction of men's gender identities within the African context, and utilizes innovative methods to study gender-equitable men. In recent years, a handful of development initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa have begun to recognize the critical role that men play in perpetuating gender inequality and its related social ills, such as high fertility, domestic violence, and the spread of HIV/AIDS (DeRose, Dodoo and Patil 2002; Pulerwitz et al. 2006; Rani, Bonu and Diop-Sidibe 2004). In response, organizations have created ad hoc programmatic strategies to cultivate more gender-equitable attitudes among men (Odendaal 2001; Peacock 2003; Varga 2001). However, because there is little scientific research that explores the nature of men's gender-equitable attitudes in sub-Saharan African countries, the theoretical basis for this programming does not exist. This research may contribute to the development of this theoretical basis, and thus improve the efficacy of initiatives aimed to encourage gender-equitable attitudes among African men.

Also, due to the dearth of research on this topic, this study provides a unique theoretical contribution to the field of men and masculinities. Because Ghanaian masculinities are influenced by traditional gender ideals and expectations (Miescher 2005), as well as the residuals of colonization (Adu-Poku 2001), and the very real consequences of economic marginalization within global markets (Connell 2006), developing a better understanding of men's gender ideals and attitudes in this context contributes to the deconstruction of "identity based on gender essentialism," and further illustrates the socially constructed nature of masculinities (Adu-Poku 2001:165).

By integrating both quantitative and qualitative data, this study also offers an innovative approach to verifying men's uniquely gender-equitable attitudes. Previous studies have qualitatively investigated the life experiences of men who choose to join formal anti-sexist men's groups (Christian 1994; Goldrick-Jones 2002). However, this creates a significant selection effect, as men

must not only hold gender-equitable attitudes, but also be motivated to actively join an anti-sexist group in order to be selected into these studies. It is possible that the life experiences of these men are different from those of the larger population of gender-equitable men. Other qualitative studies only require that men self-identify as gender-equitable (White 2008). This causes additional methodological complications, as men's self-perceptions of their gender attitudes may differ from the attitudes they embody in their day-to-day lives. In other words, a man could perceive himself to be equitable, and simultaneously be living out male-dominant attitudes and behaviors. This study attempts to avoid both of these pitfalls by utilizing women who are involved in the women's rights movement in Ghana as key informants who recommended gender-equitable men as study participants. Additionally, respondents self-identified as gender-equitable prior to inclusion in this study. While this two-step respondent identification process does not preclude the possibility that women key informants could misidentify respondents, or that men's self-perceptions could overestimate their equitable attitudes, this sampling procedure improves upon prior qualitative studies of gender-equitable men.

Additionally, the most methodologically rigorous studies of gender-equitable men have utilized mixed-method techniques, identifying respondents through purposive sampling from a large sample of survey respondents (Barker 2000; Barker and Loewenstein 1997; Hurtado and Sinha 2008). However, no study has utilized national-level data on men's gender attitudes to evaluate the attitudes of gender-equitable respondents. Participants in this study completed a short questionnaire of 14 gender attitudinal measures that matched items in the 2003 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (2003 GDHS), which is the best available national-level data on men's gender attitudes in Ghana. By comparing the attitudes of gender-equitable respondents with the attitudes of men in the 2003 GDHS, this study utilizes cutting-edge mixed methods techniques to situate the attitudes of a small, qualitative sample of gender-equitable men within the larger population of Ghanaian men.

Organization of the Dissertation

   This study is divided into eight chapters. In Chapter 1, I introduce the study, provide a statement of the problem, and explain the significance of this research. In the following chapter (Chapter 2) I provide background on Ghana, and characterize the nature of gender inequality in the country. In this chapter, I also give an historical perspective on masculinities in Ghana and discuss ways in which current economic, political, and social environments on the continent are causing the tentative emergence of new masculine identities in a number of sub-Saharan African countries.

   In Chapter 3, I discuss the theoretical framework that informs this study. First, I explore the social construction of gender, and how "doing" gender theory and race-class-gender theory serve as the foundation of this research. Second, I discuss R.W. Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity, which specifies differences between hegemonic, complicit, subordinate, and marginalized masculinities. Although men uniformly have structural advantages over women as a result of patriarchal systems, not all men have power relative to other men. In order to address the socialization processes that cause gender-equitable men to develop their unique attitudes, I utilize the social cognitive theory of gender differentiation. From the field of psychology, this theory emphasizes an ecological perspective that incorporates multiple social influences, called gender subsystems, that shape the development of gender attitudes. According to social cognitive theory, families, peers, schooling environments, the media, and occupational systems contribute to the development of gender attitudes over the life course. I explore how these subsystems can influence the emergence of gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men. Additionally, I discuss the empirical findings of the few studies that have explored the lives and experiences of men who hold uniquely gender-equitable attitudes. In conclusion, this chapter reiterates the research questions that drive this study and discusses how these theories guide the empirical investigation.

   In Chapter 4, I discuss the methodological process that guides this research. First, I give the theoretical rationale for the mixed methods approach to this study and outline the purposes of both

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the quantitative and the qualitative components. Second, I detail the quantitative procedure for the analysis of the 2003 Ghana Demographic and Health Surveys (the 2003 GDHS). Third, I discuss the grounded theory approach of the qualitative component of this research, as well as the process I used to identify study participants, conduct in-depth interviews, and analyze data. Lastly, in order to verify the sampling of respondents for the qualitative component of this research—determine whether I successfully located uniquely gender-equitable Ghanaian men as respondents for this study—I compare the gender attitudes of men in the 2003 GDHS with the gender attitudes of the in-depth interview respondents (IDI men).

In Chapter 5, I discuss the sociodemographic predictors of men's gender-equitable attitudes in Ghana through an analysis of the 2003 GDHS (research purpose one). First, I provide the univariate descriptions of the sociodemographic variables I used to predict three dimensions of men's gender attitudes: attitudes toward domestic violence, attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy, and attitudes toward men's retaliation when their wives refuse sex. Second, I discuss the bivariate correlations between the dependent measures of men's gender attitudes and men's sociodemographic characteristics. Third, I discuss how men's sociodemographic characteristics (including individual, family, and environmental factors) are related to these three dimensions of men's gender attitudes in Ghana using multivariate regression analysis.

Chapter 6 provides a description of how gender-equitable Ghanaian men conceptualize gender-equitable attitudes. I describe what gender equity means to respondents, and how they work to embody these attitudes. Also, I discuss the many costs and benefits that men face as a result of holding unique gender attitudes (research purpose three). In Chapter 7, I examine three of the gendered subsystems that influence gender attitude development as outlined by social cognitive theory—family, education and peers—to identify the ways in which these systems can cultivate uniquely gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men (research purpose two). Additionally, I discuss the ways in which respondents' personalities also facilitate the emergence of their own

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gender-equitable attitudes, and how the adulthood influences in marriage and the workplace can significantly impact the gender attitudes of Ghanaian men. In the final chapter (Chapter 8), I address the fourth research purpose of this study, and I discuss the implications of these findings for the field of men and masculinities, and provide recommendations for policy and programming that address gender inequality in this context.

Due to the pervasive nature of gender inequality in sub-Saharan Africa, and the treatment of men as homogenous and problematic in the region, this mixed methods study makes a number of significant contributions. It identifies the ways in which some Ghanaian men develop gender-equitable attitudes over the life course, and explores how these men live out their unique beliefs within a male-dominant context. This research contributes to the theoretical and empirical understanding of men and masculinities in sub-Saharan Africa, informs gender-oriented policy and programming in the region, and presents methodological innovations in the study of gender-equitable men.

Chapter 2

BACKGROUND

This chapter first provides background on Ghana, including geographic information and its political history, as well as current population, economic, health, and educational trends. I briefly consider each of these topics from a gendered perspective. Second, in order to provide a background on the nature of gender relations in Ghana, I discuss gender inequality and its manifestations in the family and household, as some of the most entrenched forms of gender inequality in the country are in the private sphere. Specifically, I explore the traditional practices surrounding marriage and how these practices intensify gender inequality between men and women. Third, I outline the cultural and historical roots of masculinity in Ghana, including the effects of colonial rule on Ghanaian men and their gendered relations with women. Fourth, I explore contemporary masculinities in Ghana and elsewhere on the continent to determine how current economic, political, and global circumstances in Africa influence men's self-identities as well as their interactions with women.

Country Background

Ghana, located on the coast of West Africa, is bordered by the French-speaking countries of Côte D'Ivoire, Togo, and Burkina Faso. About 239,000 square kilometers, Ghana is approximately the size of the state of Oregon (CIA 2008). Geographically diverse, the southern coast includes tropical rain forest, while the middle of the country is dominated by savannah. The northern regions of the country are more arid and closer in resemblance to the Sahel belt that stretches east and west across the continent, along the southern edge of the Sahara Desert. The country is divided into 10 administrative regions: Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Greater Accra, Northern, Upper East, Upper West, Volta, and Western Regions. Ghana has a variety of natural resources and agricultural exports including: gold, cocoa, timber, diamonds, bauxite, and fish. It also has one of the largest water reservoirs in the world; Lake Volta in South Eastern Ghana covers more than 3,000

square miles. Much of the country's electricity is generated from Akosombo Dam, which was built in 1965, and forms the southern barrier of the reservoir.

In 1957 Ghana separated from Great Britain and became the first sub-Saharan country to gain independence from colonial rule. However, the legacy of this history still persists. The country's transition into independence did not occur smoothly; more than a decade of successive coups and intermittent democratic rule led to an eleven-year period between 1981 and 1992 under Jerry Rawlings, in which the constitution was eliminated and political parties were illegal (Gocking 2005). However, in the last 17 years, Ghana has experienced a new wave of political openness and peace; since 1992 the country has held peaceful democratic elections every four years with successful transitions of power in both the 2000 and 2008 elections. Women's role in Ghanaian politics was substantial during the independence period, although this was later stunted by militaristic rule in the 1970s and 1980s. However, women's involvement increased again during the constitution-making process (1991-1992), and it has modestly increased through the 1990s. During the 2000 elections women won 19 out of 200 seats in the parliament (Allah-Mensah 2007). Women maintain similar representation in parliament today, as 20 women won seats in the December 2008 elections.

Population Size and Distribution

With more than 23 million people, Ghana has seven predominant ethnic groups, including the Akan, Mole-Dagbani, Ewe, Ga-Dangme, Guan, Gurma, Grussi (CIA 2008). While Akans constitute 45% of the population, this group includes significant cultural, historical, and linguistic diversity. None of the other main ethnic groups constitutes more than 15% of the population (CIA 2008). As a result, ethnicity cannot serve as the "central organizing principle" of Ghanaian society (Lentz and Nugent 2000). In terms of religion, 69% of the Ghanaian population identifies as Christian (including Pentecostal/Charismatic, Protestant, and Catholic), while 16% of the population is Muslim, and 9% practice traditional African religion (CIA 2008). However, there is likely some overlap between these religious categories, as many people who identify as Christian or Muslim also practice traditional

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religion, as it is heavily intertwined with ethnic and familial identity. As a result, traditional religious observance is likely undercounted by these percentages.

High fertility and population growth continue to be barriers to development in Ghana. Although the total fertility rate has dropped from more than five births per woman in 1993 (Kirk and Pillet 1998) to 4.4 births per woman in 2003 (White et al. 2008), and preliminary evidence from the 2008 GDHS suggests that the total fertility rate is currently at 4.0 births per woman, this is still double the population replacement rate. Also, the high fertility rate combined with the youthful age structure of the population raise the potential for population momentum in Ghana—it is likely that the Ghanaian population will continue to grow for many decades to come (Gaisie 2007). Over 37% of Ghanaians are under the age of 14, and the median age for the country is just over 20 years old (CIA 2008). This places great burdens on working adults, who must support large families, as well as school systems and health services. While strategies to address high fertility in Africa have generally targeted women by improving access to contraception and reproductive health services, recent evidence suggests that at least some authority over fertility decision-making may actually fall in men's domain (Bankole 1995; DeRose and Ezeh 2005; Dodoo 1998b; Dodoo 1993).

<u>Economy</u>

Ghana's GDP per capita is one of the highest in the region, largely due to the country's exports of gold and cocoa (CIA 2008). However, the Ghanaian economy remains dependent on international financial and technical assistance, as well as remittances from the Ghanaians living abroad. The bulk of economic activity in Ghana revolves around agriculture, with more than 50% of the labor force working in this industry (CIA 2008). The majority of Ghanaians (66% of the population) are self-employed, selling or trading goods or agricultural products (Amu 2004). Much of Ghana's economic potential was hindered by political instability during the first two decades of independence; the country's per capita gross domestic product actually fell by 3% per year throughout the 1970s (Meredith 2005:283).

The Ghanaian economy showed relatively stable and moderate economic growth through the 1990s, and larger economic gains through this last decade. In fact, the portion of the population below the poverty line dropped from approximately 52% at the start of the 1990s, to 28.6% in 2006 (Mahmud 2009). While men continue to hold the preponderance of high status occupations in Ghana, the country has remarkably high economic participation among women, many of whom participate in the informal economy (Lloyd 1991). Because approximately 34% of households in Ghana are female-headed, the economic contributions of women are critical to not only overall economic growth in Ghana, but to the schooling, health, and nutrition of younger generations (Amu 2004).

Health and HIV/AIDS

While life expectancy remains higher for women than men (60.35 years for women, versus 58.65 years for men), there are a number of population health issues that disproportionately impact women (CIA 2008). Women experience risks associated with pregnancy and childbirth that men clearly do not, and this is compounded by poverty and poor access to medical facilities. While the maternal mortality ratio in developed countries is 6 out of every 100,000 live births, Ghana has an overall maternal mortality ratio of 214 per 100,000, with regions of the country experiencing up to three times this level (Apewokin 2007).

Women are also at greater risk than men of contracting HIV/AIDS. While Ghana maintains an HIV/AIDS adult prevalence rate under 3%, there are disparities between men's and women's rates of infection. The 2003 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey estimated national prevalence at 2.7% for women, and only 1.5% for men (GSS et al. 2004). Women are disproportionately affected by the disease, in part because of their greater biological propensity to contract the HIV virus, but also as a result of the social determinants that govern heterosexual relationships including cultural and sexual norms, educational disparities, and domestic violence (Quinn and Overbaugh 2005).

Due to disproportionate infection rates for men and women and the gendered disadvantages that women experience, men's sexual health is frequently overlooked. Young men have a greater

proclivity toward risky sexual behavior than young women. They experience sexual debut earlier, they have more partners, and they are more likely to report a sexually-transmitted infection than women (Varga 2001). However, men's risky sexual behavior is not solely a conscious choice; boys are socialized into gendered ideals that require the demonstration of sexual prowess (Foreman 1999). To some degree, boys and men are trapped by social pressure to conform to risky sexual norms (Bassett and Mhloyi 1991).

<u>Education</u>

Access to basic education in Ghana has expanded significantly in recent years, and gendered gaps between boys' and girls' schooling attainment are closing (UNESCO 2008). However, much of this progress is attributable to small increases in schooling opportunities for girls, and stagnating improvements in schooling access for boys (Lloyd and Hewett 2003); gender gaps are closing at the expense of boys. Also, these recent improvements in educational access for girls have not impacted persistent literacy and economic differences between men and women. A recent United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) study ranked Ghana 104th out of 140 countries on a composite index that compared inequalities between men and women on four measures: life expectancy at birth, adult literacy rate, primary, secondary, and tertiary school enrollment rates, and estimated earned income. Ghanaian women not only have had less opportunity to go to school and are less likely to be able to read than their male counterparts (66% of men and 58% of women are literate), but they also earn less income. And, according to this measure, inequalities between men and women in Ghana are more disparate than 73% of 140 countries worldwide (Watkins 2005).

Additionally, despite the investment of significant national and international resources into the expansion of public education in Ghana, access to education is still stratified by rural-urban residence and socio-economic status. The poorest quintile of children in Ghana account for nearly 40% of out-of-school children in Ghana, and untrained teachers are concentrated in the poorer, more rural regions of northern Ghana (UNESCO 2008). Disparities between the richest and poorest

students are great; the average educational attainment for 17 to 22 year olds in the richest quintile is 9.2 years, while the lowest quintile has an average attainment of 3.2 years of schooling (UNESCO 2008). Beyond access, there are additional issues regarding the quality of education that girls and boys receive in Ghana; fewer than 60% of young women who had completed six years of primary schooling could read a full sentence in their own language (UNESCO 2008). While significant progress has been made toward the achievement of universal primary education and the expansion of secondary and tertiary education in Ghana—and improvements are apparent, particularly in comparison with neighboring West African countries—between 2004 and 2007, there were still close to 1 million school-age children in Ghana who were not attending school (UNESCO 2008).

Gender Inequality in the Private Sphere

While Ghanaian men continue to hold the preponderance of power in the Ghanaian government and local economy (Salm and Falola 2002), gender inequalities found within the private sphere of the household are perhaps the most persistent in Ghanaian society (Adams and Castle 1994). The marriage process in Ghana establishes inequality between men and women that manifests in a multitude of ways—men hold significant power over fertility and childbearing (Bankole 1995; DeRose and Ezeh 2005; Dodoo 1998b), household resources (Adomako Ampofo 2000) and women's household labor (Clark 1994). The widespread nature of domestic violence is also an outcome of gender inequity within the household (Rani, Bonu and Diop-Sidibe 2004).

In Ghana marriage is considered an institution through which every adult should pass (Tetteh 1967). Connecting lineages as well as individuals, marriage acts as the cornerstone of social organization, impacting the political, economic, and cultural aspects of society (Amoateng 1989). Perhaps most importantly, however, marriage legitimizes childbearing, and thus formally recognizes young men's and women's passage into adulthood (Fortes 1978). "In Ghana, to suggest that children are the main reason for marrying is an understatement: they are the main reason for living" (Sarpong 1974). Even though new family forms such as the female-headed household have become more

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prevalent across the region in the last several decades (Cornwall 2003), marital practices that imbue men with a sense of traditional authority over their wives still persist.

Bridewealth payments, also referred to as 'customary rites,' are an integral part of the marriage process, and occur when the groom's family offers clothing, fabric, beads, household goods, imported products, drinks, as well as a negotiated sum of money to the bride's family (Aborampah 1999). Because payments are often substantial, they can take years for husbands to complete; therefore, rather than marriage being a delineated event, it is more processual in nature (Allman and Tashjian 2000; Meekers 1992). In fact, the final installment to complete the bridewealth payment can be withheld until a first child is born, thus formalizing the union, and affirming the central purpose of both marriage and bridewealth (Lesthaeghe 1989). In the event of divorce initiated by the wife, the bridewealth is expected to be returned to the man's family, dissolving the marital commitment and the ties between the families (Miescher 2005). If bridewealth costs are high, women are often trapped in abusive or unhappy relationships because they cannot afford to return the payments (Isiugo-Abanihe 1994). Therefore, the marriage process sets the stage for an imbalance of power between husbands and wives in marriage.

Gender dynamics and the relative power women hold within marriage are also influenced by other traditional marriage practices such as polygny (where men have more than one wife). Caldwell (1982) predicted that modernization and the expansion of education in sub-Saharan Africa would cause the demise of polygynous family forms. However, polygyny appears to persist in the region (Bledsoe and Pison 1994; Meekers 1992). Because polygyny is formally practiced through public marriages to multiple women, and informally practiced through men's extramarital relationships, customary (traditionally sanctioned) marriages in Ghana are potentially polygynous (Dodoo 1998a). In fact, a study of sexual networks in Ghana found that for 46% of men in rural areas, and 11% of men in urban areas, their last extramarital sexual relationship became a second (or subsequent) wife (Anarfi and Awusabo-Asare 1993). While polygynous marriages can provide some women greater

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autonomy from their husbands, they can also give women less leverage with regard to available financial resources for the family (Kandiyoti 1988). Because polygyny is a means for wealthier men to increase their family size (Klomegah 1997), the available resources for children of polygynous fathers are spread across additional wives and children.

Polygyny may decrease women's abilities to negotiate sex and childbearing. Because men can take an additional partner and women cannot, wives may be more likely to acquiesce to their husbands' desires for fear that they will look outside the marriage to meet their sexual and childbearing needs. Polygyny also has negative effects on women's health as it correlates with lower condom-use, increases exposure to STIs through increased concurrent sexual partnerships, and even has some adverse influences on women's mental health, increasing anxiety and depression (Bove and Valeggia 2009). Additionally, there is evidence that domestic violence may be more prevalent in both implicitly and explicitly polygynous marriages than in monogamous ones (McCloskey, Larsen and Williams 2005). Compounding these problems, polygyny is also closely tied to bridewealth payments, and both of these cultural practices exacerbate age gaps in marriage. Girls marry early because it brings resources into the family, while men marry later because it takes time to amass the resources required to formalize a union. In this way, older men with significant resources can pay the bridewealth for multiple younger wives (Liljestrom et al. 1994).

<u>Fertility and Gendered Power</u>

Even though women bear the primary responsibility for childbearing and childrearing in Ghana (Oppong 2006), men have significant authority over childbearing within marriage, in part as a result of the marriage process (Bankole 1995; DeRose and Ezeh 2005; Dodoo 1998b). Many husbands still anticipate at least some control over sexual activity and the number of children conceived within marriage, and they attribute this to bridewealth. As a respondent stated to researchers in northern Ghana, "You should know that in this place we marry our women with cows. When my father pays the bridewealth, he did that for you to deliver children for me" (Bawah et al.

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1999:60). As another respondent explained to researchers in Nigeria, bridewealth payments do more than just bring offspring from the marriage into the paternal lineage, they give men full power over their children:

> A man is—according to how we put it—the husband and the landlord. Men marry women and they control them. They are their masters. We control our children and anything they want to do. Women suffer a lot with children, yet men are the ones to control the children. If my wife wants to go, I won't allow her to take them because I have more power over the children than her (Cornwall 2002:974).

This transfer of rights fundamentally alters the gender dynamics of the marital relationship; men (and women) express a sense of indebtedness on the woman's behalf once the bridewealth exchange is made, and this alters childbearing negotiating between a couple for the course of their marriage (Bawah et al. 1999).

In the fertility literature, men's authority over childbearing—a derivative of the marriage process and the attendant exchange of bridewealth payments—has also received quantitative validation (Dodoo and Frost 2008). Ezeh (1993) found in Kenya that men's fertility attitudes influence the attitudes of their wives, while the converse (women's attitudes influencing the attitudes of their husbands) is not true. According to Bankole (1995), men in Nigeria tend to have more say over childbearing during the first ten years of marriage, while their wives' bargaining power in fertility only increases after this first decade of marriage. By this time many couples have already had multiple births; thus women's authority over childbearing during these later years is less significant. Men also have power over fertility-stopping behaviors; Dodoo (1998b) determined in Kenya that the odds of a couple enacting fertility-stopping behavior were an astounding 50 per cent greater when the man, rather than the woman, preferred to stop childbearing. More recently, DeRose and Ezeh (2005) found in Ghana that even men's educational attainment impacts wives' fertility attitudes. While other factors may confound these findings—such as selection effects that may influence men's partner choice—clearly these studies demonstrate that men's authority over childbearing is evident in sub-

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Saharan Africa today, and that this is at least in part derived from the marriage process and exchange of bridewealth payments.

<u>Women's Household Labor</u>

Ghanaian men traditionally maintain some control over the household labor of women and children in their families (Adams and Castle 1994; David 1997). While women do much of the food production in Ghana, and "most of the food processing, food preparation, washing, and fuel wood and water collection" for the home (Oppong 2006:6), men maintain power over household resources through the exchange of "chop" money. It is normative for Ghanaian women, even those who are well-employed, to expect daily financial assistance in the form of housekeeping money (called "chop money") from their husbands to purchase food for the family. Husbands, therefore, can exercise control over their wives through threats to withhold chop money, or by coercing wives into a sense of indebtedness because of their monetary contributions to the upkeep of the household (Adomako Ampofo 2000; Clark 1994). The exchange of 'chop money' for women's housework is "at the very heart of thriving conjugal relationships;" marriages are continually reestablished through the exchange of women's household labor for financial recompense (Allman and Tashjian 2000:66). However, in this process, the labor and finances that women themselves bring to the household are often ignored. Women in the Gambia who worked long hours in community gardens that were established by local development organizations were scorned by their husbands for neglecting their household chores, despite the significant financial contributions their work made to their households (Schroeder 1999).

Traditionally, married couples use women's cooking as a signifier of a secure and stable sexual relationship. Among the Ashanti in central Ghana, Clark (1994) found that even "in classic duolocal marriage, a wife cooks the evening meal in her own house as a preliminary to visiting her husband for the night at his house. In Kumasi, dusk brings a noticeable traffic in children and young to middle-aged women carrying large covered dishes" to the husband's residence (Clark 1994:344).

Among those in polygynous marriages, an "evenhanded rotation in cooking schedules" allows husbands and wives to negotiate sexual relationships without directly talking about sex (Clark 1994:344). Therefore, men feel a sense of jurisdiction over the housework that women complete; if women "misbehave" by serving a poor quality meal or failing to complete household chores, men may see domestic violence as an appropriate consequence (King 2000).

Women not only do the vast majority of cooking in households, but they also spend more time on other household chores than men. Chores are extremely time-consuming, and girls (who are thought to be in training for their role as wives) are frequently given a substantial workload which can limit school attendance (Colclough 2003). Wives, who are primarily responsible for the maintenance of the household, may also be restricted from outside employment that hinders household chore completion. Lloyd and Gage-Brandon (1993) found in Ghana that when women share residences with men, their average hours of housework per week go up (compared to when they remain household heads), while men who share residences with women spend fewer hours per week completing housework. In other words, female-headed households experience a smaller chore burden than households with husbands/fathers present.

Domestic Violence

Domestic violence in marriage, so commonplace that it is often treated as invisible in many Sub-Saharan African countries, receives few sanctions, and it is widely accepted by both women and men (Ofei-Aboagye 1994). A national study conducted in 1998 gives some idea of the widespread nature of the problem in Ghana; Coker-Appiah and Cusack (1999) found that one in three women had been slapped, beaten, or physically disciplined by a current or most recent partner, and only 5% reported their injuries to the police or other public authority. In Zambia, rates of violence are even higher; 48% of ever-married women report experiencing spousal or intimate partner violence (Kishor and Johnson 2004). The most extreme form of domestic violence—spousal killings—is also more likely to victimize women; out of the 72 spousal killings reported in the Ghanaian daily news from

1990 to 2005, there were five times more cases of husbands killing their wives than vice versa, and many of these killings were motivated by jealousy and suspicions of infidelity (Adinkrah 2008).

While many men condone violence, women are also surprisingly compliant; a study of seven countries in Sub-Saharan Africa found that as many as 89% of women thought violence was acceptable in at least one of the following situations: if a wife burns a meal, neglects the children, argues with her husband, leaves the house without notifying him, or refuses sex. Men's acceptance of such discipline was consistently lower in all seven countries, with no more than 75% of men condoning violence in one or more of these scenarios (Rani, Bonu and Diop-Sidibe 2004). In Ghana, a survey of women seeking services through the Federation of Women Lawyers found that most women agreed that a certain level of physical violence was acceptable as long as women were not left with a visible injury (King 2000). Compliant attitudes toward violence have also been internalized by younger generations of Ghanaians; a survey of 704 youth found that 73% of males believed there were legitimate reasons for men to beat their wives, and fully 72% of girls also felt the same (Glover et al. 2003).

The causes and factors associated with men's use of physical and sexual violence are complex, but the social construction of masculinity, and the societal acceptance of male dominance are certainly important influences (Pulerwitz and Barker 2008). Levels of domestic violence are higher in societies where men hold the preponderance of decision-making power in the household, and among couples where the husband has economic control and the wife is financially dependent (Hiese 1998). In a study of several developing countries, including Zambia and Egypt, rates of domestic violence tend to be lower for couples who share responsibility for household decisions than for couples in which the husband or the wife makes household decisions alone (Kishor and Johnson 2004).

This dynamic is exacerbated by traditional marriage practices in sub-Saharan Africa, as marriage implies the transfer of rights over women from their fathers to their husbands. Many

Ghanaian men do not see violence as an uncontrollable behavior, but rather as a calculated means of gaining control over women. While Ghanaian men are not traditionally permitted to hit women prior to marriage, violence within marriage is easily legitimized (Frost and Dodoo 2006). As a result, women must seek permission from their husbands for activities like traveling from home (Boni 2001). In Zambia, not only are more women accepting of domestic violence than men, but "going out without telling one's husband" was the infraction that caused more women to condone violence than "neglecting one's children," which is a direct violation of women's responsibilities as mothers (Klomegah 2008). This strongly signifies the importance of men's authority in marriage. Even families often do not protect daughters who are being abused; violence is seen as providing 'discipline' to wives, and many families would prefer their daughters to be treated in such a manner rather than get divorced and disgrace the family (Ofei-Aboagye 1994).

Traditional Masculinities in Ghana

Systems of gender inequality are deeply intertwined with men's self-identities. Because men have arguably more power within gender unequal societies, as they hold the preponderance of public and private authority, the masculine ideals to which men aspire greatly influence the nature of men's and women's interactions. This next section explores the historical basis for men's gendered identities in Ghana, and then considers the contemporary circumstances of men in sub-Saharan Africa, which in some cases threaten men's traditional power, forcing new, adaptive forms of masculinity to emerge.

In the early twentieth century the Akan ethnic group, which constitutes nearly half the population of Ghana, socially recognized at least three avenues through which men could achieve manhood; a man could become an elder, establish himself as an economic "big man," or marry women and bear children (Miescher 2005). Elder status was not delineated by a specific age or wealth status, but instead by the individual's reputation in the community, his ability to articulate himself, and his skill at offering advice and assisting others with conflicts. Only the most successful

traders and cocoa farmers earned the title of "big man," and some of these men also achieved traditional positions as community chiefs (Miescher 2005). Because both of these statuses were relatively difficult to attain and were achieved by only a small segment of the population, many men gained their sense of manhood through marrying women and bearing children. Men were required to care for the health and physical wellbeing of their wives and to raise their children to young adulthood. The more financially secure a man became, the more wives and children he could acquire, strengthening his sense of masculinity all the more (Miescher 2005). For pre-colonial Asante men (who are part of the Akan ethnic group), "senior masculinity" was closely connected to men's ability to control and maintain authority and power over their wives and other women (Obeng 2003:193). Women were considered part of men's "accumulated wealth," and if an influential Asante man was disgraced, he could lose his job, money, land and wives, suggesting that women were treated almost as possessions of their husbands (McCaskie 1981:486).

Other ethnic groups in Ghana have different cultural practices through which men traditionally achieved masculine status. Both pre-marital sexual behavior and marriage processes differ between ethnicities—in part due to differences in inheritance practices—and this influences the ways in which men have traditionally achieved masculinity (Ankomah 1992; Nukunya 1969). The great diversity in climate and geographic terrain in Ghana has shaped agricultural systems and influenced how men gain masculine status through economic success. For example, the Dagara in the Northern region of Ghana accumulate cattle in order to attain their gendered authority, and livestock are a critical element of bridewealth exchange (Lentz 2006). Yet despite the diversity in practices between ethnic groups, men's experiences are united by the notion that masculinity is something that men must win or achieve, while women are seen as naturally born into their femininity (Gilmore 1990). As a result, the process of achieving manhood in Ghana was historically susceptible to outside influence, as men were always working toward masculine status. Therefore, masculinities were

greatly complicated by colonialism, which imposed Western means of attaining masculinity that precluded traditional avenues (Miescher and Lindsay 2003).

Studying gender dynamics "cannot be separated from the colonial experience since, historically, the exploitation of both women and colonies has been fundamental to the global system of capital accumulation, and sexism and patriarchy are part of its embedded ideology" (Acosta-Belen 1990:300). Through economic stagnation and globalization, men were bifurcated into two main groups: a small group who gained financial wealth through capitalizing on changing economic systems, and a much larger group who were denied access to economic participation and became financially impotent. Also, with the onset of political transitions and upheaval, the historical strength of traditional ethnic leadership waned, leaving fewer men able to achieve manhood through gaining status as an elder (Miescher and Lindsay 2003). Therefore, the period of colonialism left many Ghanaian men only one traditional avenue towards masculinity: marrying women and bearing children.

While some would argue that Ghanaian women possessed greater rights and autonomy prior to colonization, there is significant evidence that current forms of patriarchy have both traditional and colonial roots. Prior to colonization, although lineage ties were strong, the nuclear family existed as a unit of production, economically marginalizing women and solidifying the division of labor within the home (Arhin 1983). With the onset of colonization, however, came significant growth of the cocoa industry in the southern regions of Ghana, which allowed men to control more easily and exploit the labor of their wives, reducing women's autonomous economic power even more severely (Tashjian 1996). Among the Akan, colonization also reduced lineage ties and increased nuclear family cohesion, increasing husbands' rights over their wives and reducing the power previously appropriated by lineages (Miescher 2003). Through legally sanctioning only monogamous marriages and yet not curbing the persistence of customary marriages (traditional unions that permit polygyny), colonizers aided in the creation of multiple forms of socially sanctioned marriage, and an intricate

system of permissible gender dynamics in the family. Both economic circumstances and the nature of unions (monogamous or polygynous) influence the negotiating power of women (Gage 1995; Pitshandenge 1994; Pool 1972).

Shifting Contemporary African Masculinities

While significant research has examined traditional masculine forms in Ghana, particularly among the Akan**,** few studies explore the masculine ideals of men coming of age in Ghana during the last 20 years. However, evidence from elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa suggests that changing social, political, and economic circumstances are causing some men to intensify their male dominance, while other men are embracing new forms of masculinity that are less driven by gendered power and authority.

Recent labor surpluses and lack of income earning opportunities for men in rural and urban East Africa (Kenya and Tanzania) have threatened men's role as the family breadwinner in recent decades, and this has resulted in destabilized gender power dynamics in the home (Silberschmidt 2001; Silberschmidt 2005). Economic difficulties in Nigeria, as a result of structural readjustment in the 1990s, have created a similar phenomenon in the southwestern regions (Cornwall 2002; Cornwall 2003). In South Africa, the tumultuous path toward democracy has dismantled traditional masculine ideals that were initially marginalized by colonization (Morrell 1998; Walker 2005). Because social change in the region has outpaced changes in masculine and feminine ideals, many men continue to hold "a patriarchal ideology bereft of its legitimizing activities" (Silberschmidt 2001:657). As one older woman explained in Nigeria, "there are no husbands anymore. No men are catering properly for their wives and children" (Cornwall 2003:235). As a result, men cannot rely on their wives and families to bolster their masculine authority, and many men are experiencing identity crises that have manifested in a number of socially destructive behaviors. Depression, drinking, and suicide are rising, and men also compensate for their loss of traditionally-imbued male power through

aggression and sexual violence, as well as extramarital affairs (Morrell 1998; Morrell 2001; Silberschmidt 2005).

However, there is also evidence that some men are adapting to current economic and social circumstances, and that new attainable masculinities—not as embedded in gendered authority—are emerging. Some Nigerian men are beginning to take on more housework as their wives' financial contributions to the household increase, and other men are carving out new ways of conceptualizing manhood through relinquishing the goal of being an economic "big man," and instead gaining self-esteem and masculine identity through achieving higher education, or religious involvement (Cornwall 2003). For some of these men, controlling one's wife is no longer a central marker of masculinity. In South Africa, where domestic violence is a serious threat to women, many men are beginning to recognize that the costs of male violence outweigh the benefits, and they are getting involved in gender justice (Peacock 2003; Walker 2005). Walker's (2005) work with young working class men in South Africa documented the emergence of a new social order that has greatly adapted traditional masculine ideals to more equitable—and achievable—forms. While these new masculinities are not fully developed, they are "new embryonic forms of male selfhood vying for space and expression" (Walker 2005:236). While some men defensively cling to traditional masculine forms, others are pursuing new forms of masculinity—they want to achieve something different from what they see their traditional fathers, elder brothers, and uncles attain. The challenge for gender scholars, then, is "to identify what forces operate to effect change in masculinities, when, where and how such changes occur, and what their effects are" (Morrell 2001).

These examples of changing male ideals in sub-Saharan Africa demonstrate that African masculinities are not static; masculinities are quite diverse, fluid, and evolving as a result of men's historical, social, political, and economic circumstances. Even globalization has impacted masculine ideals on the continent in recent years; Connell (2006) argues that masculinities of conquest and

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settlement, empire-building, neoliberalism, and postcolonialism have emerged around the world as a result of the creation of global markets.

Dismantling the homogenous and problematized notions of African men and masculinities is essential to building a better conceptualization of gender relations on the continent, as men's own identities and gendered aspirations directly impact their interactions with women. By identifying ways in which Ghanaian men come to explore new masculine forms, specifically masculinities that explicitly support gender equity, this study contributes to a fuller understanding of masculinities in Ghana, and potentially reveals ways in which more men can be encouraged to support gender equity.

Chapter 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides the theoretical framework for this study of gender-equitable Ghanaian men. First, I explore the theoretical underpinnings of gender; I discuss the theoretical approaches of "doing" gender and race-class-gender theory, and how each of these contributes to the foundation of this research. Second, I explore the prevailing theoretical understanding of masculinities, giving particular attention to R.W. Connell's hegemonic masculinity theory, and those who critique the application of his concepts within the African context. Third, I present a central theory of gender socialization, social cognitive theory, which adopts an ecological approach to the acquisition of gender attitudes, and incorporates individual, environmental, and structural influences on gender attitudinal development. Fourth, because no prevailing theory has specifically tackled the pathways through which some men develop uniquely gender-equitable attitudes, I review the empirical literature on gender-equitable men in both developed and developing countries, and discuss factors that empirical research has identified as shaping men's gender-equitable attitudes. Lastly, I discuss how these theoretical concepts guide this specific study, and outline the specific research questions that I will address through the quantitative and qualitative components of this research.

Gender Theory

The theories of "doing" gender and race-class-gender theory provide the basis for this research. The "doing" gender approach fits a symbolic interactionist model, whereby gender is an ongoing process that emerges during the interactions between people (Chafetz 1997). According to West and Zimmerman (2002) gender is not a permanently achieved status, or defined by specific traits or delineated roles, but it is constantly enacted by individuals through a constant process of "doing." Even though the process of "doing" gender is not biologically based, children learn early in their development that membership in a sex category—either male or female—is required, and they

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begin to adopt the characteristics, interaction styles, and behaviors that are associated with their category of membership (West and Zimmerman 2002). As Butler (2004) explains it, individuals never "do gender" alone; they work in concert with another, making and remaking their gendered identities, even when the other person is imaginary. In other words, individuals are constantly participating in the process of creating their gendered identities, whether or not they are interacting with others. "Gender is not fixed in advance of social interaction, but is constructed in interaction" (Connell 2005:35). Therefore, doing gender is not optional, and it is not a process from which individuals can remove themselves, as "doing gender is a condition for existence" (Butler 2004:5).

While the process of "doing" gender is essential to understanding the social construction of both masculinities and femininities, because this perspective is centrally based on relationships and interactions with either real or imaginary others, race-class-gender theorists criticize it for devaluing the importance of structural inequalities that reinforce gendered identities. Gender is not only a quality possessed by individuals, but it is indicative of power dynamics between groups (Kimmel 2001). While some scholars have debated the additive or multiplicative effects of gender, race, and class disadvantage, according to the race-class-gender mode of inquiry, these positionalities cannot be separated from one another (West and Fenstermaker 2002). Instead, gender, race and class inequalities are "intersecting, interlocking and contingent" upon each other (Daly 1997:33). Like gender differences, racial differences are often treated in essentialist terms—racial discrimination has fueled slavery, segregation, and ethnic conflict across the globe (West and Fenstermaker 2002). Even though class status is seen as more fluid than either race or gender, there is significant evidence that class status is strongly perpetuated by unequal economic structures (West and Fenstermaker 2002).

Elements of both of these gender theories lay the foundation for the theoretical framework for this study. The theory of "doing" gender contributes the notion that gender attitudes are not a solidified entity that men develop and then exhibit with others; gender attitudes are made and remade is social settings, in an ongoing symbolic interaction. According to Connell (1996), "Masculinities do

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not exist prior to social behavior, either as bodily states or as fixed personalities. Rather, masculinities come into existence as people act" (210). Also, race and class statuses of men are critical to understanding the factors that cause some men to adopt uniquely gender-equitable attitudes, as these statuses can potentially hinder or encourage the process of attitude acquisition. Because this research examines the gendered identities of Ghanaian men, who likely experience marginalization through race and class structures that intersect with their gendered identities, this study can also be informed by race-class-gender mode of inquiry, as masculine identities are constructed within the context of class and race (Morrell 2001:8).

Theory of Hegemonic Masculinity

According to R.W. Connell (2005), multiple forms of masculine identities manifest within any cultural system of male dominance. Derived from Antonio's Gramsci's concept of hegemony, and first introduced in Carrigan, Connell, and Lee (1985), Connell (2005) argues that when cultural ideals and institutional powers are in accordance, a hegemonic masculinity—a masculine form that is culturally and structurally exalted—emerges. Defined as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy," Connell (2005) sees hegemonic masculinities as a culturally-specific and period-relevant means through which male power and authority are substantiated (Connell 2005:77). In other words, despite their exalted status, hegemonic masculinities are also amenable to change, and can be contested and replaced (Connell 1996). Yet despite their malleability, hegemonic masculinities are remarkably influential; while only a small percentage of men are able to achieve hegemonic masculinities, the "claim to authority" exhibited by hegemonic men has significant implications for the divisions of gender power for all men and women (Connell 2005:17). Even when embodied by only a small group of men, hegemonic masculinities can be so omnipresent that they in fact become culturally "mute" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:29). They become the taken-for-granted masculine cultural ideals with which men measure themselves and judge each other (Kimmel 2001).

Even though the vast majority of men in any given society do not achieve hegemonic masculinity status, most men continue to be complicit in the subordination of women (Connell 2005). Although men may not actively participate in the direct discrimination against or oppression of women, they reap at least some of the benefits created through structural systems of inequality that hegemonic masculinities support (Connell 1987; Connell 2005). This benefit, which Connell (1987) describes as the patriarchal dividend, is derived from the structural inequalities of labor (and income), power, and cathexis (sexual attraction) that historically buttress gender inequality. Even though the patriarchal dividend is unequally distributed among men, the vast majority of men still benefit from it. For example, if families prioritize the education of sons over daughters, boys experience a culturally-supported advantage over their female siblings that they do not control. This benefit carries over into economic success, and can influence household decision-making, as men bring greater resources into the family. Even though it is difficult for individual men to reject the gendered benefits that stem from economic and educational inequalities, in the domestic sphere adult men may have leeway to negotiate their authority. In Ghana, because men are traditionally household heads, they may work to assert significant dominance over their wives and children, or they may aspire toward more equitable relations with their spouses. Therefore, family relationships and household dynamics also become a means through which men can more easily contest hegemonic masculinities and demonstrate their gender-equitable beliefs within a highly male-dominant context.

While some men achieve hegemonic masculinities, and many are only complicit in the benefits that stem from the patriarchal dividend, still other men are directly subordinated by hegemonic masculinities, or they are marginalized by the intersection of their masculine identity with other social and cultural statuses such as race and class. Subordinated masculinities are constructed in relation to hegemonic ones, as subordinated masculinities are defined as explicitly lacking access to hegemonic positions. For example, in most cultures gay men embody subordinate masculinities. In fact, men and boys use subordinate masculine categories to label and stigmatize each other (for

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example, calling each other homosexual or feminized epithets) in order to establish hierarchies in groups of males (Connell 1996). As a result, the gender order not only expresses men's power over women through male domination, but creates hierarchies by which men can express power over other men (Kimmel 2001). Marginalized men who rest at the intersections of gender, race, and class stratification also may not have full access to the patriarchal dividend, from which hegemonic and complicit men benefit (Connell 2005; Morrell 1998). In some sense, many African men are caught within these intersections, whether through international economic marginalization or racial "otherness." However, even though many African men experience an "other" status as a result of economic and racial marginalization in the public sphere, this sense of relative disempowerment carries less significance within the home, where other adult men are not likely to be present. In fact, men's authority in the household can be so omnipresent that women support male dominance to a higher degree than men themselves, as can be seen in women's staggeringly high acceptance of domestic violence in many countries across sub-Saharan Africa (Rani, Bonu and Diop-Sidibe 2004).

Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity has persisted as the prevailing theory of masculinities since the late 1980s; however, the application of this framework to the African context presents some challenges. As Kimmel (2001) explains, exploring the construction of masculinities at the local level is preferable to forcing our understanding through "universal theoretical models that posit 'manhood' as some timeless, transcendent essence" (338). Therefore, African social, cultural, and historical contexts require consideration before Connell's theory of masculinity can be appropriately applied to the region. Some scholars argue that the colonization of Africa disconnected cultural ideals and institutional powers, and thus has prevented the emergence of hegemonic masculinities in this context (Miescher 2005; Miescher and Lindsay 2003; Morrell 1998). During the period of colonization, Western rule directly undermined traditional African gender norms, and masculinities became highly situational and adaptable as men could no longer relate to women in exclusively traditional ways (Adu-Poku 2001). Instead, men negotiated competing forms of

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hegemonic masculinity in their homes, churches, places of employment, and communities (Miescher and Lindsay 2003). For example, Miescher (2005) found that Ghanaian men who worked in Presbyterian-run schools prior to Ghana's independence exhibited very different masculine ideals within their work spheres and their families. Churches and Christian schools (where men often worked as teachers) promoted religiously sanctified, monogamous marriages, as well the idea that manhood is achieved through acting as the primary breadwinner in a nuclear household. However, in the domestic sphere, traditional avenues toward becoming a man required a more fluid notion of marriage, a greater recognition of the extended family, separate finances from one's wife, and multiple sexual partners or wives (Miescher 2005). Men lived simultaneously within these spheres, displaying masculine ideals that were context-specific. Therefore, even though colonization subverted traditional African masculinities in many spheres, traditional gendered practices persisted. Even in South Africa, where racial oppression and colonial domination were strongest, in both Black and White families, men made the decisions, held the power, and earned the money. Both customary laws (locally-derived) and modern (colonially imposed) presumed that men held power and authority, and subordinated women (Morrell 2001).

Even though formal colonization of the continent ended decades ago, the western gender norms introduced by colonization have not dissipated, but have subsequently been reinforced by the more recent spread of capitalism and globalization (Connell 1996; Morrell 1998; Morrell 2001). In South Africa, while colonization and racial tensions caused African masculinities to adapt, and become less connected to the countryside and the chieftaincy system (Morrell 1998), hegemonic White masculinities continue to hold importance and are perpetuated through the media and business (Morrell 2001). Therefore, theoretically reducing multiple dominant African masculinities into one hegemonic masculinity runs the risk of oversimplifying the great variation in African masculinities, borne out of colonization, racial and economic marginalization, and more recently, globalization. Miescher and Lindsay (2003) argue that although the study of masculinity in Africa can benefit from

Connell's framework by using his concepts as way of organizing and conceptualizing multiple forms of masculinity, the concept of hegemonic masculinity must be applied to this context with caution.

In addition to the challenges that the African context presents for Connell's framework, this theoretical perspective does not leave significant space for men who may actively contest hegemonic masculinities, or refuse elements of the patriarchal dividend. In Swain's (2006) ethnographic study of the construction of masculinities among adolescent boys in Great Britain, he identified an additional type of masculinity, which he calls personalized masculinity. Boys who embodied this form of masculinity did not aspire to imitate prevailing masculine forms; instead, they appeared content to pursue their own individual identities. These boys were hardworking and generally academically (not athletically) oriented, and they built peer groups from which they garnered support for their rejection of hegemonic masculine ideals (Swain 2006). Pattman, Frosh, and Phoenix (1998) also suggest that there can be other masculinities that are not subordinate to or complicit with dominant forms; through their research with adolescent boys, they identified a "transgressive" masculinity that is less misogynistic and rejecting of hegemonic ideals. However, adolescence in Western countries is generally a period of rebellion; further research needs to determine whether these personalized and transgressive masculinities are an artifact of adolescent development or a phenomenon that persists into adulthood for some young men.

Other research has examined the concept of protest masculinities, which are extreme forms of masculine behavior that include physical aggression, destructiveness, and adolescent delinquency as an intense reaction to marginalization from hegemonic masculinities (Broude 1990). Connell (2005) explains protest masculinity as a means through which men rework hegemonic masculine ideals to fit within the context of poverty and joblessness. In his empirical life-history research with a small group of unemployed men, Connell (1991) found that both the constraints of the labor market and the influence of the state can shape protest masculinities, and that these strained versions of hegemonic masculinities can manifest in significant rejections of male dominance. Walker (2006) also explored

protest masculinity as a means of rejecting hegemonic masculinities. However, instead of identifying men who embody protest masculinities through destructive and elicit behaviors, he examined men who demonstrate "disciplined protest masculinity," and reject hegemonic masculinities without the component of chaos and destruction. He attributes this to strong social control among groups of working-class men who seek to dismantle hegemonic masculinities (Walker 2006).

Social Cognitive Theory

This study adopts a social cognitive approach to gender socialization. According to social cognitive theory, children learn about gender through mental efforts to organize their social world (Coltrane and Adams 2008). This perspective supposes that children are active participants in the process of gender socialization; they seek information from their surrounding environments to organize and predict the world around them and simultaneously develop a sense of self and place within that world. This theoretical approach does not preclude the social constructionist approach to gender; even though children adopt "morally required and rigidly fixed" dichotomous notions of male and female during early development, these concepts are socially constructed and not naturally ordained (Coltrane and Adams 2008:182). This process begins very early in child development; by the age of four or five, girls and boys have adopted gender appropriate preferences, skills, attitudes, and personality attributes (Bem 1983).

Bussey and Bandura (1999) propose a social cognitive theory of gender differentiation that specifies how life experiences interact with individual characteristics to create gender attitudes. According to social cognitive theory, personal, behavioral, and environmental factors interact to influence behavior in a process of "triadic reciprocal causation" (Bussey and Bandura 1999:685). The personal component includes gender-linked conceptions, judgmental and behavioral standards, as well as self-regulatory influences that are shaped by cognitive, affective and biological events. The behavioral component includes gender-linked patterns of activity, which influence how individuals interpret and experience the world around them. The environmental component consists of the broad

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network of social influences that individuals experience through everyday life that provide models for behavior and sanctions for misbehavior. Personal, behavioral, and environmental factors are reciprocally influential; both the environment and individual characteristics must be conducive for specific behavioral patterns to emerge. Unlike other theories of socialization, such as social learning theory, cognitive-behavioral theory, and gender schema theory (Bem 1983), this theory gives greater weight to factors that are outside of the cognitive (personal) and behavioral spheres by equally emphasizing all three components within the triadic model. Because Bussey and Bandura's (1999) social cognitive theory of gender development utilizes both psychological and socio-structural elements, this approach reflects an ecological perspective that takes into account the influence of both personal characteristics and larger social and environmental influences (Bronfenbrenner 1993; Bronfenbrenner and Morris 1998). This theoretical approach "underscores the interplay of environmental influences and the individual's own active role in acquiring an understanding of gender" (Crouter et al. 2007:913).

Figure 1: Model of Triadic Reciprocal Causation

Adapted from Bussey and Bandura (1999)

Social cognitive theory for gender differentiation not only articulates the process of gender acquisition, but it specifies the mechanisms that regulate gendered behavior (Bussey and Bandura 1999). Over the period of childhood, social sanctions (praise or punishment) for adhering to or diverging from gendered behaviors are replaced by regulatory self-sanctions that are based on individual direction and standards (Bandura 1986). Individuals are not just reactive to external events, but "self-organizing, proactive, self-reflective, and self-regulating;" personal efficacy is critical to the process of gendered differentiation (Bussey and Bandura 1999:691). As children age and become more cognitively adept, they move through a process of gender categorization—placing individuals, activities, attitudes and behaviors into dichotomous gendered categories—to a period of gender role learning that requires higher level abstraction than the simpler process of categorization (Bussey and Bandura 1999). This process requires active participation on the individual level, and

includes the interaction of the personal and behavioral components of Bussey and Bandura's (1999) model of triadic reciprocal causation.

Environmental Factors that Influence Gender Socialization

The ecological nature of social cognitive theory allows for the exploration of multiple arenas of influence on gender attitudes at the personal, social, and environmental levels. The following section explores what Bussey and Bandura (1999) call gender socialization subsystems. These subsystems exist in the environment in which individuals are socialized and contribute to the gender differentiation of attitudes, behaviors, and roles. Specifically, social cognitive theory includes the following subsystems: family, peers, education, media, and occupational systems. Each of these subsystems contributes strongly to the development of gendered selves over the life course. Even though the following discussion explores the subsystems separately, Bussey and Bandura (1999) stress the interdependence and reciprocity of each of these systems and how individuals actively create their own gendered self-development through their interactions with these systems.

Family

Bussey and Bandura (1999) argue that parents and families play an active role in their children's gender development by structuring children's activities, channeling their energies, modeling behaviors, and reacting to and evaluating the gendered actions of their children. There is a growing body of empirical research that supports this claim (Crouter et al. 2007; McHale, Crouter and Whiteman 2003; Peters 1994; Tenenbaum and Leaper 2002). Parents encourage differential behavioral styles for girls and boys, as these reflect a cohesive set of gendered attributes. Mothers and fathers may also contribute differentially to this process as a result of their own gendered socialization. Therefore, family influences are neither monolithic nor cohesive because families and individual parents can differ in the gender socialization messages they emphasize (Bussey and Bandura 1999).

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In the U.S., empirical evidence suggests that mothers encourage independence and autonomy in their sons and not their daughters (Pomerantz and Ruble 1998). Fathers' gender attitudes are also linked to the gendered nature of children's activities (McHale, Crouter and Tucker 1999). Beyond parental influences, there is additional evidence that sex distribution of siblings can influence gendered behaviors; families with all boy or all girl children cannot model dichotomous behaviors for the sibling group, while mixed-sex sibling groups receive more dichotomous modeling (Crouter, Manke and McHale 1995). Additionally, siblings may model sex-typed behaviors for younger children, thus reinforcing adherence to gendered behaviors (McHale, Crouter and Tucker 1999). Specific to gender equity, Booth and Amato (1994) determined that American children of nontraditional parents tend also to have nontraditional gender attitudes. Although parental influence can decrease with age (Davis 2006), parental gender attitudes are still related to offspring attitudes in adulthood (Cunningham 2001). Simultaneously, despite the strong influence of families and parental behaviors on the gender attitudes of children, individuals vary their level of adoption of gender traditional or egalitarian orientations by virtue of their personal attributes (Bussey and Bandura 1999).

<u>Peers</u>

As children age, their social worlds expand outside of the home, and peer groups become a critical component of gender socialization that interacts with the gendered messages children receive in the home (Levant 1996). From early childhood, boys and girls select same-gender play mates, model gender-appropriate behaviors within these groups, and practice sanctioning of their peers for gender-inappropriate behaviors (Bussey and Bandura 1999). For some theorists, the peer group is the most significant socializing component of gender development (Leaper 1994; Maccoby 1990; Maccoby 1998). In fact, the peer culture within schools is one of the most influential elements of the schooling process on boys' and girls' gender attitudes (Connell 1996). For boys in particular, it is commonly within male peer groups that masculine ideals and social pressures to conform to

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particular embodiments of masculinity become most salient and influential to the behaviors and attitudes of individual boys (Way 1998). Male peer groups actively reinforce masculine behavioral norms by recognizing and punishing those who do not conform, and contesting this practice can be very difficult (Stoudt 2006). Chu's (2005) in-depth interviews with 65 American adolescents revealed that boys consider their peers to be judgmental, insensitive, and hostile in their policing of masculine behaviors, and this caused adolescent boys to be guarded during their social interactions with their same-sex peers.

Schooling

Despite popular wisdom regarding the transformative nature of schooling, schools serve as primary systems of socialization that perpetuate inequalities in race, class, and gender (Bowles and Gintis 1977), and include gendered systems of power, divisions of labor, and symbolic representations within language, dress, and curriculum (Connell 1996). Schooling contributes to the formation of masculinities through a number of formal and informal practices, including the management of students, teacher and student relationships, curricula, and sports (Connell 2006; Swain 2006). Additionally, teachers exhibit differential treatment of boys and girls, which channels individuals' interests and sense of personal agency into gendered ideals (Bussey and Bandura 1999).

Single-sex schools inherently identify differences between boys and girls (Stoudt 2006). Girls benefit from these dynamics because they do not experience the same gender domination that they do in a mixed-sex classroom (Mannathoko 1999). However, single-sex education does not create the same benefits for boys as they do not experience subordination by girls in mixed environments. Instead, in single-sex schools, boys cannot prove their masculinities through their relationships with girls; they must create additional means through which they can achieve ideal masculine forms (Connell 1996; Stoudt 2006). This can lead to heightened displays of violence, bullying, and other aggressive behaviors.

Multiple forms of media—including books, television, video games, and radio—provide cultural modeling of gender roles. Media also intersects with schooling, as peers integrate the effect of their own media exposure into their interactions with their peers at school (Connell 1996). In many media outlets gender stereotyping is regularly exaggerated and men and women are dichotomized, reinforcing differences between men and women's occupational and family roles (Bussey and Bandura 1999). While media outlets in the U.S. have attempted to diminish gender differences between men and women, these efforts have led to portrayals of women as masculine caricatures who act as both men and women (Bussey and Bandura 1999). One study in the U.S. showed that the consequences of media consumption on gender attitudes are real; children who view more television display more stereotypical gender attitudes than do children who view less (McGhee and Frueh 1980).

Bussey and Bandura (1999) also consider occupational systems as a sub-system that contributes to gender socialization. Because people spend significant percentages of their daily lives during adulthood within the work environment, this context can also influence gender differentiation. The gender attitudes of adults are less malleable than those for children. Therefore, occupational systems are able to influence gender attitudes because they are fully encompassing; the subsystems of family, peer, and education are replicated within occupational environments (Bussey and Bandura 1999).

Shaping Men's Gender-Equitable Attitudes

While the prior factors contribute to gender attitudinal development among men and women—interactions with family, peer groups, schooling experience, and larger society influence individuals' gender attitudes—the process of developing uniquely gender-equitable attitudes is not fully explained by social cognitive theory. Despite the strengths of this theory of gender socialization, it does not specify the process by which some men choose to reject hegemonic

masculine ideals and display gender-equitable attitudes. Additionally, it does not identify how the gendered subsystems of family, peers, schooling, media, and occupational systems contribute to this process. While the incentives for women to support feminism are direct—social change creates tangible, personal benefits that they experience—this process is not as clear for men. Even in light of recent feminist movements in Western nations, men are not socially coerced to support gender equity. Men can passively block steps toward gender equity, act aggressively against it, or pander to women's needs through a process of saving face without implementing change (Godenzi 1999). Men can choose all of these pathways without significant social consequence; therefore, men who adopt gender-equitable attitudes are remarkably unique.

For men to develop gender-equitable perspectives, they must "fundamentally question much of what they were taught about being male and how they were supposed to respond to women" (Young 1999:182). As Cornish (1999) explains in his study of gender-equitable Canadian men, because men never experience the gender oppression that women experience, and they are simultaneously unable to remove themselves from a position of gender privilege, they do not develop the same relationship with feminism that women do. Schacht and Ewing (1998) also articulate that the process by which men adopt gender-equitable attitudes is inherently different from women. Women's process is grounded in experiences of oppression as women, and men do not have these same experiences. This does not mean that men's process is any less difficult; in fact, evidence suggests the contrary.

In order to embrace fully gender-equitable perspectives, men must participate in a process of personal growth and introspection, that can be challenging and painful, in order to fully question the power dynamics that implicitly operate in their lives (Cornish 1997). Men also face the difficulty of denying the intrinsic and biological differences between men and women (embracing the notion that gender is socialized) distancing themselves from the patriarchal oppression that men perpetuate, and simultaneously being proud to be a man (Schmidtt 2001). Holding unique gender attitudes makes

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men vulnerable to the teasing and criticism of others. According to one gender-equitable man, "We place ourselves at odds with the dominant opinions and with our own upbringing. We invite conflict with others, and we need to strengthen ourselves against the inner voices that tell us that we are not 'real men,' that we allow ourselves to be dominated by women, that we are weak and cowardly" (Schmidtt 2001:396). Additionally, distancing oneself from oneself—separating from the masculine ideals to which boys and men are so intimately socialized—requires continuous effort: "Most or all profeminist men were not born such but were fortunate at some point to understand that they needed to distance themselves from the manhood they were raised to develop. Instead, they became male persons who loved justice more than power, equality more than privilege. Being that sort of man is a continuing effort" (Schmidtt 2001:401).

In light of these acute difficulties that gender-equitable men face, what are the factors that cause some men to develop gender-equitable perspectives? Are there specific pathways through which men become gender-equitable? As Digby (1998) explains, research on gender-equitable men must avoid the dangers of generalization. Because so little research has been done on this topic—and no quantitative studies that can confirm or disconfirm the theory generated by qualitative studies— any homogenization of the experiences of gender-equitable men is detrimental to the furthering of knowledge in this field. Digby (1998) argues this point:

> My assumption that every man who has become a feminist has done so along a unique path has been confirmed every time I've discussed the matter with another male feminist. That's significant, in my view, because it urges on every one of us theorists who would try to understand male feminism a wariness of generalizations that lead either to sweeping cynicism or unqualified approbation. Understanding the diverse paths by which men come to be feminists may help dissolve suspicions when they are gratuitous, and when they are well-founded, refine them into more useful, focused, and systematic cautions. Essentialism is just as problematic as it is elsewhere in feminism. (5)

Gender-Equitable Men in Developed Countries

A number of qualitative studies examine how men in developed countries acquire gender-equitable attitudes over the life course (Barker 1998; Christian 1994; Cornish 1997; Goldrick-Jones

2002; White 2008). With regard to family influences, evidence suggests that although families can contribute to men's equitable attitudes, specific family environments are not a precondition to men developing gender-equitable attitudes. Cornish (1997), in his study of gender-equitable Canadian men, found that family backgrounds for his respondents differed dramatically; some were raised in traditional patriarchal families, while others were from less traditional, androgynous family environments. Christian's (1994) qualitative research with men's anti-sexist groups in England yields similar findings; while some of his respondents had close relationships with gender-equitable fathers, others felt distanced from more traditional fathers.

Although gender-equitable respondents do not share similar family dynamics, they do share exposure to particularly strong female role models who embody gender-equal attitudes (Christian 1994). This close relationship can occur during childhood, or through an intimate relationship or through a close friendship with an empowered female later in adult life. According to Christian (1994), intimate connection with women possessing gender-equal beliefs is essential for men to shift their gendered world views. In her study of men who belong to antisexist groups in North America, Great Britain, and Australia, Goldrick-Jones (2002) also found that gender-equitable men are often inspired by close relationships with women to adopt gender-equitable attitudes, and research with African American feminist men draws similar conclusions (White 2008). Stoltenburg's (1990) own experiences as a profeminist man are congruent; he has seen men brought into the movement because of loyalty to particular women in their lives, and he agrees that these critical relationships can occur in adulthood as well as childhood.

Because gender-equitable men must reconcile the dismantling of masculinities, as these are built on inequality (Goldrick-Jones 2002), gender-equitable men also need to gain a systematic understanding of oppression and what tools are available to advocate against it. Some men begin this process after participating in women's studies courses in higher education, and other men hold a strong sense of social justice, and a sense of the "inherent rightness" that inclines them toward this

process (Goldrick-Jones 2002:4). In fact, political activism in general is an inroad for men to become involved in feminist issues (Stoltenberg 1990); for many years, political movements against domestic violence have been one of the most visible means for men's engagement with women's issues (Goldrick-Jones 2002; Peacock 2003). Exposure to these educational and political environments also gives men opportunities to build relationships with people across categories of difference (Welp 1997).

White (2008), who explores the experiences of gender-equitable African American men, engages elements of social cognitive theory by recognizing that gender-equitable attitudes manifest through the interaction of individuals with their environments. As minorities, African American men experience marginalization that may be similar to the experiences of Ghanaian men. "African American men's varying relationships to privilege complicate their experiences of subordination, conformity, and resistance to oppressive, interlocking systems based on gender, race, economics and culture … whatever patriarchal dividend they derive from the subordination of Black women, women in general, and other subordinated men is a trade-off for their own subordination to White men" (White 2008:192). Therefore, the interaction between the individual and his experiences may also be a critical component to understanding the experiences of gender-equitable Ghanaian men. Gary Barker (1998) and Hurtado and Sinha (2008) have also done research with gender-equitable men in the U.S. who are racial minorities. For these men, the intersectionality of race and class was also intimately connected to their gender attitudes.

Gender-Equitable Men in Developing Countries

Perhaps one of the most prolific scholars on the topic of gender-equitable men and boys in developing countries is Gary Barker, who has done a considerable research on gender-equitable adolescent boys in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (Barker 2000; Barker and Loewenstein 1997; Barker 2005). In this cultural context, prevailing views of masculinity include limited male involvement in fertility and reproductive health, as these issues are seen as women's responsibilities, despite men's sense of

entitlement to sex from women. Men are also generally uninvolved with childcare, and there is a fairly pervasive acceptance of violence against women. Manhood is seen as something that men are not born into, but must achieve (Barker and Loewenstein 1997). Men are largely defined as family breadwinners, and men face considerable stress when they are unable to fulfill this function in impoverished environments. As a result, many men achieve their masculine status through large quantities of sexual conquests, the number of children they father, and their ability to regulate the behavior of the women in their lives (Barker 2000). Likewise, men who contribute financially to a household can generally expect their wife or partner to be faithful, act as primary caretaker of any children, and complete the preponderance of housework. In short, the machismo culture that Barker documented in the favelas of Brazil shares a number of similarities with Ghanaian masculinities.

Barker identified a number of factors that contribute to the development of gender-equitable attitudes within this prevailing male-dominant context (Barker 2000; Barker and Loewenstein 1997). Individual factors, family factors, and environmental factors contribute to the emergence of gender-equitable attitudes among Brazilian adolescents. On the individual level, the young gender-equitable men that Barker identified tend to have a greater ability to reflect on their own past, connect life experiences, and recognize the costs of living out hegemonic masculine ideas. These young men construct life narratives where they see themselves as different from most other men, and they tend to find the strength to combat this differentness through a skill or competency that increases their social status (Barker 2000).

Within the family environment, many of these young men have access to nurturing and involved male role models who hold equitable attitudes, although this was not uniform. Also, as with feminist men in developed countries, mothers and grandmothers who hold equitable attitudes are also influential in shaping the attitudes of these young men (Barker 2000). In terms of peer influences, Barker's respondents tend to have alternative peer groups that support their nontraditional attitudes and reinforce gender-equitable perspectives (Barker 2000). These social circles give boys a respite

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from pervasive criticism and teasing by maschista males (Barker and Loewenstein 1997). Young gender-equitable men also forge non-sexual friendships with women that are based on respect, and these relationships can contribute to the emergence of their gender-equitable attitudes (Barker and Loewenstein 1997). Personal, familial, and peer influences are cumulative; Barker argues that no single influence or experience is responsible for the emergence of gender-equitable attitudes among young men in Rio de Janeiro. Instead, a combination of interacting variables over time, plus the subjective meaning an individual gives to one's own life experiences, creates pathways to more gender-equitable masculine identities (Barker 2000).

Gender-Equitable African Men

Only a small number of studies explore the topic of men's gender-equitable attitudes in sub-Saharan Africa. During focus groups and in-depth interviews with young men in Nigeria and Uganda, Barker and Ricardo (2005) identified a small handful of men who exhibited uniquely gender-equitable attitudes that diverged from the attitudes of their peers. Through follow-up interviews with these young men, they identified factors that may have contributed to these respondents' equitable attitudes. First, these respondents had a high degree of self-reflection that allowed them to weigh the outcomes of their own behaviors, and they recognized the negative impact of gender violence within their own families and communities. One of the respondents changed his behaviors—how he treated women and how he cared for his own health through safe sex—as a result of becoming a father. Some respondents experienced positive behavioral modeling by brothers and fathers, and others had a safe space to practice gender-equitable behaviors with peers or family members who did not tease or ridicule their actions. From this preliminary study, it is appears that personal, familial and peer environments contribute to the emergence of men's gender-equitable attitudes within the African context.

Research Purposes

Utilizing social cognitive theory, this study explores the personal, behavioral, and environmental factors that interact over the life course to cultivate gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men. This research also receives guidance from R.W. Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity, "doing" gender theory, race-class-gender theory, and the empirical research on gender-equitable men in developed and developing countries. With this theoretical backdrop, I address the following research purposes:

1. I investigate the sociodemographic characteristics that are associated with gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men using the preeminent source of demographic data in Africa (The 2003 Ghana Demographic Health Survey).

2. Through in-depth interviews with gender-equitable Ghanaian men, I explore men's experiences over the life course that influence the development of gender-equitable attitudes.

3. I examine the meaning of gender equity among gender-equitable Ghanaian men, and identify the personal costs and benefits experienced by gender-equitable men as a result of their attitudes toward women.

4. I discuss the implications of these findings for the field of men and masculinities, and provide recommendations for policy and programming that address gender inequality in this context.

Research purpose one utilizes race-class-gender-theory and Bussey and Bandura's (1999) social cognitive theory of gender differentiation to identify the sociodemographic predictors of gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men. As race-class-gender theory articulates, men's gender attitudes cannot be separated from other positionalities such as race and class; men's social location can influence men's proximity to hegemonic masculinities, and ultimately their gender attitudes (Kane 2000). Therefore, this research purpose examines the relationship between Ghanaian men's sociodemographic characteristics and their gender attitudes. More specifically, I consider men's sociodemographic characteristics that are consistent with Bussey and Bandura's (1999) social cognitive theory of gender differentiation; these analyses examine the relationship between Ghanaian men's individual, familial, and environmental characteristics and their gender attitudes.

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Research purpose two also utilizes Bussey and Bandura's (1999) social cognitive theory as the basis for exploring how life course experiences influence the development of gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men. Through in-depth interviews with gender-equitable men, I examine the personal, behavioral, and environmental aspects of men's lives, as specified by Bussey and Bandura's (1999) model of triadic reciprocal causation. Specifically, I explore how certain personality characteristics contribute to men's gender-equitable attitudes as these influence how men interpret and interact with their environments. Additionally, I examine the environmental component of the model of triadic reciprocal causation by exploring how the gendered subsystems of the family, education, peers, and workplace environments foster men's gender-equitable attitudes.

The first part of research purpose three (*investigate the meaning of gender equity among gender-equitable Ghanaian men*) is guided by the theory of "doing gender," as men's meanings of gender equity are intertwined with how they embody these attitudes through interaction with others. In this way, respondents are 'making and remaking' their gender-equitable attitudes in the same fashion that all individuals make and remake their gendered selves. R.W. Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity offers the theoretical underpinning for the second part of research purpose three (*examine the personal costs and benefits experienced by gender-equitable men*). Even though men, as a group, have power advantages over women that are supported by structural inequalities, men also subordinate each other. While only a small number of men achieve hegemonic masculinities, most men are either complicit with hegemonic masculinities, marginalized from them, or subordinated by them (Connell 2005). In other words, men are always positioned in relation to hegemonic norms. Gender-equitable men—by defining themselves as such—are positioned as antithetical to hegemonic masculinities. By attempting to reject the patriarchal dividend, gender-equitable men are interacting with hegemonic masculinities. This part of research purpose three, guided by Connell's theoretical perspectives, allows respondents to engage with hegemonic masculinities and to discuss the challenges and rewards of contestation.

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the rationale for implementing a mixed methods approach, as well as the specific quantitative and qualitative procedures that guide this study. First, I discuss the implementation of an explanatory mixed methods design and the roles of both the qualitative and quantitative data within this framework. Second, I discuss the quantitative procedures, including the data source, sampling, dependent and independent variables, and bivariate and multivariate analysis procedures. Third, I outline the qualitative procedures used in this study, including: the implementation of a grounded theory approach, respondent sampling, in-depth interviewing procedure, the use of fieldnotes and transcriptions, and qualitative analysis process. Additionally, in this section I address potential threats to the validity of these data that may be present as a result of my outsider statuses as a White American woman researcher. Fourth, I discuss the procedures used to combine the quantitative and qualitative data in order to verify the sampling procedures used to select in-depth interview respondents.

Mixed Methods Approach

The first research purpose of this study (*investigate the sociodemographic characteristics that are associated with gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men*) requires a quantitative approach in order to identify the individual, family, and environmental predictors of men's gender-equitable attitudes within the larger population of Ghanaian men. By utilizing a nationally-representative survey, the 2003 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (2003 GDHS), the reliability and generalizability of these findings are strengthened. However, research purpose two (*explore men's experiences over the life course that influence the development of gender-equitable attitudes*) and research purpose three (*examine the meaning of gender equity among gender-equitable Ghanaian men, and identify the personal costs and benefits experienced by gender-equitable men*)

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are best addressed through a qualitative approach; in-depth interviews with gender-equitable Ghanaian men provide a means to explore how men's life experiences work cumulatively to facilitate the emergence of gender-equitable attitudes.

A strong mixed methods design necessitates that qualitative and quantitative data hold independent research purposes (as described above), and that the qualitative and quantitative components work together to mutually strengthen the research findings from each source (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007). In order to accomplish this, I used the quantitative data (The 2003 GDHS) to verify the sampling of the gender-equitable respondents for the in-depth interviews. Prior to each in-depth interview (IDI), respondents took a short survey of 14 questions to measure their gender attitudes. These questions were identical to the gender attitudinal questions within the 2003 GDHS survey, and thus allow for comparison between the gender-equitable respondents in the qualitative component of this research, and the larger population of Ghanaian men captured in the 2003 GDHS. In this way, the 2003 GDHS data strengthens the generalizability of the qualitative findings, as they situate the gender-equitable respondents within the larger population of Ghanaian men.

While the field of mixed methods research—whereby researchers deliberately and thoughtfully integrate both quantitative and qualitative data—is relatively new, researchers have been combining different data sources for years, utilizing a pragmatic approach to devising study designs. In an extensive literature review of mixed methods research, Tashkkori and Teddlie (2003) identified close to 40 different mixed methods designs implemented within social science research that vary by time order of the data collection and analysis, the way in which different forms of data interact and support each other, and the types of data that play primary and secondary roles. This study utilizes an explanatory mixed methods research design, where qualitative findings are emphasized, and quantitative data are used to support qualitative analyses and to select participants for the qualitative component (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007). Typically designs that utilize quantitative data for participant selection require that the quantitative analyses occur prior to the qualitative data

collection, and from these analyses, respondents for the qualitative component are selected. However, because the 2003 DHS was collected prior to the start of this study (and is therefore secondary data) respondents could not be directly sampled from this survey. Instead, the gender-equitable respondents completed a short survey of the 2003 GDHS gender attitudinal questions prior to the in-depth interviews. I later compared these responses to men's attitudes in the 2003 GDHS. In this way, the time order of the components is reversed from traditional participant selection procedures that utilize mixed methods. While ideally verification of each in-depth interview (IDI) respondent would take place before the interview, this was impossible as respondents took the survey just prior to the IDI. This procedure presented some risk, as potentially IDI respondents could have exhibited male-dominant gender attitudes in the survey, and I would have been unable to stop the interview. Fortunately, only one respondent showed gender attitudes that were more male-dominant than the average attitudes in the 2003 GDHS, and the vast majority of respondents were noticeably more gender-equitable than the GDHS sample.

QUANTITATIVE PROCEDURE

This section describes the quantitative procedures utilized to address the first research purpose of this study: investigate the sociodemographic characteristics that are associated with gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men. First I discuss the data source (The 2003 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey) in detail, and the sampling design of the survey. Second, I outline the dependent variables and independent variables. Third, I discuss the univariate, bivariate and multivariate tools used to explore this research purpose.

The Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) program is a worldwide research project supported by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to assist developing countries in collecting high quality data on population, fertility, health, and nutrition. The DHS is the third consecutive data collection program sponsored by USAID, and it has evolved out of its predecessors, the World Fertility Survey (WFS) and Contraceptive Prevalence Survey (CPS). Data collection is

managed by MEASURE/DHS+. The DHS was first administered in 1984, and it has since provided technical assistance to the collection of more than 200 surveys in 75 countries worldwide. These surveys are the preeminent source of population and health information in sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East.

DHS data serve a number of policy and programmatic purposes; policy makers use these surveys to inform decisions about the allocation of limited resources to family planning and health services, while program managers and health care providers utilize these data as baseline measures for a wide range of programmatic interventions on child health, nutrition, reproductive health, and HIV/AIDS. More broadly, the DHS plays a central role in furthering understanding of international population issues. While DHS surveys are designed to allow for aggregated analysis, including multi-country analysis, surveys are tailored to the specific needs of each country.

In recent years the attention to gender within the DHS surveys has expanded significantly, as researchers and policymakers alike increasingly recognize the interconnection between gender dynamics and population and health outcomes. Specifically, DHS collects data on women's empowerment and status, household decision-making, women's sexual negotiating, and gender-based violence. Likewise, attention to male respondents within the DHS has also increased. In recent years, men have been included in 142 national surveys, and the sample sizes of men are now comparable to those for women in many of the recent DHS surveys. The 2003 GDHS includes a nationally representative sample of women aged 15 to 49 (N=5691) and men aged 15 to 59 (N=5015). Therefore, while the primary focus of DHS surveys is population, health, and nutrition, these data still provide the best available nationally representative survey for investigating the nature of men's gender attitudes in Ghana. This study of men's gender-equitable attitudes in Ghana utilizes only the men's cases.

DHS Sampling Design

The 2003 GDHS includes a nationally representative probability sample of approximately 6,600 households. The enumeration areas (EAs) from the 2000 Ghana Population and Housing Census are the sampling frame for this survey. The sample was first stratified into the 10 administrative regions, and then into rural and urban EAs (GSS et al. 2004). Therefore, the survey is designed to provide accurate estimates for the country as a whole, for each administrative region, and for both urban and rural areas.

The survey used a two-stage stratified sample design whereby 412 sample points were first selected, each with a probability of selection relative to their size. Between May and June of 2003, a complete household listing was completed in each of these 412 sample points. During the second stage of sample selection, households were systematically sampled from the household listing. The sample size per EA varied by the population of each region. Fifteen households per region were selected from each EA, except in Brong Ahafo, Upper East, and Upper West regions, where 20 households per EA were selected, and in the Northern Region, where 16 households per EA were selected (while the population density is lower in these regions, the geographic size of these northern regions necessitates the addition of households) (GSS et al. 2004). Due to the disproportional number of EAs and the different sample sizes selected per EA per region, the household sample for the 2003 GDHS is not self-weighted. Weights were included within the 2003 GDHS dataset and are utilized in this data analysis.

The 2003 GDHS includes three questionnaires: the Household Questionnaire, the Women's Questionnaire, and the Men's Questionnaire. These questionnaires were generated by MEASURE/DHS+ and then adapted to the Ghanaian context and translated from English into five major languages in Ghana: (Akan, Ewe, Ga, Nzema and Dagbani). A back-translation process from these languages into English ensured the quality of each translated questionnaire. This study utilizes the Men's Questionnaire, which was administered to all men between the ages of 15 and 59 in every

household in the GDHS sample. This questionnaire included questions on respondents' background, education, residential history, media exposure, fertility preferences, family planning and use, marriage and sexual history, and attitudes toward women. Although similar in nature to the Women's Questionnaire, the Men's Questionnaire is shorter, as it does not solicit information on reproductive history and maternal and child health and nutrition. Questionnaire completion rates were high; in the interviewed households, 5345 eligible men were identified, and of these 5015 were interviewed, yielding an overall response rate of 93.8% among men (GSS et al. 2004).

Table 1: 2003 GDHS Sample Description			
Questionnaire	Eligible	Response Rate	Sample Size
Men	5345	93.8%	5015
Women	5949	95.7%	5691

A large-scale survey such as the 2003 GDHS presents some advantages for this study. Because of the significant resources available to MEASURE/DHS+ for data collection, the large sample size and probabilistic sampling make this survey nationally-representative. Therefore, these findings can be generalized to the larger Ghanaian male population. There is very little missing data within this survey; all of the variables examined in this study have less than 1% missing data. Therefore, I utilized list-wise deletion to remove these cases.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables in the subsequent analysis measure men's attitudes toward women. Each variable is dichotomous, and a value of zero indicates gender-equitable attitudes, while a value of one indicates a male-dominant response. The three dimensions of men's attitudes toward women examined in this study are: 1) attitudes toward *domestic violence*, 2) attitudes toward *women's sexual autonomy* in marriage 3) and attitudes toward *men's retaliation* when wives refuse sex. While there are likely other measures of men's gender attitudes worthy of consideration (such as attitudes toward

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the household division of labor, or women's employment), these three dimensions include all the available gender attitudinal measures within the 2003 GDHS. Additionally, these measures emphasize sex and sexual negotiations, as these dimensions of men's gender attitudes are most relevant to the purpose of the 2003 GDHS, which is to measure and identify population, health, and nutritional trends within Ghana.

<u>Attitudes Toward Domestic Violence</u>

Attitudes toward domestic violence are captured by a five-item scale measuring men's attitudes toward the acceptability of domestic violence in five different scenarios. The questions read: "Sometimes a husband is annoyed or angered by things that his wife does. In your opinion, is a husband justified in hitting or beating his wife in the following situations? If she goes out without telling him? If she neglects the children? If she argues with him? If she refuses to have sex with him? and If she burns the food?" On each item, the man responded with "Yes," "No," or "Don't Know." If men were unsure of the acceptability of domestic violence in any of these scenarios, and responded with "Don't Know," I scored their responses with men who condoned violence and answered "Yes." I did this because a response of "Don't Know" indicates that respondents may still condone violence under some circumstances, and this provides a stricter measure of men's gender-equitable attitudes. Therefore, I scored responses of "No" as 0, and responses of "Yes" and "Don't Know" as 1. Frequencies of the "Don't Know" response were quite low, and fell between 0.3% and 1.0% of responses for each of the five questions. In order to construct a scale of men's attitudes toward domestic violence, I employed a principal component factor analysis of the five items to determine whether they formed a single dimension of men's gender attitudes. All items loaded with absolute values greater than 0.4, and reliability analysis confirmed the internal consistency of the five items (alpha = 0.819).

<u>Attitudes Toward Women's Sexual Autonomy</u>

A five-item scale measuring men's attitudes toward a woman's refusal of sex with her husband in four different scenarios captured men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy. The questions asked: "Husbands and wives do not always agree on everything. Please tell me if you think a wife is justified in refusing to have sex with her husband when: She knows her husband has a sexually transmitted disease? She knows her husband has sex with women other than his wives? She has recently given birth? She is tired or not in the mood?" On each item, men responded with "Yes," "No," or "Don't Know." If a man responded with "Don't Know," suggesting that he was not certain whether a woman could refuse sex in one of these scenarios, I coded these responses with men who said "No," as there could be instances in which these respondents could reject women's right to refuse sex, and this provides a stricter measure of men's gender-equitable attitudes. As a result, I scored responses of "Yes" as 0, and responses of "No" and "Don't Know" as 1. As with men's attitudes toward domestic violence, frequencies of the "Don't Know" response were quite low, and fell between 1.2% and 1.8% of responses for these four questions. Additionally, to capture another aspect of women's sexual autonomy—negotiating condom use—I added the following question to this measure of women's sexual autonomy: "When a wife knows her husband has a sexually transmitted disease, is she justified in asking her husband to use a condom?" Men responded with "Yes," "No," and "Don't Know." I coded those who were unsure of a woman's right to ask for condom use with her husband, and responded with "Don't Know," with men who responded "No" to this question, as these men could potentially refuse a woman's right to use a condom within the parameters of the question given. For this question, 2.4% of responses were "Don't Know." As with earlier coding practices, this provides a stricter measure of men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy. Therefore, I scored men who said "Yes" as 0, and men who said "No" and "Don't Know" as 1. In order to construct a scale of men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy, I again employed a principal component factor analysis of the five items to determine whether they formed a

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single dimension. All items loaded with absolute values greater than 0.4, and reliability analysis confirmed the internal consistency of the five items (alpha =0.683).

Attitudes Toward Men's Retaliation

Attitudes toward men's retaliation when wives refuse sex are represented by the following four-item scale: "Do you think that if a woman refuses to have sex with her husband when he wants her to, he has the right to: Get angry and reprimand her? Refuse to give her money or other means of financial support? Use force and have sex with her even if she does not want to? Go and have sex with another woman?" On each item, men responded with "Yes," "No," or "Don't Know." If a man responded with "Don't Know," suggesting that he was not certain whether a man could retaliate in one of these ways when his wife refused sex, I coded their responses with men who said "Yes." I did this because respondents who were unsure whether men could retaliate against their wives may still potentially condone these behaviors, and this provides a stricter measure of men's gender-equitable attitudes. As a result, I scored responses of "No" as 0, and responses of "Yes" and "Don't Know" as 1. Between 0.6% and 1.7% of responses to these questions was "Don't Know." In order to construct a scale of men's attitudes toward domestic violence, I employed a principal component factor analysis of the five items to determine whether they formed a single dimension. All items loaded with absolute values greater than 0.4, and reliability analysis confirmed the internal consistency of the five items (alpha = 0.662). For each of these three scales (attitudes toward domestic violence, attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy, and attitudes toward men's retaliation), I computed a factor score to be used as the dependent variables for the bivariate and multivariate analyses (Kim and Mueller 1978). Please refer to Table 2 for a summary of the dependent variables.

Table 2: Dependent Variables						

Attitudes toward Domestic Violence Factor Score Items

In your opinion, is a husband justified in hitting or beating a his wife in the following situations?

		%		%		%
If she goes out without telling him	Yes = 1	19.8	No = 0	79.4	DK = 1	0.8
If she neglects the children	Yes = 1	23.6	No = 0	75.8	DK = 1	0.6
If she argues with him	Yes = 1	15.8	No = 0	83.2	DK = 1	1.0
If she refuses to have sex with him	Yes = 1	10.1	No = 0	88.9	DK = 1	1.0
If she burns the food	Yes = 1	8.0	No = 0	91.7	DK = 1	0.3

Attitudes toward Women's Sexual Autonomy Factor Score Items

Please tell me if you think a wife is justified in refusing to have sex with her husband when:

		%		%		%
She knows her husband has a sexually transmitted disease	Yes = 0	90.6	No = 1	7.9	DK = 1	1.5
She knows her husband has sex with women other than his wives	Yes = 0	82.6	No = 1	16.2	DK = 1	1.2
She has recently given birth	Yes = 0	88.0	No = 1	10.7	DK = 1	1.3
She is tired or not in the mood	Yes = 0	80.0	No = 1	18.2	DK = 1	1.8
When a wife knows her husband has a sexually transmitted disease, is she justified in asking her husband to use a condom?	Yes = 0	91.9	No = 1	5.7	DK = 1	2.4

Attitudes toward Men's Retaliation Factor Score Items

Do you think that if a woman refuses to have sex with her husband when he wants her to, he has the right to:

		%		%		%
Get angry and reprimand her	Yes = 1	15.3	No = 0	83.0	DK = 1	1.7
Refuse to give her money or other means of financial support	Yes = 1	9.5	No = 0	89.9	DK = 1	0.6
Use force and have sex with her even if she does not want to	Yes = 1	4.6	No = 0	94.7	DK = 1	0.7
Go and have sex with another woman	Yes = 1	11.5	No = 0	87.3	DK = 1	1.2

Independent Variables

The following section outlines the basic sociodemographic characteristics that are examined as predictors of men's gender-equitable attitudes within the 2003 GDHS and provides rationale for the inclusion of each of these measures. This discussion categorizes independent variables as individual, family, or environmental characteristics in order to examine how the personal and environmental components of Bussey and Bandura's (1999) model of triadic reciprocal causation and the gendered subsystem of family as outlined by social cognitive theory relate to men's gender

attitudes. The individual characteristics in these models (age, education, and literacy) reflect factors that can shape how men interpret and interact with their surrounding environments, while the family characteristics (marital status and wealth) represent the nature of the household in which men currently live. Although Bussey and Bandura's (1999) gender subsystem of the family captures the influence of natal families on gender attitudes, these analyses examine the relationship between adulthood family characteristics and men's gender attitudes. The environmental characteristics utilized in these models are: childhood residence, adulthood residence, ethnicity, religion, and frequency of radio listening. Because little available research has explored the predictors of men's gender-equitable attitudes within the Ghanaian context, I ground the following discussion in research findings from other sub-Saharan African countries where available, and from developed countries when no other studies are obtainable. Therefore, the findings from these analyses are largely exploratory.

<u>Individual Characteristics</u>

  Age is treated as a continuous variable measured in one year increments. Because men of different ages experience childhood socialization in different social and cultural environments, it is likely that age is related to men's gender attitudes as a result of a cohort effect (Brewster and Padavic 2000). Empirical evidence in the U.S. suggests that age is negatively related to men's feminist attitudes, as socialization environments were impacted by the women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 70s, bringing about more gender-equitable attitudes in younger men (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004). However, because the women's liberation movement did not greatly impact gender relations in Ghana, it is unlikely that these data will demonstrate the same relationship. Instead, age may have a direct relationship to men's gender attitudes that is not mediated by the context of socialization; as men grow older, their proximity to hegemonic masculinities may change through an ageing effect (Kimmel 2000). In this way, age may influence men's interactions with their environments as personal characteristics exhibit in Bussey and Bandura's (1999) model of reciprocal

causation. Older Ghanaian men may have access to greater gendered power as their social status rises, thus giving them greater access to the patriarchal dividend, and increasing their male-dominant attitudes. Alternatively, as men's social status increases with age, they may feel less pressure to exercise their authority through their relationships with women, and they may have greater gender-equitable attitudes.

Education is a continuous variable measured by number of years of education attained. As described within the theoretical framework of this research, education is a gender socializing sub-system that greatly influences the gender attitudes of both boys and girls (Bussey and Bandura 1999). In the U.S., education has shown a positive effect on men's recognition of gender inequality (Kane 1995), their feminist orientations on women's issues (Reingold and Foust 1998), and their egalitarian attitudes toward women's domestic roles (Mason and Lu 1988). Therefore, this variable is included in the analyses to determine whether men's educational levels similarly influence men's gender attitudes in Ghana; this personal attribute may change how Ghanaian men interpret and engage their environments, and undergird shifts in their gender attitudes.

Literacy is a categorical variable measured by the following categories: "Cannot read at all" (Illiterate), "Able to read only parts of a sentence" (Part Literate), and "Able to read whole sentence" (Literate). Interviewers gave men a card with a sentence written in their natal languages to read, and their level of success in reading the card gave information from which the interviewer then categorized the respondent. Literacy, although related to education, may also have an effect on men's gender attitudes that is net of men's educational achievement. Schribner and Cole (1981) found in Liberia that literacy itself—apart from the educational experience—shapes cognitive development, and this can potentially impact men's gender attitudes, as it alters men's interactions with their environment (Bussey and Bandura 1999). In rural areas of Senegal, where literacy is not pervasive, individuals explained that their literacy skills not only gave them new analytical tools, but changed their social role within the community, as it distinguished them from others who could not read

(Fagerberg-Diallo 2001). As Barker (1998) found, when men have a skill or competency that increases their social status, they have more freedom to explore nontraditional gender attitudes.

<u>Family Characteristics</u>

Marital Status is a dichotomous variable that measures whether a respondent is married/partnered or not. In this measure, men with multiple partners (including those who are polygynously married) are collapsed into the married category. Polygynously married men are treated the same as monogamously married men because they also must navigate gender power dynamics with their wives. Similarly, men who are monogamously married under customary law may take additional wives at any time, suggesting that differences between polygynously and monogamously married men may be as much resource-driven as attitude-driven. While marital status could be treated as an individual characteristic, in these analyses it is considered a family characteristic because it dramatically shapes the nature of the household in which men live, and this can potentially impact men's gender attitudes. Marriage in the U.S. is related to less gender-equitable attitudes about women's employment, and for White men, less equitable attitudes regarding gender roles (Blee and Tickamyer 1995). However, whether marriage has the same effects in Ghana is not known, as the influence of marriage on men's gender attitudes is relative to their gendered expectations prior to marriage. Even though men have the preponderance of power in marriage in Ghana, women are not powerless; African women have strategies to gain power and resources within the patriarchal system of marriage (Kandiyoti 1988). Men who are married or partnered can no longer think about gender roles and dynamics in the abstract, as marriage necessitates the real application of these concepts in intimate relationships. In this way, marital status is likely to impact men's gender attitudes.

Wealth is measured by an index of household goods and contains five quintiles: poorest, poorer, middle, richer, richest. This measure is derived from the presence of nine household assets within the respondent's house: radio, television, refrigerator, bicycle, motorcycle, car, telephone,

electricity, and a flush toilet or pit latrine. This measure reflects the nature of the family environment within which men live, as these household assets capture household income and not simply the respondents' earnings. For the purposes of this study, I treated the wealth index as a categorical variable and created a dummy variable for each wealth quintile. In the U.S., some evidence suggests that income has a positive effect on White men's attitudes toward gender roles, signifying that there may be a class component to men's gender attitudes (Blee and Tickamyer 1995). Research in developed countries also demonstrates that household resources—men's relative resources versus the resources of women—can impact men's gender attitudes and their participation in household chores (Bianchi et al. 2000; Brines 1994). Wealth may potentially influence men's gender attitudes in Ghana since men who have higher wealth may not feel compelled to strive for authority over women, as they have secured their masculine status through other means, such as becoming a "big man" (Miescher 2005). In this way, wealth may protect men from pressures to enact male dominance. Empirical evidence on the continent supports this; in a study of seven sub-Saharan African countries, household wealth was one of the strongest and most consistent predictors of men's opposition to domestic violence (Rani, Bonu and Diop-Sidibe 2004).

<u>Environmental Characteristics</u>

Childhood Residence is measured as a nominal variable that includes three categories: city, town, and countryside. Because early life experiences with family, schooling, and peers are highly influential in shaping gender attitudes (Bussey and Bandura 1999), I include this measure to capture the community context of childhood socialization. Potential differences in male dominance in urban and rural Ghana, disparities in wealth and living standards between rural and urban areas (Sahn and Stifel 2003), as well as differences in cultural practices, such as adolescent sexual debut (Singh et al. 2000) suggest that differences in these socializing environments could impact the development of men's gender attitudes. For example, Dodoo and Tempenis (2002) argue that entrenched male dominance in rural areas of Kenya prevent rural women from reaching their fertility goals, and this

contributes to urban-rural fertility differentials. Rural-urban context can impact gendered attitudes and behaviors in sub-Saharan Africa.

Adulthood Residence is a dichotomous variable that categorizes men's adult residence as either rural or urban. This measure is included in these analyses to account for the influence of men's current communities on their adult gender attitudes. For example, Banaszak and Plutzer (1993) found through an analysis of nine European countries that regional levels of women's enrollment in higher education are associated with profeminist attitudes among men, as there is a larger population of women to combat male-dominant thinking and advocate for women's rights and opportunities. Additionally, they found that this effect is strongest among men with low and modest levels of education themselves (Banaszak and Plutzer 1993). Because educational access for girls (and to a smaller degree, boys) is greater in urban areas in Ghana, urban environments likely cultivate more gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men.

Ethnicity is represented as a nominal variable with 9 categories, including: Akan, Ga-Dangme, Ewe, Guan, Mole-Dagbani, Grussi, Gruma, Hausa, and Other. Because ethnic groups are regionally concentrated in Ghana, this variable is treated as an environmental influence on men's gender attitudes. U.S. data demonstrates that racial and ethnic differences in gender attitudes can stem from the different structural locations occupied by ethnic groups (Wilkie 1993), the greater proximity to inequality experienced by racial and ethnic minorities (Kane 1992), and differing cultural significance of gender-related roles and customs (Kane 2000). In Ghana, because ethnic groups differ in terms of their cultural practices (including marriage and inheritance practices), history of marginalization, and proximity to economic and political power, it is likely that ethnicity differentially influences men's gender attitudes.

Religion is a nominal variable that, for the purposes of this study, is collapsed into five categories: Roman Catholic, Protestant (Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian), Other Christian, Muslim, and a collapsed category of Traditional Religion, None, and Other. Evidence from the U.S.

and Canada suggests that higher religiosity corresponds with more conservative gender attitudes (Brinkerhoff and MacKie 1985), and religious affiliation also impacts multiple dimensions of men and women's gender attitudes (Brinkerhoff and MacKie 1984; Lottes and Kuriloff 1992). Unfortunately, the construction of this variable in the DHS does not allow for useful comparisons between growing Christian sects (Charismatic, Pentecostal, and Evangelical, for example). However, differences may emerge between the religious categories present, as religious leaders, teachings, and communities differ significantly across groups, and religious participation plays a large role in many Ghanaians' lives (Yirenkyi 1999). Religious leaders frequently advise their congregations on good familial and marital behaviors, and these messages can potentially shape men's gender attitudes. In this way, religious communities are potential environmental influences on men's gender attitudes.

Frequency of radio listening is a categorical variable measured by the following categories: Not at all, Less than once a week, At least once a week, and Almost every day. I created four dummy variables to utilize in the subsequent analyses that capture men's frequency of radio listening. I utilize radio listening in this analysis because it is widespread across the country, and not as isolated to wealthy or urbanized areas, unlike other forms of media (newspaper and television) consumption. Due to the frequency with which men listen to the radio in Ghana (75% percent of men in the 2003 GDHS listen to the radio almost every day) this radio exposure acts as a component of men's environments. In the U.S., media consumption has been related to more gender stereotypic attitudes, as stereotyping is exaggerated and reinforced through television, radio, video games, and books (Bussey and Bandura 1999). However, the direction of this relationship—whether media consumption influences more or less gender-equitable attitudes—is contingent upon the nature of the gender attitudes promoted through media, relevant to prevailing gendered norms. Radio programming in Ghana frequently broadcasts educational public service announcements regarding HIV/AIDS, child nutrition, and the importance of sending children to school. Therefore, men may adopt more gender-equitable messages as a result of higher levels of radio consumption. Evidence in

South Africa suggests that hegemonic masculinities are promoted through the media (Morrell 2001); radio has also been recognized as one of the best means of promoting positive social change. Radio in Zimbabwe is one of the most effective ways for men to learn about family planning (Adamchak and Mbizvo 1991). Media campaigns have also demonstrated efficacy in encouraging family planning use in Ghana (Hindin et al. 1994).

Table 3: Independent Variables		
	Data Type	**Variable Construction**
Individual Characteristics		
Age	Interval	1 Year Increments
Education	Interval	1 Year Increments
Literacy	Ordinal	3 Categories
Family Characteristics		
Marital Status	Nominal	Dichotomous
Wealth	Ordinal	5 Categories
Environmental Characteristics		
Childhood Residence	Nominal	3 Categories
Adulthood Residence	Nominal	Dichotomous
Ethnicity	Nominal	9 Categories
Religion	Nominal	5 Categories
Frequency of Radio Listening	Ordinal	4 Categories

Statistical Procedures

The quantitative component of the study seeks to assess the extent to which individual, family, and environmental characteristics influence men's gender attitudes, as measured by men's attitudes toward domestic violence, women's sexual autonomy, and men's retaliation for women's refusal of sex. Univariate, bivariate, and multivariate tools are included as part of the analytical procedure. The univariate tools describe the variables in these analyses, the bivariate statistics serve as background descriptors of the relationships between independent and dependent variables, and

multivariate analyses evaluate the importance of each sociodemographic variable in explaining the variability of each dependent variable, controlling for each of the other predictors.

Univariate Tools

I use descriptive statistics of both dependent and independent variables to provide the background for the sociodemographic predictors (independent variables) and men's gender attitudes (dependent variables) used in this study. Further description of these variables and a table describing these measures is located on page 110 in Chapter 5.

Bivariate Tools

Bivariate correlations are utilized to determine the statistical relationship between men's sociodemographic characteristics and gender attitudes. These analyses serve to build an empirical understanding of the effects of the sociodemographic factors on men's gender attitudes. I utilized Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients (PMCC) to illustrate these bivariate relationships. A table of these bivariate correlations is included in Chapter 5 on page 113.

Multivariate Tools

This study uses multivariate regression to evaluate the independent contribution of each predictor variable in explaining the variation within each dependent variable, controlling for the effects of other predictors. Specifically, this study utilizes linear regression to evaluate whether individual, family, and environmental characteristics are key predictors of men's gender attitudes. I use linear regression because the dependent variables for the regression models are continuous. In this study, the three dependent variables are factor scores built from attitudinal scales that reflect three different dimensions of men's gender attitudes. Linear regression models the relationship between one or more independent variables and the dependent variable by an ordinary least squares (OLS) function, or linear regression equation. This function is a linear combination of one or more model parameters, or regression coefficients. Additionally, the adjusted R-Square indicates how the

inclusion of independent variables in the model influences the proportion of variance accounted for in the dependent variables.

Collinearity Diagnostics

In order to confirm that this analysis adheres to the assumptions of linear regression, I examined the data and measures for multicollinearity, outlier bias, and heteroskedasticity. First, the bivariate correlations between independent variables can determine if multicollinearity exists. Multicollinearity is a statistical phenomenon where two predictor variables in a multiple regression model are highly correlated, and the absolute value of this correlation is greater than 0.8. While multicollinearity does not impact the predictive ability of the model as a whole, it can interfere with the validity of results for individual predictors. Secondly, if independent variables are highly correlated, they may actually be redundant within the model. All the absolute values of the bivariate correlations in these analyses are less than 0.8, and therefore multicollinearity is not a concern.

The second diagnostic test ensures that outliers in the model are not biasing results. To do this, I predicted the studentized residuals for each respondent, which is the quotient of the division of a residual by an estimate of its standard deviation. This standardizes the residual and allows for comparison. If the studentized residual for most respondents falls within the absolute value of 2, then no problems are present. However, if larger numbers of respondents have studentized residuals outside this range, then bias from outliers may be introduced in the models. For the dependent variables of domestic violence, women's sexual autonomy, and men's retaliation, 7.2%, 6.7%, and 6.3% of respondents had studentized residuals outside this range, thus suggesting that outlier bias is not a problem in these models.

The third diagnostic test, disconfirming heteroskedasticity, requires a plot of the studentized residuals. One of the assumptions of OLS regression is that error terms have constant variance. While heteroskedasticity does not directly cause bias to coefficients, the variance and standard errors of the coefficients tend to be underestimated, thus potentially making insignificant variables appear

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significant when they are not. In order to disconfirm heteroskedascity, the studentized residuals must be evenly distributed along the mean for the dependent variables. These plots are included in Appendix A.

QUALITATIVE PROCEDURE

This section describes the qualitative procedures utilized to collect and analyze in-depth interviews with gender-equitable Ghanaian men to address the second research purpose of this study (*explore men's experiences over the life course that influence the development of gender-equitable attitudes, and examine the possible personal costs and benefits experience by gender-equitable men*). First I discuss the tradition of inquiry implemented in the qualitative component of this study (grounded theory). I then discuss the sampling and in-depth interviewing procedure utilized to collect these interviews, as well as my use of fieldnotes and transcriptions. Finally, I discuss validity threats to these data as a result of my status as a White American woman, and the grounded theory analytical process.

Grounded Theory

Within the social sciences, there are several methodological approaches, or traditions of inquiry, that have been developed for the implementation of qualitative methods, including ethnography, case-study, phenomenology, and biography, to name a few (Creswell 1998). This study employs the methodological approach of grounded theory, a tradition of inquiry founded within the discipline of sociology (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Grounded theory is a useful approach for this research because it can be used to explore a poorly understood topic, provides a detailed view of the phenomenon, and allows for the development of theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990). The analytical process within grounded theory "facilitates the generation of theories of process, sequences, and change," that emerge inductively from qualitative data (Glaser and Strauss 1967:114). As a result, researchers must be careful to approach their subject of inquiry without rigid presuppositions or adherence to *a priori* formulated theory. If executed rigorously, grounded theory furthers our

understanding of the phenomena of interest within the available data. Therefore, the issues of purposive sampling and theoretical saturation are critical to the success of inductive theory generated through this approach.

Purposive Sampling

The purposive sampling of respondents for qualitative research is theoretically driven within the grounded theory tradition. In other words, respondents who can contribute to the development of theory are added to the sample over the course of data collection, and criteria for inclusion may change as nascent theoretical concepts emerge (Dey 1999). Miles and Huberman (1994) outline 16 types of sampling that can be used for qualitative inquiry, and this research employs both extreme/deviant case sampling and snowball or chain sampling. The extreme/deviant case sampling was critical to the success of this research, as it allows us to learn from a unique group of gender-equitable Ghanaian men who hold attitudes that are extreme in relation to most Ghanaian men. While snowball sampling procedures were less imperative to research outcomes (respondents did not need to necessarily know each other), this second sampling procedure offered logistical and pragmatic ease to the data collection process.

In order to locate extreme/deviant cases (Ghanaian men who were more gender-equitable than most men) I contacted three women who are leaders within the women's rights movement in Ghana. Recommended to me by my adviser, Dr. Francis Dodoo, these women acted as key informants and gave me names of men whom they endorsed as gender-equitable. While two of these women worked in academia and held positions at the University of Ghana—one is a research fellow within the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER), and the second is the head of CEGENSA (Center for Gender Studies and Advocacy) and a professor of African Studies—the third key informant is Director of ABANTU for Development (humankind for development), which is an international organization that promotes training, advocacy and research to improve gender inequality throughout Africa. All three women have spent many years working on gender inequality

issues in both academic and nonacademic spheres. My key informant from ISSER recommended eight men for interview, of which six interviews materialized. The second key informant from CEGENSA recommended two potential respondents, both of whom were interviewed. The third key informant, the director of ABANTU, provided a list of 12 gender-equitable Ghanaian men for this study, of which I interviewed 10. Because the three key informants knew each other, their professional and personal circles overlapped slightly, and out of the 22 men they recommended for participation in the study, three men were recommended by more than one key informant. In short, I conducted 15 in-depth interviews—slightly less than half my sample—as a result of these initial key informant contacts.

I also received names of potential respondents from three other women key informants, whom I met during the course of my research. Two of these women were case workers at an organization that advocates for the human rights of women and children. From their recommendations, I secured three interviews. The final woman key informant is a research fellow at the Institute for African Studies at the University of Ghana who researches gender and family issues in Ghana, and she is very familiar with gendered power issues in Ghanaian households. With her help, I located an additional three respondents. Therefore, out of 33 in-depth interviews with gender-equitable Ghanaian men, I located 21 respondents through the help of women involved in the women's rights movement in Ghana.

To augment my sample through a snowball or chain sampling process, these initial 21 respondents recommended the remaining 12 respondents. As my fieldwork progressed, the snowball sampling process became moderately less effective, as respondents began recommending men who had already been recommended by either the six women key informants, or earlier respondents. While this confirms the gender-equitable reputations of respondents (as multiple people identified these men in this way), it suggests that perhaps these in-depth interview respondents represent a network of gender-equitable men in the greater Accra area. This may constrain the external validity,

or transferability (Guba and Lincoln 1982), of these findings to the larger population of men who hold similarly equitable attitudes, in part because men who are more private with their gender attitudes were significantly less likely to be identified as potential respondents for this study. In other words, the men in this study may share other similarities beyond their gender-equitable attitudes as a result of the sampling procedure, and this could weaken the transferability of these findings. Beyond the 33 respondents who were interviewed for this study, I received an additional 23 leads on potential respondents. However, I was unable to secure interviews with these men due to a variety of reasons, such as incomplete contact information, poor phone connections, and schedule incompatibility. In fact, I scheduled an additional four interviews for my last week of fieldwork, none of which materialized because all of these respondents wanted to delay the interview.

As a later stage of respondent sampling, grounded theory recommends the inclusion of a heterogeneous sample of respondents to confirm or disconfirm components of the emerging theoretical model. While time and financial constraints on my field work in Ghana did not allow for a full exploration of this confirming/disconfirming process, I did seize two opportunities to conduct in-depth interviews with Ghanaian men who espoused more traditional—and normative—male-dominant attitudes. I met the first 'normative' respondent at the University of Ghana, which was my home base for these data collection activities. Over the course of several weeks, the respondent and I developed a good rapport, and he frequently shared his traditional attitudes about women with me. When I asked him for an interview, I told him I wanted to know more about his ideas about men and women, and he was happy to oblige. I met the second 'normative' respondent while waiting in an office for another gender-equitable respondent to arrive for an interview. When I told this man about my research on gender-equitable men, he volunteered himself with the following exclamation, "I can tell you about men and women in Ghana!" We talked for several minutes, and he espoused a number of traditional male-dominant perspectives. Before leaving, I asked this 'normative' man for a formal interview, and he was similarly obliging. While these two respondents cannot confirm/disconfirm the

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findings from this study, their interviews present an opportunity to investigate potential biases in these data as a result of my multiple outsider statuses as a White American woman.

Because the unit of analysis for grounded theory is at the individual level, in-depth interviews are a common data collection technique (Corbin and Strauss 2008). Data collection continues until a point of theoretical saturation of the phenomena under examination has been reached; this occurs when additional interviews are not yielding new perspectives that make further interviews worthy of the added time and expense. For grounded theory research, this point generally falls between 20 and 30 in-depth interviews (Creswell 1998). When the researcher lives in closer proximity to the 'field,' data collection can occur at a slower pace, and analysis can be completed concurrently. In this way, researchers can closely gauge when data collection should end. For this study, due to the finite period of time available for fieldwork, and the significant resources needed to return to Ghana if data collection efforts were insufficient, I continued to collect in-depth interviews with gender-equitable men slightly beyond the recommended point of theoretical saturation. While there were likely diminishing returns to these later interviews, they served as an insurance policy for the data collection effort.

Because the starting point of the snowball sampling design was three women leaders of the women's rights movement—all of whom had achieved high educational and economic statuses—the gender-equitable respondents interviewed for this research also tended to reflect these high statuses, as they were the friends, acquaintances, colleagues, and partners of these women. While the education and employment levels of respondents are not reflective of the larger population of Ghanaian men—respondents had achieved greater economic and educational success than most men—respondents did come from diverse family backgrounds. Therefore, while respondents may not currently reflect average educational or wealth attainments in Ghana, their backgrounds are more normative. However, because respondents have high social status, they may actually have an easier time holding gender-equitable attitudes, as their statuses may buffer them from marginalization and

social pressures to enact hegemonic masculinities. Conversely, they may have a more difficult time rejecting parts of the patriarchal dividend, as they potentially have more to lose by their closer proximity to the attainment of hegemonic masculinity.

Respondent Descriptions

Respondents ranged in age from their early 30s to mid-60s, with ten respondents in their 30s, 13 respondents in their 40s, and the final ten in their 50s and 60s. A large majority of respondents (26) were married, while four were divorced, one was engaged, and two of the respondents in their early 30s had never been married. Among those who were married, the durations of their unions were quite diverse, ranging from just married (within the last 6 months) to 34 years. Three of the married men had no children, while the two unmarried respondents and the engaged respondent did not have children. One divorced father was raising his young daughter as a single parent. Among those who were parents, they had between 1 and 5 children.

Despite the small size of this sample, the five largest ethnic groups of Ghana were represented (Akan, Ga, Ewe, Dagomba and Guan) in relatively similar proportions to the population, and respondents spent their childhoods in regions all across the country. While the majority of respondents were Christian (including Catholics, Pentecostals, and Protestants, among others) a minority of respondents were Muslim, and a number of respondents did not identify as religiously affiliated, although most of these men were raised in a Christian church. Many respondents spent their childhoods in rural villages, dispersed throughout the country, while a few respondents spent their younger years in proximity to larger cities and towns in Ghana, including Accra, Kumasi, and Tamale. Respondents' parents encompassed a wide range of economic statuses; while a number of respondents had parents who were illiterate and were subsistence farmers, others had one or two parents in civil service positions (such as postmasters and school teachers). A number of respondents' mothers were traders who sold a range of goods including bread, cooked foodstuffs, and cloth, while some fathers were police officers or in the military. A few respondents spent the

preponderance of their childhoods living with grandparents, most of who lived in rural communities and needed help on family farms. Fathers of respondents tended to have higher education and more lucrative employment than mothers, although considering the constrained educational opportunities that Ghanaian women had access to during the 1940s, 50s, 60s, and 70s, mothers' employment levels could likely surpass average levels of attainment for women during this time period.

In terms of respondents' own education and employment, although respondents held a diverse range of occupations, their educational and economic attainment placed most respondents in the upper-class of Ghana. Eleven respondents were affiliated with the University of Ghana, either as faculty or research fellows. While respondents worked in a variety of academic departments, none were outside the liberal arts or law. Fifteen additional respondents worked for non-profit organizations in the greater Accra area that tackled a range of issues including economic development, domestic violence, and democracy building in Ghana. Out of these respondents, 6 had educational backgrounds in law, 4 had training in social work or the social sciences, 2 were accountants, and the remaining 3 respondents were program officers at their respective places of employment. A number of these respondents were very invested in political issues in Ghana, and their positions generally contributed to advocacy. The remaining 7 respondents held a range of positions: OBGYN, clinical psychologist, police officer, trade union officer, reporter, newspaper editor, and development specialist for the Church of Latter Day Saints.

Gender-Equitable, Profeminist, and Antisexist

Gender-equitable men in developed countries generally identify with the terms profeminist, pro-feminist, or anti-sexist, and the existing body of research makes use of this terminology (Christian 1994; Clatterbaugh 1996; Cornish 1997; Goldrick-Jones 2002). Profeminist (or pro-feminist) men "refers to men who ground their personal lives or political acts on feminist principles" (Goldrick-Jones 2002:4). Most men who are involved in these movements do not identify as feminists, as they believe that this term is reserved for only women, as being feminist is intertwined

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with the personal experience of being a woman (Clatterbaugh 1996). As Cornish (1997) explains, "Because men cannot ever experience that oppression, or totally remove themselves from their position of gender privilege, they can never be the subjects of feminist work in the way women can" (17). For some, the presence of the hyphen in this term serves to distinguish men's position in feminist movements from the position of women. Brod (1998) argues that the hyphen in pro-feminist is supported by men who "believe feminism to be essentially of, by, and for women" (Brod 1998:207).

Michael Flood, a leading Australian sociologist who studies sex, gender and masculinities argues that the term 'pro-feminist' is almost equivalent to 'anti-sexist,' and he uses these terms somewhat interchangeably. However, he prefers pro-feminism, "because it suggests an explicit and ongoing commitment to support feminism. Without this, men may drift towards an understanding of sexism that neglects men's power over women" (Goldrick-Jones 2002:4). Alternatively, Christian (1994) expresses a preference for "anti-sexist," as it signifies the necessity of fighting back against gender inequality. Men who do not support gender inequality, but do not actively seek to change it, are complicit with the perpetuation of systems that privilege men.

However, despite the popularity of these terms in developed countries, they have little to no saliency within the Ghanaian context. Perhaps because of the large international push toward gender equality, as articulated by the UNDP Millennium Development Goals, the notions of gender equality and gender equity are more familiar to most Ghanaians. In my conversations with respondents, I utilized the term gender-equitable. While inequality captures differences between groups, the distribution of goods or resources, inequity goes further to capture the notion that not only is the distribution of good or resources between groups is unequal, but that it is also unfair and unjust (Firebaugh 2004).

In-Depth Interview Procedure

According to Plummer (1983) in-depth interviews from a life history perspective can give rich information on personal experience and ideology, as well as on social structures and institutions. With this approach, respondents have the opportunity to situate their own life experience within the larger social context. While some researchers may argue that personal reflections may not be fully accurate (individuals retell histories from an ever-changing personal perspective) others assert that the strength of telling one's own history rests precisely in this interaction between the present respondent and his past selves. This approach draws attention to the process of change itself, revealing the "cumulative nature of experience" (Allen and Pickett 1987:518). This interviewing technique provides a way for men to "explore their self presentations;" retelling one's history becomes a means of depicting one's current self (Miescher 2005:14). Through cohesive histories of men's life experiences, this approach provides men's own interpretations and understandings of how and why their gender attitudes are so uniquely shaped. Even though this approach is naturally subjective, as it requires respondents to interact with their past selves, (Miescher 2005), because life experiences work cumulatively to bring about gender-equitable attitudes, this life history perspective is appropriate, and commonly utilized in studies of gender-equitable men (Christian 1994; Vicario 2003; White 2008).

I conducted the in-depth interviews using a semi-structured approach. While one-on-one interviews are suited for many purposes, the nature of the research questions (whether they are theory building or theory testing) and the extent of the information already known about the subject of inquiry can dictate the level of structuring required in interviews (Wengraf 2001). Within semi-structured interviews, the researcher organizes questions into broad topics (e.g. family of origin) and then provides a series of question prompts within each topic (e.g. Who were your primary caregivers as a child? What were your relationships with them like?). In a semi-structured interview, the respondent is given the freedom to flow from one topic to another, even if these topics are not

sequentially ordered on the interview guide. However, the researcher must steer the conversation to the topics most salient to the research purpose(s), and ensure that all areas of the interview guide are covered during the interview. While an unstructured interview is respondent-driven, and a structured interview is interviewer-driven, the semi-structured interview is driven by both the respondent and the interviewer, each taking turns at the wheel.

The interview guide for this research is presented in Appendix B. Even though all the broad topics in this interview guide were investigated in each interview, the guide itself is an overly simplistic construct. After each interview, I assessed the success of each topic area and question prompt, and reordered, restated, added, and subtracted questions. This iterative process allowed me to constantly evaluate the success of my research approach, and make changes as necessary. As a result, I rewrote a new copy of the interview guide into my field work notebook prior to each interview, altering areas that needed improvement. While this was a necessary means of instrument refinement during the beginning of my fieldwork, this practice became a ritual of interview preparation that mentally prepared me for the task at hand. Additionally, as part of the active listening strategy I utilized during interviews (Rubin and Rubin 1995), I frequently reshaped prompts during the interviews themselves, to reframe my inquiries with the words of respondents in order to demonstrate my commitment to hearing their stories in their own words.

According to Weiss (1994), researchers can anticipate in-depth interviews lasting between 1.5 and 2 hours, if there are no time constraints on both the respondent and interviewer. While interviews can go significantly longer (with breaks at least every two hours) interviews under 30 minutes are unlikely to yield a coherent picture of respondents' experiences (Weiss 1994). Thirteen of my in-depth interviews were between 1.5 and 2 hours, nine were between 1 and 1.5 hours, and six were around 1 hour in length. The remaining five interviews lasted about 45 minutes each. In total, interviews averaged 1 hour and 20 minutes. Some of the shorter interviews were constrained by respondents' busy schedules, an issue that was possibly compounded by the interview location; the

vast majority of interviews were conducted in private at men's places of work. Respondents were generally able to speak thoughtfully about all the broad topics on the interview guide within 1 hour to 1.25 hours; therefore, the five interviews lasting only 45 minutes may have provided greater utility if not for respondents' time constraints.

Fieldnotes and Transcriptions

Per the recommendations of Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995), I wrote fieldnotes after each in-depth interview. These fieldnotes "provide a distinctive resource for preserving experience close to the moment of occurrence and, hence, for deepening reflection upon and understanding of those experiences" (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995:13). In my fieldnotes, I wrote initial reactions to the interview, including my first analytical reflections from the interview content, and any useful observations that would not be caught by digital recording. For instance, I took note of the demeanor of the respondent, his body language and mood, and any informal conversation that took place before or after the interview. Perhaps most useful, however, were my fieldnotes regarding the environment in which the interviews were conducted. While I do not have a strong memory capacity for facts, I do have a good ability to relate facts—and perhaps more importantly, feelings—to a visual memory. Knowing this about myself, I took notes on the physical characteristics of each respondent (any remarkable facial features, glasses, clothing, haircut) as well as a description of the room in which the interview was conducted (the color of the walls, size of the room, the type of table at which we sat). This information has been invaluable through the analysis process, as it immediately connects me to my memories of each individual respondent. More than a year after the completion of my fieldwork, while the facial features of respondents have faded in my memory, I have a clear "interview room" in my mind for each respondent. These visual pictures continue to connect me to the gamut of feelings I experienced within each interview—the empathy, admiration, connection, discomfort, skepticism, and frustration—and also to the material 'facts' within each interview. Because the life experiences that shape men's gender attitudes are complex, intertwined, and

cumulative, these visual images have allowed me to maintain a more holistic case-oriented approach to data analysis.

As part of the iterative process of data collection, purposive sampling, theoretical saturation, and theory building that constitutes grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990), I began transcriptions of the in-depth interviews immediately after the first interview. While my transcription pace was slower than my interviewing pace—detailed, verbatim transcription can take between four and six hours per hour of data (Warren and Karner 2005)—over the course of my three months in Ghana, I transcribed 15 in-depth interviews. Upon my return to the U.S., I hired a student from the University of Ghana who had recently immigrated to the Penn State area, and who was highly recommended to me by my adviser. Her transcription work served a number of purposes. First, she saved me many hours of time, without compromising the quality of the transcriptions. Her tenacity for language accuracy was extremely good; her ratio of data minutes to transcription pages was consistently similar to my own (3 minutes of data per transcribed page), suggesting that her attention to detail in these transcripts was similar to those interviews I transcribed myself. Because the transcription of qualitative data is one of the least-explored potential sources of bias within the field, as any discrepancies between the audio recording and the transcript inevitably hinder analyses (Poland 2002), I was very fortunate to find such a skilled transcriber. Maclean, Meyer and Estable (2004) consider such a person to be "worth their weight in gold" (113). Secondly, as a Ghanaian woman, she had an insider's perspective to lend to the analysis of the in-depth interviews. She flagged any interview text that made her feel suspicious of the respondent's honesty, or text that suggested that respondents were possibly presenting themselves differently than they would to other Ghanaians. Fortunately, through the course of hearing the full interviews, the text 'flagged' by the transcriber explained itself over the course of the interview, and she did not hold reservations about the quality of the data.

While verbatim transcriptions of in-depth interviews are essential for accurate analysis of data, researchers hold varied opinions on how quotes should be utilized in published works. Researchers who adopt analytical approaches that require "the absolute content of speech," such as narrative or biographical approaches, may be resistant to any text editing, as the 'ums' and 'ers,' that are regular occurrences in speech, may also elucidate interpretation (Corden and Sainsbury 2006:18). However, other researchers prefer to do some "light tidying up" of quotes by removing word repetitions and the 'stops and starts' that are common in normal spoken word (Corden and Sainsbury 2006:18). This can greatly improve the readability of the text. Other researchers argue that reporting quotes verbatim can reduce respondents' credibility, as normal in speech can often appear inarticulate or linguistically incompetent in writing (Corden and Sainsbury 2006). In order to ensure that respondents' meanings are not obstructed by the idiosyncrasies of the spoken word, I follow the position of researchers who choose to "tidy up" respondent language. However, I strictly followed Poland's (2002) recommendations by taking "care that what is removed does not appreciably alter the meaning of what is said" (634).

Digital Recording Difficulties

While 28 of these interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed without a problem, five interviews presented some difficulties. Three respondents did not want their interviews to be recorded for privacy reasons, despite my reassurances of confidentiality. In these instances, I took detailed notes of the interview, as well as interpretive fieldnotes. Directly after each of these interviews, I typed up my notes and supplemented these with any information I had in memory from the interviews. I also experienced a technical difficulty with a $300 'state-of-the-art' MP3 player that doubled as a digital recorder. At the end of a full-day of interviewing respondents 13 and 14, the computer chip in this piece of equipment seized, permanently consuming these two long interviews. I immediately returned to my computer, and recorded all the details of my interview notes, fieldnotes, as well as the additional information I could piece together from my memory. However, respondent

14 had a very unique way of phrasing his ideas, which I could not capture through note taking alone. I scheduled a follow-up interview with him, and requested that we meet again so that 'I could follow up on some questions I had regarding his interview.' I never told him of the data loss; I felt that if he knew that his prior two-hour interview was bungled by the recording equipment, he would have felt crestfallen for no good reason.

Fortunately, I had a second digital recorder with me in Ghana—a significantly cheaper Olympus Digital Recorder—that worked beautifully for the remainder of my interviews. If I not had this second recorder, I would have been forced to use audio tapes for the rest of my fieldwork. After scouring the electronic stores in Accra it was apparent that digital recorders were not readily available in Ghana. As a result of these recording difficulties, I learned a number of valuable lessons: 1) Never use a fancy multi-tasking electronic device that is not expressly constructed for digital recording, especially when a tried-and-true device is available. 2) Have a back-up digital recorder, and use it to record every interview along with the primary recorder 3) Note taking during an interview can be critical to the success of analyses. However, if the interviewer also has to serve as note taker, balancing between these two tasks becomes difficult. In situations where respondents may be likely to decline the use of digital recording, hiring a competent note taker is money well spent, and 4) Many fieldwork difficulties can be greatly minimized with a thoughtful and quickly-executed contingency plan.

Data Validity Threats

Feminist theorists argue that the positionality of the researcher—gender, class, and race—affect all aspects of the research process, from the framing of the research question to the analytical approach, as one's own social location influences the full gamut of research choices (Naples 2003). Perhaps of greatest concern, however, is how the researcher's positionality influences data collection that requires face-to-face interaction between individuals. Because in-depth interviews are social interactions (Warren and Karner 2005), race, class, and gender inequalities are embedded in these

interactions. Researchers have sought to circumvent the challenges presented by positionality through two strategies. First, some have preferred interviewer/interviewee homogeneity—if they expect race or gender differences to constrain data collection in some way, they will likely pair interviewers and respondents on these characteristics (Williams and Heikes 1993). Second, under the assumption that the interviewer inherently has more power than the interviewee by the nature of the data collection exercise (Lee 1997), researchers avoid issues of positionality by "studying up," or by studying groups that are socially positioned higher than the researcher herself (McCorkel and Myers 2003).This strategy mitigates potential problems of positionality by ensuring that there are not large power differences between the respondent and the researcher.

However, these solutions are problematic. As Kusow (2003) points out, the insider/outsider statuses of the researcher (whether his or her positionalities align with those being researched) are not static, but rather constructed through the research process itself. "We must not see insider/outsider identities as predetermined roles, but rather as a result of the nature of the topic under investigation, the status characteristics and biographical particularities of both the researcher and the participant(s), and the local conditions in which the fieldwork takes place" (Kusow 2003:598). Because insider/outsider status is socially constructed, homogeneity between interviewees and interviewers cannot be determined prior to the research experience. "Studying up" is also a problematic solution; because the higher educational degrees needed to conduct social science research are not equally distributed by race, class, and gender, "studying up" leaves few researchers to investigate the experiences of marginalized groups. In fact, because one of the tenets of feminist research is to give voice to marginalized and underrepresented groups, the "studying up" strategy could be more damaging than benign, as it encourages researchers who possess dominant racial, gender, and class statuses to avoid researching those who hold subordinate statuses. This further marginalizes their life experiences.

Also, as Kusow (2003), Williams and Heikes (1993), and Scully (1990) have all found in their fieldwork experiences, insider status (sharing commonalities with the respondent) is not always beneficial to the research processes; shared statuses between the interviewee and interviewer can hinder the success of data collection in some circumstances, as respondents may be reticent to discuss personal issues with an insider (Bulmer 1993). Therefore, instead of assuming that racial, class, or gender similarities between the researcher and respondent cancel out the effects of these positionalities, we need to investigate how these statuses matter to the research aims, regardless of the shared or dissimilar statuses between the researcher and respondents (Williams and Heikes 1993). As McCorkel and Myers (2003) argue, by "scrutinizing the influence of our positionality," the researcher can seek "to achieve a stronger form of objectivity" (229).

Prior to my field work in Ghana, I anticipated encountering validity threats to these in-depth interviews as a result of my positionality as a White American woman, and my outsider status on the dimensions of race, gender and possibly class. Compounding this, my research directly examines gender, and topics on gender and sexuality have been found to be sensitive to interviewer-gender effects (Williams and Heikes 1993). Additionally, because respondents would be aware of the research topic prior to the interview—they would know I was looking for gender-equitable men—I anticipated a potential bias toward equitable attitudes among respondents. Respondents could consciously or subconsciously present a socially desirable side of themselves as a result of my outsider statuses and research aims. Compounding these factors, my position as a White American interviewing Africans also presented an additional level of complication to my positionality and its influences within these data. The only potential solution to mitigate these data validity threats was to hire a Ghanaian man as an interviewer to conduct all or some of the in-depth interviews. However, I felt that the tradeoffs required by this solution were too great; the benefits gained by having a Ghanaian male interviewer were outweighed by the likely lack of familiarity that this person would have regarding the research topic, qualitative methodologies, and interviewing techniques. In my

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opinion, this presented a greater threat to the data. Additionally, I did not have funds for this component of the research until it was too late to implement it, as a granting organization did not notify me of an award acceptance before I returned to the U.S. Therefore, from a feminist perspective, it is my responsibility as the researcher to forthrightly provide my positionalities within my research, not as an attempt to avoid issues that may surface as a result of privilege and difference, but instead to reveal these issues (McCorkel and Myers 2003:229).

A Woman Interviewing Men

While the issue of women interviewing men has been explored in the U.S. context, there is very little research on this topic within the Ghanaian or broader African context. Although Weinreb (2006) and Becker, Feyisetan, and Makinwa-Adebusoye (1995) explore the influence of interviewer gender in Malawi and Nigeria respectively, both of these studies include only female respondents and only examine outcomes in quantitative data. Even though gender power dynamics likely differ between the U.S. and Ghana, the U.S. body of research presents the best available starting point for exploring potential validity threats to these data as a result of my gender and the gendered nature of the research topic. Many American women researchers who have interviewed men have concerns about male respondents sanitizing their responses to appear more gender-equitable—much like my own concerns prior to field work. However, these concerns have been generally unfounded. Prior to Arendell's (1997) research on recently divorced men, which her colleague described as a "discourse on divorce" and a "metadiscourse … about being a man" (347), she was highly concerned about the potential influence her gender would have on the interviews she conducted. However, despite the gendered nature of her research, in hindsight, Arendell (1997) describes how her gender was less of an issue in her data collection that she anticipated:

> One of my concerns when I began the project was that men would be 'genderwise,' sensitive to issues of sexism and so careful to not express such sentiments even if they held them. I need not have been so concerned. A large majority seemingly felt no compunction to examine their taken-for-granted assumptions or to 'take the role of the other' (Mead 1934), and consider the possibility of other perspectives in my presence. Most seemed impervious to

the possibility that I might be offended by sexist remarks, or inclined to include myself among those—women—being demeaned. (359)

During the course of her research, Arendell (1997) was often treated as an "honorary male" by respondents (Warren 1988) where she was "invited to share the scope of [men's] anger and frustration *as men*" (Arendell 1997:356). Men frequently generalized their anger and frustration with their ex-wives to all women, calling women a full range of expletives, as well as "irrational, illogical, devious, lazy, and manipulative" (Arendell 1997:359).

Lee's (1997) research on sexual harassment yielded similar results; men who had been formally sanctioned for sexually harassing women still exhibited a sense of righteousness about their actions to a woman interviewer—they did not see anything wrong with their behavior, and therefore displayed no shame about it. After openly inquiring with a third party about the 'looks' of the researcher before committing to the interview, one respondent had the following exchange with Lee:

Re: I'm a bit of a chauvinist, really.
In: Are you?
Re: Well, that's what they tell me. But I only do it jokingly. I tell them where women should be. I don't really mean it. I only do it to get them, to get their backs up.
In: You tell them that women aren't as good as men?
Re: Yeah, I tell the truth.
In: [Laughs]
Re: [Smiles, glint appears in his eye]. Yes, I often say that. I say that they're only good for three things in life—ironing, cooking, and in bed. (560)

Still, without a comparison interview between this respondent and a male interviewer, it is virtually impossible to determine if this respondent attenuated his male chauvinism in response to the interviewer's gender. However, another possibility also exists; this respondent may have been even more forthcoming with his gender attitudes in order to get the interviewer's 'back up,' just as he explains he does with women in his workplace. Therefore, the preceding evidence suggests that cross-gender interviewing may not hinder data collection, and in some circumstances, could potentially improve it.

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The preference for same-sex interviewing is "based on the intuitive notion that rapport is more easily achieved in these contexts" (Williams and Heikes 1993:281); however, this presumption deserves further empirical investigation. Gender socialization that teaches women to be supportive of men's conversation may allow women to facilitate interviews with men in a way that male interviewers cannot (Fishman 1978). Also, building rapport and interviewing intimacy can be difficult between two men; among American men, gendered social dynamics prescribe that if men are to share intimacy with anyone, this person should be a woman and not another man (Williams and Heikes 1993). McKee and O'Brien (1983) found that men were better able to talk with women about their experiences as expectant fathers than they were with other men. And, in an extreme circumstance, Scully (1990) found in her research on sexual violence that despite the highly gendered nature of her research topic, male perpetrators of rape still found it easier to speak with a female interviewer than a male interviewer, when discussing their crimes.

While these examples give some basis for supporting my role as a woman interviewer of men, this study presents an additional complication because of the nature of the research question. Because I specifically sought out gender-equitable men, did respondents tailor their presentations of self to suit my research aims? To answer this question, I turn to the two interviews with 'normative' men that I conducted during the course of my field work. I met the first 'normative' respondent through my contacts at the University of Ghana, and we developed a rapport over the course of several weeks prior to the interview, during which time he regularly shared his male-dominant perspectives. The second 'normative' respondent worked in the same office as one of the gender-equitable respondents, and he was very forthcoming with his male-dominant gender attitudes; after we spoke informally for a few minutes, he was happy to schedule an interview with me for the following week. In both of these interviews, the respondents shared their male-dominant gender attitudes with me, despite knowing my research topic.

For the first 'normative' respondent, Ishmael, his male-dominant attitudes emerged as the interview progressed. Early in the interview, the respondent cloaked his own male-dominant gender attitudes with statements such as "Well, what we do in Africa is…" prior to stating his opinion. Ishmael also spoke in passive voice, so that he—as the subject enacting male dominance—was hidden from view; when I asked if a man could beat his wife if she neglected the children, he said, "violence may come, violence may come." However, as the interview progressed, he became more comfortable, potentially because he realized that I was not judging him or criticizing his perspective. He began to talk about his future wife as a "child" who would be "under his care" because he will pay the marriage rites to her family. He discussed women's roles in the house, stating that "[My wife's] job at home—she is the mother for me … She feeds me, she cooks for me, and she washes for me." Perhaps most interesting, however, is how this respondent actually used my gender as a vehicle to express his male-dominant perspectives. Even though I asked questions from the third person, he responded on multiple occasions as if he and I were husband and wife:

> Get angry, insult me, I don't care. But at the end of the day, *you* will listen to me.

> If I sleep with that woman, I come back and say, hey, let's have fun tonight, how can *you* say no? *You* are my wife.

> It doesn't make sense. *You* have insulted me. I will not eat burned food.

> She has no right—the woman has no right to report [violence] to the police … Don't argue with *your* husband ... Just say, "I'm sorry darling."

The second interview with a 'normative' Ghanaian man, Robert, also developed into a gendered role play, between interviewer and respondent. This respondent's gender attitudes were heavily based on his religious attitudes. Although he did not condone domestic violence, and repeatedly stated that men should be caring and forgiving toward their wives, he repeatedly expressed his desire to be the unquestioned head of the household. He used his religious views to support this perspective: "God is the father of his creation—he spearheads everything. Christ is the

head of the church; man is the head of the family." And, similar to the previous interview, this

respondent utilized the gender dynamics in the room to express his perspective:

> Re: I am looking for a wife who will be so supportive, who will advise me, who will be my number one counselor and friend.
> In: Like your Vice President?
> Re: Yeah! Exactly. When I am not there, she will be in charge. But when I am at home, we do it together, but *you* have to know that I am the head, and I cover *you*. That's it.
>
> Re: No matter how wealthy a woman is, it doesn't change *your* God-given position.
> In: Which is?
> Re: As the help.

Some women researchers report that these types of interactions with male respondents can

feel extremely oppressive, as they are unable to express their own views, and must instead facilitate

male conversation that reveals their sexist attitudes (Smart 1984). This did not become an issue for

me in this study. As a Peace Corps Volunteer in Benin from 2000 to 2002, I lived in a rural village

with pervasive male-dominant attitudes. As a White American woman in this context, I experienced

significant sexual harassment, and endured countless male-dominant soliloquies from Beninese men.

While I certainly cannot generalize my experience with Beninese men to this research—even though

these two locations are only 200 miles apart, they are vastly different as a result of ethnic, cultural,

economic, and historical factors—I did develop significant coping mechanisms during my years in

Benin that prevent me from personalizing men's male-dominant attitudes. As a result, during these

interviews, I was able to remain open, curious, and intellectually sensitive to men's perspectives. I

believe this was key to making the aforementioned respondents comfortable enough to share with me

a truer version of their gendered beliefs.

A White American Woman Interviewing Ghanaian Men

Because the positionality of the researcher influences all aspects of her research—from how

she conceptualizes her research question to the lens with which she interprets data (McCorkel and

Myers 2003), and many researchers believe that there are inherent power dynamics in favor of the

researcher (Lee 1997), my statuses as a White American are also potentially problematic to this

study, as they may exacerbate the power disparities already embedded within the research process. Americans have historically and consistently benefited from the economic exploitation of Africa, hold racist attitudes toward the people on and from the continent, and simultaneously feel responsible for 'saving' Africa through U.S. foreign assistance and the work of numerous NGOs. My research could potentially be seen as both exploitative, and laden with the American savior complex, and thus an extension of ongoing inequalities between the U.S and sub-Saharan Africa.

However, I argue that despite the problematic nature of my race and nationality, and the fact that these statuses could magnify the power differences between myself and my respondents, that my age and gender worked to rebalance power dynamics between myself and the men whom I interviewed. As Kusow (2003) points out, the categorical examination of insider/outsider statuses is nonsensical; I cannot separate out the influence of my race and nationality from the influence of my gender and age within these interviews. Also, Lee (1997) asks that we question the assumption the interviewer necessarily has greater power than the interviewee; in her research with men regarding sexual harassment, she found respondents still had the ability to capture the preponderance of power within the interviewing interaction by virtue of their gender. Because the omnipotent threat of violence against women influences the lens with which all women see the world, and does not impact men in the same way, the "the ability that men have (whether intentional or unintentional) of making women fear attack" prevents women researchers from having power over male respondents (Lee 1997:555).

One interview with a gender-equitable respondent demonstrates that my power as a White American was devalued as a result of my status as a woman. Henry was recommended to me early on in my research; the woman key informant from the Institute for African Studies at the University of Ghana took me to another department to introduce me to a man she strongly recommended as gender-equitable. In the process, we ran into Henry, who was another colleague of hers, and during that conversation, she recommended that I speak to him as well. In hindsight, I realized that this was

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not a solid recommendation, and that my female informant may have just been acting polite, but I

had just began my fieldwork and was anxious to begin interviewing, and thus seized the opportunity.

Within 30 minutes of the interview, the respondent and I began to discuss domestic violence, and he

espoused his perspective that women "invite" violence from their husbands by "entering into a man's

world" and responding to men's anger with their own anger. He then explained how women are more

powerful than men, because they can beguile men with their looks. At this point, he began to use my

body to illustrate his point:

Re: God didn't make a mistake in making you a woman. The only strength that he gave to men
        that he didn't give to women is the physical strength, but beyond the physical strength,
        women are 99 times more powerful than men
In: Why would you say that?
Re: Listen, your voice, as a woman …Your walk, your looks, you needn't fight a man; you
        needn't enter in a man's world. What I mean by his world is his physical masculinity. You
        needn't enter into that world to settle out issues. That is what he has. So that when a man
        wants to engage you in a conflict, he comes with that. But you have something.
In: What is it?
Re: You have your voice, you have your looks, you have your eyes, you have your hair. Has a
        man ever told you the things he admires about you? Men have legs, but a man tells you
        "Your legs, I admire them." Your this—your that. And, when the man comes with his
        physique and the woman plays on any of these strengths, you see a man melt away.

This segment of the interview made me feel remarkably uncomfortable, as the respondent was

examining different aspects of my body as he spoke. His tone was seductive and sexual. My

discomfort from this physically objectifying interaction changed the power dynamics for the rest of

the interview. For example, a few minutes later, the respondent and I had the following exchange:

In: So we talked about your marriage [and how it has changed your gender attitudes]… Did you
        have any earlier relationships with women that changed how you thought about
        relationships?
Re: Relationships in terms of?
In: Friendships or intimate relationships?
Re: I have mentioned those who were classmates, and indeed I was involved in man/woman
        relationships long before I was married. I had *a lot* of relationships with girls, with other
        women before finally I settled to marry at age 30.

While this segment of the interview—by itself—appears rather innocuous, I was fully unable to ask

any follow-up questions regarding his earlier relationships. Because of his prior objectifications of

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my body, I felt too uncomfortable to pursue this line of questioning, as I anticipated that the respondent would seize the opportunity to brag about his sexual prowess, and I felt too vulnerable to tolerate such a response. In this way, the respondent changed personal power that I experienced in the interview, and thus the nature of the interview.

It is important to note that this interview was a significant aberration from the rest of my interactions with the respondents in the study. Not surprisingly, this respondent also expressed the most male-dominant attitudes of any other respondent on the short survey of attitudes that I administered prior to each in-depth interview. While respondents were diverse—I met men who were humorous, stoic, modest and arrogant—no other respondents used my gender (either consciously or subconsciously) as a means to gain power within the interview setting. However, this example demonstrates that regardless of the inherent power dynamics that are embedded in my positionality as a White American, respondents could trump these statuses by evoking gendered power, as Henry did. I did not deliberately exclude this respondent from the qualitative analyses that follow, as I thought I should stay committed to my sampling procedure. Eliminating this respondent appeared to be a slippery slope, as other grounds for eliminating further respondents could potentially arise throughout the analysis. Interestingly, however, his transcript provided little to no insight on how Ghanaian men develop uniquely gender-equitable attitudes because he, in fact, did not hold uniquely gender-equitable attitudes. The short survey of men's attitudes that I administered before each interview confirmed this; he demonstrated more male-dominant attitudes on the survey than any other in-depth interview respondent.

<u>A White American Interviewing Ghanaians</u>

While I argue that power dynamics within these in-depth interviews were somewhat equalized by the interactions of my outsider statuses (White, American, Woman) there were still challenges and benefits to my White American status that did not intersect with gender differences, and thus deserve further exploration. First, as an American, I lack the cultural knowledge that comes

from living as an insider of a group. This likely hampered my abilities to fully capture the nuance and meaning within my interviews with gender-equitable men. Respondents were generally sensitive to my outsider status in this regard, and they took time to explain some cultural practices, such as patrilineal and matrilineal descent. This dynamic could have enhanced my data collection; because respondents made few assumptions about my cultural knowledge, they may have offered greater clarification and articulation of their perspectives than if I had been a Ghanaian interviewer. However, there is still likely a net loss to my data as a result of my inability to experience life in Ghana as a Ghanaian.

At the same time, there may have been benefits to my White American positionality. As Kosow (2003) points out in his research with Somali immigrants to Canada, there are circumstances in which the researcher's outsider status as a Westerner opens up interactions with respondents from developing countries in a way that an insider researcher cannot. Because many of the men I interviewed were involved in development work, it is possible that I gained greater entrée for some interviews as respondents potentially saw me an opportunity to network with an American who has access to international development funding agencies, or men were perhaps more open to sharing their views with an American audience. I witnessed the potential for this dynamic on multiple occasions. When I went to a women's health clinic to interview a male OBGYN, I noticed more than 30 women in the waiting room, all presumably waiting for services, yet I did not wait long before the doctor invited me in for the interview. Similarly, when I went to a city police station to interview a male social worker who was an advocate for domestic violence victims, the respondent gave me an hour of his time, while more than 20 women waited outside. The guilt I experienced at my ability to make both pregnant and battered women wait an extra hour for services while I conducted these two interviews was substantial. Did my research deserve this priority over women seeking services, or did these and other advantages that I experienced as a White American researcher contribute to a net loss for Ghanaian women? This issue deserves further philosophical consideration.

In addition to greater entrée with respondents, I may have been able to put respondents at greater ease to talk about sensitive subjects than would have a Ghanaian researcher. In one interview, the respondent was extremely hesitant to discuss religious influences on gender inequality until I repeatedly assured him of the confidentiality of the interview. He was afraid other Ghanaians would hear his opinions and be offended, as many Ghanaians are highly religious. He assumed that, because I am American, I might be less religious than most Ghanaians, and therefore he worried less about offending me. As a result, he spoke very freely about how he believed that Christianity and Islam promote women's oppression and poverty. It is possible that he would have not shared this perspective if I were a Ghanaian:

Re: Religion, as an instrument of socialization, for me is sickening. You said this is confidential, right?
In: Yes.
Re: That is sickening. I don't know how religious you are, but I believe that religion is one of the worst things that has happened to us. Religion serves some very useful purposes; it is extremely useful in filling the gap between what is known and what is unknown. Because we all, at one time or another, live on faith. But institutionalized religion—that's maybe how you can qualify it—the way it has been paraded, I just ask myself, what is the kaka [crap]?

Data Analysis

The analysis of the in-depth interviews was a multi-step process that followed grounded theory techniques (Dey 1999). First, I imported the interview transcriptions into the qualitative data analysis software, Nud*ist 6, and printed a report for each transcript that numbered each line of text. I then read each interview and took detailed notes in the margins of the transcripts. Next, I compiled these notes into a two-page summary for each respondent that included text line numbers for each bullet point in the summary, for quick reference back to the interview transcript. While this procedure is not required in the grounded theory analytical process, this served as highly valuable analysis preparation. Because a confluence of family factors, peer relationships, and a myriad of other life experiences cause men to develop gender-equitable attitudes, these factors cannot be separated. It is often the interplay of experiences, and not the individual experiences themselves,

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which is most influential. In this way, my analytical procedure is structured from a case-oriented, instead of a variable perspective; with these summaries for each respondent, I could easily examine the complex set of experiences that interacted over each respondent's life course to shape their uniquely gender-equitable attitudes.

The first stage of coding is open coding, where the researcher forms initial categories for data that are either based on the respondents' own words (in vivo codes) or a broad conceptual categories that are imposed by the researcher (constructed codes) (Strauss 1987). For this study, I used the following open coding categories, as these emerged as most relevant from the data: family of origin, schooling experiences, religion, employment, gender attitudes, current marriage/family/parenting, personality, issues facing Ghanaian women, costs and benefits of gender-equitable attitudes, policy and programmatic recommendations, and methodological reflexivity (where I noted any methodological issues that surfaced in each interview). Because these emergent categories reflect many of the gender subsystems in social cognitive theory, these open codes became useful in linking these data to this broad theory of gender socialization. While a category represents a unit of information composed of events, happenings, and instances (Strauss and Corbin 1990), the important analytical work of coding is not in the routine process of open coding, but in building linkages between categories (Atkinson 1996); therefore, qualitative analysis requires additional coding steps to highlight these linkages.

In the second stage of coding, called axial coding, the researcher reorganizes the data from these initial open coding categories into more specific categories in order to look at the context surrounding an overarching phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin 1990). This stage of coding places emphasis on building linkages between phenomena, exploring causal influences, identifying intervening conditions, and eliciting the consequences of a phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin 1998). While some qualitative researchers argue that axial coding is optional (Charmaz 2006), this second coding stage was a useful process for this research, as it allowed me to specifically identify the causal

influences within each of the original open codes. For example, not all peer or educational experiences cause Ghanaian men to become more gender-equitable, yet both of these factors can contribute to the shaping of gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men. Therefore, through this axial coding process, I further examined men's peer and educational experiences to determine which specific experiences influenced respondents' attitudes, and how these experiences were influential. To do this, I used a constant comparative technique; every time I placed a piece of text into one of the axial coding categories (which specify different dimensions of the open codes) I referenced text that was already in this category to ensure that each text-segment reflected the same concept (Glaser and Strauss 1977). If it did not, I divided the axial code into different components. Over time, emerging theory begins to solidify, changes in the axial coding scheme become fewer, concepts are refined, and categories are simplified (Glaser and Strauss 1977). Once theoretical saturation occurs within each of these specified categories, the researcher can progress to the third stage of coding, or selective coding. During this stage, the researcher identifies an analytical "story line" that incorporates the axial codes into the final written analysis where hypotheses fully emerge (Creswell 1998:57). In the findings that follow, I use pseudonyms for respondents in order to tie each respondent's experiences together throughout the text.

QUALITATIVE SAMPLING VERIFICATION

In order to verify the success of the snowball sampling technique used to identify in-depth interview respondents, and to determine whether the gender attitudes of these respondents differ from the gender attitudes of average Ghanaian men, I compared the gender attitudes of the gender-equitable in-depth interview (IDI) respondents to the gender attitudes of the men in the 2003 GDHS. Because the 2003 GDHS captures a random sample of Ghanaian men, the gender attitudes expressed by these respondents can be generalized to the larger population of Ghanaian men. Prior to their in-depth interviews, the 33 IDI respondents completed a short survey of 14 questions that measured the extent of their gender-equitable attitudes. This short survey was identical to the dependent variables

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used in the quantitative analysis of the 2003 GDHS. Specifically, the short survey included three dimensions of men's gender attitudes 1) attitudes toward *domestic violence*, 2) attitudes toward *women's sexual autonomy* in marriage 3) and attitudes toward *men's retaliation* when wives refuse sex. A detailed description of each of these variables is located on pages 54–57, and the short survey administered to IDI respondents is located in Appendix C.

Additionally, to compare the gender attitudes of the IDI respondents and GDHS respondents, I utilized the same coding process to address the "Yes," "No," and "Don't Know" responses to each of the gender attitudinal measures. I coded the "Yes" and "No" responses as either 0 or 1, with gender-equitable responses scoring 0 and male-dominant answers scoring 1. As with the GDHS, responses of "Don't Know" suggest that respondents were unsure of their opinion, and that the male-dominant response could be acceptable in some circumstances. For example, a response of "Don't Know" to the following question, "Is a husband justified in hitting or beating his wife if she goes out without telling him," suggests that there could be some situations in which the respondent would condone violence in response to this behavior. Therefore, I coded "Don't Know" responses with male-dominant responses, as a stricter test of men's gender-equitable attitudes. Because of the nature of this study—respondents were aware that my research involved gender-equitable men—surveys with the IDI men could be biased toward gender-equitable attitudes, as respondents may have selected socially desirable responses. As a result, responses of "Don't Know" may capture instances in which respondents did not want to fully present their own male-dominant inclinations to me. Therefore, categorizing the "Don't Know" responses as male-dominant is even more imperative for these data. Table 4 summarizes the 14 gender attitudinal variables used for this sampling verification process, and the coding of specific responses:

Table 4: Variables for Sampling Verification			
Attitudes toward Domestic Violence			
In your opinion, is a husband justified in hitting or beating a his wife in the following situations?			
If she goes out without telling him	Yes = 1	No = 0	DK = 1
If she neglects the children	Yes = 1	No = 0	DK = 1
If she argues with him	Yes = 1	No = 0	DK = 1
If she refuses to have sex with him	Yes = 1	No = 0	DK = 1
If she burns the food	Yes = 1	No = 0	DK = 1
Attitudes toward Women's Sexual Autonomy			
Please tell me if you think a wife is justified in refusing to have sex with her husband when:			
She knows her husband has a sexually transmitted disease	Yes = 0	No = 1	DK = 1
She knows her husband has sex with women other than his wives	Yes = 0	No = 1	DK = 1
She has recently given birth	Yes = 0	No = 1	DK = 1
She is tired or not in the mood	Yes = 0	No = 1	DK = 1
When a wife knows her husband has a sexually transmitted disease, is she justified in asking her husband to use a condom?	Yes = 0	No = 1	DK = 1
Attitudes toward Men's Retaliation			
Do you think that if a woman refuses to have sex with her husband when he wants her to, he has the right to:			
Get angry and reprimand her	Yes = 1	No = 0	DK = 1
Refuse to give her money or other means of financial support	Yes = 1	No = 0	DK = 1
Use force and have sex with her even if she does not want to	Yes = 1	No = 0	DK = 1
Go and have sex with another woman	Yes = 1	No = 0	DK = 1

Comparing the GDHS Men and IDI Men

Because I coded the 14 questions that measure men's gender attitudes as dichotomous, the responses can be treated as either gender-equitable (GE) or male-dominant (MD). For example, responses of "Yes" or "Don't Know" to the questions regarding domestic violence are considered male-dominant, while responses of "No" are gender-equitable responses. Men who do not reject domestic violence against women are supporting male dominance. Likewise, I consider responses of "No" or "Don' Know" to the questions regarding women's sexual autonomy in marriage as male-dominant, and "Yes" responses as gender-equitable. Men who believe that women can negotiate sex

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in marriage—ask for condom use and refuse sex when she sees fit—are more accepting of gender equity than men who do not. Similarly, responses of "Yes" and "Don't Know" for the measures of men's retaliation against wives who refuse sex are male-dominant, while responses of "No" are gender-equitable. Men who reject men's abilities to retaliate against their wives when they refuse sex demonstrate greater gender equity than men who condone men's retaliation in these circumstances. Table 5 summarizes these 14 measures of men's gender attitudes classifies responses as either male-dominant (MD) or gender-equitable (GE).

Table 5: Distribution of Attitudes the GDHS Men and IDI Men				
Attitudes toward Domestic Violence				
	DHS MEN		IDI MEN	
	GE (%)	MD (%)	GE (%)	MD (%)
If she goes out without telling him	79.4	20.6	100	0
If she neglects the children	75.8	24.1	100	0
If she argues with him	83.2	16.8	100	0
If she refuses to have sex with him	88.9	11.1	100	0
If she burns the food	91.7	8.3	100	0
Attitudes toward Women's Sexual Autonomy				
	DHS MEN		IDI MEN	
	GE (%)	MD (%)	GE (%)	MD (%)
She knows her husband has a sexually transmitted disease	92.1	7.9	100	0
She knows her husband has sex with women other than his wives	82.6	17.4	87.9	12.1
She has recently given birth	89.3	10.7	100	0
She is tired or not in the mood	80	20	100	0
When a wife knows her husband has a sexually transmitted disease, is she justified in asking her husband to use a condom?	91.9	8.1	100	0
Attitudes toward Men's Retaliation				
	DHS MEN		IDI MEN	
	GE (%)	MD (%)	GE (%)	MD (%)
Get angry and reprimand her	84.7	15.3	97	3
Refuse to give her money or other means of financial support	89.9	10.1	93.9	6.1
Use force and have sex with her even if she does not want to	94.7	5.3	100	0
Go and have sex with another woman	87.3	12.7	93.9	6.1

Differences between the gender attitudes of men in these two data sets are evident in these frequencies, particularly regarding men's attitudes toward domestic violence, where none of the IDI respondents condone violence in any of the five presented scenarios. The GDHS men's acceptance of domestic violence ranges from 8% to 24% across these same measures. Men's attitudes toward

women's sexual autonomy are similarly divergent in three out of four of the measures. All of the IDI men agree that a woman can refuse sex with her husband if she knows her husband has an STD, she has recently given birth, or she is tired or not in the mood. All the IDI respondents also agree that a woman can ask her husband to use a condom if he has an STD. Alternatively, the frequency of male-dominant responses across these 4 measures ranges from 8% to 20% within the GDHS.

The one issue on which the IDI men are not unanimously in agreement regarding women's sexual autonomy is with regard to the question that asks, "Please tell me if you think a wife is justified in refusing to have sex with her husband when she knows her husband has sex with women other than his wives." Twelve percent of IDI respondents (4 men) and 17% of GDHS respondents do not think (or are unsure if) a woman can refuse sex with her husband because he has sex with women other than his wives. More specifically, three IDI respondents answered "Don't Know" to this question, while one respondent answered "No." This finding is reflected again in the following question regarding men's retaliation that asks, "Do you think that if a woman refuses to have sex with her husband when he wants her to, he can go and have sex with another woman?" Two additional IDI respondents (6%) express acceptance of this behavior. In sum, six of the IDI respondents expressed some hesitancy or rejection of women's rights surrounding issues of monogamy. Perhaps because IDI respondents are generally educated and well employed, they may have greater access to extramarital partners than most men, for they have the resources to sustain such relationships. Their greater opportunity for extramarital sex may potentially increase their acceptance of such relationships. Alternatively, the widespread acceptance of extramarital sex for Ghanaian men may mean that monogamy is not a common component of men's gender-equitable attitudes. Therefore, while the IDI respondents appear to have uniquely gender-equitable attitudes across other dimensions, they may not diverge from 'normative' Ghanaian men on issues surrounding monogamy and fidelity.

There also appears to be less divergence between GDHS men and IDI men regarding attitudes toward men's retaliation when wives refuse sex. However, one respondent—Henry, whom I discussed in detail during the qualitative methods section as the man who objectified me during the course of the in-depth interview, causing me significant discomfort—is responsible for three out of five of the male-dominant responses from IDI respondents across this gender attitudinal dimension. Except for the issue of monogamy and extramarital sex, the IDI respondents demonstrate gender attitudes that are divergent from the national sample of men captured in the GDHS across all three dimensions.

Additive Scales for Attitudinal Dimensions

In order to further compare the gender attitudes of the IDI respondents and the GDHS men, I created an additive scale for each of the three dimensions of men's gender attitudes, whereby I summed respondents' answers across each dimension. Using this technique, I can better capture the intensity of respondents' gender attitudes in each of these spheres. For example, the additive scale for attitudes toward domestic violence ranges from 0 to 5. Respondents who do not condone violence in any of the 5 scenarios received a score of 0, and respondents who condone violence in every scenario received a score of 5. Men who condone violence in some of the scenarios but not in others are scored between 1 and 4. Similarly, the additive scale for attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy ranges from 0 to 5, with the most gender-equitable respondents (those who support women's ability to refuse sex in all of the scenarios and request condom use) scoring a 0, and the most male-dominant respondents (those who asserted that women could not refuse sex in any of the above scenarios and could not ask for condom use) scoring 5. Likewise, men who answered some of these questions with male-dominant responses and other questions with gender-equitable responses scored between 1 and 4. The additive scale for attitudes toward men's retaliation when wives refuse sex ranges from 0 to 4, as there are four questions in this dimension, with the most gender-equitable men scoring 0, and the most male-dominant men scoring 4, and moderate men scoring either 2 or 3.

Attitudes toward Domestic Violence

The additive scale of men's attitudes toward domestic violence within the GDHS and the short survey of IDI respondents suggests some differences between these two samples of men. Only 67% of male respondents in the GDHS reject a man's use of domestic violence against his wife in all of the 5 scenarios outlined above. This means that fully a third of men in the GDHS condone violence in at least one of these scenarios. However, 100% of the in-depth interview respondents (IDI men) reject violence in every single scenario. These differences are illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Domestic Violence Scale

Attitudes Toward Women's Sexual Negotiation

The additive scale of men's attitudes toward women's ability to negotiate sex in marriage (whether women can refuse sex in 4 different scenarios, and ask for condom use when her husband has an STD) also shows differences between the gender attitudes of the GDHS men and the IDI men. While only 64% of GDHS men gave gender-equitable responses for all of the questions in this scale, 19% of respondents answered one of the scale questions with a male-dominant response, 9% gave 2

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male-dominant responses, and 7% of respondents gave 3 or more male-dominant responses. (See Figure 3). In other words, for the 36% of men in the GDHS, there are some scenarios in which women can refuse sex, and others in which they cannot; women's refusal is situational. In contrast, among the IDI respondents, 88% provided all gender-equitable responses, while 12% (4 men) gave one male-dominant response (all of which were the question related to monogamy). For the IDI respondents, women's sexual autonomy is far less situational.

Figure 3: Women's Sexual Autonomy Scale

0 = Women Can Always Refuse Sex and Ask for Condom Use
5 = Women Can Never Refuse Sex or Ask for Condom Use

Attitudes toward Men's Retaliation

In the third additive scale, 74% of GDHS men agreed that if a wife refused sex with her husband, a man could not respond in any of the following ways: get angry and reprimand her, refuse to give her money or other means of financial support, use force and have sex with her, or go and have sex with another woman. However, 26% of GDHS respondents believed that a man could retaliate in one or more of these ways if his wife refused sex. In contrast, 91% of IDI men thought that a husband could not respond to his wife's refusal of sex in any of these ways (See Figure 4).

Two of the IDI respondents each thought that men could retaliate in one way, while one IDI respondent agreed that 3 out of 4 of men's retaliations for women's sex refusal were acceptable (Henry, the respondent who caused me discomfort through objectification during the interview).

Figure 4: Men's Retaliation Scale

0 = Men can never retaliate when their wives refuse sex
4 = Men can always retaliate when their wives refuse sex

Legend: DHS Men, IDI Men

Gender Equity Scale

While these three additive scales demonstrate divergence between the gender attitudes of the GDHS respondents and the IDI respondents, the differences become even more evident when I combine all 14 gender attitudinal measures into one additive scale that reflects a wider spectrum of men's gender attitudes. As with the three previous scales, a score of 0 reflects gender-equitable responses on all 14 measures, while a score of 14 equals male-dominant responses to all 14 questions. Only 39% of men in the GDHS give the gender-equitable response on all of the 14 survey questions (rejecting violence, condoning women's ability to refuse sex in marriage, and rejecting men's retaliatory consequences for women's refusal of sex in marriage), while 82% of the IDI men hold gender-equitable attitudes across all of these measures (See Figure 5). Because the three smaller

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additive scales capture different dimensions of gender attitudes (as demonstrated by a factor analysis of the GDHS measures), the largest differences between the GDHS men and IDI men are evident only when these scales are combined. Because men's 'normative' gender attitudes do not require serious introspection or reflection on the part of the individual who holds them, it is easy for many men to hold gender attitudes that may be contradictory across different dimensions. For example, while a man may reject domestic violence, he may not support women's sexual autonomy in marriage, and he may never consider how these two perspectives are inconsistent. IDI respondents are most set apart from the DHS sample of Ghanaian men by the consistency with which their equitable gender attitudes carry over into different dimensions.

Figure 5: Gender Equity Scale

0 = All Gender Equitable Responses   14 = All Male Dominant Responses

Confidence Intervals for the GDHS

Because the IDI respondents were purposively selected, they cannot be considered to represent the attitudes of a larger population of Ghanaian men. However, the GDHS data have this

capability, as this is a nationally representative random sample. Therefore, to further demonstrate that

the gender attitudes of the GDHS respondents and IDI respondents are different, I calculated the

mean scores for IDI respondents within each of the gender dimensions explored above, and

compared these scores to a 95% confidence interval for the mean scores for these same gender

attitudinal dimensions within the GDHS. If a mean score for the IDI men falls outside of the

confidence interval for a mean score for the GDHS men, then there is a 95% chance that the mean

score for the IDI men is different from the mean score for the larger population of Ghanaian men.

The 95% confidence interval for men's attitudes toward domestic violence in the GDHS is between

0.77 and 0.85, with the mean for the GDHS falling at 0.81 (See Table 6). The mean for the IDI

respondents is zero, and thefore falls well outside the 95% confidence interval. As the table below

demonstrates, on each of the gender dimensions presented, the mean value for the IDI men falls

below the 95% confidence interval for the mean scores in the GDHS, meaning that the mean gender

attitudes expressed by the IDI respondents are more gender-equitable than the attitudes expressed by

the DHS respondents across every dimension.

Table 6: Mean Comparisons for GDHS Men and IDI Men		
	GDHS Sample Mean (95% Confidence Interval)	IDI Sample Mean
Domestic Violence Scale	0.81 (0.77 – 0.85)	0
Sexual Negotiation Scale	0.56 (0.53 – 0.58)	0.12
Retaliation for Sex Refusal Scale	0.43 (0.41 – 0.46)	0.15
Gender Equity Scale	1.88 (1.82 – 1.95)	0.27

While these in-depth interview respondents demonstrate more gender-equitable attitudes

than the nationally-representative sample of men in the GDHS, because all of the IDI

respondents resided in the Greater Accra Region at the time of interview, a comparison between

the IDI men and the larger population of men living in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana is also a useful means of assessing the gender attitudes of the IDI men. Because the Greater Accra Region includes the economic and political capital city of Accra, men in this region are more likely to live in urban environments and have higher educational and wealth statuses than most Ghanaian men. Among the 621 respondents in the GDHS who lived in the Greater Accra region at the time of interview, mean educational attainment is 10.6 years, in comparison to the mean of 7.75 years of education for the full sample of men in the GDHS. Seventy percent of these respondents fall in the wealthiest quintile of the nationally-representative sample, and 90% live in urban areas, while 50% of men in the full sample of the GDHS are urban. These differences between the Greater Accra Region and other regions in Ghana could shape men's gender attitudes.

In order to determine if the IDI respondents have more gender-equitable attitudes than the larger population of men in the Greater Accra Region, I calculated means and 95% confidence intervals for each of the gender attitude scales. These findings, presented in Table 7, demonstrate that the IDI respondents express attitudes that are more gender-equitable than the sample of Greater Accra Region men in the GDHS; on each of the gender dimensions presented below, the mean value for the IDI men falls below the 95% confidence interval for the mean scores of Greater Accra Region men in the GDHS. While the contrast between the IDI men and the Greater Accra Region men is not as sharp as the comparison with the full sample of the GDHS men (the Accra Region men hold more gender equitable attitudes than the full GDHS sample), this comparison shows that the men gender equitable men sampled for this study hold unique attitudes even among men who live in their immediate environments.

Table 7: Mean Comparisons for Greater Accra Region Men (GDHS) and IDI Men		
	Greater Accra Sample Mean (95% Confidence Interval)	IDI Sample Mean
Domestic Violence Scale	0.41 (0.33 – 0.49)	0
Sexual Negotiation Scale	0.48 (0.41 – 0.56)	0.12
Retaliation for Sex Refusal Scale	0.29 (0.23 – 0.34)	0.15
Gender Equity Scale	1.17 (1.03 – 1.33)	0.27

Because this study seeks to understand the experiences of Ghanaian men who hold uniquely gender-equitable attitudes, obtaining an appropriate sample of men who hold these attitudes is critical for the success of the research. In order to determine if the sampling procedure I utilized to identify gender-equitable respondents was successful, I compared the gender attitudes of men whom I interviewed for this study (IDI men) to the gender attitudes of the full sample of Ghanaian men in the 2003 GDHS, as well as to the smaller sample of men in 2003 GDHS who resided in the Greater Accra Region at the time of interview. These findings suggest that there is a difference between the gender attitudes of the men sampled in the GDHS, and the gender attitudes of the men I selected as participants in this study of gender-equitable Ghanaian men. In other words, the IDI respondents demonstrate gender attitudes that are consistently more equitable than the full sample of GDHS men and the smaller sample of men from the Greater Accra region. As a result of these comparisons, I can validate the success of the sampling procedure I utilized to select gender-equitable men for in-depth interview. Speaking with women leaders of the women's rights movement in Ghana, receiving their recommendations of men whom they deemed to be gender-equitable, and then gathering names of additional gender-equitable men from this intial sample through a snowball sampling techinque was a successful strategy for locating uniquely gender-equitable Ghanaian men for participation in this study.

Chapter 5

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC PREDICTORS OF GENDER EQUITY

The purpose of this chapter is to determine the basic sociodemographic predictors of men's gender-equitable attitudes in Ghana. This chapter first provides univariate descriptions of the independent and dependent variables utilized in these analyses (men's sociodemographic characteristics and gender attitudes). Second, I examine the bivariate correlations between each of these measures. Third, I discuss how men's individual, family, and environmental characteristics relate to their attitudes regarding domestic violence, women's sexual autonomy, and men's retaliation against wives who refuse sex using OLS regression.

Sociodemographic Characteristics of the Sample

Because the 2003 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (2003 GDHS) is a nationally representative sample, the 5,015 men included in the survey reflect the significant sociodemographic diversity in Ghana (See Table 8). Respondents range in age from 15 to 59 years, and their educational attainment ranges from zero to 23 years of school. The average educational attainment of men in this sample is 7.75 years. With regard to literacy, 56% of respondents are literate, and could read a full sentence in their natal language. An additional 11% of respondents are part-literate because they could only read part of a sentence in their natal language, and the remaining 32% of respondents are illiterate. Just over half (53%) or respondents are married. Ghana's wealth disparities are also captured in this sample; the 2003 GDHS includes a measure of respondents' household wealth that distributes respondents across quintiles.

While 49% of respondents grew up in the countryside, 35% lived in towns, and 16% spent their childhood in cities. Less than half of respondents (45%) currently live in urban areas. While 47% of respondents identified as Akan, the remaining respondents are distributed across 8 other ethnic groupings, none of which constitute more than 18% of the sample. With regard to religion,

15% of respondents in the GDHS identify as Catholic, an additional 19% are Muslim, and 16% are Protestant (Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian). Another 39% of respondents are classified as Other Christian, and this category captures a diverse range of religious beliefs, including Charismatics and Pentecostals, two related religious groups that have experienced increased growth in Ghana in recent years. With regard to radio listening, the large majority of men (75%) listen to the radio almost every day, with 14% of respondents listening to the radio at least once a week, and 11% listening less than once a week.

Table 8: Description of Variables			
	Min	Max	% or M(SD)
Domestic Violence Factor Score	-0.576	3.125	0(1)
Women's Sexual Autonomy Factor Score	-0.587	3.924	0(1)
Men's Retaliation Factor Score	-0.498	4.192	0(1)
Individual Characteristics			
Age	15	59	31.2 (12.045)
Education	0	23	7.75 (4.862)
Literacy: Illiterate = reference			
Part Literate	0	1	11.4
Literate	0	1	56.4
Family Characteristics			
Marital Status	0	1	53.3
Wealth: Poorest = reference			
Poorer	0	1	18.0
Middle	0	1	19.4
Richer	0	1	21.1
Richest	0	1	24.0
Environmental Characteristics			
Childhood Residence: Countryside = reference			
Town	0	1	35.4
City	0	1	15.6
Adulthood Residence (Rural = 0)	0	1	44.9
Ethnicity: Akan = reference			
Ga-Dangme	0	1	7.5
Ewe	0	1	13
Guan	0	1	3.7
Mole-Dagbani	0	1	17.5
Grussi	0	1	2.4
Gruma	0	1	3
Hausa	0	1	1.1
Other	0	1	4.4
Religion: Roman Catholic = reference			
Protestant	0	1	15.9
Other Christian	0	1	39.4
Muslim	0	1	18.7
Traditional, None, Other	0	1	11.3
Radio: Less than Once a Week = reference			
At least Once a Week	0	1	14.4
Almost Every Day	0	1	75.0

Bivariate Correlations

Table 9 presents the bivariate correlations between the independent and dependent measures used in these analyses. This table serves two purposes. First, it allows for an examination of the relationships between the dependent variables in order to determine if men's attitudes toward domestic violence, women's sexual autonomy, and men's retaliation reflect different dimensions of men's gender attitudes. Second, the bivariate correlations describe the relationships between the predictor variables and the dependent variables without any control variables attenuating these relationships; this gives some idea of what can be expected in the regression models, and it allows for a preliminary examination of the hypothesized direction of these relationships. As with the subsequent OLS models, because smaller factor score values represent greater gender equity, negative correlations are indicative of more gender-equitable attitudes.

Perhaps the most interesting finding from these bivariatate correlations is the relationship between the three dependent measures of men's gender attitudes. Even though the bivariate correlations between the dependent variables (attitudes toward domestic violence, women's sexual autonomy and men's retaliation when women refuse sex) are significant ($p < .01$) and positive, the strength of these correlations is modest. The correlation between attitudes toward domestic violence and attitudes toward men's retaliation is 0.335, while both of these measures have relatively small correlations with men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy. The correlation between attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy and attitudes toward domestic violence, and attitudes toward men's retaliation are 0.130 and 0.112, respectively. The modest size of these correlations affirms that these three dependent variables likely represent different dimensions of men's attitudes.

Many of the bivariate correlations between men's individual, family, and environmental characteristics and men's gender attitudes are significant. The individual characteristics of age, education, and literacy are significantly correlated with more gender-equitable attitudes across all three dimensions. With regard to family characteristics, marriage is related to greater gender equity,

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and the higher quintiles of wealth also display significant correlations with more gender-equitable perspectives. Both of the environmental characteristics of childhood residence and adulthood residence are also related to men's gender attitudes; men who grew up in the city have significantly more equitable attitudes than men who grew up in rural areas or towns across all three dimensions of men's attitudes. Urban residence in adulthood also significantly correlates with more gender-equitable attitudes. With regard to ethnicity, Ewe men, Guan men, and Ga-Dangbe men appear to be more rejecting of domestic violence, and Ewe men are also more rejecting of retaliation than other Ghanaian men. Conversely, Mole-Dagbani men and Gruma men are more accepting of male dominance across all three measures of men's attitudes. In terms of religion, Protestant men and Other Christian men show more gender-equitable attitudes across each measure of men's gender attitudes, while Muslim men and men who practice traditional religions, no religion, or another religion show more male-dominant attitudes across each dependent variable. Finally, radio listening is significantly correlated with men's gender attitudes; those who listen to the radio almost every day tend to have less male-dominant attitudes.

There is general consistency across the bivariate relationships between predictor and dependent variables; individual, family, and environmental characteristics have the same relationship direction across all three dimensions of men's gender attitudes, and these relationships tend to hold significance across all three dependent variables as well. However, the strength of the correlations do differ across the dimensions of men's gender attitudes; these sociodemographic predictors tend to have stronger correlations with men's attitudes toward domestic violence than men's attitudes toward women's autonomy or men's attitudes toward retaliation when wives refuse sex.

Table 9: Bivariate Correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
1. Domestic Violence	1.000																												
2. Women's Sexual Autonomy	.130**	1.000																											
3. Men's Retaliation	.335**	.112**	1.000																										
4. Age (Years)	-.136**	-.058**	-.045**	1.000																									
5. Education (Years)	-.298**	-.151**	-.165**	.041**	1.000																								
6. Literacy: Part Literate	.005	.015	.045**	-.078**	-.007	1.000																							
7. Literacy: Literate	-.236**	-.114**	-.137**	-.035*	.697**	-.406**	1.000																						
8. Marital Status	-.071**	-.080**	-.033*	.666**	-.020	-.055**	-.087**	1.000																					
9. Wealth: Poorer	.028*	.019	.052**	.030*	-.159**	.052**	-.137**	.048**	1.000																				
10: Wealth: Middle	.024	.006	-.011	.003	-.040**	.054**	-.048**	.011	-.230**	1.000																			
11: Wealth: Richer	-.068**	.007	-.050**	-.045**	.130**	-.006	.119**	-.048**	-.243**	-.254**	1.000																		
12: Wealth: Richest	-.163**	-.127**	-.109**	.002	.393**	-.049**	.302**	-.055**	-.263**	-.276**	-.291**	1.000																	
13. Childhood Residence: Town	-.032*	-.029*	-.020	.002	.131**	.045**	.104**	-.016	-.083**	.066**	.161**	.053**	1.000																
14. Childhood Residence: City	-.093**	-.059**	-.085**	-.069**	.232**	-.021	.183**	-.092**	-.146**	-.114**	.016	.367**	-.319**	1.000															
15: Residence (Rural = 0)	-.139**	-.079**	-.123**	-.061**	.337**	-.004	.252**	-.125**	-.358**	-.151**	.299**	.522**	.191**	.326**	1.000														
16. Ethnicity: Ga-Dangme	-.042**	-.008	-.015	.032*	.063**	-.020	.043**	.019	.003	-.019	.022	.065**	-.023	.127**	.045**	1.000													
17. Ethnicity: Ewe	-.105**	-.004	-.039**	.011	.094**	-.019	.090**	-.001	.074**	.021	-.010	-.016	-.038**	-.024	-.023	-.110**	1.000												
18. Ethnicity: Guan	-.028*	.006	.003	.013	.022	-.015	.023	.022	-.012	.012	-.003	-.007	-.024	-.040**	.007	-.056**	-.076**	1.000											
19. Ethnicity: Mole-Dagbani	.228**	.091**	.099**	.001	-.339**	-.053**	-.236**	.038**	-.015	-.085**	-.065**	-.146**	-.111**	-.103**	-.125**	-.131**	-.178**	-.091**	1.000										
20. Ethnicity: Grussi	.009	-.024	.002	.001	-.086**	-.030*	-.054**	.022	-.036*	-.037**	-.014	.003	-.027	.004	.005	-.045**	-.061**	-.031*	-.072**	1.000									
21. Ethnicity: Gruma	.083**	.062**	.068**	-.007	-.173**	-.049**	-.086**	.006	.018	-.059**	-.079**	-.083**	-.081**	-.061**	-.137**	-.050**	-.068**	-.035*	-.081**	-.028*	1.000								
22. Ethnicity: Hausa	-.003	-.017	-.019	-.015	.011	.006	.026	-.011	-.047**	-.023	.042**	.057**	.037**	.046**	.085**	-.030*	-.041**	-.021	-.049**	-.017	-.019	1.000							
23. Ethnicity: Other	.044**	-.020	.048**	-.029*	-.112**	.021	-.083**	-.040**	-.037**	.031*	.009	.005	.020	.011	.056**	-.061**	-.083**	-.042**	-.099**	-.034*	-.038**	-.023	1.000						
24. Religion: Protestant	-.052**	-.050**	-.054**	.025	.197**	.002	.126**	-.010	-.024	-.006	.040**	.096**	.056**	.045**	.074**	.081**	-.006	-.025	-.161**	-.068**	-.047**	-.039**	-.089**	1.000					
25. Religion: Other Christian	-.129**	-.029*	-.080**	-.087**	.160**	.047**	.117**	-.063**	.009	.021	.033*	.054**	.043**	.060**	.052**	.091**	.069**	-.042**	-.268**	-.042**	-.013	-.081**	-.143**	-.351**	1.000				
26. Religion: Muslim	.172**	.033*	.082**	-.017	-.256**	-.023	-.171**	.022	-.046**	-.011	.011	-.050**	-.031*	-.003	.030*	-.112**	-.177**	.066**	.420**	.061**	-.039**	.208**	.361**	-.209**	-.388**	1.000			
27. Religion: Traditional, None, Other	.074**	.070**	.075**	.121**	-.244**	-.022	-.213**	.091**	.029*	-.014	-.081**	-.125**	-.066**	-.078**	-.148**	-.054**	.042**	-.041**	.092**	.011	.128**	-.038**	-.053**	-.155**	-.288**	-.171**	1.000		
28. Radio: At Least Once a Week	.075**	.025	.025	-.082**	-.100**	.002	-.047**	-.084**	.020	-.003	-.014	-.051**	-.027	-.013	-.026	-.007	.016	.045**	.011	.009	.026	.040**	.020	-.041**	-.016	.048**	.013	1.000	
29. Radio: Almost Every Day	-.183**	-.136**	-.079**	.097**	.260**	.024	.172**	.093**	-.018	.029*	.046**	.132**	.073**	.059**	.084**	.017	.007	-.049**	-.105**	-.019	-.138**	-.011	-.010	.090**	.063**	-.072**	-.131**	-.711**	1.000

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

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Multivariate Analyses

The following models use OLS regression and examine the relationship between men's individual, family, and environmental characteristics and three dimensions of men's gender attitudes: attitudes toward domestic violence, attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy, and attitudes toward men's retaliation when wives refuse sex. The factor scores for the dependent variables range from gender-equitable attitudes to male-dominant attitudes, with lower scores equaling more equitable attitudes. Because higher factors scores are indicative of more male-dominant attitudes, negative coefficients in these regression models indicate a reduction in male-dominant gender attitudes. These cross-sectional data do not permit the examination of predictive relationships; these findings can only determine associations between variables. However, theoretically men's sociodemographic characteristics are likely to influence men's gender attitudes, and not the reverse. Because men are born into many of these characteristics, including ethnicity, religion, age, and childhood residence, these cannot be influenced by men's attitudes through reverse causation. Similarly, men accumulate other characteristics such as education, literacy, and wealth over the life course, and these likely precede men's adulthood gender attitudes. For the remaining independent measures of adulthood residence, radio listening, and marital status, there is no theoretical argument that suggests that men's gender attitudes may influence these characteristics. As a result, reverse causation is not likely a concern in the subsequent analyses.

Attitudes toward Domestic Violence

In Model 1 of Table 10 I examine the relationships between men's individual, family, and environmental characteristics and their attitudes toward domestic violence. With regard to men's individual characteristics, increases in men's age, education, and literacy are all related to more gender-equitable attitudes. Older men are less likely to support domestic violence (b= -0.012, p < .001), and each year of education that men acquire is also associated with an increase in gender equity. Because the factor score is a standardized variable with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation

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of 1, each year of education is associated with a decrease in male dominance of 0.023 standard deviation units (p < .001). This is a relatively small change, but considering the effect of completing an additional six years of school (the length of primary school), the effect is 0.138. Additionally, there are significant differences in men's attitudes that are attributable to literacy; in comparison to illiteracy, literacy is associated with a decrease in male dominance of 0.165 standard deviation units (p < .001). Some of men's family characteristics are also related to their attitudes toward domestic violence. While men's marital status does not have a significant relationship with men's attitudes toward domestic violence, men's wealth does; men who fall in the 2nd poorest quintile ("poorer" men), are significantly less likely to condone domestic violence than men in the poorest quintile (b = -0.142, p <.01). Similar differences are also evident between men who are in the top two quintiles, in comparison with the poorest quintile of men (b = -0.221, and b = -0.229, respectively, both of which are significant at p < .001).

With regard to environmental characteristics, childhood residence has a modestly significant relationship with men's attitudes toward domestic violence, while adulthood residence is not significantly related to men's attitudes in this dimension. Men who grew up in towns, as opposed to the countryside, are more likely to support domestic violence (b = 0.076, p < .05). Ethnicity, religion and frequency of radio listening all have significant relationships with men's attitudes toward domestic violence. Ewe men and Guan men are significantly less likely to condone domestic violence than Akan men (b = -0.178, p < .001 for Ewe men, and b = -0.143, p < .05 for Guan men). While Mole-Dagbani men and Other ethnicity men are significantly more likely to condone domestic violence than Akan men (b = 0.213, p < .001, and b = 0.242, p < .01, respectively). With regard to religion, Muslim men are significantly more likely to support domestic violence than Catholic men (b= 0.148, p < .01) while Other Christian men are less likely to do so (b = -0.81, p < .05). And lastly, the frequency of men's radio listening is also associated with men's attitudes toward domestic violence. Those who listen to the radio at least once a week, and those who listen to the radio almost

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every day are significantly less likely to condone domestic violence than men who listen to the radio less than once a week (b = -0.127, p < .05 and b = -0.310, p < .001, respectively).

Because I used a factor score of attitudes toward domestic violence as the dependent variable in these models, it is possible to compare the relative strengths of these coefficients, as the standard deviation for factor scores equals 1 and the mean equals 0. In OLS regression, one unit change in the independent variable corresponds with a one unit change in the dependent variable. Since the dependent variables here are factor scores, the coefficients represent the change in the independent variable that corresponds to a standard deviation change in the dependent variable. This is akin to y-standardization. In this way, we can compare these unstandardized coefficients using the standard deviation metric. In Model 1 it is evident that the individual characteristics of age, education, and literacy, the family characteristic of wealth, and the environmental characteristics of ethnicity, religion, and radio listening are all important factors in predicting men's attitudes toward domestic violence. Additionally, a comparison of the coefficients shows that the strength of these effects is consistently high across individual, family, and environmental characteristics. These findings are similar to those of Tolleson-Rinehart (1992), who determined that during that early stages of gender attitudinal shifts in the U.S., nearly all of women's sociodemographic characteristics had a significant relationship with women's gender attitudes. Because the issue of domestic violence has received significant attention in Ghana in recent years, and attitudinal shifts surrounding this issue are emerging, individual, family, and environmental characteristics are all important factors in predicting men's attitudes toward domestic violence.

Table 10: Multivariate Regressions	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Domestic Violence			Sexual Autonomy			Retaliation		
	b	p	SE	b	p	SE	b	p	SE
Individual Characteristics									
Age	-.012	***	.001	.002		.002	-.002		.002
Education	-.023	***	.004	-.013	**	.005	-.014	**	.005
Literacy: Illiterate = reference									
Part Literate	-.082		.048	.043		.052	.122	*	.051
Literate	-.165	***	.043	.001		.047	.017		.046
Family Characteristics									
Marital Status	.042		.034	-.199	***	.037	-.067		.036
Wealth: Poorest = reference									
Poorer	-.142	**	.050	-.049		.053	-.109	*	.053
Middle	-.098		.051	-.054		.055	-.210	***	.054
Richer	-.221	***	.056	-.017		.061	-.187	**	.060
Richest	-.229	***	.062	-.215	**	.067	-.192	**	.066
Environmental Characteristics									
Childhood Residence: Countryside = reference									
Town	.076	*	.030	-.012		.033	.053		.032
City	.005		.041	-.020		.044	-.047		.044
Adulthood Residence (Rural = 0)	-.023		.037	-.021		.040	-.107	**	.039
Ethnicity: Akan = reference									
Ga-Dangme	-.005		.049	.050		.053	.094		.052
Ewe	-.178	***	.039	.009		.042	-.027		.041
Guan	-.143	*	.072	.026		.077	.034		.077
Mole-Dagbani	.213	***	.051	.057		.055	.092		.054
Grussi	-.142		.093	-.177		.100	-.100		.099
Gruma	.086		.093	.072		.100	.141		.099
Hausa	-.197		.130	-.066		.139	-.208		.138
Other	.242	**	.076	-.132		.082	.258	**	.081
Religion: Roman Catholic = reference									
Protestant	.081		.046	-.075		.050	-.108	*	.049
Other Christian	-.081	*	.040	-.008		.043	-.101	*	.042
Muslim	.148	**	.055	.015		.060	.011		.059
Traditional, None, Other	-.003		.054	.048		.058	.059		.057
Radio: Less than Once a Week = reference									
At least Once a Week	-.127	*	.054	-.445	***	.058	-.083		.058
Almost Every Day	-.310	***	.047	-.461	***	.050	-.085		.049
N	4953			4908			4949		
Constant	.979	***	.076	.641	***	.082	.450	***	.081
F-Statistic	34.970	***		12.230	***		10.235	***	
Adjusted R-Square	.151			.056			.046		

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Attitudes toward Women's Sexual Autonomy

The predictors of men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy (whether wives can refuse sex with their husbands and whether wives can ask for condom use when he has an STD) diverge from the findings for domestic violence in Model 2 of Table 10. With regard to individual characteristics, only education has a significant relationship with men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy; each year of education is associated with a decrease in male dominance of 0.013 standard deviation units (p < .01). Men's age and literacy do not have significant relationships with men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy. With regard to family characteristics, men's marital status is significantly related to this dimension of men's attitudes; married men are significantly more accepting of women sexual autonomy than unmarried men (b = -0.199, p < .001). Wealth also increases men's acceptance of women's sexual autonomy, however significant differences are only present between the poorest and wealthiest quintiles (b = -0.215, p < .01). With regard to men's environmental characteristics, childhood residence, adulthood residence, ethnicity, and religion are not significantly related to men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy. Frequency of radio listening, however, is significantly related to men's attitudes; men who listen to the radio at least once a week and those who listen almost every day are significantly more accepting of women's sexual autonomy than men who listen to the radio less than once a week (b = -0.445, p < .001 and b = -0.461, p < .001, respectively). However, because men who listen to the radio less than once a week only make up 11% of the population, despite the large size of these coefficients, this predictor variable does not offer much by way of explaining most men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy.

When looking at the strength of the coefficients in Model 2, marital status emerges as the most central predictor of men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy. In fact, the strength of relationship between marital status and men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy is greater than the effect of 15 years of schooling (b = -0.199, p < .001 for marital status, and -0.013, p < .01

for one year of education). The difference in attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy between married and unmarried men could be explained by fact that once men are married, they must negotiate sex with their wives instead of thinking hypothetically about how they plan to interact with their future spouse. Once men are married and experience the realities of negotiating sex with their wives, they may become more accepting of women's abilities to refuse sex and request condom use.

Attitudes toward Men's Retaliation

Model 3 in Table 10 investigates the influence of individual, family, and environmental characteristics on men's attitudes toward men's retaliation when their wives refuse sex. The most equitable respondents for this dependent variable do not condone any form of retaliation when wives refuse sex, while more male-dominant respondents condone some form(s) of retaliation. With regard to men's individual characteristics, age does not have a significant relationship with men's attitudes toward retaliation, while education and literacy are significantly related to this dimension of men's gender attitudes. Education is associated with more gender-equitable attitudes; each year of education corresponds to a decrease of 0.014 standard deviations in men's acceptance of retaliation. Part-literacy, however, appears to increase men's acceptance of retaliation, in comparison to men who are illiterate (b = 0.122, p < .05). Perhaps as men gain a small amount of empowerment through part-literacy, they are better able to retaliate when wives refuse sex, and thus may be more condoning of this behavior than illiterate men. But, because literate men do not express greater acceptance of retaliation than illiterate men (there is no significant difference between these groups) this positive relationship between part-literacy and acceptance of men's retaliation does not appear to be linear.

When considering men's family characteristics, while marital status is not a significant predictor of men's attitudes toward retaliation, significant differences emerge between every wealth quintile in comparison to the poorest quintile of men, with the largest difference in attitudes occurring between men in the poorest quintile and men in the middle quintile (b = -.210, p < .001). Men's environmental characteristics also demonstrate some significant relationships with men's

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attitudes toward retaliation. Adulthood residence in urban areas is related to more gender-equitable attitudes; urban men are significantly more rejecting of retaliation than rural men (b = -0.107, p < .01). With regard to ethnicity, only one significant difference emerges; Other ethnicity men are more accepting of retaliation than Akan men (b = 0.258, p < .01). Also, there are some differences between religious groups; Protestant and Other Christian men demonstrate greater rejection of men's retaliation than Catholic men (b = -0.108, p < .05 and b = -0.101, p < .05, respectively). Frequency of radio listening is not significantly related to men's attitudes toward retaliation.

While men's individual and environmental factors are related to men's attitudes toward retaliation, the most critical sociodemographic characteristic for predicting men's attitudes toward retaliation is the family characteristic of wealth. There are significant and substantial differences between all of the four higher quintiles of men and the poorest quintile of men. Moving from the poorest quintile to middle quintile is associated with a reduction of 0.210 standard deviation units in men's acceptance of retaliation; the strength of this association is equivalent to a full 15 years of schooling. At the same time, education and adulthood residence in urban areas also contribute to greater rejection of retaliation. The combination of these individual, family, and environmental characteristics (education, wealth, and adulthood residence) likely bring men closer in proximity to Western hegemonic masculinities that do not condone retaliation when women refuse sex. In this way, Westernization could be influencing men's gender attitudes in this dimension.

Conclusion

These exploratory findings provide four main conclusions. First, men's individual, family, and environmental characteristics are related to men's gender attitudes, and this supports Bussey and Bandura's (1999) social cognitive theory of gender differentiation. Men's individual, family, and environmental characteristics are particularly relevant to men's attitudes toward domestic violence in Ghana; Model 1 has an adjusted R-square of 0.151. In other words, the 10 sociodemographic variables included in these analyses account for 15.1% of the variation in men's attitudes toward

domestic violence. Sociodemographic factors are less influential predictors of men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy and retaliation, yet they are relevant nonetheless; the sociodemographic characteristics utilized in these analyses predict 5.6% of the variation of men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy, and 4.7% of the variation in men's attitudes toward men's retaliation when their wives refuse sex.

Second, the associations between men's individual, family, and environmental characteristics and men's gender attitudes differ across the three dimensions of men's gender attitudes. While all of men's individual, family, and environmental characteristics except men's marital status are associated with men's attitudes toward domestic violence, men's marital status emerges as the central predictor of men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy. Unmarried men's hypothetical expectations of their wives' sex behavior appear to be more male-dominant than the gender attitudes they hold in marriage, while experiencing the reality of negotiating sex with their wives. With regard to men's attitudes toward retaliation when wives refuse sex, wealth and adulthood residence are central sociodemographic predictors of men's attitudes; with wealthier and urban men significantly less likely to condone retaliation. Perhaps because wealthier and urban men have greater proximity to the influences of westernization and modernization, they may be more influenced by Western masculine ideals that may not condone retaliation when wives refuse sex. The differences between these models reinforce the findings from the prior comparison of DHS men's attitudes and the IDI men's attitudes; men hold gender attitudes that contain numerous dimensions, and gender-equitable attitudes in one sphere may not be strongly related to gender-equitable attitudes in another sphere. Additionally, the differences in the relationships between individual, family, and environmental factors and these dimensions of men's attitudes reinforce the importance of the ecological approach utilized by Bussey and Bandura (1999); a great diversity of individual, familial, and environmental characteristics can influence different dimensions of men's gender attitudes.

While there are differences between dimensions of men's gender attitudes, across all of the dimensions examined here, education has the most consistent negative association with men's male-dominant attitudes; no other individual, family, or environmental characteristic holds importance across each model in this way. According to Bussey and Bandura (1999), the schooling environment provides exposure to social sanctions by both peers and teachers, and this facilitates the development of individuals' gender attitudes. While schools reinforce and perpetuate gendered systems of power and divisions of labor (Connell 1996), in the Ghanaian context, these findings suggest that schooling still encourages more gender-equitable attitudes among males who attend. Simultaneously, these quantitative findings cannot explain how education in Ghana and men's equitable gender attitudes are related. By exploring education as one of Bussey and Bandura's (1999) subsystems of gender socialization, the qualitative component of this study can further elucidate the relationship between educational attainment and men's gender-equitable attitudes.

Third, these findings reinforce the interconnection of men's gender identities and their racial and class statuses, as articulated by race-class-gender theory (West and Fenstermaker 2002). As Daly (1997) explains, gender, race, and class inequalities are "intersecting, interlocking and contingent" upon each other (33). Men's social location can influence their proximity to hegemonic masculinities, and ultimately their gender attitudes (Kane 2000). While Ghana is racially homogenous, ethnic group differences emerge for men's attitudes toward domestic violence and men's attitudes toward retaliation. Class differences (as operationalized by the wealth) are evident in each dimension of men's gender attitudes. Therefore, men's social location, as defined by ethnic identity and class status can shape men's gender attitudes in Ghana.

Finally, while individual and environmental characteristics are important predictors of men's gender attitudes, current family characteristics (wealth and marital status) emerge as central to men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy and men's attitudes toward retaliation when women refuse sex. Because Bussey and Bandura's (1999) model emphasizes gender attitudinal socialization

during childhood and adolescence, and gives less attention to continuing socialization in adulthood, the gender subsystem of the family is considered only with regard to natal family influence on gender attitudes. These findings demonstrate that adulthood family characteristics—whether men are married, and men's household wealth—are also central to men's gender attitudes in Ghana. The social cognitive theory of gender differentiation could be expanded to better articulate adulthood influences on gender attitudes, and include these adulthood familial characteristics.

Chapter 6

EMBODYING GENDER EQUITY

This chapter uses in-depth interview data with Ghanaian men to explore the experiences of gender-equitable men within the male dominance context of Ghana. It addresses the third research purpose of the study (*examine the meaning of gender equity among gender-equitable Ghanaian men, and identify the personal costs and benefits experienced by gender-equitable men as a result of their attitudes toward women*). In the first section of this chapter, I describe the attitudes, beliefs, actions and behaviors that Ghanaian men use to define and demonstrate gender equity. First, I discuss the social, political, and economic issues that respondents believe are most critical to improving gender equity in Ghana. Second, I explore the broader system of core beliefs that these gender-equitable men share: respondents believe that gender is socialized, that gender inequality is connected to a larger system of inequality, and that living out gender-equitable beliefs in all aspects of life is a necessary component of embodying a gender-equitable perspective. Third, I highlight the ways in which men enact their gender-equitable attitudes within their own households, as Ghanaian men's gender attitudes are frequently demonstrated through their relationships with their wives and children.

In the second section of this chapter, I examine the costs and benefits that these Ghanaian men experience as a result of their gender-equitable attitudes. First, I describe the benefits they experience in their marriages and friendships with women as result of their unique gender attitudes. Also, I explore how respondents view the positive contributions that they make to society as a personal benefit from which they garner fulfillment. Second, I discuss the multiple costs that respondents experience as a result of their unique attitudes. These men talk about difficulties in their careers, social exclusion and teasing, and criticism targeting their wives. Respondents also believe that gender-equitable marriages involve more work, and a few respondents attribute previous divorces to the conflict between their gender-equitable intentions, and their ex-wives' more

traditional gender attitudes. Additionally, respondents are sometimes frustrated by the slow pace of progress toward greater gender equity in Ghana, and the hard work that is required to consistently challenge the male-dominant notions held by others. Lastly, I discuss the coping mechanisms that respondents use to deal with these challenges. Despite the difficulties gender-equitable men face, they see the benefits of holding gender-equitable attitudes as largely outweighing the costs.

Issues that Concern Gender-Equitable Men

Respondents believe that a number of social, political and economic issues in Ghana must be addressed in order to improve gender equity in the country. While men's gender-equitable beliefs cannot be fully defined by their positions on a set of issues alone—as salient issues change over time and are partly dependent on the political focus and media attention they receive within Ghana—this remains a good starting point for building an understanding of the meanings of gender equity among Ghanaian men. The issues that respondents perceive to be most critical to women's rights in Ghana include domestic violence and improving educational and economic opportunities for women.

Respondents see widespread domestic violence in Ghana as a highly problematic barrier to gender equity, and many respondents commit significant time and energy to bringing public attention to this issue. After several years of advocacy against domestic violence, women's rights activists successfully lobbied for anti-violence legislation in Ghana six months prior to these in-depth interviews. During this research, many respondents described the importance of this Domestic Violence Act, as well as the struggles and compromises that were made to the legislation to facilitate the ratification of the bill. Most notably, a clause in the bill nicknamed the "marital rape clause" by the Ghanaian media, was stricken from the legislation during the ratification process (Fallon and Aunio 2006). While most men in Ghana express anti-domestic violence sentiments—as can be seen in the GDHS, where 67% of male respondents do not condone domestic violence in any of the five scenarios presented in the survey—many Ghanaian men were extremely fearful of the "marital rape clause," as it gave women the right to refuse sex with their husbands, and as a result, men could be

accused of raping their wives. In fact, the Ministry of Women and Children argued "the populace believed that a bill that included marital rape would lead to the breakdown of the family" (Fallon and Aunio 2006:9). However, the gender-equitable respondents in this study are universally in support of this clause, as they believe women have the right to refuse sex with their husbands. Additionally, respondents believe that men who force sex on their wives should be prosecuted for the crime of rape. While respondents do not agree on whether or not the Domestic Violence Act was a legitimate success—some respondents are very proud of the bill, while others feel that the concessions made to pass the bill diminished its importance and constituted a missed opportunity—respondents unanimously agree on the importance of combating domestic violence and the necessity of women gaining a legislated form of physical protection and sexual autonomy within marriage.

Improving educational and economic opportunities for women and girls is also important to these gender-equitable men. Respondents see equal educational and economic opportunities as key to dismantling gender inequality in Ghana, and also as contributing to the amelioration of inequalities within the family. As Felix points out, while many Ghanaian men see women's economic and educational empowerment as threatening, he sees multiple positive ramifications from it:

> I support women being empowered, women being educated, and women also being very independent because it shapes the family, and it also shapes the society, and it makes better relations as well. People may have dissenting views—thinking that when women are educated, they tend to challenge men—and I don't feel that way.

Kofi believes equal opportunities for boys and girls change the dynamics in the household, and can be a means of combating domestic violence: "Give everybody—girl children, boy children—the opportunity to grow up with equal opportunities, then you will eventually be limiting and eliminating domestic violence or violence against women." Respondents believe educational gains for girls and women will have a ripple-effect in subsequent generations, as educated women are more likely to send their own children to school. These men also argue that as more women enter formal work, the rigid division of household labor in traditional families will be forced to shift to more fluid forms,

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where men and women share chores more equitably. In order to improve educational and economic opportunities for girls and women, respondents endorse policies that remove barriers to education for all children, enforce equal pay for equal work, and sanction gender discrimination in both schools and the workplace. Isaac explains how he believes that the best person for the job should receive the position:

> Well I believe it must always be the competent mind that must excel. You know, what I mean is that, it is not your gender, it is not whether you are a woman or man, do you have what it takes to do the job? Do you have what it takes to proffer a particular solution? Your face doesn't really matter. If your face doesn't really matter, then it presupposes that you must be given opportunity to harness any opportunity that you have—no bottlenecks in your way.

Additionally, Isaac is happy to support policies that eliminate barriers for women:

> I believe in if a society has put impediments in the way of women they might be removed and if I have to be part of breaking down those barriers I'm okay of helping to bring down the walls, or the impediments that are in the way of women.

> Respondents, however, are careful to emphasize that they do not believe women should be

given carte-blanche advantages over men. They stress the notion of fairness when discussing the expansion of education and employment opportunities for women and girls. While these men support equal opportunities for girls and women, they also agree that boys and men also deserve opportunities to achieve their full potential. Many of the respondents are regularly accused of helping women to take power away from men and dominate them. Therefore, respondents vocally advocate against double standards that disadvantage men as well as women. From Stephen's perspective, fairness—regardless of gender—is key:

> If women do something that is against men, it's wrong I will speak about it. But I look at it like women are the ones who are most disadvantaged so I will speak on their behalf. But I will at the same time, I will not sit down for females to perpetuate something that is negative or wrong against men, I would also speak up against that.

However, for some respondents, this approach does not go far enough to redistribute power. As a result of both unequal social structures in place in Ghana, and the unique needs of women who are childbearing, some men believe that affirmative action policies are necessary to improve

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opportunities for women. As Fred describes, women have different needs from men as a result of their childbearing capacities, and their opportunities should not be hampered by this:

> Women are also made uniquely from men. Their reproductive cycles are completely different. The things that women need as human beings to live happily, and be able to fulfill their dreams and their creative ability, there is a certain uniqueness about those things that are different from men. What applies to men, may not necessarily apply to women. So apart from creating equal opportunities between men and women, so that each gender can aspire to the highest, special programs must be put in place that address those peculiar needs of a woman.

Core Beliefs of Gender-Equitable Men

Beyond the commonalities in respondents' attitudes toward specific issues, respondents hold three core beliefs that broadly influence their gender-equitable attitudes. Respondents believe that gender is socialized, that gender inequality is connected to a larger system of inequality, and that living out gender-equitable beliefs in all aspects of life is a necessary component of embodying a gender-equitable perspective.

<u>Gender is Socialized</u>

The gender-equitable men in this study believe that gender is socialized; they universally agree that gender roles are not fully biologically determined, but they are largely created by culture. By understanding that differences between men and women are not fixed at birth, these men open themselves up to a broader spectrum of ways of being themselves (and being men) and a greater understanding of others who choose not to adhere to traditional gendered practices. Because respondents see gender as more fluid than more traditional men, who tend to see women's and men's roles as predetermined and fixed (Miller and Kannae 1999), they believe that the division of labor in individual families and relationships can be negotiated by individuals to reflect peoples' strengths, instead of their genders. Additionally, even if men and women choose to divide household labor along gender lines, this division of labor is never permanent, and no one should suffer subordination, regardless of the nature of the contribution he or she makes to the household. Respondents not only contest the predetermined nature of men and women's differences but these gender-equitable men

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believe that rigid gender roles are harmful, as they limit the life opportunities of both men and women. These men see women's subordination as an artifact of the past that is substantiated by the belief that gender differences are immutable, and respondents work to dismantle this belief in others.

Undoing the rigidity of gender roles does more than just change the specific housework tasks that women must do and man cannot. Because respondents recognize that gender is socialized, they are also able to distance themselves from traditional forms of masculinity. As Kofi, who is a University lecturer, explains to his students, creating more fluid roles in the household does not diminish his manhood:

> And as part of the teaching, I want people to understand that you don't lose your manhood if you perform roles that women perform, and you don't lose your manhood if you provide the avenue—the opportunity—for women to begin to perform the roles that men perform.

Isaac denounces rigid gender roles, and he explains how he can be a more authentic version of himself by being a "different" kind of man:

> Being different is being a man. As for me, that is a real man—being a real man. Being different is equally being a man. With much less trouble, anyway—the alternative I subscribe to gives you less pain, gives you less trouble. I don't want to be macho, expressionistic, impressionistic, taking unnecessary risks in order to convince people that I'm a man, no. I wouldn't do that. I wouldn't drink, I wouldn't womanize, play out, I wouldn't philander, no, I wouldn't do that. I will cry when I need to cry. I feel sad when I need to feel sad. I wouldn't put up a stony face even when I am hurting within.

However, even though respondents believe that gender is socialized, they do not always find it easy to relinquish the masculine ideals to which they have been trained. As Ibrahim explains below, letting go of many of the gendered lessons men learn over the lifetime can be very difficult. Developing gender-equitable attitudes is a process that takes time, energy, and a reflection on the part of the man. As he argues, men are socialized to anticipate power over women. In this quote, he uses the word 'constructed' to describe socialization:

> As a man, you are not constructed to practice equity. We are constructed to dominate, so that's the thing. So you have to try and fight that, and that's not easy for yourself. It is going to mean you are coming against what you are constructed to be. So there is an internal obstacle that you have to try and overcome … The people that you value in your life, some of the values they passed on to you, now you have to try to resist it, and that's difficult.

Gender Inequality is Connected to a Larger System of Inequality

The gender-equitable Ghanaian men in this study are passionate about gender inequality because they see women's subordination as linked to a larger system of inequality. While most Ghanaian men see improvements in women's rights as an opportunity for, as Isaac explains, "women to sit on men's necks," gender-equitable men do not see women taking power from men, as they recognize that power does not innately belong to men. He disagrees with the notion of "taking power from men":

> If men are powerful, then society has made them powerful. It is taking power back from society and not necessarily from men. Otherwise, men feel targeted, and they try all means to fight back, so to speak, because then we've been set up. So I have a problem with that idea that men would have to give power—that men have made women subservient. It's not the doing of men, it is the doing of society, and so it is realigning the institutional arrangement in order to free "power" so that women can also be themselves.

Gender-equitable men also believe that larger systems of inequality are highly problematic, and need rectification. In fact, many respondents feel that they have also been subordinated by these systems of inequality at different points in their lives. In this way, respondents are strongly committed to social justice, and they feel connected to the subordination that women experience. For these men, working toward women's empowerment does not lead to feelings of loss or insecurity as men, as they believe in a larger agenda of social change. As Frank explains:

> Genuine emancipation from secondary status for women is something that has to be part of an agenda of change that goes beyond women. It's not simply about women, but it's about social change, writ large.

Also, as Emmanuel points out, in Ghana, age hierarchies and the traditional chieftaincy system also contribute to a larger system of inequalities:

> It's not simply a position about the status of women or gender relations. It's more really about society and its organization what needs to change and what should not change. It is that totality. Because I mean you can't discuss gender relations on their own if you are interested in building a more equal society without paying attention to class and age hierarchies and other things which are so pervasive. You know, the love of chieftaincy and other things that are so pervasive in Ghanaian society.

For some, recognizing the interconnection of inequalities is linked to a larger struggle for a political and economic system based on equity, instead of competition for resources. Although Frank is hesitant to label it as such, he advocates a system of socialism as the only real solution for pervasive inequalities:

> I can't see how any inequality which is as fundamental as that of gender can really be addressed as long as, you know, both the concentration of both power, resources, decision-making, is in such demand. I don't see how that could be possible fundamentally.

In addition to seeing gender inequality as connected to a larger system of inequalities, gender-equitable men see gender inequalities as perpetuating a number of social ills, from the spread of HIV/AIDS and the negotiation of safe sex, to high fertility. If more women are better able to care for the nutritional and educational needs of their children, communities and the larger society benefits from the contributions that a child can make in his or her later life. As Michael explains, gender inequality has large impacts on a number of social problems:

> I think that any environment, any society, and community that does not uphold human rights, is fertile ground for all the social vices you can think of, all the problems you can think of—poverty to HIV/AIDS, to domestic violence, you name it.

As a result, men feel that they stand to gain as individuals and as men by improving gender inequalities. As Charles explains, he sees gender as central to development in Ghana, and key to poverty reduction:

> I think we are wasting very scarce human resources that we cannot manufacture; it's created by the creator and we must harness them, development mobilize them and we will do a lot better … we continue to waste quite a sizeable part of the human resources.

As Daniel points out, gender inequality has hindered development in countries across the globe, with the exception of oil-rich countries:

> There is no country that has been able to develop apart from oil-rich gulf countries—that has been able to develop without harnessing the human resources of both men and women. You can't achieve the kind of development we are looking for if we don't harness the full potentials of both men and women. And, as it is, we need to redouble our efforts to make sure that everybody is onboard… And so, the issue of women's rights is not just for the sake of it, it's to be able to achieve the kind of development that the country is looking for.

The gender-equitable men interviewed in this study do not see women's rights as only concerning women. They strongly believe that women's issues are everyone's issues, and they should be addressed accordingly. Women's rights cannot be isolated from human rights. At the same time, this does cause conflict with some women in the women's rights movement in Ghana, as many of these men believe they are fully able to participate in every aspect of the struggle, while many Ghanaian women who are fighting for women's rights want to reserve spaces that are women-only. Frank explains:

> On the one hand I am in support of women's emancipation, but at the same time, I don't see it as a woman's trouble. It is a human trouble. I don't see how even what I want for myself can be fully achieved. For example, I will not allow myself to be excluded, on any account of the fact that I am not a woman. No.

Taking Action

To fully embody gender-equitable attitudes, respondents believe that men must not only believe in gender equity and understand how gender inequality connects to a larger system of inequality, but they must live out their equitable beliefs in their daily actions. As Baffour explains, "I just try to live my life in a way that I can treat everyone fairly." Matthew agrees:

> I think that first and foremost, anybody who believes in gender equity whether man or woman should have a strong sense of social justice, meaning that the person should believe in the equity of men and women, of the rights of other people, children, disadvantaged people. The person should not just believe in them, but the person should try as much as possible to practice them in his or her relationships with other people, officially and privately. That should be the ideal.

In addition, respondents not only believe that gender-equitable men should prioritize equality, and live out this value, but that they should be careful to insure that they are not are not fostering discrepancies in their lives and accepting inequalities in one sphere of life while contesting them in others. In other words, gender-equitable men should hold their commitment to equity through every aspect of their lives. As Charles articulates:

> You cannot be educated and want to modernize one aspect of your life and leave the other unmodernized, and if you do that the discrepancy has to be explained, and the answer is power, okay. Why would I retain the traditional system which makes me as a man, a male

superior and I am to be served thoroughly by a woman, and I should enjoy it. It's enjoyable isn't it? … This privilege diminishes us rather than enlarges us.

These respondents also make an effort to speak up about their gender attitudes when they are given an opportunity to challenge the traditional attitudes of others, as they see themselves as important agents of change. While Ibrahim does not advertise himself as a "gender person" per se, when opportunities arise, he stands up for his beliefs:

It's not private because when I see people I make them understand my view. I don't create the difference between me and them, I make sure I present my thoughts to them in a way they will understand, and even win them to my side. So it is not private. Anybody who is close to me knows the way I think.

When respondents are critiqued by others and called on to defend their choices, they see these instances as opportunities to influence others. In Emmanuel's case, he takes these opportunities to stand up for his unique choices:

Some people even say, 'Why do you live in your wife's house? I say, 'No I don't live in my wife's house; we both bring different things to making a home. So my wife brings a house and I bring other things.'

Even though respondents agree that men should ideally live out their gender-equitable values, they concede that this process is not always easy. For Matthew, who was going through a divorce at the time of interview, his gender-equitable attitudes and commitment to his children force him to make some difficult choices, yet he feels that he had to "practice what he preaches:"

You have to live with your conscience. I mean, if you are a gender activist, and you preach equity, you preach that children should be the responsibility of the man and the woman, so if you are faced with the situation when you have children, you should try to practice that. The fact that you divorce a woman does not mean you abandon your children.

For Arthur, acting on gender-equitable beliefs in every life situation, no matter how small, is essential to embodying gender-equitable attitudes. In the early years of his marriage, he frequently argued with his then-wife regarding his strong desire to demonstrate his gender beliefs in all aspects of his life. While his wife preferred to have the equitable nature of their marriage remain private, he saw every instance in which he could display his beliefs as critical:

So she said, 'Okay, let's save ourselves that trouble.' But my attitude is different, when I look back. It doesn't take large numbers to change society. So, if somebody has to be hardheaded, well, I am doing it. If some children around see it, it will influence them, and that is far, far, far more important than all the foolish things that the grown-ups would be saying.

Displaying Gender Equity in Marriage

According to many respondents, men's actions in their own homes—how they interact with their wives and children—is one of the strongest ways that men can demonstrate gender-equitable attitudes. The family is an arena in which gender attitudes are most intimately enacted (Adams and Castle 1994; Clark 1994), and marriage represents a significant transition in power dynamics between men and women (Frost and Dodoo 2006; Frost and Dodoo 2007). Respondents who are not married are often discredited as not fully gender-equitable, as they cannot enact their attitudes in relationships with wives in order to demonstrate their beliefs. One unmarried respondent, Michael, complains that his opinions on gender relations are frequently devalued by others because he is not yet married. When discussing gender issues with others (both men and women), they frequently say, "Oh when you marry you will see" in order to discredit his opinions:

> They teasingly say it's because I am not married. It doesn't mean that I've never been in a relationship, but they tend to think that once you are married, those things change. And I disagree totally…Most people tend to think that once you get into marriage, you will want [the power].

Recognition of Women's Contributions

Married men have the opportunity to fully display their gender attitudes through their interactions with their wives and children, and legitimize their gender attitudes to others. Perhaps first and foremost, as a measure of man's gender equity, is his treatment of his wife. A gender-equitable man should recognize and appreciate the hard work that women do in the household. Many respondents explain how women are overburdened in the household, and that it is important for men to value their contributions. In this way, women's work (which is largely unpaid) should hold value equivalent to the financial contributions that many men bring into the household. For men whose wives work in formal employment outside the home, their wives' financial contributions to the

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household should be equally recognized. For Otto, who brings the large preponderance of income to the household, he argues that even though he brings more money home, there is not just one breadwinner in his household. As Kwesi explains, there are many things he could never accomplish without his wife:

> Without my wife there are lots of things that I couldn't have done. Putting up a house, and things like that, educating children. Because while she is taking care of these things, I am also taking care of this. So you know, so if you want to be the boss, put the wife out of the way, then there are certain things that you cannot achieve.

Respondents not only recognize the contributions of their wives, but agree that working together to recognize everyone's contributions to the family improves the family overall. As Charles explains, "She brings her strength and I bring mine, and our objective is to give the children the best and give ourselves the best. It makes us very powerful."

Men's recognition of women's paid and unpaid labor as critical for the success of the family caused some respondents to reevaluate traditional systems of financial allocations in their marriages. Many reject the traditional practice of chop money, (whereby men give weekly housekeeping to their wives to support the families) as it obligates women to a disproportionate share of housework, and ties household authority to men. For Kwesi, who was in his mid-60s, he and his wife have negotiated their financial contributions to the household for the entirety of their 34 year marriage, and have renegotiated the arrangement each time their salaries changed:

> Traditionally, the woman stayed at the house, and the man was the breadwinner, so the man giving the chop money was quite normal. But sometimes even when the woman is working, they say, it is your duty as a man to provide the chop money. And therefore she keeps the money to herself. But I prefer to strike an arrangement—I will take care of this, and you will take care of this.

For other men, whose wives do not work outside the home, even though they do not contribute equal financial resources to the family, these respondents are highly conscious of the work their wives do to maintain the household and manage the family. As Otto explains, a gender-equitable man does not claim to be the sole breadwinner, as women also work in the home.

Empathy for Wives

Another characteristic that gender-equitable men display in their marriages is empathy and connection with their wives. According to these respondents, gender-equitable men should be committed to their wives and show allegiance to their wives over others, including their extended family. This builds closeness and trust and fosters sharing in the relationship. When asked about the specific characteristics a gender-equitable man should possess, Kwame responds that "People share in the general problems of their wives; they identify with their wives very well." Not only should men prioritize their wives, but they should empathize with their difficulties and support them through their challenges.

By improving one's understanding of what women are going though, and cultivating empathy for one's wife, men are able to act with their wives' best interests in mind. One respondent, Alex, who came to his gender-equitable perspective later in life, recounts that when he started to value women as equal to men and "created as equals in the eyes of God," he no longer wanted to maintain extramarital relationships. For the first time, he saw his actions from his wife's perspective and realized the pain he inflicted upon her through his earlier years of philandering.

Other respondents see themselves as different from most men because of the empathy and compassion they feel for women in general, and the non-sexual friendships they maintain with women. Accused by more traditional men and women of being "too compassionate" for women, and not hard enough on his wife, Derek describes how he sees women as connected to him, and how he feels their pain. He genuinely enjoys women's company and friendships, despite the teasing he receives for it.

Equal Decision-Making with Wives

Another way in which a man can display his gender-equitable attitudes in the home is to establish equal decision-making dynamics within his marriage. Gender-equitable men are not inhibited by male notions of power at the household level and are unencumbered by expectations of

being the household head. As Yaw explains, "dictatorial tendencies" in the household are antithetical to gender-equitable attitudes. According to Ibrahim, men should "be more open to listening to what a woman is saying, and more willing to involve women in decision-making."

By asking for and valuing a wife's opinion, men can show their desire for equity. All the married respondents in this study talk about sharing decision-making with their wives. Charles recognizes that by sharing power with his wife, he loses authoritative control, but he argues that power-sharing in marriage increases his democratic power. Because he consults his wife on important issues, and she does the same, he can negotiate for compromises on a wider spectrum of decisions, thus increasing what he calls his "influence" in the household. When they disagree, sometimes she gets her way, and sometimes he does, but Charles would rather talk through any disagreement to build a consensus with his wife than dictate an answer to her.

Respondents also believe that average men make issues and conflict where they are not necessary. They value peace in the household and are willing to strike compromises in ways that many men are not. As Yaw explains, "I think there are quite a number of things that are issues for men, as far as women are concerned, but I do not see why they should be issues." For example, Yaw explains that if men and women disagree over the naming of children, there is no reason why the child cannot have both names. As he describes, there are more ways to find a solution than just by adopting one person's perspective or the other's.

Equal household decision-making causes many gender-equitable men to denounce their role as the household head. As Bernard describes, everyone has an equal share in marriage, and therefore has equal rights. Therefore, there are "no senior partners and junior partners in marriage." He believes that a man's true commitment to his family should relieve him of the desire to be household head. If a man cares deeply for his family, power-sharing should not be problematic:

> I will just say that I am just committed to my family and I want to live the proper family man who also has the view, the perception that my wife is equal to me ... If you are really committed to your family, these things should not pose any problem to you.

As a result, many respondents see their marriages as fundamentally different from the marriages of their mothers and fathers, as few of these respondents witnessed equal power-sharing between their mothers and fathers. Felix notes this difference:

> I would not like the way for example, grandfather treated my grandmother or my father treats my mother. I don't want to treat my wife the same way … we act more equally.

<u>Housework and Childrearing</u>

Men demonstrate gender-equitable attitudes by recognizing the contributions of their wives and empathizing with their difficulties, as well as sharing decision-making power in the house. However, gender-equitable men must also contribute to housework and childrearing—tasks that are, traditionally, solely reserved for women—in order to be fully gender-equitable. As many respondents explain, men have shared responsibilities in the household, and men must be willing to cross gender roles in order to be supportive husbands. As Kwame explains, gender-equitable men "are ready to do anything for their wives without thinking of their position or their status, or their sex as men." As Charles explains, when his daughters were young and his wife was up in the night nursing, he had "to help her care for the children, or she [would] fall ill, and that [would] not help anyone." This notion that men must do to housework in order to contribute to the good of the family is critical to men's gender-equitable perspective.

Through enacting these values and sharing housework with their wives, respondents encounter a number of social barriers, particularly when doing maternal tasks outside of the home. Kweku recounts a story of when his wife delivered a baby two months prematurely, and he went shopping for infant clothing alone, as his wife was still recouping, and they were unprepared for the births. While inquiring about the sizing on infant clothing, a saleswoman told him to come back later with his wife. He demanded to speak with the manager, and as he explains it, as a result of his argument with the saleswoman, he received "quite a big discount in the store that day." Kweku also revels in the discomfort he creates among his neighbors when he carries his young children on his

back. Another respondent, Stephen, does much of the shopping for his infant, and when buying baby

creams and detergents, he frequently gets funny looks from the saleswomen. In fact, suffering

societal consequences of doing women's work, such as those experiences above, or being called

names for doing household chores, are battle scars for gender-equitable men. These experiences

confirm their unique identities, and verify that they are living out their gender-equitable beliefs.

Gender-equitable men also consciously try to dismantle rigid gender roles in their households

through the household chores that their children do. As Mohammed, who has a 12 year-old daughter

and a 9 year-old son explains, he believes that teaching boys to be adept in the home is critical, as in

traditional households men are not even allowed in the kitchen:

> In my home, my son equally washes things like my daughter does, and they all carry water, and I make a conscious effort to make sure they can all light up the stove and at least cook and fry an egg. In a traditional Ghanaian home, the boy would not have gone near a kitchen.

Additionally, respondents believe that it is important for gender-equitable men and women not to

have any son preference when having children, despite the privileges that boys and men receive

through patrilineal inheritance systems. Multiple respondents recount the births of their daughters,

and stress how excited they were to have girls, and how they had to defend their excitement to other

friends and family members.

Benefits of Gender-Equitable Attitudes

This section discusses the benefits that men experience as a result of their gender-equitable

attitudes. First, I discuss a number of the positive benefits that respondents experience in their lives

as a result of their unique gender attitudes. Respondents cite benefits in their marriages and families

that stem from the economic and educational empowerment of their wives, the shared decision-

making within their marriages, and the fulfillment that their intimate relationships give them as a

result of their gender attitudes. Respondents also describe benefits to their friendships with other

women, as these men are seen as supportive allies for women's needs. Lastly, respondents feel a

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sense of satisfaction from living out their gender-equitable attitudes in their personal and professional lives, which they believe makes a positive contribution to the world.

<u>Benefits to Marriage</u>

As a result of their gender-equitable attitudes, respondents have marriages and family dynamics that are also unique. Respondents are not threatened by the educational and economic accomplishments of their wives; in fact, many respondents describe how they encourage their wives to continue their education or seek higher employment because they see clear benefits from the resources and knowledge that women can bring to the household and marriage. Felix recognizes that his wife's employment brings tangible financial benefits to the home:

> Financially you become well-off . . . Looking at some of my other colleagues whose wives may not [work], assuming we are making the same salary, they will use about half or three-fourths of it in taking care of the family. The greater burden of the financial cost will come to the man.

Felix also sees direct benefits to his own career as a result of the education his wife has achieved; as an academic, he relies on her to read and edit his papers before he submits them for publication. In this way, she offers a critical support to his career:

> I think in the long run it can even go to enhance the man's work. For example, most of the papers that I write, the publications that I have, in most cases I give them to my wife [to proofread] because she did mass media and journalism and communication. So I feel a bit insecure when I'm going to submit [something], when she hasn't gone through it. Whenever she reads through it and gives comments, then I feel more confident.

Men also recognize women's financial contributions to the household as added security for the family; they have faith that their wives would be able to financially support their children if anything ever happened to them. For Stephen, who lost his own father during his childhood, this issue is very important:

> If I was the only breadwinner, sole breadwinner and I died and my wife was not working and could not fend for herself, my children would suffer. . . So then it is very important that women become empowered. I know women whose lives have turned because the main breadwinner died. I know families that everything changed when the father died because he was the sole breadwinner. For me, when my father died, it didn't have any effect on me because my mother was working.

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Because respondents are not threatened by their wives' accomplishments, they recognize how they benefit from the resources empowered women bring into the household.

Respondents also derive benefits in their household from relinquishing their traditional status as the household head in order to achieve more equitable power-sharing with their wives. While they do not have unilateral decision-making from their power-sharing arrangements, respondents explain that by sharing responsibilities with their wives, they are relieved of many of the pressures that face Ghanaian men. As Kofi explains, while his wife was at first uncomfortable with sharing decision-making power in their marriage, as she anticipated that her husband would maintain household authority, at the respondents' encouragement, she took on some of this authority, relieving the respondent of some of the pressure of being household head:

> My wife doesn't come from [a gender-equitable] perspective; she always expected me to make the final decisions from the beginning. She would always say "you are the man." And gradually, she got to understand that she also has to make inputs—that we are to take decisions together. And that helped me. It took off a lot of burden from me. It makes the work of the home lighter.

Other respondents believe that joint decision-making leads to better outcomes for the family, as 'two heads are better than one' when making tough choices for the family and children. For example, Felix describes how his wife does not defer to every decision he makes, and he prefers it this way. By challenging each other, husbands and wives help each other to make decisions that are better for the family. Felix recognizes that he cannot be perfect, and that his wife's contributions to household decisions matter:

> If she wasn't in [an equal] position, no matter what you say she will say yes, and that might not be in your best interest. By [your wife] questioning some of the decisions you make, upon second reflection, you realize that it makes sense what she is saying. . . You need somebody who will question you.

There are other benefits to the family and marital relationships that come from men's gender-equitable attitudes. First, because they are more open to sharing power with their wives, respondents

are better able to understand their perspectives and to compromise. As Ibrahim explains, this improves the communication and closeness within their relationships:

> Let's say that you are in a relationship, or you are with somebody of the opposite sex, and you the man are able to understand [gender equality], you will definitely benefit more, because there will be a lot of cooperation, and understanding of issues.

Increased cooperation between husbands and wives leads to a greater overall sense of peace within the marriage. As Stephen explains:

> I think the most important thing in a marriage is to have peace in the marriage, so that now I will be happy to go home, [because] I know there are no problems. I have had arguments with my wife before, but I make sure we understood each other before I [leave] home. You know, I can't go to work in the morning knowing that I have a problem with my wife, I just can't.

More equity within the marital relationship—which many respondents claim encourages the harmony within their households—also has ramifications beyond the couple, affecting children and what they learn about relationships. As Kwesi explains, his unique marriage extends its influence into their children and the romantic relationships that they will later form as adults:

> I think it makes a fulfilling marriage. In fact, even for the children, seeing daddy and mommy working together, in a happy mood and all that, and not always fighting with each other—I think the children are also influenced, and it will also help their marriages in the future.

Benefits to Friendships

Respondents describe a number of benefits to their personal relationships outside of their marriages as a result of their gender-equitable attitudes. As one respondent explains, holding gender-equitable attitudes improves the quality of relationships because it "brings harmony, peace—even if it is only ordinary friendship—it brings respect." Also, for many men, forming friendships with women is easier, and this broadens their social networks. Not only do respondents feel that women are more likely to befriend them, as they are seen as allies and confidants, but they feel that they are better able to relate to women because they see women as more than just sexual beings. As Yaw explains:

> You find yourself in a unique role or position, you seem to win the hearts of women who will come to you to confide in you, ask your help in strategizing, there is some confidence that they have in you.

Baffour is able to interact with women in ways that his male peers are not, as he can relate to them on more than just sexual levels.

> There are friends of mine who cannot get very close to women. Anytime they get close to women it's because they want [sex]. They have to express something, but it's not that they can socially flow with them . . . I have an easier time socializing with women, getting to know them without the complications that come with being with women, getting to know them.

More generally, respondents believe that they are able to relate with women better because of their gender attitudes. As Derek explains, gender-equitable men "don't see women as different species." This improves the ways that men and women can relate, bettering both friendships and intimate relationships. As a result, Derek has seen benefits to his intimate relationships, that he believes carry over into society, as his marriage becomes a model for other men and women to have equitable, companionate relationships:

> It makes the relationship grow, the intimacy, the bond, the oneness, you do things in common, share ideas in common. And, it has a reflection on the society, because others in the community look at you and try to imitate you, and you become more or less a role model. Others will say, 'You know, Kofi and Ama, have you ever seen them quarrel before?'

Mohammed even used his uniquely equitable attitudes to woo his wife while dating; he made it clear that he would treat her differently than other men, in order to encourage her interest in the relationship. He remembers telling her on occasion "You know, I'm not like other guys, it's not like I would want to impose something on you, I think that we should discuss it."

<u>Benefits to Society</u>

Respondents also experience benefits from the sense of satisfaction they gain through living out their gender-equitable ideals. For those who work at jobs in the field of gender, they feel very satisfied with the contributions they are making to their communities and country. For Kojo, he sees his work as a worthy contribution to society:

I look at it more in terms of contributing to society and helping to at least bring a change in people's attitudes to gender issues. And, of course the benefit is to the larger society if we manage to make an impact in these areas, but otherwise, I don't see any personal benefits as such. It's more like a responsibility to society.

Other respondents are proud to make a difference in women's rights, and Kofi describes how he is happy to be a strong role model for Ghanaian youth:

In the first place I think a lot of young people will look up to me. People who are younger will look up to me and will try and model their attitudes after what I say, and probably what I do. And we also have had the opportunities of talking to very large crowds. Talking to people on various television channels and also talking to people and answering questions on various radio stations; so affecting people in that manner is something that I am very satisfied with. I think that I would like to do it as long as I live, because we benefit when society is violence-free. There is a lot to benefit because we don't have to spend very valuable time in homes breeding violent children, nurturing violent children. Because we expose them to violence, by and large they also are affected by the violence.

For men who subscribe to gender equity, embodying this perspective in one's own actions and relationships leads to a sense of personal fulfillment and satisfaction. According to Matthew:

I think it makes you a better person, and if you are a better person in life, I think that there is consolation in that. I think that you, you get to be appreciated by very good people, you know, and it is good. I have many friends and I have a network of people who support me and who I support. It makes you a better person, basically.

The Costs of Gender-Equitable Attitudes

Despite the appreciable benefits that respondents experience as a result of their gender-equitable attitudes, these men also experience a number of challenges in their daily lives because of their gender attitudes. Respondents describe the career challenges they face, as well as the social exclusion and teasing that they experience, and the teasing and criticism that their wives also receive as a result of their unique gender attitudes. Additionally, these men agree that gender-equitable marriages can be more work, as sharing decision-making power with their wives requires significant negotiation and compromise, while traditional male-dominant unilateral decision-making does not. Four respondents believe their gender attitudes even contributed to the end of their marriages, as they did not hold the same traditional gendered perspectives as their wives. Respondents also describe the

frustration they experience from the slowness of social change, despite their hard work to improve gender equity in Ghana.

<u>Career Challenges</u>

Some respondents who chose to work in women's rights advocacy believe that they have made some career sacrifices in order to do this work, including reduced income and social prestige. For some men, working in women's rights has also limited their upward mobility within their organization. For example Kweku explains that, at his job, "there is no way a man will become executive director, no matter what he does. That is the organizational policy, and I think it's okay."

Other respondents find that people are skeptical about their beliefs, and test them at their jobs, and this takes extra time and energy. Kofi, as a police officer who works for the domestic violence unit of the Ghanaian police force explains, people often think that a Ghanaian man cannot possibly feel the way he does—they think he is too idealistic, and likely does not practice what he preaches. They will come to his home to solicit his help, just to see how he reacts. When he promptly returns their calls, they are shocked because "they think that these are things that a normal police officer wouldn't do." In addition, because respondents hold unique gender attitudes, they have to work harder than most people in their position, as their services are in greater demand. For William, who is an OBGYN who does quite a bit of counseling on men and women's marital issues, he is regularly called or visited at home by women who feel that they have no one else to turn to: "Due to that work that I'm doing, my privacy is sometimes disturbed. I will get frequent calls, because they know that they can talk to me." Although he feels that advising men and women on their relationships is an integral part of his job, counseling women to stand up to their male-dominant husbands has created some legitimately dangerous experiences for this respondent. After counseling one woman about her marriage, her disgruntled husband came to his workplace to retaliate:

> I remember when I was working at a hospital, a husband came to me wanting to beat me. His wife had come to my clinic and when I was examining her, I saw so many strange marks, scars on her back, and these were scars, some were fresh, some were old, some were hidden,

and so I asked her, "What is the problem?" And she told me it was the husband. And I told her that her husband has not got any right. This was a woman who did [all the work in the] kitchen, she had stopped [her job], and she was not allowed to use the phone. So I sat the woman down [and counseled her]. When she went home, and the husband wanted to beat her, she stood up and said, "You can't beat me like that—my doctor that I went to is also a man, and he told me that I can't be beaten like that. You can't beat me like that, and if you touch me, I will go and report you, and I will also find something to go and hurt you." That man had never experienced the wife standing [up to him] like that before. So the man came to office [to beat me up]. Thank God that day [he did not find me].

Other men discover that in practicing what they preach—living out gender equality—they have to make career sacrifices in order to prioritize their families and marriages, instead of only their personal needs and preferences. As Ibrahim explains, when he was offered a better paying job in the north of the country, he chose not to take the position because on the whole, it would have negative consequences for his family:

Only last week I had an offer to go for a job to go and stay in Tamale, for which I would be offered about three times what I am making here, but I turned it down, because I don't want to move out of Accra now. My wife and my other family are around me . . . And my mother is still around, so any decision I take to leave Accra now has implications for my mother, my wife, my siblings. So I look at it and I have to sacrifice.

Social Exclusion and Ridicule

Respondents experience quite a bit of teasing and criticism from friends, colleagues and family members as a result of their unique gender attitudes. For Fred, who considers himself a feminist, he frequently encounters people who believe he is quite strange, and that all he cares about is "women, women, women:"

I just think that there is a general perception that feminists are women. So when I say [that I am a feminist] they don't understand. They think that I must probably have a warped mind or something. Particularly here in Ghana . . . they think that I am strange.

Matthew receives a similar response:

So you know, people will expect you to react in a certain way, but if you don't react like that then they'll say, 'what is wrong with you?' That's how it is.

Derek and John experience accusations that they spend too much time in women's company, care too much about women's needs, and confide too much in women. Daniel describes the regular

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teasing he receives from an older man at work meetings, who says that he "advocates more for women than the women themselves," suggesting that there is something wrong with him. Richard explains how he works hard to carefully pick when he interjects his feminist attitudes, in hopes of having the most impact without harping on issues or developing a strong reputation. Yet despite these efforts, his colleagues will stop meetings and say, "Go ahead and say something for the women." In this way, he is forced to speak up, and simultaneously, his opinion is devalued. Along the same vein, Kweku received some feedback on his feminist newspaper articles from his pastor, who said "I saw your article—what the woman say you should write, you write." This comment, from a community leader nonetheless, devalues this man's perspective as something that cannot possibly be his own. In an extreme case, Princeton, who has a high voice that can be mistaken for a woman's voice on the phone, explains that:

> People tell me that I sound like a woman, so sometimes when people see me, they say I was a woman and along the way I turned into a man. A lot of them say that I am a woman at heart but a man by presentation.

In other words, this respondent is treated as if he is not a "real" man, because real men do not believe in gender equity.

Sometimes the criticism is more pointed, and traditional men goad gender-equitable men by using criticism or ridicule as a strategy to get them to participate in masculine behavior, such as going out to drink. Stephen explained how his brother-in-law tells him that he should not let his wife "dictate" to him when he is trying to persuade him to do something that he does not want to do. Yaw receives similar criticism from friends:

> A few times my male friends have called me and said, 'Let's go and have a drink.' And I say, 'No, I have to go home.' It's not because I am being dragged home, but because I am just tired and I want to go and sleep, or I think that I have been out of the house for too long. They rather think that my wife is controlling me.

Respondents also explain that not only are women jealous of women who are married to equitable men, but men can feel betrayed by equitable men, as they are willingly rejecting the benefits of being

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a man, and may inspire other women to ask their husbands to do house chores. As Derek explains,

"Some [men] even think you are betraying them. Because you are doing [chores], their wives will

also force them to do it."

Because respondents are different from most men, they tend to develop a reputation within

their families, communities, and workplaces. In this way, people anticipate respondents' stances on

issues before they are even consulted. As a result, respondents experience varying degrees of social

exclusion due to their gender attitudes. For men who are brought into the conflicts or relationship

problems of others, their gender attitudes can be perceived as an impediment, as these men are

always perceived as favoring women's perspectives. Also, because these men develop reputations as

equitable men, people change their behavior around them, filter their comments, and restrain

themselves and their behavior around respondents. Kweku explains how his presence tempers others'

behaviors:

> People will not make [certain] statements because I am there, and sometimes they will not
> even bring certain arguments to me. For instance, some of by brothers will not bring their
> relationship problems to me, or problems at home, because they know my stand.

Derek explains that, on the occasion, he is brought into another couple's conflict, and men often

assume that he will consistently support the wife. Michael talks about being perceived as stiff, or too

serious, because he would not participate in acts of benevolent sexism. This is reminiscent of the

"humorless feminist" stereotype in the United States (Baxandall and Gordon 2000):

> There are guys who go out of their way and do certain things just because a person is a
> woman. For example, I teach, some will expect me to be soft toward my female students, but
> I am not. I give them the same [treatment].

Criticism of Respondents' Wives

While respondents experience social pressure to conform to men's traditional behaviors and

attitudes in nearly every aspect of their lives, much of this criticism is targeted toward their roles in

the home, as this is one of the main arenas in which respondents' behavior is most noticeably

different. While families and neighbors criticize their marriages, many respondents demonstrate a

remarkable resilience to these comments and come to terms with this as one of the costs of their

unique gender attitudes. This criticism may actually cause more trouble for men's wives, as women

often instigate the teasing of other women, and wives of gender-equitable men are frequently treated

as incompetent because their husbands participate in some of the 'feminine' duties of the household.

Kweku explains the challenges he faces:

> Sometimes, what I find challenging is when I see other family relations or even friends not supporting me, and what I am doing. Maybe they come over to visit and they find me doing some work at home, they say 'Wow, why are you doing this?' And to my wife, 'Why do you allow your husband to do this?' You don't get that approval even from your friends and family.

Respondents are also frequently called "kontobonku" men, or men who are stupid, act like women,

and are potentially under the spell of witchcraft. However, such criticism is generally made toward

men's wives, and not toward the men themselves. As Kwame describes:

> The women will normally say it against the men [to other women]. They will describe the husband—I don't know whether they say [kontobonku] out of envy or what—but they see it as something that is abnormal. It is the woman's responsibility to be in the kitchen. It's like they are turning against their friend's husband who is helping her.

One respondent explains that the teasing does not bother him, although it does significantly bother

his wife. He believes it is a sign of jealousy from the woman who is doing the teasing:

> It normally happens in the compound house. I consider it as a point of envy. [The woman who criticizes] wishes she could be in that position, and that is how I would interpret it. And mostly these are women [who say it] are not married. They are of age, alright, but they have no husbands. So they wish they had a husband who is like me. So they will do all sort of things to aggravate the woman.

For respondents' wives, such criticism is painful, as they feel that their abilities as wives and mothers

are regularly insulted. Many wives of respondents did not anticipate gender-equitable marriages, and

they have also had to adjust to equal power-sharing with their husbands. Some respondents describe

how the social pressure placed on their wives can bring tensions into the marriage. Arthur explains

how his ex-wife preferred to keep their gender-equitable marriage private:

> At least my wife understood that I can cook, and I did that very often, and she enjoyed it and appreciated it. She understood that I could wash baby napkins, which I did. But then she

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would not allow me to go and dry the baby napkins outside for the neighbors to see that I am the one drying the baby napkins. I accepted that, but in retrospect, I said, 'What the hell?' They should rather see. She was being sensitive, and perhaps overly sensitive to the neighborhood and what comments they would be making. Because in the neighborhood you could hear people saying that, ah, 'the woman has jujued him.' (Put magic on him.)

While Arthur's wife was very sensitive to the teasing they experienced, he dismissed it:

The teasing would have been bad for both of us, but we probably would not have even heard it, they would be teasing us behind our backs. But for me, every single act is of consequence when we are acting consciously, and when we are seeking to change society, and aspects of social life.

Gender-Equitable Marriage is More Work

Although respondents see benefits from sharing joint decision-making with their wives, they also concede that working toward compromise in their marriages can be more difficult than just making decisions themselves. Even though they appreciate the input and opinions of their wives, the process takes time and energy. As Mohammed explains, he cannot make household choices that suit only him:

I don't determine that I can just go and buy a car, no. I don't just go and get myself new clothing. I don't even fix things in the home just because I like it. If anything, I negotiate because I have to. About important things like sex and decision-making—being upset sometimes [is expected], because it is all about negotiation. I can imagine that there are times in the home when I do things not because I want to do them but because I think that would benefit somebody. And so I go the extra mile.

And because people with equal power will sometimes disagree, this respondent explains that one of the biggest costs of holding gender-equitable attitudes is the tensions that arise in his marriage when he and his wife do not see eye-to-eye. While in traditional marriages, no one questions the man's decision, this is not the case in gender-equitable relationships. For Joseph:

The tensions that arise … if you are in a household, and you have one decision maker, then you wouldn't have those tensions because you only have one person deciding, and everybody accepts that the [decision maker] is this one person …Of course in my situation, it is different. If my wife has her money, and she wants to do something, she may inform me, and just go ahead and do it. She's not going to give me the money to do it.

However, despite this challenge, respondents insist that they prefer to share decision-making power with their wives, as the benefits of this equity outweigh the difficulties. As Kweku explains:

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You know, at times you want to make certain choices, but she may not be in agreement and you have to reach a consensus. But if she wasn't in that position, and no matter what you say she says yes, that might not be in your best interest. It could be a challenge, but by questioning some of the decisions and choices you make, upon second reflection, you realize that it makes sense what she is saying.

Other respondents discuss the difficulties that come with sharing income with their wives. Traditionally men maintain their monies separate from their wives, but in order to live out equitable marriage, many respondents have decided to combine incomes with their wives. As Henry explains:

The typical perception is that you are supposed to be the man. The wife doesn't need to know how much you earn, needn't see your paycheck, so you can do whatever you want with your money . . . But if you decide to give all these up and sit down with your wife, and let them know how much you earn, there is a certain cost. But I think ultimately if you take out the stresses and the suspicions and sometimes the naggings that come with [the traditional way of handling money], it is a huge benefit for me that offsets the so-called costs.

Divorce

Four respondents experienced the loss of a marriage as a result of their gender-equitable attitudes. In each of these cases, respondents explain that their wives attitudes were in many ways more traditional than their own. This built significant tension and resentment within their relationships, and eventually contributed to divorce. Fred explains that when he and his wife first decided to marry, they had to reject traditional practices and ignore their families' disapproval. Because he is from a royal family, he was prohibited from marrying his wife because she had a physical handicap. They both decided to reject this tradition and move forward with the marriage. However, as time passed, he came into his own feminist attitudes, and his wife retreated further into traditional attitudes. She regretted going against traditional practices in order to marry. Over time, they had more disagreements about the roles that men and women should play:

At that time, I had picked up a lot of ideas of my own about women's rights and I thought that she should not listen to those kinds of things, and that they were just ways of keeping women down. They shouldn't forget these religious philosophies are philosophies of the dominant group, which is basically male, and it's meant to keep them down.

In the end, he felt that he was standing up for his wife's right to marry, despite her physical handicap, while she became regretful of her rebellious act:

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> You try to protect women, you are trying to protect somebody who doesn't need your protection. You are making propositions that she does not believe in. So it's like your thinking about women's rights—it's like you are imposing them. She doesn't even believe in it.

Not only did their difference in attitudes lead to the end of marriage, but Fred also feels that he is blamed for the divorce, when it was, in fact, his wife who chose to leave the marriage. Under traditional beliefs, women do not leave their husbands; it is instead men who "sack" their wives, forcing them to leave the house and marriage. While this is a negative consequence that he has to live with, in the end he believes that:

> It is part of the privileges and rights of women to say yes or no to a relationship. So I support [my ex-wife] because if [she wants to go], then she should go. She has the right. If she's convinced that she's not secure in this relationship, she should go away and do what she thinks will make her secure. That is her right.

Two other respondents had significant disagreements with their ex-wives that stemmed from their gender attitudes, and more broadly dealt with equality and the treatment of others. Kojo could no longer tolerate his wife's traditional disciplining of their daughter. His wife would shout at and hit their young daughter when she misbehaved. She was also highly invested in fulfilling the traditional role of a wife, by washing, cleaning, and cooking. However, because she worked during the week, she filled the entire weekend with this labor. Kojo feels that he did not get to spend any time with his wife because she was always working around the house. He preferred that she relax her high standards on household cleanliness so that they could spend more time together as a family. Since their divorce, he has maintained custody of his daughter, and some people think this is strange, as typically mothers maintain custody of children.

Another respondent ended his marriage for similar reasons; Matthew saw his gender attitudes as having larger implications for equity. He explained that he and his wife had quite big differences in their attitudes about how to treat others. While his wife coddled their children, she was extremely harsh to the house help, beating them on occasion. In part because he worked as house help as a young boy, this inequality struck a nerve, and he could not tolerate it:

> My gender consciousness made me end [my marriage]. If you say that you believe in gender, it's about equity. I can't live with somebody who believes in beating people—I can't do that. I did that and I just could not continue.

For Matthew, equality is something that is lived out in every aspect of life, impacting how people should treat each other, and he could no longer tolerate his wife's behavior:

> My wife and myself—we just have quite big differences [in our attitudes] about life and how you treat people, how you relate to people… I believe equality is important so I live it. I am not saying that I am perfect, I have my problems too, but I try.

Also, the divorce has not been easy, as he wants to maintain close relationships with his children. As a result, he feels he is at his wife's mercy. If she says she needs money to pay for testing or school, he has no choice but to pay it, even if he has already given her adequate sums to cover the expenses.

<u>Frustration with the Slow Pace of Change</u>

Many respondents express significant frustration with how gender attitudes are remarkably slow to change, despite the hard work they feel they invest in these issues. Baffour describes how he frequently finds himself in debates about gender, but he often encounters the same immoveable opinions of men; frequently he hears from men that "we are Africans" and that Africans have set gender roles. For him, these conversations feel counterproductive and tiresome. Other men feel challenged by the lack of impact they actually make on women's circumstances. For example, Princeton worked hard to institute family-friendly policies in the office he manages, only to find that women would not take advantage of these policies in order to advance their careers. Their heavy domestic responsibilities as home kept them from opportunities for advancement in the workplace, despite the women-friendly environment.

Richard explained that his biggest challenge is when situations arise where he feels that he should make an interjection on the behalf of women's rights, and he is either unprepared to do so, or is unsuccessful at his attempts. He hates to miss an opportunity to enact change, and he experiences frustration when he cannot take full advantage of an opportunity because he was unprepared:

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You should prepare your mind for the plausibility of having to fail and to go over same ground again. . . Victories will not come just like that, and may require you to go over ground that has been lost again. Yeah, to go over ground that that appeared to be lost, you see, that is the challenge for me.

Coping Strategies

While the challenges that respondents face as a result of their gender attitudes are significant, these men have devised a number of coping mechanisms to deal with difficulties that arise. First and foremost, respondents ignore the negativity they receive from others. As Stephen succinctly put it, "I just brush it off—it's my life." To do this, however, respondents concede that men must be fully confident in their beliefs, and this can take time to develop. As this Baffour explains, it is always difficult to be in the minority, and this requires both courage and confidence:

In every circumstance, if you are part of the minority, you feel a little bit odd, and sometimes it calls for courage . . . but you need to be confident in yourself—know who you are, what you believe in, stand for it at all times.

However, when a respondent feels confident in their beliefs, these challenges become "no big deal." As Ibrahim explains:

People still see a man doing women's work, or men pushing women's agenda as strange, and they will make comments … but I don't see these as challenges—it is no big deal.

Other respondents are happy to experience reactions from others, as they see this as a sign that they are "having an influence" on others. In fact, some respondents actually enjoy causing a stir among more traditional friends and neighbors. For Kweku:

Last time I tried carrying my baby outside [the house] on my back, and everybody was looking at me, I was enjoying it. It is strange because you don't see a lot of men doing that.

It may be, however, that because respondents hold higher social statuses than most Ghanaian men, they are buffered from some of the criticism they would receive as gender-equitable men with lower educational and economic achievement. Stephen uses this to his advantage; as a college instructor, he is able to incorporate gender issues into his classroom, and display equity in his own family in part because his social status gives him the leeway to do so. As he explains:

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For example, if you are a physician—because physicians are ranked in terms of occupational prestige—so if you have a physician who is doing house chores, or somebody who is a professor . . . he has accomplished himself; so no one can question him or even be bold enough to tell him anything.

However, for men who are just exploring new ways of displaying equity, the social pressure to conform to traditional male-dominant ideals can be overwhelming. Matthew recommends that men try to maintain sensitivity toward family members and friends, as change can be difficult for those who are close to gender-equitable men:

Anybody who is committed to gender activism has to work out some of the values that they were brought up with, and that is not very easy. People expect you to behave in a certain way that you can't—and because you can't do that, people who are very close are very frustrated in dealing with you. You have to try to be sensitive to people who are around you and manage that.

Similarly, Baffour has a kind approach when dealing with others who support traditional gendered values:

But it's also part of understanding the diversity of the world we live in. People think differently, people's worldview may be different; people have a different understanding of things, so that's generally my attitude [to cope with it].

While respondents experienced significant pressure when they first began to display gender-equitable attitudes, over time, respondents believe they gained more freedom from criticism as friends and family members stopped trying to influence their behaviors. Some respondents describe circumstances in which they not only adopted gender-equitable attitudes, but they also made non-traditional career choices, and other decisions with which their families did not agree. After time, their loved ones gave up, and stopped trying to influence their choices and behaviors. As Emmanuel describes it, they "pretty much have thrown their hands up." Also, respondents who have high status may actually experience less teasing than regular men because they are respected members of their communities.

Conclusion

While these gender-equitable respondents share similar perspectives on a number of social and political issues that impact women and girls in Ghana, including domestic violence and equal educational and economic opportunities for girls and women, respondents' gender-equitable perspectives cannot be captured by these societal issues alone. First, as this respondent explains, reducing respondents to only their opinions on issues runs the risk of essentialism, as each gender-equitable man is unique:

> I don't think there should be any special thing—I think that we are all different. I don't think that you can say that a man who supports women's rights looks like this or this. I think that we have our own idiosyncrasies as individuals and its manifestations are also idiosyncratic.

Therefore, this chapter also examines the broader beliefs of gender-equitable respondents. Respondents share three core beliefs that shape their gender attitudes. First, they believe that gender is socialized, and men and women's roles are malleable. Second, respondents see gender inequality as closely linked to a larger system of inequality that includes race, class, age and traditional hierarchies such as the chieftaincy system in Ghana. In this way respondents see the connections between inequalities that are articulated by race-class-gender theory; these men feel personally linked to the consequences of gender inequality, as they have experienced marginalization through these other forms of inequality.

Third, respondents agree that men must act on their attitudes in all aspects of their lives in order to fully embody gender-equitable attitudes. According to the theory of "doing" gender, an individual's gender identity is not a permanently achieved status, defined by specific traits, or delineated by a fixed set of roles. Instead, gender is constantly enacted by individuals through a constant process of "doing" (West and Zimmerman 2002). "Doing" gender is such an integral part of the human experience that individuals engage in this process even when they are alone (Butler 2004). Respondents see the embodiment of gender-equitable attitudes in a similar way; respondents believe that "doing gender equity" requires an expression of their gender-equitable attitudes in all their

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interactions with others. Additionally, respondents believe that their actions in the home—how they interact with their wives and children—are one of the central ways men can demonstrate gender-equitable beliefs. Respondents argue that gender-equitable men should fully recognize the importance of women's work (both inside and outside the home), have empathy for their wives, share decision-making with their wives, and should participate in housework and childrearing.

Respondents experience a variety of costs and benefits as a result of their gender-equitable attitudes. With regard to the benefits of holding gender-equitable attitudes, they strongly believe that their attitudes improve the quality of their marriages, as they are able to share the burdens and stresses that come from being a household head with their wives. Additionally, respondents believe that their attitudes improve cooperation and understanding in their marriages. Second, respondents see their gender-equitable attitudes as improving the number and quality of their friendships with women because they are better able to see women as whole human beings instead of simply as sexual objects. Finally, respondents experience fulfillment from their gender attitudes since they believe they are contributing to positive change within their societies and countries.

However, respondents also describe a number of challenges that accompany their gender-equitable attitudes. Because gender-equitable Ghanaian men choose to reject hegemonic masculinities—the masculine form that is culturally and structurally exalted—they experience a number of negative consequences (Connell 2005). Rejecting hegemonic masculinities is akin to rejecting the standards by which men measure themselves and judge each other (Kimmel 2001). Men who achieve hegemonic masculinities and men who are complicit with them (those who do not achieve hegemonic masculinities themselves, but do not reject the benefits of patriarchy) are highly threatened by gender-equitable men, as these men threaten the basis of gender inequality upon which hegemonic masculinities rest. As a result, gender-equitable Ghanaian men experience a number of social costs as a result of their gender attitudes. Respondents experience career challenges, social exclusion and teasing, and their wives must also endure criticism. In this way, the wives of gender-

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equitable men also sacrifice in order for their husbands to hold their unique perspectives. Additionally, gender-equitable marriages are more work (as power-sharing requires negotiation and compromise), and divorce may sometimes result when husbands and wives do not have similar gender attitudes. However, while these respondents clearly recognize the costs of holding gender-equitable attitudes, no respondents see these as outweighing the benefits.

CHAPTER 7

SHAPING GENDER-EQUITABLE ATTITUDES

Through further analysis of the in-depth interviews with gender-equitable Ghanaian men, this chapter addresses research purpose two (*explore men's experiences over the life course that influence the development of gender-equitable attitudes*). First, I investigate the personal and behavioral component of Bussey and Bandura's (1999) model of triadic causation through an exploration of respondents' personality characteristics. I identify the characteristics that respondents share, and discuss how these interacted with respondents' environments to bring about uniquely gender-equitable attitudes. Then I explore three of the gender subsystems within respondents' environments that are part of social cognitive theory: family, education, and peers to determine how respondents' experiences in these spheres influenced their gender attitudes. Last, I examine the experiences of three respondents who were socialized into more gender-equitable attitudes during their adulthood. One respondent was socialized to more gender-equitable attitudes in his workplace, while two other respondents developed gender-equitable perspectives in unique marital circumstances. Concordant with Bussey and Bandura's (1999) conceptualization of occupational influences on gender attitudes, these adulthood environments created encompassing socializing experiences that significantly impacted the gender attitudes of these Ghanaian men.

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

Respondents share a number of personality characteristics that encourage the development of gender-equitable attitudes. They are naturally inquisitive and questioning, and personally inclined to treat others fairly. Furthermore, they tend to look for compromise when conflicts arise. These personality characteristics can contribute to the development of gender-equitable attitudes, as they change how individuals interact with their environments (Bussey and Bandura 1999). Additionally, respondents have other characteristics that can be protective against the negative social consequences

of holding unique gender attitudes. They tend to be very confident, and are able to ignore the criticism of others. Also, they appear to be able to adapt to specific social circumstances when need be, and this minimizes teasing from male-dominant peers.

<u>Questioning Nature</u>

Many of the gender-equitable men in this study have inquisitive personalities that cause them to question the discrepancies in their lives, and not accept things at face value. For example, Arthur explains how he could not accept Biblical texts because he sees them as contradictory. In fact, his questioning of religious texts caused one of his secondary school teachers to tell him that "the way [he] was raising questions, one day [he] would end up not believing in God." But, he was not bothered by this, and he continued to question the world around him, including the income inequality he witnessed in his own house. His father was a rich man who loaned money to local subsistence farmers. During his adolescence, Arthur began to question the legitimacy of this system:

> Because I could see that people were working all the time, right? I could see that they were working all the time, and I could see that they were very broke all the time. I could see my father's affluence, also, all the time.

He also questioned the differences between traditional and modernized ways of life; he attended school that reflected modern ways of life, yet returned regularly to his traditional village.

> I grew up in the feudal, rural setting. I was going to school in the Achimota School on the one hand, and then I go on holidays to a village, and then in the village I hear many stories about witchcraft and juju.

His questioning nature led this respondent to union work and advocacy for impoverished agricultural workers. Because of his questioning nature, he began to connect these issues to gender inequality, and questioned the cultural practices that subordinate women.

Other respondents recount similar experiences; these respondents find it difficult to segment different aspects of their lives, and thus maintain gender inequality in some spheres (such as traditional gender roles in the home) while participating in modern life in the workplace. For Charles:

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I think the difference is that I don't compartmentalize—this is traditional, that is modern. My modern ideas must confront tradition for me to make some sense out of it, otherwise I won't conform. But there are people—I think most people compartmentalize beautifully.

Respondents were not afraid to suffer consequences for their questioning nature. For two men who came from military families, they thwarted family pressure to enter the service because they knew their questioning personalities would cause them difficulty. According to Kofi:

I wouldn't have lasted in the military … I have so many ideas that the military would not tolerate … I wouldn't be a good soldier, in short.

And Joseph:

I sort of don't like that kind of regimental life of the military, no questioning. You just obey orders. I am somebody who questions a lot. I am kind of a rebel sometimes.

For Joseph, the desire to question things overpowered his desire to avoid punishment:

In: You said when you were younger you were a rebel and you liked to question things?
Re: Yes, I liked asking questions. If I didn't like it, I said it.
In: Were there consequences to that?
Re: Of course, yeah, I would get a very good spanking, but it didn't stop me from asking the question.

Beyond causing men to rethink traditional gender roles, in some respects, a questioning nature has led some men to develop more equitable relationships with their wives and their colleagues in the workplace, as they want to know every angle of a problem before deciding upon a solution. In this way, others have more space to share their own perspectives and opinions. Charles explains:

If you ask my staff they will tell you, my wife will tell you. I can question things to the point of discomfort, but I tell them I just want to understand. So if you'll understand, if you'll tell me the reasons why, you'll just have your way, convince me that it's best to do this and not that. I want to see options, alternatives of doing things, so that I am sure I am getting the best results. So if this is not working, this should work—that is me.

<u>Desire to Treat Others Fairly</u>

Respondents also have personalities that incline them to promote fairness, and to defend others who are treated badly, which naturally causes some respondents to be advocates for those who are underdogs. Joseph, who went to an all-boys' boarding school, frequently found himself fighting

for other boys who were being picked on. Even though he was smaller, and was often beaten, he did

not back down:

> I did fight because somebody was bullying somebody else. I went to an all boys' school, so I
> would fight for a weaker boy, and get beaten. I didn't always win .... I was really small, I was
> really very small, but I didn't fear the bigger boys.

After training in martial arts with a young teacher at his school, Joseph developed a reputation as

someone who was not afraid to fight, and people stopped confronting him:

> I always went to their defense, and somehow people [saw] me as a hard guy. 'He fears not
> the devil.' So nobody would tangle with me. So if you did something that I didn't like, I
> would go to their defense, and everybody would withdraw.

His desire to defend others translated into his relationships with girls. During his later schooling in a

coed environment, he became the advocate for the girls on his track team, and he was regularly called

upon to stand up to others who were bullying the girls:

> If they wanted to cheat the girls, I could be counted on to defend them. And so, somehow I
> got a nickname—Senior Joseph. They would say 'Oh Senior Joseph, did you know that they
> are doing this?' And I would say, 'Okay, I will see to it.'

> Other respondents had even more extreme experiences where their desire for fair treatment of

others caused them to take significant risks. During his adolescence, Fred became very interested in

law and individual rights, and he went to a public court to watch the legal proceedings. Two boys

were being prosecuted for stealing water from the public line. Without even thinking, he stood up in

court and started speaking. He was later confronted by a trained lawyer who told him he was not

allowed to speak like that again:

Re: And before I realized, I got up and I started trying to explain to them why water must be a
     right, and why in the situation where people are too poor for water, the state must pay,
     because they must have it. And all that. And of course it raised all kinds of hullabaloo—the
     judge shouting I should sit down, saying who are you—
In: You just interrupted?
Re: I just interrupted.
In: You got so interested and excited by it?
Re: Yes. So later on, a lawyer, and I still remember him very well, he came up and he talked to
     me and asked me who I was, and he said, 'You are not a lawyer?' and I said, 'No, no, no, I'm
     not a lawyer.' And he said, 'Why were you talking?! This place is full of lawyers.' And I

said, 'I don't know—I think it is a place for citizens.' And he said, 'No, this is a place for lawyers.'

For Fred, his innate desire to stand up for others who are suffering inequalities dovetailed easily into women's rights advocacy.

<u>Compromising and Peaceful</u>

Other respondents have more peaceful, easygoing, and flexible personalities that cause them to avoid conflict with others and to compromise in order to find solutions. This type of disposition contradicts traditional male-dominant qualities, as boys and men often argue strongly to get their way. By being more open to compromise, these respondents are more easily able to develop equitable relationships with women. Kwesi, who is in his 60s, asserts that married couples who are "argumentative and fighting each other" can have more difficulties that those who "want to strike compromises and move on." He uses this approach to preserve peace in his own marriage. He considers himself to lean toward compromise, and believes this has led to his marital success. While other men "want to be at the top, so that the women would not be able to talk back at them," he does not have that disposition, and he has no problem admitting when he is wrong:

> As for that, I've never really had a problem. You know, I agree with a woman, and sometimes I agree that sometimes I am wrong and you are right, and all that, yes.

He has no problem striking a compromise with his wife:

In: So it doesn't bother you if your wife challenges you or anything like that?
Re: No, no, it is her right, we are human beings, we have different approaches to things, so you have to discuss and then, yes, I give and she gives, and then you move on.

Joseph, who married an assertive and strong-willed woman, explains how he prefers to let his wife have her way because it keeps greater peace in their household. In this way, his compromising personality has allowed his wife to carve out quite a bit of power within their marriage:

> She likes to call the shots all the time, even on some things that should be a joint decision … Even though we discuss it jointly, if it is not what she wants that comes up, then she might not be happy. And I'm more compromising.

Friends and family members always say, "Look you are allowing your wife too much power." But I say no. The thing is to see what is right, and the thing is for there to be peace. If she does [what she wants] and I get some peace, then that's okay.

William explained that his peaceful nature was evident during his childhood. He avoided conflict with others, and did not like to be around rough boys:

When I was young, I was shy. I was somewhat shy. To be frank, I didn't like embarrassment. Also, I think by the mode by which I was brought up, I was very much opposed to violence, you know, ridiculing someone, I didn't like [it].

Sometimes this disposition made him a target for teasing:

To tell you truth, I was not that kind of boy who would go out so much. And I was someone who didn't like fighting, so at times, the boys in my community would sometimes tease me, saying that, as for he, he is weak. He is afraid to fight. So that kind of thing.

However, for Kwame, who also has a peaceful personality, the church choir was a safe haven from rough behaviors of other boys:

You know I was committed to Christian life. I joined the choir at the age of eleven. So I will say the church also influenced me. The choir and the church. I was not a rough type at all.

Confident and Adaptable

A questioning personality, a desire to treat others fairly, and a peaceful and compromising nature all contribute to the cultivation of gender-equitable attitudes, as they influence how individuals interact with their environments. Other personality characteristics allow respondents to protect themselves from the negative social consequences that emerge from holding gender-equitable attitudes. Respondents explain that men must be confident in their beliefs and ignore the criticisms of others in order to sustain gender-equitable attitudes. As Stephen articulates, "If for instance you have problems with self confidence you may have a problem" being gender-equitable. Confidence is required to hold an opinion that is not in the majority:

In every circumstance, if you are part of the minority, you feel a little bit odd, and sometimes it calls for courage … but you need to be confident in yourself—know who you are, what you believe in, stand for it at all times.

As Stephen explains, the strong conviction he has for his beliefs in gender equity help bolster him against criticism:

> If there were a lot of men here I would say it—I don't care … That's how I believe. I don't care what people see or say about me because I believe in doing that. I believe in it.

Many respondents explain that they have experienced direct criticism as a result of their gender attitudes. Stephen explains that he is frequently teased for living in his mother-in-law's house, as traditionally, men should own their own homes. He made the choice to live in his wife's family house (which traditional men would strongly object to) so that he could save money for his own house:

> I think it's about self confidence, it's about self confidence, I don't care what people may say, In any case I don't have to pay rent, I can use that money to buy land and build my own house.

Isaac talks about how he hears "You are not correct, meaning you are not sane to be doing this," from friends ridiculing him. To which he responds, "but they know who I am, they know where I stand, and therefore I am lucky in that they get to know me, that is where I stand." Therefore, not only do respondents have the confidence to be different, but they are also inclined to speak out when they disagree. For Daniel:

> Well, I think that as a person, I have always spoken out when I'm convinced about what I am saying. I think that basically is it. I take my time to understand an issue, and once I understand it and I am convinced about what I am saying, I don't really care what opposition or who the opposition might be. Whether it was my father, my school teachers, I have always had to fight somebody or other at some point growing up.

For Michael:

> People can think and do what they want, but if it's wrong, I have a disagreement, and a basis for a disagreement, then I will express it.

Therefore, confidence that respondents have in their gender-equitable attitudes is critical to buffering some of the negative comments and peer pressure from others.

A final personality characteristic that insulates gender-equitable men from suffering the negative ramifications of holding such attitudes is adaptability. Isaac is able to show different sides

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of his personality depending on the social setting. During his years of school, by acting like a "boy with the boys," he was able to have strong friendships and popularity among those who are macho without ridicule for his gender-equitable nature. This confidence and adaptability also allowed him to befriend both girls and boys, and move between different groups of friends:

> I was very confident. I was very confident moving with girls and moving with guys, and the mix of guys and girls, very confident … The most interesting thing was that between school and home, I was two different persons. I was two different persons. At home, I didn't want to trouble my parents, so I did everything in order for them to be happy—to make my upbringing very smooth for them. At school, yeah, I got into trouble for doing certain things.

This adaptability allowed him to flow freely with the macho men when he needed to:

> Oh yes, I was comfortable, I could sing and shout like go on the route marches, dance, go and make attraction, people would be looking at me and I don't mind. So, I have not had any difficulty from men because I understand their language very well. Those who think they are real men, I understand their language, but I choose to be different.

This adaptability also allowed Isaac to avoid peer pressure from friends to participate in poor behaviors, as he would just go home when they began drinking or other bad activities:

> I have very tough friends, if I say tough friends, friends who did things who would close from school and would go to watch videos of film, film shows after to school, would go to parties, even at that tender age and drink alcohol, I moved with them, but I didn't do that kind of thing. I was part of them. I moved with them, they were my friends.

These behaviors didn't make any sense to him, so he didn't do them:

> I have friends who were very "notorious" for their age, they were very precocious … But I think it didn't make sense to me. Did my parents like that? It didn't make sense. Long ago, while I thought of certain things they did, it didn't make sense to me.

Respondents share a number of personality characteristics that contribute to the development of gender-equitable attitudes. They are naturally inquisitive and questioning, inclined to treat others fairly, and prefer compromise to conflict. These characteristics cause men to question inequalities, influence respondents' interactions with others, and allow more equitable relationships to emerge. Respondents are also confident and adaptable to different social circumstances, and these characteristics buffer men against the social pressure to conform to male-dominant norms.

FAMILY INFLUENCES

These in-depth interviews with Ghanaian men reveal that the natal family environment is also a central influence on men's gender-equitable attitudes. Respondents had childhood experiences that caused them to develop two perspectives: respondents have an awareness of women's power and capabilities, and they have an empathy for the difficulties that women face in their lives. With this empathy, respondents are able to relate to women's experiences, and see the injustices that many Ghanaian women face in their daily lives as a result of gender inequalities. Single-sex sibling groups in the natal family also affected respondents' gender attitudes; in families that had only male children, some respondents were obligated to do all the household chores, including chores that are traditionally reserved for girls. While in many Ghanaian households, families with only boys typically hire girls as house help to do housework, these respondents did the chores themselves. Men who grew up in this circumstance were not as strongly socialized to gendered division of household labor, and are more comfortable crossing traditional gender lines. Additionally, these respondents feel a greater empathy for the disproportionate amount of chores that women must do in the home, as they understand the implications of this heavy work load. Fourth, uniquely equitable families also implemented even greater gender equity among family members that cultivated respondents' sense of fairness.

Awareness of Women's Power

Many respondents developed an awareness of women's power during their childhood that shaped their gender attitudes from their early years. Some of these respondents had mothers who taught gender-equitable messages through implicit ways of interacting in the household. Many mothers deliberately instituted gender-equitable distributions of household work to demonstrate their equitable beliefs. Other respondents gained an awareness of women's power through seeing their mothers persevere against many of the challenges they faced in their daily lives. Other respondents

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came from equitable households where parents shared power, thus causing respondents to develop a greater respect for women's authority and power.

Mothers Enforcing Equity through Household Chores

While most respondents' mothers did not have any formal exposure to women's rights advocacy or feminism, and many mothers lacked opportunities to receive formal schooling altogether, some mothers implicitly supported gender equality through their management of the household. They demonstrated their gender-equitable attitudes through their actions rather than through specific verbal messages about gender. As Peter explains, "My mother did not talk about these things—we could only see it in practice." Mothers did not segregate activities by gender; many of these respondents remember having the opportunity to do what they wanted, regardless of their gender. For Mohammed, his relationship with his mother was remarkably shaping:

> Most of my inspiration is from the way she does things. When she was telling us what was right or wrong, she tended to let us appreciate that we could equally just do what a female is doing.

One of the main ways that mothers showed support for gender equity, and simultaneously demonstrated their power to their sons, was through establishing gender-equitable chore distributions among siblings. Mothers were responsible for enforcing these distributions, and therefore respondents were under the power of their mothers. For Michael, work in his family was shared by all:

> Growing up, we shared the work; there was never 'this is for boys and not for girls' and so-on. You did the washing up, you took the refuse out. You did everything alike.

For Isaac, equal chores for boys and girls meant that he developed a respect for his mother's power, and did not see a strong divide between men's and women's tasks:

> I belong to a family of women. We are two boys and the rest are women. My mother was and is a strong woman. So that the family dynamics, my upbringing, there was not much distinction between what a man does and what a woman does. I did the dishes, I swept at the compound house, I threw the refuse away at the compost heap on my head, I went to go and sell on the street like my sisters … She would make sure you did what you were supposed to do.

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Not only did mothers institute equal chore distributions, but they had quite a bit of control over this arrangement, and respondents experienced significant consequences for misbehavior. As a result, respondents did not question their mother's authority. This was the case in Stephen's household:

> [My mother] was the boss. According to my mother, if today you are supposed to fetch four buckets [of water] and you fail to fetch four, tomorrow you will fetch eight, and the following day if you refuse, you will fetch twelve. Unless you were ill, you will do it.

Mothers held quite significant power in these chore arrangements, and they sometimes unilaterally changed chore assignments in the household. In one instance, Stephen's mother did not like how dirty dishes were piling up in the kitchen, and she decreed a significant change in this chore:

> When I was growing up, the girls washed the bowls [after we ate]. But one day [my mother] made a decree. She said, 'From this day, when you finish eating, you wash your own bowl' and that was it… [My father] didn't say anything; he never concerned himself with such things. That was not his area—she was in charge of the house.

Isaac's mother successfully battled family pressure in order to maintain equal chore distributions in the household:

> I didn't expect my big sisters to be pounding the fufu, to be going to throw the rubbish away at the refuse dump. My mother would make sure that I did that. Though there were some influences with my grandmom who was very steeped in the stereotypical way of doing things—'you are a man, a man does not do this, a man does not do that'—my mom wouldn't have that.

> Respondents completed all types of chores. Cooking, perhaps the most "female" of chores was not off limits to many of these respondents. And, even if they themselves did not do the cooking, they sat by the fire with their mothers, fetched ingredients, and experienced the kitchen culture that most men and boys never experience after early adolescence. For Mohammed, helping his mother was part of his expected chores, even as he aged:

> While [my mother] was cooking I would sit by the fire. I would equally go to the farmers to get the [greens] to make the sauce. I would carry the sorghum to the grinding mill, and I would carry as many buckets of water or wood fuel as the females did. It was clearly a deviation from the traditional norms.

Baffour's family had a non-gendered formal system for who should prepare the afternoon meal:

I remember those days we used to go to school and come back home and go back in the afternoon. So you come home you come and cook and eat; so whoever comes home first starts getting the food ready and it doesn't matter whether you are a boy or a girl.

Mothers not only wanted equality between their children, but they were motivated by empowering their children with a sense of what housework really is, and giving their children the freedom to be self-sufficient. In Yaw's family:

My mother wanted to make sure that everybody was capable of managing his or her home and therefore she wanted everybody to have the feel of what it is to do domestic chores.

Mothers were also open to teaching their boys the same set of skills that they taught their daughters. The knowledge base of chores was shared equally. For Mohammed:

I remember a time I when was learning to wash, and she kept an eye on me just like she was doing with the females, and she gave the same tutorials.

For some respondents, rebellion against this chore distribution did not surface because they were habituated to sharing chores from an early age. Peter remembers equitable chores as an ingrained part of his family experience that he did not question:

[The chores] were the kind of discipline we accepted, it wasn't a forced thing. They didn't force it on us; it was part of our training, part of our growing up process. So, it was kind of part of us, we felt it as an obligation and a duty. We did it cheerfully. We were not jealous of anybody because, you know, our time was ordered. We had recreational times when we were allowed to go and play football, and do other things. So we were not jealous or envious of anybody.

Because Peter fully accepted the distribution of chores in his house as normal, he recognized the burdens that girls shouldered in other families in his community. Instead of feeling that his sisters should be doing his laundry, he experienced empathy for the burdens that weighed upon girls and women in his community:

[My household] was different because I saw from my friends—the girls are loaded with work, the household chores, they did almost everything. Why, they even washed their male siblings' clothes and other things.

However, while some respondents accepted this chore distribution without complaint, others remember outwardly rebelling, jealous that their male friends and neighbors did not have to do the

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work that was assigned to them. Mohammed tried to rebel against his mothers' equitable chore

distributions:

> There is no way I can sit here today and say that there wasn't some resentment at some time. There was some unwillingness on my part because I could see around [the village] that these were not the [chores] that I should be doing. So sometimes, depending on who was there, I would try to resist. I saw my friends, and they were not doing [girl's work]. But my mother would persevere. And because I had come to see my safety, security, and comfort as connected to the home, I only had a very limited choice. So I would protest, but I would realize there was not much I could do—I would get sanctions for disobeying.

As Mohammed explains further, the power that his mother had over the household (and his own

livelihood) was enough to make him comply with her chores system:

> It would be difficult to disobey, for even though I may have been thinking that some [chores] were just too much to bear, I would lose the sense of comfort and safety I had [at home if I disobeyed]. So, eventually I would go for a bucket of water.

<u>Mothers' Perseverance</u>

A few respondents became acutely aware of their mother's importance in their lives when

their fathers died during middle childhood. They were old enough to remember a dual parent

household where their fathers contributed, and could compare this to their experiences with a single

mother. For Stephen, even though he is part of a patrilineal ethnicity, he did not suffer after the death

of his father. The loss of his father "never had any effect" on him or his siblings:

> I missed the presence of my father. But in terms of my mom, my aunties—they provided for us, so I didn't lack economically. I didn't feel that I wouldn't be able to pay my [school] fees because it was something my mother was actively doing already. My auntie also used to help out a lot, so I never had economic difficulties.

As a result, Stephen did not see women as financially beholden to men, but rather independent from

men. After his father's death, his mother was both the breadwinner and the disciplinarian:

> In my family women are hardworking—women don't depend on men to survive. I think traditionally men take care of women financially, but in my house we never saw that.

Princeton, who lived with his grandmother, saw her control her own life, and this created his

awareness of her power:

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I lived with my grandmother, and I saw her as a symbol of determination and I did not think that my grandmother was inferior to any man … In her village, there was no question about women activism or something like that, but what was important is that my grandmother was the head of a household, she was responsible for it. She took care of the house. By the time I was growing up, her husband died and she never married again, so she was in charge.

Respondents also became aware of their mother's power through watching their mothers fight back against men who tried to subordinate them. Kwesi explains how his mother made more money trading cloth than his father did as a postal worker, and she therefore refused to move with her husband when he was transferred around the country. His father raised the children in the family, while she stayed in Accra to manage her business. Charles had a similar experience when his mother left his father. She was unhappy with their marriage and the treatment she received from her husband. And, because she never became financially dependent on her husband, she was able to leave, even though as a member of a patrilineal ethnic group, she lost her children as well:

I keep telling people that my mother was the first feminist. My mother was a very strong woman with a lot of talent, and she wouldn't stomach a lot of nonsense. At one point when she felt [like doing so] she left my dad. She went and set up a business of her own. That's it, she moved on—she always moved on to do things. The old man cried his eyes out.

As a result of these experiences, respondents grew up with a deep sense of women's power and authority. For Fred, whose father was a local chief, he witnessed his mother fight back against an uncle who was guarding the grain store.

I remember very well as a child—it was Christmas time. My mother wanted some rice to make a Christmas feast since [a number of us] were December-born. One of my uncles, who was the person who did the distribution of the foodstuffs on the behalf of my father, said 'No, no, no. You can't give rice for that kind of thing.' … So she said, 'Well then I will go to my father's house and get some.' And you know, that would be an insult—a woman is not allowed to go to her father—that means that [her husband] can't take care of her. I can still recall those exchanges. And then she got up early in the morning, and went into the storeroom and took the amount of rice that she wanted, without permission. And the uncle came in and said, 'Ah, I thought I saw you.' And she said, 'Yes, I went to take some rice so that I could prepare for my kids.' Then he said, 'You have no right to do that.' And she said, 'I have the right to do that, and I have done it. Let my husband come and tell me that I don't have the right to do that. You are not the person to tell me that I don't have the right to do that.' And that day, my father came, and he was told what had happened, and he just smiled and said, 'Well, she couldn't have allowed her children to starve while I am away—she did the right thing.'

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<u>Witnessing Parental Equality</u>

Another way in which respondents gained an awareness of women's power was by witnessing equitable gender dynamics between their parents. By seeing their mothers and fathers negotiate decisions in the household, respondents were socialized in an environment in which their mothers held the same power and importance as their fathers. Some respondents believe that their mothers' strong, confident personalities facilitated equitable gender dynamics between their parents. As Frank explains, his mother would take "no crap" from anyone:

> My mom for example, I wouldn't describe her as a feminist in any sense at all, but she's always been—for her time, for her age, for her generation, for her circumstances—a confident person. She is very assertive and won't take crap from my dad or from anybody, simply because he was [a man]. I think that was important when the other evidence around me did not necessarily suggest that women will always behave that way.

For Isaac's mother, her strong personality came from her own difficulties as a young girl, causing her to drive her children very hard:

> My mother loved school, and she didn't get an opportunity to go to school, and that really made her tough. She was very hardworking, and a very strong disciplinarian—stronger than my dad in terms of how she related with the children. She was very strong. She would not take anything. Even the way you walked, she would make sure you walked upright, kept your clothing neat, and combed your hair.

Mothers who had these strong personalities often became disciplinarians in the home, as their personalities were better suited to this task. This reinforced respondents' respect for their mothers' power. According to Baffour:

> My mum was a little bit strong; in fact she was the disciplinarian in the home. My dad didn't—he was very cool. I don't remember growing up ever being caned by my dad. But my mum has beaten us up several times, I mean she was the disciplinarian. All of us, we were more fearful of my mom.

In some families, men maintained a façade of power that no family member would openly discredit, but respondents saw their mothers as the true household heads because of their strong personalities and decisiveness. As Foster describes, his mother was the neck underneath the head of power—she could turn him as she wished:

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My dad thought he was the head of the household like most men do … [But] it didn't really matter what he thought. He would actually change his position. It's like the chieftaincy system—when it was being practiced properly. The chief was just a figurehead. The queen mother was the most senior female in the lineage of the chief, and [my mother] had the chief under her thumb.

However, other respondents explain that their fathers' personalities often complemented the strong, driven, and no-nonsense personalities of their mothers; fathers in these families were more relaxed, flexible, and not dictatorial. Stephen describes his father as a "very free, nice person" and "not very strict," complementing his mother's disciplinarian role, and another described his father as "a gentleman by all standards and really had respect for everybody." For Stephen, his mother's and father's personalities interacted to create gender-equitable household dynamics.

Mother was strong and bold in taking decisions for the household. She was the disciplinarian, while the father was free, nice, and not too strict. My father gave my mother money, and she did the rest. My mother is a very strong person, very bold in taking decisions, and was trusted to do things for us … My mom is that kind of person, when she decides to do something, she will do it.

In some households, fathers also actively participated in cultivating gender-equitable dynamics among their children. As these respondents explain, both their mothers and fathers were careful to treat the children the same, regardless of their gender. As a result, as children, they saw their parents as holding equal power. In Peter's family, both his mother and his father treated the children equally, and his father shared decision-making with his mother:

Because [both my parents] believed that all the children should have equal opportunities, it wasn't communicated verbally, but it was done in practice. Things were done—they did the same for the boys as they did for the girls.

Equally the boys and girls would do the same things. My father was so unique, you know, there was no discrimination between the boys and girls—no, no, no. We all did the household chores equally.

You know my father, before he would do anything, he would consult with my mother, and my mother would give him input before [he acted].

In Charles's family, his parents also treated boys and girls equally:

We were treated the same, I never saw my father or my mother treat us differently—by 'you are a girl and you are a boy.'

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And for Kwesi and Baffour, their parents similarly shared authority:

> Well, even when she said yes, and she gave into my father, it didn't mean that my father could do anything he wanted…She deferred to him on certain things, but it doesn't mean that he took advantage of that power. No.

> My mother was a very strong woman, and my father really respected my mother in all decisions, and never treated her like you would find commonly in our social settings. So I grew up with that kind of understanding.

William's father, who was a traditional medicine healer, believed that men's lack of training in housework was disempowering, and led to promiscuity, as some men would start sexual relationships with a woman in order to have someone to cook and clean for them. As a result, he strongly pushed his sons to participate in household chores. His father would never say, "Don't do the washing up because you are a guy—let your sister do it." William goes on to explain:

> To even tell the truth, my father made me cook more than the girls in the house, because my father had this idea that most men in our culture might be promiscuous because they don't know how to cook and they don't know how to take care of themselves. So when they travel to another town, they may take a woman to cook for them, but in the course of the cooking, maybe an affair can start. So, my dad thinks that, if a man cannot take care of himself, this may bring about promiscuity.

Empathy for Women's Experiences

Another critical piece of developing gender-equitable attitudes for respondents is the development of empathy for women's experiences. Respondents acquired empathetic attitudes toward women's experiences through a number of experiences in their natal families. Some respondents experienced a disconnect from their traditional fathers, that for some, was coupled with a close relationship with mothers and sisters. As a result, these respondents developed a greater empathy for the challenges that women and girls face in their daily lives. Other respondents saw extreme difficulties in their households; they witnessed their mothers' struggles against large economic burdens, and in the most extreme circumstances, respondents saw their mothers suffer domestic violence at the hands of their fathers. From these experiences, respondents developed

empathy for their mothers that translated into a better understanding of the challenging experiences that Ghanaian women face, and ultimately, more gender-equitable attitudes.

<u>Disconnect from Traditional Fathers</u>

In many households, respondents felt disconnected from the traditionally oriented perspectives of their fathers. Kwame explains, he greatly resented his father's choice to follow traditional lineage practices and support the children of his sisters, as his family is from a matrilineal background. For Kwame, his father's lack of commitment to the family forced a permanent wedge in their relationship:

> Though my father was rich, because of our system of inheritance, he decided not to take care of my family … my father was from the matrilineal side. Because he was not going to benefit from us, he rather concerned himself with the children of the uncles. He had the money alright, but he didn't care.

This resentment greatly affected the relationship that Kwame had with his father. At the age of 11, he began to work multiple odd jobs around his community so that he could be less of a financial burden on his mother, and contribute some small monies back to his mother and siblings. He clearly saw that his "mother had to struggle, had to really struggle to get money to care" for him and his siblings. Even though his parents were still married, he considers his childhood much like "living in a single-parent home."

For other respondents, while their fathers contributed to the household, there was not a strong connection between father and son. Joseph, who describes his disposition as peaceful like his mother's, nicknamed his father "Commander" and used this name with his siblings behind his father's back. He describes his disconnect from his father as something he shared with his brothers: "We never liked things that my father did. So somehow we always sided with our mother." Emmanuel had a similar experience; despite his father's higher income and bigger house, he always felt more at ease at his mother's home, as his father's life was "chaotic":

> If anything, my father was proof of the importance of fairness, because he was relatively well off but, between my mother's compound—you know, as a fairly lowly paid schoolteacher as

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opposed to my father's compound with a nice house in one of the best parts of Accra—I always felt more at ease with my mom. It was also very clear from them that, you know, money was not all that it was made out to be. It's good to have a bit of it but it doesn't solve everything.

Arthur had a similarly wealthy father, and felt disconnected from him as a result. His father was a rich cocoa farmer, and a "family champion." Arthur saw his father loan money to farmers and seasonal workers, and he noticed that these people never advanced. He thought this was unfair, and this created distance between father and son.

> The people who came to borrow money, somewhere down the line they became our farmers. I started asking [my dad about it], and by the time I was in the secondary school. I started going to the cocoa farms to supervise the farmers for him, and I got to understand the nature of the relationship between an absentee farmer, a big farmer, and all these farm hands, who were working as casual laborers, seasonally. I started asking questions.

Arthur always questioned the nature of the relationship between his father and the farmers to whom he loaned money.

> I could see that people were working all the time. I could see that they were working all the time, and I could see that they were very broke all the time. I could see my father's affluence.

These disconnects between respondents and their fathers caused many men to develop closer bonds with their mothers, and therefore to develop greater empathy for women's life experiences.

Closeness with Mothers and Sisters

Respondents also developed an empathy for women's life experiences through close relationships with their mothers and sisters. For many respondents, having many sisters, or spending a lot of time with their mother brought about closeness and empathy for women. For some of these respondents, equitable chore arrangements gave them more time to spend with their mothers, cultivating closer relationships. For Isaac and William, the time they spent with their mothers in the kitchen was critical to their development of empathy of women. For Isaac:

> I used to be with my mom in the kitchen preparing the dishes. One thing I remember, I didn't have much time to go out to play with my guys like my peers did, because around that time, around 3:00, I'd be at home helping my mom.

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For William:

> I was actually very close to my mom, because I was cooking I was with her in the kitchen. At that point in time, I started enjoying going to the kitchen because if I went, when I was young, my mom would give me a piece of meat there.

Often this feeling of closeness with mothers was coupled with feelings of distance from respondents' fathers. Kweku explains how he wanted to be different from the other men in his family, and he often sided with his mother during conflicts she had with his father. From watching his parents' marriage (and the marriages of others close to him) he saw "the way men were wrong. I was determined to be different, and so from infancy I didn't support men most of the time, because of some of the things they do to women." Along with this rejection of men's actions, he deeply wanted to please his mother. From an early age, Kweku "wanted to be different" and "wanted to be supportive of women," and he "wanted to kind of please [his] mother." During his primary and secondary school days, he would go to the market with her, and because he was no longer a young boy, he was often teased for these shopping outings. But he did not care, as his connection to his mother overrode the negative consequences of teasing. "Even at the market, you would see me carrying my mother's basket …Before I finished secondary school; I was the best buyer, everybody asked me to go to the market for them." Also teased regularly for crying "like a girl," when he got in a fight, this respondent did not let the criticism of others stop him from shopping with his mother.

For other respondents, the specific circumstances of their families helped to cultivate close relationships with their mothers and sisters. Matthew explains that because he had 11 sisters and no brothers he "had a bit of tenderness about [him]" that allowed him to easily connect with women. Ibrahim had an older sister who went to live with an extended relative, and his father passed away during his adolescence, leaving him completely alone with his mother. As a result, he spent a lot of time with her and helped her with the maintenance of the house, and this brought their relationship closer.

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<u>Witnessing Mother's Challenges</u>

Some respondents were exposed to a number of family difficulties, the brunt of which they saw falling on their mother's shoulders. While not every child in these households developed the same sense of empathy for mothers, for some, witnessing these difficult experiences greatly shaped their ability to empathize with women. For Fred, whose father was a local chief who died when he was 12 years old, he saw the economic standing of the family plummet after his father's death, as his mother was no longer married to a chief:

> You are okay when your father is alive, as a so-called prince, but when he is dead, the equation changes so dramatically that you can become really poor immediately because your mother is not regarded.

It was from these difficult experiences that Fred developed an empathy for the injustice that his mother faced. As a widow of a chief, she lost significant social standing upon the death of her husband. Fred recalls:

> When my father was around, we had so many cattle, and we milked them, and we took milk every morning before we went to school. Two or three years down the line, we went to school without milk. That was a clear indication. Our laundry—there was all the privileges of the royals—we had someone to do our laundry. All that disappeared; we had to do our own laundry. We don't use machines, so you have to use your hands to wash, and we had to do all that by on our own. Uniforms—for the first time, I went to school with patched shorts and shirt because the resources were no longer available to our mother.

His mother also lost the land that she farmed prior to her husband's death:

> My mother expected that the amount of land that my father had as the chief of the village [was sufficient]. She didn't go around looking for land because she was a properly married woman, by our customs and practices, and she expected at the demise of her husband, some property should be given to her. But, she had nothing.

In the most extreme circumstances, two respondents witnessed their mothers suffering physical abuse at the hands of their fathers. While in some cases, young boys can identify with the perpetrator of violence, and repeat this behavior in their own adult relationships, both of these respondents identified with their mothers, and felt extreme anger toward their fathers. Evidence from the U.S. suggests that even though boys who witness abuse in their natal families are more likely to become

abusers in their own families than boys who do not, those who repeat the cycle of violence only

represent a fraction of boys who witness abuse as children (Johnson and Ferraro 2000). However,

these respondents' reactions to the violence were highly influential; the violence they witnessed

caused them to develop a close identification with their mothers that influenced their gender attitudes

(Ortner 2001). Kwame, who saw his father beating his mother when he was only 7 years old,

remembers telling himself that: "If I could grow, I would beat my father on behalf of my mother."

He witnessed the worst of their relationship troubles, despite his young age:

> I saw everything. We were always scared in the home. The way he just beat my mother on
> any trivial issue—he would just beat her like his child—it was not fair. It was not the best of
> situations at all.

He felt completely helpless in the situation; if he spoke up or attempted to intervene, he became the

target of his father's anger:

> When my father was in it, [the kids] couldn't talk. If we talked, he would come and beat us.
> He picked us up—as a child, as his own son—and beat us mercilessly. And, if my mother
> came to save the situation, he would turn against my mother and start beating her.

> The second respondent who experienced violence in his natal family told a similar story; Kofi

also felt helpless when his father beat his mother and "could not voice anything" in response. In fact,

on more than one occasion, he had to carry his mother's suitcase to the curb, as his father would

periodically force her from the house. When his father's anger diminished, he would then carry the

same suitcase back home when his mother returned:

> My mother would be driven out and I would have to be the one to carry her luggage out of
> the home and bring the same luggage back when my father [calmed down]. And, it's
> something I hated.

This experience was remarkably traumatic, and this respondent explains that "everything is so vivid

up to today" even though his father died nearly 20 years ago:

> The pain is sitting in my heart. Even now, I keep blaming my dad for whatever is happening
> to my mother today. Anytime she complains of being sick and so on. I still cannot imagine
> that all of [the violence] is not contributing to it, although my father is dead.

As a result of these experiences, both of these respondents felt closely tied to their mothers; they wanted to be close to them to offer comfort and support. For Kwame:

> I was always bent on helping my mother at the kitchen. So while she was sewing, I was taking care of the kitchen, and also my younger brothers and sisters, bathing them, carrying them on my back so that they would not cry— that sort of thing.

For Kofi:

> We were all over her because she was our only support, you know? We were compelled by the situation to stay beside her. So we would do the cooking together, we would wash the bowls together. But whatever we had to do for my father was by force. He wouldn't persuade you to do anything, everything would be by force.

These respondents developed an extreme empathy for their mother's life experiences that shaped their gender-equitable attitudes. Not all boys who witness violence in their homes develop gender-equitable attitudes; Kwame believes his siblings were too young to understand the violence in his household, and thus were not as emotionally affected, while some of Kofi's brothers have become violent in their own families. However, for these respondents, household violence caused them to identify with the trauma of their mothers' experiences, fully reject their fathers' male dominance and violence, and forge new, more equitable ways of being a man.

Doing Girls' Chores

Some respondents attribute their empathy for women's life experiences to the girls' chores they had to do at home. However, unlike the respondents above, who experienced equal chore distributions because of their mother's deliberate creation of these roles, some boys had to do girls' chores because of the unique circumstances in their family—there were no girls in the household to do the traditionally feminine chores. While many families in this circumstance hire female house help to do the chores, these respondents came from families that did not do this. As a result, they were responsible for household chores that boys typically did not do. Even though these unique chore arrangements were not intentionally implemented by parents, but rather born out of necessity, these dynamics still gave respondents a sense of empathy for women's work.

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Joseph was the oldest of 10 children, the first six of whom were boys. The first girl was not born into his family until he was 15 years old. As the oldest, he also had additional caretaking responsibilities of his younger siblings. In addition to helping with the household chores and caring for his younger siblings (tasks that are typically reserved for girls) he also helped his mother brew pito, a traditional beer that only women are responsible for brewing:

> We were my mother's girls. We helped her to do everything. So, I can cook anything—any of our traditional dishes. Even the locally brewed beer. I know how to do it …Men never do it. It's one of the prohibitions. But I knew how to do it. My brothers and I knew how to do it, so any time my mother traveled, we would keep on brewing. So, the customers would keep coming and when they asked "where is your mother?" we would say, she has gone to the market, so nobody would even know that she had traveled out of town.

For Princeton, who lived with his two uncles and his grandmother, because he was the only child in the household, he had to do all the household chores, except taking the trash to the dump, which his grandmother did:

> I was the only boy in the house, so I had to do everything. The only thing that I did not do was carry the refuse to the refuse dump. I mean, that was the only thing…I think that that exerted a lot of influence on me for my formative years in terms of respect for women.

Similarly, Derek was the third child of 8 children in his family, all of whom were boys until the very last child. As a result, the chores he completed had little to do with his gender:

> My mother had only one girl among us. It meant that we had to do everything in the house. We had to go for water, go for firewood, go to the kitchen, do the cooking. All these household chores, absolutely [the chores] were for us the boys, because there was no girl amongst us.

These chore arrangements were not a reflection of parents' gender attitudes, but rather necessitated by the circumstances of the family. As Richard who also had no girls in his household explained, his mother would often say "the boy should not touch the tea service" at the same time she asked him to hand it to her. Therefore, many of these parents expected their sons to stop doing housework once girls were available for the work. Although parents required their sons to do girls' chores at home, they saw this as circumstantial, and did not expect their children to continue this dynamic into their future marriages. However, as Joseph explains, doing girls' chores as a child had a

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profound effect on him. Unlike traditionally-raised boys, he always saw women's work as "no big deal." And, as an adult, he had no problem being the primary care giver for his young son while his wife pursued further education in another region in Ghana. However, his unique perspective did little to change his parents' attitudes; they do not support his choice to help with household chores and childrearing in his current marriage.

Despite parents' traditional attitudes, single-sex sibling groups can also lead to a greater sense of equity in the household, as every child is treated the same because of their shared gender. For these respondents, equal treatment was not a result of mother's and father's gender-equitable attitudes, but rather the result of not having both genders within the house. In Derek's household, because the only girl sibling was the last birth, gender differences were trumped by age differences. His parents expected Derek and his male siblings to do more of the household chores because the daughter was significantly younger:

> Irrespective of our [sex] my mother treated us all equally. She did not separate us, she did not put any distribution line between us. Even to some extent she was harder on us than the girl in the duties.

Emmanuel, who only had brothers, also experienced equity growing up because of the single-sex nature of his sibling group. While his mother never said "you can't do this because this is for girls," she did not give the same kind of freedom to the respondent's female cousins, who lived nearby:

> In relation to my female cousins, she insisted on some kind of gendered roles that with the boys—her own sons—she didn't insist. Either because of her perception of girls—or because the other kids were not her own children [it is hard to know why].

It is possible that had his household included both boys and girls, gender differences would have been more apparent.

Other Forms of Household Equity

In some families where mothers and fathers had equitable decision-making, there was also an element of greater equity among all members of the household that allowed respondents and their siblings to voice their own opinions and advocate for equal treatment. For example, some

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respondents came from families that not only insisted that children respect their elders, but they

would not permit bullying as well. As Isaac says:

> If I went beyond acceptable behavior, they would put me in check. They would check me. They wouldn't want me to exhibit insubordination to my elders, so I had to respect everyone, [and I was] equally respected. They wouldn't like you to be bullied.

With these ground rules of equal respect, regardless of gender and age, this respondent's family got

along quite well.

> Everyone [gets along]. And it's simply because of how our parents related. There was no preference. You know, it's amazing. Everyone. I think compared to our cousins, we are unique, in terms of how we relate with one another.

For William, not only did his parents resolve their conflicts in respectful ways that did not include

shouting, he also had the freedom to tell his parents when they were wrong:

> My support for women's rights, I think in a way it started from my family because I had a family where my father never shouted at my mother. When there was an issue in the house, even when I was in high school, sixth form, when there was a problem between my mother and my father, we would sit down together as a family. I could tell my father that he was not right. I could tell my mom that she was not right. I had parents who were that open.

Respondents were also given some decision-making power in the household, and parents discussed

big decisions with the whole family. For Baffour, his parents not only made decisions jointly, but

often they involved input from the children as well:

> They discussed things a lot. I remember when we were growing up, sometimes they would involve us in major decisions. When we were a little grown up, about sixth form, they would involve us in major decisions.

> Family influences can shape men's gender-equitable attitudes in a number of ways.

Respondents developed two critical perspectives from their families of origin; they gained a respect

for women's powers and capabilities, and an empathy for the difficulties that women face in their

daily lives as a result of gender inequality. Other respondents developed empathy for women and

girls because of their family circumstances; they did not have sisters to do household chores, and

instead they had to do traditionally "feminine" chores. Some respondents also experienced greater

household equity that extended beyond gender. These experiences cultivated greater gender-equitable attitudes among respondents.

EDUCATION AND PEERS

Educational experiences and peer environments can also contribute to the cultivation of gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men. Schooling environments formalize gender equity through non-gendered punishments and chores. Particularly in boarding schools, boys and girls have an opportunity to practice gender-equitable distributions of work. Coed (or mixed) schools allow boys to build nonsexual friendships with girls that can contribute to more equitable interactions. These schools also provide an opportunity for boys and girls to compete in the classroom together, giving boys the chance to recognize the intellectual capabilities of girls. Schooling also provides boys with an opportunity to develop an analytical framework to better understand all forms of inequalities. As a result, they can better recognize that gender inequalities are socialized, malleable, and need to be changed. For a number of respondents, the school environment also created an opportunity to become involved in politics. This facilitated more gender-equitable attitudes among these respondents because they were exposed to political movements that embraced principals of equality.

Education and Women's Empowerment

The development literature discusses education as an essential means of empowering women, and respondents agree that this process occurs in Ghana. Some men talk about their mothers and the assertiveness they gained through attending formal schooling, while others give examples of women gaining confidence and courage as a result of education. Fred explains how his mother was able to stand up for herself against her husband's royal lineage because she had more education than most women of her generation:

> She had some education from the mission schools and therefore was more assertive, and was less ignorant, and was not afraid to challenge. She did not feel too insecure. So it's a question of security. The women who don't have any education also feel highly insecure, so they fear that they could be sent away, that they could be divorced. Get home and no man will come to marry you because you are grown up and have kids, and nobody is interested in you.

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William, who is an OBGYN and regularly discusses women's family planning options with women and their husbands, attributes improvement in women's abilities to lobby their husbands for services in recent years to the expansion of education:

> Change also is coming because women are getting more educated, and they are able to explain situations to their partners. At first, due to lack of education, lack of knowledge, they could not argue their way out of situations, but now, there are those who can talk their way of situations.

Not only does William see more women who are able to negotiate with their husbands, but women are now moving forward with fertility-stopping procedures without consulting their husbands at all. Years ago, no women would come to his practice and ask for a tubal-ligation. And, even when he offered it, women would say, "I need to consult my husband." But now there are women coming to his office without their husband's consent. "They know that they don't want the child anymore, and they go ahead and do it."

However, respondents also recognize that education in Ghana—as it stands today—has limited efficacy in dismantling gender inequality, as there are limits to the empowerment that women can achieve in a pervasively male-dominant and impoverished environment. As Emmanuel explains:

> [Education] doesn't mean very much. It's good to be educated because it means that you are then better able to act for yourself, but in this kind of context, you just see a limit to this local education and empowerment, because other things impede…You give women education, you have economic policies so that women are able to find any means of livelihood in the informal economy, in precarious petty retail and petty service activities, and it's a joke. There are many women who have been educated who are sitting on the pavement, in Accra, and elsewhere, who are being beaten around by the local authorities.

Also, the education system in Ghana was not established to facilitate social change. Respondents explain that the expansion of girls' schooling in Ghana is promoted as a means to improve economic development by shaping women into economic actors, and not a means of altering the traditional power dynamics between men and women. As a result, there is very little thought into how education shapes attitudes of either men or women. As Emmanuel explains, no one considers how education shapes boys and men "because it is not about patriarchal relations, it is not about changing men and

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women's places, but women as economic actors in the economy and society," focusing on their "functional utility" instead of their ability to fully enjoy their rights as individuals.

Additionally, the development literature generally ignores the ways in which educational systems replicate inequalities through gendered practices. Teachers are central to the socializing that boys and girls receive at school; if they espouse traditional values, the classroom experience will generally reinforce the traditionally gendered lessons that most children learn in their homes. Most respondents recount schooling experiences that were dominated by male teachers who espoused traditional gendered values. Peter recognized a difference between the gender-equitable attitudes in his household, and the male dominance among teachers:

> The mentality of the teachers, as male chauvinists, was evident at that time. I could see it because of the difference in my house. Because in my house, I could see that there was no difference between boys and girls. But in primary school, I could see that there was a difference with the teachers.

For most Ghanaian children, there is a confluence of ideas between the home and school; as Mohammed explains, "chances are that you might have a class teacher who is reinforcing [traditional] things that are said at home. In that case, it is likely that you will not have much change."

Beyond reinforcing the status quo, schools also have the ability to make girls more vulnerable to exploitation or gender-based ridicule. Girls' accomplishments are sometimes highly devalued in school. If a girl shows prowess in a male dominated field like science, she can be accused of either flirting with the teacher to obtain her high marks, or using witchcraft. As Ibrahim explains, "there is a lot of suspicion about why she is so special." Such an experience can be devastating for a girl; girls that are accused of such actions are "shattered." Matthew also explains how some of his girl colleagues in school were impregnated by teachers, and parents generally supported these relationships, as the teachers would economically support their daughters:

> When I think about what happened to the girls in school, it was extremely disturbing, because the teachers were sleeping with the girls. I know a number of girls who got pregnant who got

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married to teachers. In fact, if your daughter fell in love with a teacher, or if a teacher fell in love with your daughter and slept with your daughter, the parents were happy. They did not see that as wrong for a teacher to sleep with their daughter and get her pregnant and take her away from school. That was very common. That meant that there would be someone to take care of her who had a good job and such, so it would be fine.

At the same time, Mohammed argues that although teachers propagate traditional gender attitudes, they are perhaps more amenable to change than uneducated individuals. Therefore, if sensitization campaigns could be geared toward teachers, then schools could be better utilized to cultivate more equitable gender attitudes among boys and girls:

> If [teachers] are aware, then they can help, because the chances of them picking [gender equity] up is far higher than the rest of the population, isn't it? Everywhere in Ghana, they are actually agents of change. No two ways about it—even though they may be slow. It's right that some will still hold the rural values, so we have to change their attitudes, or they will teach children the same thing, because for them they perceive it as being right.

Formalizing Equality

Schooling can promote gender-equitable attitudes among boys and girls through a number of mechanisms. Schools in Ghana contribute to the socialization to what respondents call "formal life." Different from traditional, rural life, schools have formal rules that are based upon equitable principles whereby boys and girls are treated equally. Although many teachers likely contribute to the socialization of children into traditional gendered norms, respondents recall instances in which the formal rules that governed their schools potentially influenced the attitudes of both boys and girls because this socialization was still more equitable than what many received from their homes. With regard to the distribution of chores and many of the formal punishments at school, respondents remember the equal treatment of boy and girl students.

As Kwame describes it, the overarching goal for both boys and girls in school is to "ensure that you all pass the exam and go on, so whether you were a boy or a girl, if you didn't perform well, they would whip you." For example, if boys or girls were in the bottom of the class, their punishments would be the same. In this way, the schooling environment not only provides the same goal for both boys and girls—passing the exams—but punishes children in similar ways if they do

not succeed. Mohammed makes the contrast between the formal rules of punishment in the schooling environment and the gendered roles in many homes:

> At the secondary school I attended they would just punish the girls by digging trenches, which was considered a male thing. What a boy was to do, a girl could equally be asked to do. She could use her cutlass and hoe, cut grass or prune or take up plants and trees just like a boy would do. So, it is different from the traditional, typical home growing that many people would have come from, because [homes] divide in terms of what the male can do and what the female can do. It is very entrenched in the house, especially for those who grow up in traditional, rural communities.

For many respondents who attend boarding schools during adolescence, the formal rules that governed the distribution of chores were also very different from what most students experienced at home. As Mohammed explains, in an all boys' boarding school environment, students are asked to do all types of chores, even those which are typically reserved for girls:

> If you went to a boys' school, they [behaved] the same as the girls, because there were no girls to scrub the toilets for you. There were no girls to wash the clothes. So, the boys would be doing it.

For those who attend coed schools, or mixed schools, the equitable distribution of chores could be even more influential, as boys do not do feminine chores in the absence of girls, but are forced to practice equitable distributions of chores with girls present. As Daniel explains:

> At the mixed school, you had the boys' boarding house, and boarding house for the girls, so basically, we all did our own basic chores. The boys did their own cleaning, and the girls did their own. When you come to the main compound, there wasn't any discrimination or distinction between the boys and the girls.

While boys at single-sex schools had to do traditionally feminine chores in the absence of girls, boys in coed environments had to do these same chores, despite the presence of girls.

However, whether these equitable chore arrangements remain viable when boys leave secondary school is unpredictable. While some respondents argue that these experiences can improve equitable attitudes among boys, others argue that boys are likely to revert to their position of gendered privilege in regard to housework when they leave school, as the socialization forces in the home can be too big to overcome. As Kweku explains:

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The family socialization is stronger, so even in a boys' school where they make boys sweep, I am sure most of them will never sweep at home. There are some boys, if they come from a family that has house help, you can see clearly they even don't know how to wash their uniform, even up to sixth form … They come to school and have to give their clothes to the village boys who came to visit us, or sometimes they gave it to junior students to do it. With the sweeping, you could see that this boy had never done it before.

As Kweku continues, equal chores in boarding schools for boys and girls can affect boys' gender attitudes, but for many boys, "if they get into a situation where they don't have to do it, they won't." So many boys "go home and they are different people." Some boys not only acted differently at home, but were able to dodge some of these chore duties at school as well. Despite years of living on his own in boarding school, Kweku's good friend never learned anything:

We were friends from form one to six form, and to the Master's level. He did not even know how to boil an egg, so he went through the same system with me and he never changed. Even at the post graduate level, he didn't bother himself to learn how to cook, he was not interested.

As Kweku recounted, this same boy also refused to do dishes. Instead, he would pack up his dirty plates and give them to a 'village boy' who lived near the boarding school to wash. He was so adamant about avoiding this feminine task, that he would spend a large percentage of his disposable income from petty trading in order avoid this chore. In this way, gender equity in schools can be undermined by class privilege; boys with more disposable income are able to outsource their 'feminine chores' to poorer boys.

Friendships with Girls

One cannot overstate the importance of peer relationships during adolescence, particularly in a boarding school setting. Because boys and girls have greater freedom from their families during this time, they turn to each other to meet their social and emotional needs. As Arthur explains, "When you are in boarding school, your peers are—they are gods. Your peers are strong relations." Simultaneously, this is a critical period of development, as boys and girls are rehearsing their adulthood roles within the schooling environment. As Emmanuel explains, in the boarding school

atmosphere, teenagers are "finding space" to be themselves. Therefore, peer relationships in boarding schools can be very influential over boys' and girls' gender attitudes.

These respondents believe that the coed, or mixed schooling environment gives adolescents an opportunity to practice interactions with the opposite sex that boys in single-sex schools do not receive. Many respondents discuss the benefits of learning to interact with girls during these formative years in boarding school. Because boys and girls, as Baffour explains, "live together and do things [together], and they are involved in activities and programs" together, they learn how to interact with each other as peers and colleagues. At the university, Baffour was able to determine who went to a single-sex and who went to a mixed-sex school during secondary by how they interacted across genders:

> I went to a mixed school, and it all helped. I know those who went to single-sex schools. During those days, we went to upper sixth, sixth form, and people came to university through all girls' schools or all boys' schools. Socially you realize that their attitudes are a little different; people who went to mixed schools were socially able to get across the groups.

Gender-separate schools were started by missionaries in Ghana because, as Arthur explains, "they wanted to prevent men and women from giving expression to their sexual yearnings, and they wanted them to be morally upright" and abstain from sex until marriage. However, this separation has led (or at least facilitated) dynamics between boys and girls that do not allow adolescents to relate with opposite gender peers on non-sexual levels, as they do not have opportunities to forge friendships. Arthur is very thankful for his coed schooling, as he believes his friendships with girls during this time were very influential.

> I can see that if I'd gone to a boys' school, I may have become a very bad boy … I just would have gone out to chase the girls, do things that I shouldn't do where their mother is. In secondary school, we had friends who were girls, and they were very good friends, some of them were very close.

Arthur also believes that interactions between boys and girls that are based only on sex, as many boys in single-sex schooling environments experience, can create a pattern of sexual conquests by boys that can shape their gender attitudes:

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As a teenager, if you get carried away by your libido and you start looking at the ladies, and you [have sex] with one lady, and the next time you are trying to do it with another lady, it could influence your attitudes toward women. Then you could begin to see women as sex objects.

Surrounded by only boys, Arthur explains that sexual conquests become a means of gaining respect from peers, and asserting social status. However, this behavior creates an overall atmosphere of machismo that shapes how boys think about girls. In Arthur's experience:

And in an all boys' school, there is sometimes the tendency to develop the machismo, you know, values of conquering more and more women, so you leave the compound and you go to the girls' school, and then you come back and you share your stories about how far you have succeeded.

While sexual conquering and boasting about relationships are present in coed schools as well, in single-sex environments, boys have less opportunity to interact with girls, intensifying the process of sexual conquering. Friendships with girls not only help boys and young men to engage with women in non-sexual ways, but educated and empowered women friends can instigate significant change in the world views of their male friends. As Baffour explains, he used to feel very threatened by intelligent and educated girls. However, in his later schooling, he had the opportunity to befriend strong women, with the positive encouragement of some of his male peers. Prior to this experience, when meeting a woman who could challenge him, he thought, "She will not respect me, she will look down upon me, she will do this, she will not have certain values." But through having friendships with strong women, he realized that these were just "perceptions" that needed to be broken. Instead, for respondents who had the opportunity to befriend women, their experiences were quite positive. Matthew elaborates:

But I think that my experience has been that the women friends I have who are very good, I have learned a lot from them, you know, we support each other. It's just like the men friends I have who support each other, share a lot of things so that's something.

Richard remembers witnessing similar interactions during his time at University; he had women friends who were questioning their traditional gender roles, and he watched their boyfriends either adapt and adjust to their girlfriends' new ways of being women, or the relationship would end.

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These young men would often discuss their relationship challenges with their male peers, and as a result, one empowered woman could potentially impact the attitudes of an entire social group of young men. Similarly, young men who witnessed their peers "treating their women differently" can contribute to the process of shifting entrenched gender attitudes. As Richard explains, if an adolescent boy sees positive role modeling in a relationship, they may say, "Well, if he is doing that, so can I."

Competition between Boys and Girls

Schooling not only fosters an environment where boys and girls can develop non-sexual friendships, but it also provides an opportunity for them to compete, and for boys to recognize the intellectual abilities and competencies of girls. As Princeton explains:

> If a boy sits down with a girl in class and she is able to understand and appreciate the issues and discuss, then the perception that she is inferior will go, and the more he relates to this girl and he sees that she also is [intellectually] endowed, his attitude will change.

Although boys had significantly longer life expectancies in school during the years that respondents were in school, the girls who managed to stay in school tended to have uniquely supportive environments at home, or they displayed significant intellectual prowess, leading parents to continue their education. As a result, even though there were more boys in the classroom when these respondents were in school, there was generally a mix of both girls and boys at the top of the class. Respondents remember competing over grades with girls. According to Kwame:

> We had a very keen competition at that time. Very keen. You have a boy taking the first position, but another time, you would see the girl moving to the top. The difference was just very, very small. Sometimes they just use one mark to beat you.

Other respondents recall particular friendships with girls whom they competed with throughout their schooling. Isaac had a friendship that shaped him:

> In the junior secondary school, in class, and I think we both ended up in the university, there was one lady—very intelligent, brilliant girl. Then I think we, from the junior secondary school, if I'm not overstating the case, were the two who went, progressed consistently to the university and to the master's level. She did her MBA, and I did psychology. So right from there, she was my friend. We challenged each other, at the university level too.

However, exposure to girls who can challenge boys does not mean that all boys recognize girls' intelligence. Smart girls can be singled out and discredited, and many boys are likely never recognize when they have been beaten by a girl. Even at the university level, boys can choose to ignore the successes of their female counterparts. According to Otto, who is a professor, some male students "think that they are more intelligent, even when the girls are beating them on the tests and all that … even now students think that way." Yet, according to other respondents who work at the University of Ghana, other boys are humbled when they see the marks of girls who beat them. They recognize girls for their accomplishments as "brilliant girls" instead of rationalizing away their success.

A Framework for Understanding Inequality

Beyond the formal school rules that can institute gender equity through equal chores and punishments, and the interactions that boys and girls have at school, the learning that occurs in schools can also shape the gender attitudes of boys and young men. Education can also expose students to new ways of thinking about the world. Therefore, on its basic level, learning has the potential to shape boys' attitudes. As Arthur explains:

> On the one hand, having the education helps to give you a critical mind, an inquiring mind, and then it gives you exposure—you read, you get information, you can comprehend it. So, education in that sense is good, in fact.

Education can help people to see their own limits and imagine ways that they could challenge their environment to broaden their opportunities. According to Richard:

> [People] begin to see the limits of where they are at, and perhaps the directions in which they could push those [limits] in order to have a new identity that fits better.

However, while "some general notions about equality are taught in most schools," as Emmanuel points out, the vast majority of education in Ghana is built around the "accumulation of knowledge," and not constructed to create social change. As Stephen explains, the accumulation of knowledge in subjects such as science, business and marketing is not likely to shift the gender attitudes of boys and men. Courses that teach students about the socialization of roles, Stephen believes, are critical: "The

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knowledge is important, but I think the way we are and what we believe is through socialization and doing a [gender] course that exposes you to some of these things, it's also part of it."

For many respondents, including Isaac, Fred, Kofi, and Matthew, among others, education provided an opportunity to become socially conscious about larger issues of inequality that extended beyond gender, and from these positions they later developed gender-equitable attitudes. Through schooling, they developed a "philosophical framework" that emphasized equity. As Frank argues, once an individual recognizes a piece of structural inequality, whether it is economic, racial, or gender, he or she may be "more likely … to raise questions" about other aspects of inequality. Racial power imbalances also place African men in a position to become involved in a movement for social change (Adu-Poku 2001):

> As you study and want to raise questions about different aspects of society, and also as you become more involved in public life … engaging with different issues has always brought home to the fact that inequality in general is something that is rife and is systemic.

Stephen, who is a university lecturer, uses his classroom as an opportunity to encourage his students to raise questions about social inequalities. He regularly discusses his own gender-equitable attitudes and behaviors, in hopes of shaping the perspectives of young men and women in his classes. While he generally receives a good reception from girls in his classes, many males continue to stand firm to their male-dominant beliefs, and use physical differences between men and women to substantiate gender inequality:

> I get some few male students not really appreciating it, or a few dispute that men and women are physically different and it is not a matter of socialization. They try to cite examples like, "You know running; you know 100 meters; you know the kind of time women make, and the time men make is never the same.

However, Stephen remains positive about the effects he is potentially having on his students' attitudes; whether his efforts shape gender attitudes remains to be seen.

> In the class, they may object, but as to whether later on they may be convinced about it and have a change of opinion, I don't know … Later on they may think about it, and of course you are not with them in their rooms when they are doing all this thinking.

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At the same time, Stephen recognizes that young men can go through entire courses on gender and not develop an appreciation for women's issues. For him, however, he believes his educational experiences—understanding how social inequalities work—were critical to his development of gender-equitable attitudes:

> As to whether the male students appreciate the teachings I do not know… Because it depends, some people may go through the course, gender studies, gender sociology and it may not change them; but for me I think it had a profound effect on the way I see things.

Schooling and Political Involvement

For some respondents, the schooling environment gave them an opportunity to become heavily involved in political movements that promoted principles of democracy, justice, and equity. For these respondents, their equitable attitudes had "more to do with the peers in [their] political activist work" than with professors and classes. Instead of becoming rebellious teenagers, they channeled their energies into creating social change. As Emmanuel explains:

> By the time we were in our fifth year, even fourth year, a group of us had become distinct leaders of a kind of counter culture. Not in terms of self-destructive rebellion which is an easy route to take, but a counter culture in terms of an act for change.

Particularly for those respondents who were at University during periods of political turmoil in the early 1970s and 1980s, these opportunities to become involved in politics were plentiful. For many, becoming part of a political movement required an emersion in leftist literature that promoted equity:

> This was the time too in university we had to read the Canon, leftist literature of various types, and, of course, all leftist literature is very strong about equality, equity, but again it was very broad, there was no, there was a thing about gender equality, but not a thing about, about; there was no discussion on patriarchy, for example, but there were bits and pieces that we read in Marx and Engels, and things like that.

However, for some, the peer group circles in which they moved, feminism "was considered an integral part of the outlook of any credible leftists. According to Emmanuel, the particular political climate in which students entered school was very important:

> The political climate was very important. The late seventies were times of political turmoil in Ghana, and the late seventies, on the global terrain, we had liberation struggles in Southern Africa, Mozambique, Angola, we had liberation struggles in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and

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then also in Mexico, we have a number of civil rights activists in the U.S. who were more prominent, even though not as prominent as the late-'60s in the U.S. Again, even on the European scene, there were quite a number of mass arrests. In the case of Ghana, we had had a military regime, which had started on a very popular note. And ended up being very corrupt and authoritarian, which we were trying to strike down through various political missions. And we started resisting it. I joined the movement even before I entered university—the year before I entered.

Arthur talks about the critical experiences during University that shaped his gender attitudes; he

believes his political involvement was more influential than his studies:

That is where I got formed. It was there that I consciously took a position that I understood, and took a decision to work through to understand what I didn't understand, so one of the things that I can say is that I spent more time as an activist than in the lecture rooms. I was a bad student in that respect.

However, participation in politics certainly did not guarantee feminist perspectives, or fair

treatment of women. As Matthew explains, he witnessed quite a bit of hypocrisy among male leaders

of political movements, as they had access to many women. He got a girl pregnant in secondary

school, and decided to stop having promiscuous sex. As a result, he was at a better vantage point to

observe how the men in the movement treated women:

In those days, I belonged to all of these student youth movements, and what you found there among the leaders was this hypocrisy, and I am very fortunate that for some reason, when I got this girl pregnant, I just stopped. I didn't want it to stop my education so I just stopped; I felt that was a huge responsibility. Also being part of this sort of Marxist, socialist movement was important in two ways. One, is that it exposes you to the literature on equality and social justice, but it also exposes you to the hypocrisy of men. They are talking of all of these things but you see how they treat girls.

Because of the relative stability of the political climate in Ghana today, Richard believes that

current students at the University of Ghana do not have the same opportunities to become politically

active. Students are more comfortable with their lives and less likely to question the status quo. As he

describes it, the current atmosphere on campus is far more conservative than when he was in school

in the early 1970s. He believes that possibly the women who were on campus during his years had to

work so hard to get there—there was significantly less opportunity for girls to go to university at that

time—that these women were less likely to conform to traditional gendered roles. They offered a

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stronger feminist perspective than the women who are at university today because the women today have not had to work as hard to get where they are. Richard is shocked that there are female students on campus who will come to their boyfriend's dorms and wash their clothes, or cook for them. He is surprised that male students would expect this from girls, and that girls would oblige. As a result, he believes that much of the ground that was carved out by the activist men and women of his generation has been lost:

> Much ground has been lost, a whole generation, which should have, I think, followed ours and built on at least the consciousness or the traditions, you know, a whole generation has gone the other way. I think, well, [they] dissipated it … They are few and far between, in the subsequent generation.

Education is Neither Necessary or Sufficient

Although this section presents ways in which education can affect the gender attitudes of boys and young men, respondents assert that education is neither necessary nor sufficient for a man to hold gender-equitable attitudes. Even though education can be part of a process of broadening boys' minds and thus making them more amenable to gender-equitable ideals, respondents provide a number of examples of individuals in their lives who are equitable, yet never received education. As Matthew explains:

> Well, I think [education] helps, but don't think that it's the only precondition. I think that exposure and individual circumstances can give anybody the ability to learn new things. Education helps, I wouldn't say that people are not educated therefore they cannot have gender consciousness. There are people who are not educated but who [are equitable].

As Richard describes, equity can come without education, if people have a democratic vision. If a seed is planted in a person to make him or her question hierarchical, traditional practices, this can be sufficient. He believes that the modern setting in and of itself can start this process:

> What kind of society do you aspire to, do you believe in? If you have a democratic vision, if your horizon is set on a democratic, just, equitable society, I think you will find your way, even without formal education, to the identities which will facilitate, or fit that kind of social goal.

At the same time, education, does not guarantee that men will support gender equity. Respondents know men who are highly educated and yet promote male dominance. As Charles explains, "I wouldn't argue that all educated men are liberated and think 'equality.' You can still have all the formal education and be very conservative and traditional in your view." Mohammed describes men who have achieved the highest levels of education, and yet continue to support traditional inequality:

> So even at the University of Ghana, these are people who have PhDs, these are people who have traveled the length and the breadth of the world, these are people who should know better—they are aware of the changes. And yet a lot of them are still stuck in the traditional kind of [gendered] thinking.

As Ibrahim explains, men must apply what they have learned in order to translate education into gender equity; the learning in and of itself does not create change.

> You can have higher education, but you may not be gender sensitive … I have my colleagues that we finished university with, and not all of them are gender sensitive …
> It depends on what you do with the education, how you apply what you have learnt.

Even respondents who studied gender at University remember male students who did not broaden their attitudes after taking classes on the subject. According to Ibrahim:

> There were some of the men in the class, who we always had to debate on some of these issues. The fact that you take a class on gender does not expose you, or does not necessarily give you that [gendered] eye … So it has never been a straightforward issue.

Not only are there educated men who do not share in concerns about women's issues, as this respondent explains, but there are also Ghanaian men with significant levels of education who fully dominate their wives and children through violence and control. Many respondents recount examples of men they know who demonstrate such behavior. Some educated men are stuck in traditional ways of thinking, and "are able to compartmentalize" different aspects of their lives. For Kwesi:

> I know a male [professor] who wouldn't even allow his wife to go and do further studies. She is teaching in the secondary school close by. But, because further studies would mean the woman being away for some time, he didn't allow her. And therefore the woman had to stop halfway. She couldn't rise to a higher level. I don't know about it, but I think that many Ghanaian men are like that. They think of their selves—they want to be at the top, so that the woman would not be able to talk back at them or things like that.

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Respondents also describe educated men who act "like monsters" in their homes. In the most extreme cases, educated men can perpetrate domestic violence against their spouses. According to Otto:

> So my education may have contributed to [my gender-equitable attitudes], but at the same time, there are educated people who are wife bashers. Here on this campus, I know professors who beat their wives. Yes! Yet they are educated professors who have their doctorates, who have their doctorates! PhDs from the West. They beat their wives. Beat, beat. That is what I am saying.

Therefore, while the stereotype is that educated men treat their wives better than men who have no schooling, this is not always the case. Otto continues:

> There are people who are educated who are still women bashers. There are people who are educated who still cheat. And there are some who are also not educated and they have a very positive attitude towards marriage and other things. You see we tend to think at times in our context, the African context, that those who are not educated really maltreat their women because they are not educated. No! There are very educated ones who are worse than illiterates in the villages.

> According to the experiences of these gender-equitable Ghanaian men, education can contribute to the cultivation of gender-equitable attitudes by providing formal rules that are based on gender equity, creating an environment that encourages boys and girls to intellectually compete and form non-sexual friendships. Also, for some respondents, education provided an opportunity to develop a framework for understanding inequalities, or become involved in political movements that led them to more equitable attitudes. As Arthur explains, education is part of the intricate process of socialization, and educational experiences can transmit different values depending on the schooling environment, and how receptive boys are to these messages:

> Education is a socializing instrument, which for that matter, transmits different values to different individuals. Now in the course of transmitting these different values to different individuals, depending on where the individuals are coming from, these different values will make different impressions on different individuals. The socioeconomic, cultural, religious background of the students in the schools will respond differently to various messages that they are getting.

BECOMING GENDER-EQUITABLE IN ADULTHOOD

While most of the respondents in this study attribute their gender attitudes to their early life experiences, three respondents developed their gender-equitable attitudes in adulthood. Daniel explains how experiences at his workplace led him to develop gender-equitable attitudes. Felix, who studied abroad during his mid-20s, met and courted his Ghanaian wife in Europe. For him, spending the formative years of his marriage in this different social context caused him to develop more equitable attitudes. For the last respondent, Alex, a life-threatening illness caused him to make radical changes to how he thinks about women and his interactions with his own wife.

Workplace Socialization

Daniel experienced socialization to gender-equitable attitudes solely through his interactions in the workplace. He grew up in a traditional household, where he never recognized the differential treatment he received in comparison to his sisters. During his later years of education, he studied accounting, and was never exposed to courses in which social inequalities were discussed. However, after graduating, he joined a women's development organization in Accra as an accountant. This proved to be a fortuitous experience that strongly affected his gender attitudes, and subsequently influenced both his professional and personal interactions. Prior to taking this position, Daniel believes that he "wasn't better than any other Ghanaian man in terms of [his] opposition to gender issues." However, he was comfortable working in an office dominated by women. He describes his openness to working with women as a result of his coeducational schooling experiences, and his respect for women's intellect as something that he gained from school:

> Fortunately, I didn't have particular problem with the fact that there were a lot of women in the organization. Going to school, we had a lot of women in my class, and I have at least since early childhood, really appreciated the fact that there isn't much difference in terms of intellect between men and women. Growing up in a class with women where some of whom were better than myself in class, I didn't have that kind of inhibition at all.

After he joined the organization, Daniel experienced an extreme sensitization to women's issues and broader issues of inequality. He began his position when the women's organization was

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first started in Ghana (it has branches in other African countries) and from the outset, Daniel attended

multiple seminars, key presentations, and discussions that ushered him into the mission of the

organization.

> Much of my understanding of gender issues was acquired because of my work here, and interactions with the organization and people who I work with … Once you are in the organization, you listen to presentations by experts and activists and all of that, so if you are somebody who is willing to learn and willing to open up to new things, definitely you will get influenced at some point, and I think that has, to a large extent, shaped my own perceptions.

Over many months, his colleagues also provided invaluable support for his burgeoning gender-

sensitive perspective. While he exhibited a willingness to learn, his colleagues mentored him:

> There were occasions where the program manager would sit me down and have a discussion. There have been other occasions where I could get some things wrong. And then I would have to listen to other perspectives and modify my own position.

While Daniel's openness to new ideas and his willingness to change his own gender attitudes were

critical—as certainly not all men in this working environment would emerge with gender-equitable

attitudes—the socialization that his organization offered was multi-faceted, and ultimately, very

effective. Not only did he learn from formal presentations and informal conversations with

colleagues, but the work environment gave him the opportunity to debate issues with others. In other

words, Daniel is not only open to learning from the organization, but the organization is also open to

his contributions and suggestions:

> There is no dictator here. And yes, we have the opportunity to discuss the issues broadly, discuss the program, say for the year, and in that process, if there is something that you don't agree with in the stance of the organization, you will be able to bring it up and then there can be a discussion for the organization to either modify its own position, or you will modify your own position based on that discussion. I don't think I've had an occasion where I disagree with a particular position but then I am forced to go along with it because it's some organizational position. I haven't had that happen yet.

> Reflecting back on the gender attitudes he held prior to joining the women's organization,

Daniel believes he is a different person as a result of the socialization he received at his workplace.

Particularly in regard to his marriage, Daniel sees himself as a different kind of man, as a result of his

many years of work with the women's organization:

> I had always thought in a marriage, that as the man, I would make all the decisions, because
> that is what I've known from growing up in my own family setting, from my own experience
> with my mom and dad. And so in that area, I would say that I had very strong views. But of
> course, today, I don't think along the same lines. I definitely appreciate that a marriage is a
> partnership, and both the husband and the wife have equal rights to make decisions. So in that
> sense I would say that I've had a shift in my perceptions from all those years that I've
> participated in the work of the organization.

<u>Socialization in Marriage</u>

In some instances, men can also be socialized to more gender-equitable attitudes through

their marriages. Felix, who grew up in a relatively affluent family (his father was a civil servant and

his mother was a teacher), admits that he expected to marry a woman who would offer him "courtesy

and respect," and he was hesitant to form relationships with women who were highly educated

because "you cannot impose your ideas" on them because they could also challenge and raise issues.

During his years in at the university, he and his peers were intimidated by well-educated women, and

they preferred not to date them:

> When we were at University, I think most students, we felt like that the university girls,
> either they are too high or they don't respect, to marry somebody. That was when we were
> here, when we were students. Okay, not that they don't respect, but they are difficult to get
> along with because of their level of education. Maybe they are too known, and they will
> challenge you … so if you marry somebody with equal educational status, you will not be
> able to dictate. So it's better to go for a teacher or something, or women of lower
> socioeconomic status. That was the perception.

However, when Felix traveled to Europe for his graduate studies, and met a Ghanaian woman

who was also pursuing a graduate degree, he felt connected to her because of their shared

background, and they began courting within this foreign context. They dated for about two years

before coming back to Ghana to marry. They then returned to Europe, where they had their first

child, and spent the early years of their marriage. Even though prior to his study abroad, he "would

not have had the confidence to marry someone" with her level of education, meeting her in a context

so different from Ghana—and far from their families and their expectations—facilitated their

relationship, and helped to establish equitable patterns during their first years of married life.

> Things are all readily available abroad; you don't have interferences from extended family—
> nothing. It was between myself and her and the child. Everything is quite structured, moves
> on perfectly. You come [to Ghana] and things are completely different. Because when you
> come here, family comes in. Your parents, her parents might have expectations.

These early years outside of his natal country, not only allowed Felix to form a close

relationship with a woman he may not have dated in Ghana, but also gave him an opportunity to

build confidence in himself, so that his wife's accomplishments did not feel as threatening. He

explains that some of his friends "feel threatened if their wives are outpacing them." Because "the

man always wants to be in charge … if the woman has a very good job and is earning more money,

some men feel a little insecure." For him, these early years of marriage, although they came with

difficulties, helped him to get over his fears of being with an educated woman. He had time to

establish himself professionally and financially without the social pressure from Ghanaian friends

and family. Felix explains that the longer a couple is in a union, the easier these issues are to deal

with:

> If it is the first three years, you are working and you don't have investments; you are renting
> a place, maybe you don't even have a car, or if you have a car and it is giving you problems,
> and all of a sudden your wife gets a new job and has a new car, it is a problem. You are
> human, you begin to feel that you failed, you feel threatened.

During these years abroad, he and his wife faced numerous challenges together and learned

to work together as a team. This paid off on their return to Ghana when family pressures increased,

and they were able to negotiate these together:

> Once you live abroad, people have financial expectations, so there will be pressures here and
> there—your old friends. So it's a very complex [situation] because abroad you are with
> yourself most of the time, but here there could be other influences.

In this regard, Felix thinks that it was a "good thing that those habits had been formed abroad"

because they "had the foundation laid" in their relationships before they came back, and this

"relieved some of the pressure." It is likely that the European environment in which he and his wife

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lived—which promotes greater gender equity than the Ghanaian environment—in combination with the freedom from extended family, contributed to his development of more gender-equitable attitudes.

Now, after more than ten years of marriage, Felix expresses his happiness with the equitable nature of his marriage, and his wife's professional success, as she contributes valuable financial resources to the household. Also, the unique beginning of their marriage has led to more equitable decision-making dynamics, and as he explains below, he has come to appreciate this power-sharing in his marriage:

> There have been situations where by things to be done this way and she suggests that they should be done in a different way and I think we argue out, but eventually we come to a consensus but I think in the long run I've come to like that.

Socialization through Crisis

The final respondent in this section, Alex, developed gender-equitable attitudes as a result of life-threatening illness that caused him to recognize his own mortality, question his life purpose, and simultaneously see a competent and strong side to his wife that he had not previously known. He fully attributes his recovery to her support and care:

> I realized that I was depending on her for a lot of things. But for her, I would have died. I was sick, I was in hospital, in a coma, I was going to be pronounced dead, but she was the one who stood by me. And because of that, I live now.

Prior to this near-death experience, Alex explains that he did not treat his wife with respect. For the first ten years of his marriage, he "hit her here and there" and "was going out with other women." He was "terribly unfaithful" and his "wife was afraid to come close to [him]." However, when he became ill, he began to see his wife in a new light. Trained as a nurse, she cared for him while he was sick, and she stood by him, even though his girlfriends made regular visits to the hospital:

> What she did had a tremendous impact. Because she was a nurse, she took charge, and went beyond the call of duty. I know other wives may not have done the same, but she was like all out—the way she cared about me, she cared for me as a sick person.

> And my girlfriends came to the hospital fighting [my wife], even while I was there in coma, they were fighting her, but she stood.

When Alex recovered, he began to reflect upon his own life, the choices he had made, and the relationship he had with his wife. Through his Christian faith, he "began to see that she is made in the image of God in the same way as [men are] made in the image of God." His respect for her as a person and wife grew, and this impacted his larger perspective on women's rights:

> And after the illness I asked myself just a few questions. Why am I here? I mean, what am I doing with all those other women? I realized that she has everything that all those women had and more. That's when my awareness about women's rights began, because I realized she had rights in the home. I didn't have the right to demand that she wash my clothes, because she had the right to refuse to wash my clothes. Then I began to realize that most of how I related to her was because of my traditional background. Traditionally, a man is supposed to be all in the home. If you sneeze, the wife was supposed to catch cold.

Since this experience, Alex has a different kind of marriage with his wife. He resolves conflicts differently, and does not use his physical strength to get his way:

> It does not mean we always agree, we've disagreed on a couple of things, but at no point now can I shout on my wife. I mean I have—in my days before—I may have hit her here and there, but there is no way I can raise my hands, you know, and hit my wife.

And the trust in their relationship has increased immeasurably:

> I know she can trust me and I trust her implicitly. When I talk about her, it is like I'm talking about marriage being in heaven, but I know we are earthlings, we are human beings.

As a result, the love between them has grown, and both he and his wife are happier with their marriage:

> In the past, it was just respect, and now in addition to respect, she knows that there is love flowing from the other direction, so she also, yeah, there's more love from her also.

This section demonstrates that some Ghanaian men can develop gender-equitable attitudes in adulthood, and that this process can happen in workplaces and marriages. While Daniel was socialized to the gender-equitable norms of his workplace, and subsequently changed his own personal beliefs, two other respondents (Felix and Alex) had experiences within their marriages that strongly shaped their gender-equitable beliefs. What is striking about these three cases is the extreme

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nature of each of these circumstances. Studying abroad in the highly equitable context of Europe and building marriage dynamics in this different environment, working for a women's advocacy organization, or experiencing a life threatening illness with a wife trained as a nurse are not experiences that many Ghanaian men are likely to experience. As Bussey and Bandura (1999) discuss regarding the gender socializing influences of occupational settings, adulthood socializing experiences are all-encompassing; the subsystems of family, peer, and education are replicated within these environments.

Conclusion

This chapter addresses research purpose two (*explore men's experiences over the life course that influence the development of gender-equitable attitudes*). It examines the personality characteristics, family factors, schooling experiences, peer interactions, and adulthood influences that can facilitate the emergence of men's gender-equitable attitudes in Ghana. As articulated by Bussey and Bandura's (1999) social cognitive theory of gender differentiation, men's individual characteristics shape how men interpret and interact with their environments. These findings show that respondents hold a number of personality characteristics that can contribute to the cultivation of gender-equitable attitudes, and protect them from the negative consequences of rejecting hegemonic masculinity. Many respondents are naturally curious and inquisitive, and they have difficulty living with contradictions in their lives. These characteristics caused them to question traditional masculine ideals. Also, respondents tend to be more open to compromise, and they value fairness in interactions with others, facilitating their equitable relationships with women. Additionally, these men are very confident, and they are able to dismiss the negative feedback that they receive as a result of their gender-equitable attitudes. Finally, respondents show highly adaptable personalities. The ability to interact with many different groups of people—including macho boys and men—can protect gender-equitable men from social ridicule.

As specified by social cognitive theory, the gender subsystems of family, peers, and schooling shape men's gender-equitable attitudes in early life. Respondents discuss two attitudes that they garnered from their natal families; they developed a respect for women's powers and capabilities and an empathy for the difficulties that women face in their daily lives. For many respondents, these perspectives lay the foundation for their gender-equitable attitudes. Additionally, some respondents developed more gender-equitable attitudes from unique family circumstances; some men did not have sisters to do the household chores, and they had to do "girls' work" in their homes. Education in Ghana can also contribute to the cultivation of gender equity. Schools implement formal rules that are based on equity, and respondents rehearsed equitable chore distributions, classroom dynamics, and punishments in this environment. Additionally, schools provided an environment for respondents to form friendships and compete intellectually with girls, encouraging boys to interact with girls in non-sexual ways. For some men, schooling created an opportunity to question the roots of inequalities and develop a worldview that is based on equality, or to become involved in political movements based on principles of equity and justice.

A few respondents developed gender-equitable attitudes in adulthood. Daniel worked for a women's rights organization, and developed his gender-equitable perspective through an intense socialization in this workplace environment. Felix and Alex both had unique experiences in their marriages that shaped their gender attitudes. As Bussey and Bandura (1999) articulate regarding gender socialization in occupational systems, adulthood experiences that supersede familial, peer, and schooling socialization to traditional gender attitudes can shift men's gender attitudes in adulthood.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter provides the conclusions of this study and addresses research purpose four (*discuss the implications of these findings for the field of men and masculinities, and provide recommendations for policy and programming that address gender inequality in this context*). First I provide a summary of the findings from research purpose one of this study; I examine the relationships between men's individual, family, and environmental characteristics and three dimensions of men's gender attitudes in Ghana. Second, I discuss the conclusions from the research purposes two and three of this study. Specifically, I outline how gender-equitable Ghanaian men embody their gender-equitable ideals, I identify the costs and benefits of holding these unique attitudes, and I describe the processes through which some Ghanaian men acquire gender-equitable attitudes. Third, I discuss the theoretical and methodological contributions of this research to the field of men and masculinities in sub-Saharan Africa. Fourth, I explore the implications of this research for policy and programming that address gender inequality in this context.

Sociodemographic Predictors of Gender Equity

In this study, the quantitative analyses of the 2003 GDHS explore the relationships between men's sociodemographic characteristics and three dimensions of men's gender attitudes in Ghana. These analyses demonstrate that men's individual, family, and environmental characteristics are related to men's gender attitudes and support Bussey and Bandura's (1999) social cognitive theory of gender differentiation, which articulates that personal, behavioral, and environmental factors (including the gender subsystems of the family and peers) contribute to the development of gendered identities and attitudes. These analyses also illustrate that men's gender attitudes are multidimensional. The bivariate correlations between measures of men's gender attitudes (men's attitudes toward domestic violence, men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy, and men's

attitudes toward men's retaliation when wives refuse sex) are relatively modest. Additionally, associations between men's individual, family, and environmental characteristics and men's gender attitudes differ across the three dimensions of men's attitudes.

Men's individual, family, and environmental characteristics are particularly relevant to men's attitudes toward domestic violence in Ghana. The individual, family, and environmental characteristics of age, education, literacy, wealth, childhood residence, ethnicity, religion, education, and frequency of radio listening are significantly related to men's attitudes toward domestic violence. Tolleson-Rinehart (1992) found similar relationships in the U.S.; during the early stages of gender attitudinal shifts in the 1970s, nearly all of women's sociodemographic characteristics were significantly related to their gender attitudes. Perhaps because the issue of domestic violence has received noteworthy attention in Ghana in recent years, individual, family, and environmental characteristics are all important factors in predicting men's attitudes toward domestic violence. With regard to men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy, only education, marital status, wealth (in a comparison of the richest quintile and the poorest quintile of men), and frequency of radio listening have significant relationships with this dimension of men's gender attitudes. Men's marital status—a family characteristic that is not a significant predictor of men's attitudes toward domestic violence—emerges as the central predictor of men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy. Unmarried men's expectations of their wives' sexual behavior appear to be more male-dominant than the gender attitudes they hold once men are married and must negotiate sex their wives.

The significant sociodemographic predictors of men's attitudes toward retaliation also diverge from those for men's attitudes toward domestic violence and men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy. For this dimension of men's gender attitudes, wealth (for all quintiles in comparison to the poorest quintile of men), education, and adulthood residence demonstrate significant associations. These findings suggest that men's proximity to Western hegemonic masculinities may be related to men's gender attitudes regarding retaliation. Wealth, education, and

urban residence may give some Ghanaian men greater exposure to Western hegemonic masculinities that do not explicitly endorse retaliation against wives who refuse sex. However, despite differences in the relationships between sociodemographic characteristics and men's gender attitudes, education has a consistently negative relationship with men's male-dominant attitudes across all three of these dimensions. Bussey and Bandura (1999) hypothesize that educational systems are socializing environments that shape gender attitudes, and these quantitative findings demonstrate that the socializing environment within schools has a depressive effect on men's male-dominant attitudes in Ghana.

These analyses also suggest that while individual and environmental characteristics are central to men's gender attitudes, current family characteristics (marital status and wealth) are also important predictors of men's attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy and retaliation. While Bussey and Bandura (1999) consider the influence of natal family characteristics on gender attitudes, these findings demonstrate that adulthood family characteristics can also be important determinants of men's gender attitudes. Additionally, these findings reinforce the interconnection of men's gender identities and their racial and class statuses, as articulated by race-class-gender theory (West and Fenstermaker 2002). Men's social location can influence their proximity to hegemonic masculinities, and this can influence their gender attitudes (Kane 2000). Class differences (as operationalized by the wealth) are evident in each dimension of men's gender attitudes. Also, even though Ghana is racially homogenous, ethnic group differences emerge for men's attitudes toward domestic violence and men's attitudes toward retaliation. Thus, men's social location can shape men's gender attitudes in Ghana.

Embodying Gender-Equitable Attitudes

Research purpose three of this study examines how gender-equitable Ghanaian men embody their gender-equitable perspectives, and the costs and benefits of their gender attitudes that result from their rejection of hegemonic masculinities (Connell 2005). The gender-equitable respondents in

this study embody their unique attitudes in a number of ways. First, respondents share a commitment to a number of social issues in Ghana, including domestic violence, and educational and economic inequalities for women. Respondents also hold a shared system of core beliefs that supports their gender-equitable attitudes: they believe that gender is socialized, that gender inequality is connected to larger systems of inequality, and that living out gender-equitable beliefs in all aspects of life is a necessary component of embodying a gender-equitable perspective. These gender-equitable men also enact their unique gender attitudes within their own households and families; these relationships become a venue for men to visibly contest hegemonic masculinities. In this way, men adopt the principles of the theory of "doing" gender (West and Zimmerman 2002); respondents see their gender-equitable identities as a status that must be consistently enacted and maintained rather than a characteristic that can be permanently achieved.

Respondents see a number of benefits to their gender-equitable attitudes; they explain that their marriages are more satisfying because of their gender-equitable attitudes, and they are able to have better friendships with women. Also, respondents gain direct satisfaction from holding gender-equitable attitudes, as they believe they are making positive contributions to society by working to improve gender equity in Ghana. However, men who hold gender-equitable attitudes also experience a number of costs because they choose to actively reject hegemonic masculinities, and this threatens the "legitimacy of patriarchy" (Connell 2005:77). All of these respondents have experienced teasing and criticism as a result of their gender attitudes, and many wives of respondents have also experienced this treatment. For gender-equitable men, marriage can be more work, as they must negotiate decisions with their wives instead of exercising unilateral decision-making. A few respondents even believe that their gender attitudes contributed to the end of their marriages, as they experienced significant conflict with their wives who held more traditional gender attitudes. Lastly, many respondents are frustrated with the slow pace of change; they feel that they work hard to influence the gender attitudes of others and yet see little progress. Despite these challenges,

respondents agree that the personal benefits of their gender-equitable attitudes outweigh these costs, and they have a number of coping mechanisms that they use to diminish the challenges they face as a result of their unique gender attitudes.

Shaping Gender-Equitable Attitudes

As specified by research purpose two of this study, this study also examines how respondents developed gender-equitable attitudes over the life course. I use Bussey and Bandura's (1999) social cognitive theory as a framework to explore the personal, behavioral, and environmental factors that contribute the development of gender-equitable attitudes. First, I examine respondents' personality characteristics, because individual characteristics influence how people interpret and interact with the world around them, and this can shape gender attitudes (Bussey and Bandura 1999). The gender-equitable respondents in this study tend to be naturally inquisitive and questioning, they have trouble living with inconsistencies, and they place a high value on fairness. Many of these men are compromising, preferring peace over conflict, and they are quite confident. This confidence can be protective against the teasing and criticism that they face as a result of their gender attitudes.

I also examine four gender subsystems that are part of the environmental component of Bussey and Bandura's (1999) model of triadic reciprocal causation: family, schooling, peers, and occupational settings. Experiences within the natal family can be critical to the development of gender-equitable attitudes. Respondents in this study had early life experiences that caused them to develop two key perspectives: awareness of women's power, and empathy for women's difficulties. Some respondents developed an awareness of women's power through learning implicitly gender-equitable lessons from their mothers, and sometimes, their fathers. In many instances, these lessons manifested as equal chore distributions for boys and girls in the household. Others gained awareness of women's power by witnessing their mothers' successful perseverance against significant challenges.

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Respondents acquired empathetic attitudes toward women's experiences through a number of circumstances; some men had close relationships with their mothers and sisters, coupled with distant relationships with traditional fathers. Other men saw their mothers face extreme difficulties in their households, such as significant economic burdens, and respondents saw how gender inequalities exacerbated these negative circumstances for their mothers. In the most extreme circumstances, two respondents witnessed domestic violence in their households. Instead of identifying with their fathers who perpetrated the violence, they identified with their mothers as the victims, and they had significant empathy for their suffering. Other respondents, who had no sisters, did the household chores that are typically reserved for girls, and developed a first-hand awareness of the disproportionate amount of work that women and girls do in the home. As a result, these respondents developed a greater empathy for the challenges that women and girls face in their daily lives.

Schooling experiences and peer interactions also led to the emergence of respondents' gender-equitable attitudes. For men who went to coed boarding schools, this environment formalized gender equity by establishing equal chore distributions between girl and boy students. Also, coed schools gave respondents an opportunity to build non-sexual friendships with girls, and compete with girls in the classroom. These experiences allowed respondents a more complex set of interactions with girls outside of the context of sexual relationships. Additionally, for some respondents, school helped them to build an analytical framework to better understand inequalities in general. Instead of seeing poverty or disadvantage as a circumstance of individuals, respondents learned how social structures substantiate inequalities, and undergird discrimination against marginalized groups. For other men, the schooling environment facilitated their involvement in politics, and these advocacy experiences lead to an involvement in women's rights issues.

While most of the respondents in this study attribute their gender attitudes to their early life experiences, a few respondents developed gender-equitable perspectives in adulthood. Two respondents experienced a transformation of their gender attitudes within unique marital

circumstances, and one respondent attributes his gender-equitable attitudes to his employment at a women's rights organization. Bussey and Bandura (1999) hypothesize that occupational systems can influence individuals' gender socialization because they are fully encompassing. Individuals spend a large percentage of their time in the workplace, and the gender subsystems of the family, peers, and education are recreated in this environment. These findings demonstrate that the marital environment may also be an encompassing environment that overrides the influence of childhood gender subsystems, and leads to the emergence of more gender-equitable attitudes.

The process of developing gender-equitable attitudes for these Ghanaian men can be conceptualized as the process of filling a cup. For the many respondents who developed their gender-equitable attitudes in childhood and adolescence, no single experience shaped their unique attitudes. Instead, shaping experiences accumulated over time, and eventually respondents reached a tipping point where their gender attitudes diverged from the attitudes of most Ghanaian men. For the few respondents who became gender-equitable in adulthood, the process was also cumulative; the extreme nature of their experiences in adulthood led to full resocialization that superseded their earlier familial, peer, and schooling experiences. Additionally, as Bussey and Bandura (1999) emphasize, experiences alone do not bring about gender-equitable attitudes; the process of gender attitudinal development is a reciprocal relationship between the individual (behaviors and actions) and his or her environment. All of these gender-equitable men had siblings and peers who experienced similar family and school environments, as well as peer interactions, who did not emerge with particularly gender-equitable attitudes. Respondents' interpretations of and interactions with their environments, as well as their experiences, were critical to the emergence of their gender-equitable attitudes.

Implications for Further Research

Due to the dearth of research on gender-equitable men in sub-Saharan Africa, this study makes a number of theoretical contributions to the field of men and masculinities. First, this research

provides additional evidence that masculinities in sub-Saharan Africa are malleable and adaptable. These findings substantiate the argument that gender is socially constructed in an ongoing process that does not rely solely on static versions of traditional African gender identities (Adu-Poku 2001). Second, this study illustrates that even within pervasively male-dominant social contexts, some men actively choose to hold gender-equitable perspectives as a viable means of embodying masculinity. However, unlike the evidence of changing masculinities in sub-Saharan Africa put forth by Silberschmidt, Cornwall, and Walker (Cornwall 2002; Cornwall 2003; Silberschmidt 2001; Silberschmidt 2005; Walker 2005), who found that men are developing more gender-equitable attitudes in response to changing economic and social circumstances that make hegemonic masculinities unattainable, this study provides evidence that some Ghanaian men are actively pursuing more gender-equitable attitudes without significant changes in economic and social opportunities. This suggests that R.W. Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity needs further adaptation to include gender-equitable (profeminist and antisexist men) as these men are actively questioning hegemonic masculinities. Much like complicit, marginalized, and subordinated men, gender-equitable men are also defined in relation to men who embody hegemonic masculinities.

This research also makes theoretical contributions to the study of gender-equitable men. While a few studies have used theoretical approaches, such as role strain theory, to determine how the socialization experiences of gender-equitable men diverge from normative men (Cornish 1997; White 2008), the vast majority of studies on these unique men are empirically-driven and largely a-theoretical (Barker 1998; Barker 2000; Christian 1994; Vicario 2003). Additionally, the only preliminary study that addresses gender-equitable men in sub-Saharan Africa does not contain a theoretical basis (Barker and Ricardo 2005). Therefore, this study is the first of its kind to utilize social cognitive theory as a theoretical framework to explore the experiences of gender-equitable men in sub-Saharan Africa. By examining the gender subsystems that constitute the environmental component of social cognitive theory, and the personality characteristics of respondents that shape

their personal and behavioral interactions with their environments (Bussey and Bandura 1999), this study examines how socializing mechanisms that influence the gender attitudes of all men also contribute to the emergence of gender-equitable attitudes among some men. In this way, this study brings a theoretical framework to the sub-Saharan context that does not enforce an *a priori* difference between the experiences of gender-equitable men, and the experiences of men who do not reject hegemonic masculinities.

This study also represents methodological advancements in the study of gender-equitable men. While the most methodologically innovative studies of gender-equitable men have utilized mixed methods approaches (Barker 2000; Barker and Loewenstein 1997; Hurtado and Sinha 2008), this is the first study to compare the gender attitudes of a qualitative sample of gender-equitable men to the gender attitudes of a nationally-representative sample of men, such as the 2003 GDHS. This study design provides a quantitative method of verifying respondent sampling, in order to ensure that in-depth interview respondents held more gender-equitable than most Ghanaian men. Because the discourse on gender in Africa generally treats men as homogenously problematic (Barker and Ricardo 2005; Connell 2003), this integration of quantitative and qualitative methods is a necessary step to contextualizing how respondents' attitudes fit into the larger spectrum of attitudes held by Ghanaian men.

Implications for Policy and Programming

These findings suggest a number of ways that policy and programming could be improved to better cultivate gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian boys and men. As the quantitative and qualitative components of this research demonstrate, schools are important socializing environments for boys' gender attitudes. They also provide a venue in which to introduce gender-sensitive policies and programming aimed at cultivating gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian boys. Even though many of the experiences that influence men's gender-equitable attitudes occur in respondents' natal families, some of these experiences can be adapted to educational environments. For example,

respondents in this study developed an awareness of women's power in their natal families, and this was a critical experience in developing gender-equitable attitudes. This concept can be transferred to schools, as educational systems also socialize boys' gender attitudes. In primary schools in Ghana, only 37% of teachers are female (UNESCO 2008), and while recent data are not available for secondary schools, evidence suggests that male teachers outnumber female teachers in secondary schools as well (Mulkeen et al. 2007). Programs that train, promote, and support women teachers and school administrators in Ghana can also encourage boys to recognize women's power in schools, and thus contribute to greater gender-equitable attitudes among men.

Second, programming that cultivates gender-equitable attitudes among Ghanaian men and boys does not need to explicitly address gender. Some respondents in this study came to hold gender-equitable attitudes through their schooling experiences by developing a framework for understanding inequalities, and learning how social structures perpetuate disadvantage and discrimination. Others became involved in politics and advocacy through schools, and these experiences led them to gender advocacy. Therefore, schools can also be used to teach boys (and girls) how inequalities are perpetuated, and how marginalization and discrimination of groups is a social issue, and not reflective of individual capacities or deficiencies. Additionally, democracy-building activities that give both boys and girls the skills to advocate for their own beliefs can help boys who hold gender-equitable attitudes to protect themselves from teasing and criticism that may cause many boys to conform to hegemonic masculine ideals.

Third, gender programming could focus on improving interpersonal communication and conflict resolution between men and women. The family is the arena in which men frequently express gender-equitable attitudes, and is simultaneously the arena in which some of the greatest forms of gender inequality also manifest in Ghana. Domestic violence, heightened HIV/AIDS transmission, and high fertility rates are all related to men's traditionally imbued authority over women. Therefore, initiatives that target issues such as domestic violence, HIV/AIDS, and fertility

must be highly sensitive to the gender inequality that manifests in the home. Bawah (1999) has already documented the negative consequences of addressing women's needs while ignoring the needs of men; increased family planning resources in Ghana corresponded with increases in marital conflicts and domestic violence, and men felt they were losing traditionally imbued gender power within their relationships. As the same time, because the family environment is an arena in which men can and do adopt more gender-equitable attitudes, programs that address family issues provide a significant opportunity to encourage men to become more gender-equitable. For example, reproductive health programming on the continent has begun to integrate programs that address both men's and women's needs; by encouraging men's empathy for women's childbearing experiences, men are more likely to recognize their wives opinions when considering additional births. The gender-equitable respondents in this study emphasize the importance of friendships with women as part of the process of developing gender-equitable attitudes, as these friendships can improve males' empathy for the experiences of girls and women. Programs and services that improve communication between spouses, bring partners closer together, and allow men to see their spouses' perspective, could be an additional means to develop men's empathy for women, and greater equity within marriages.

Finally, because men do not develop gender-equitable attitudes as the result of one exposure or experience, those who measure and evaluate gender-oriented programming need to recognize that although programming may have positive impacts on boys' and men's gender attitudes, these changes that may not be detectable through pre-test post-test evaluations. Because Ghanaian men who hold gender-equitable attitudes have a cumulative set of experiences that encourage their gender-equitable attitudes, gender-oriented programming may contribute to this accumulation of experiences, and help men and boys toward an eventual tipping point where more gender-equitable attitudes emerge, without manifesting immediately visible outcomes. Recognizing the cumulative

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nature of experiences that shape gender-equitable attitudes requires a long-term vision, financial

commitment, and trust in the process of change.

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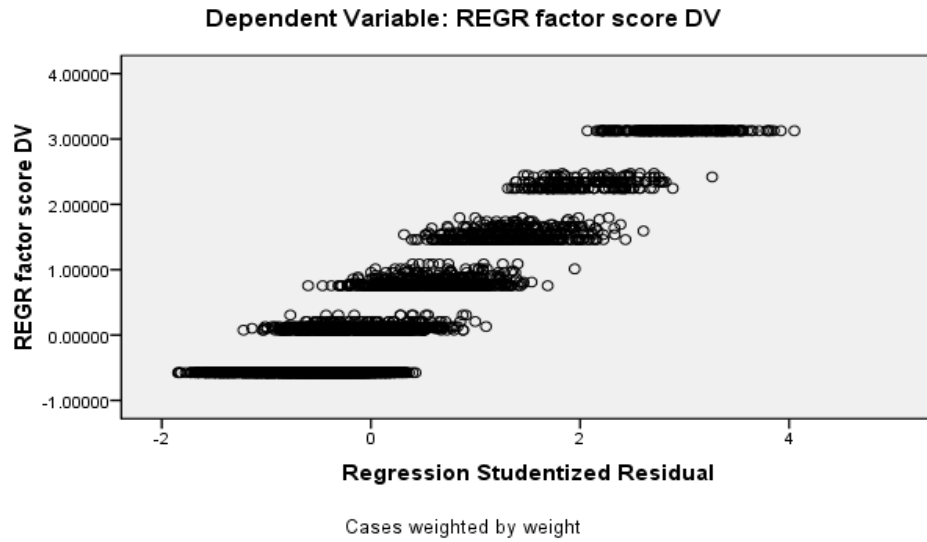
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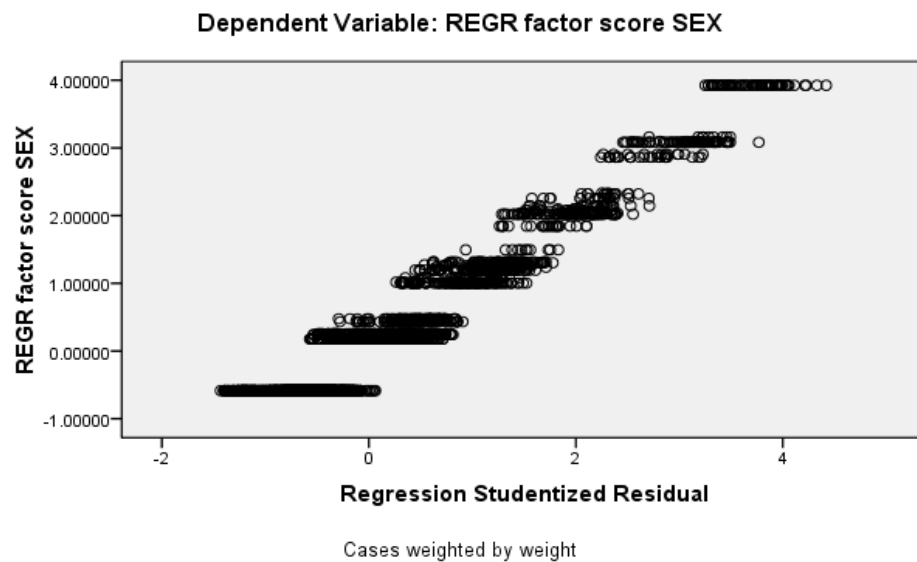
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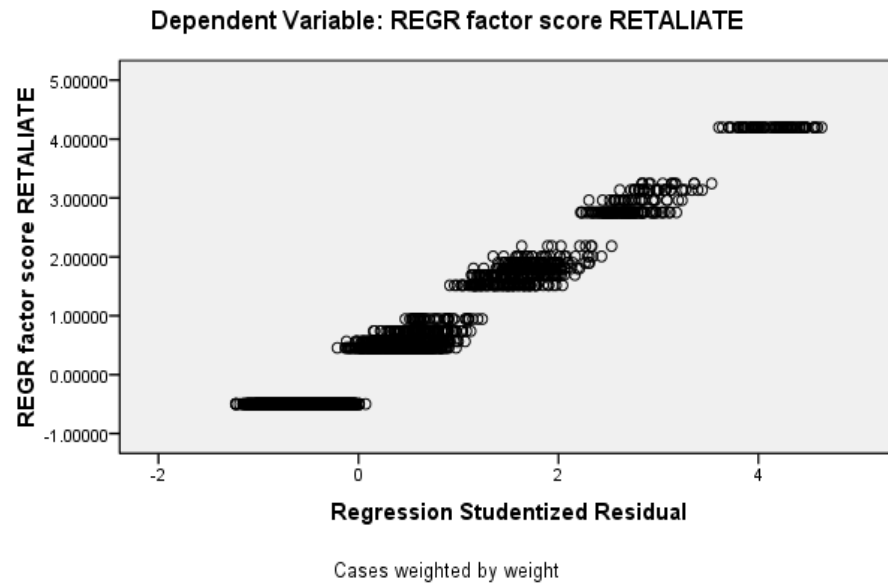
Appendix A: Studentized Residual Plots

Scatterplot

Dependent Variable: REGR factor score DV

Cases weighted by weight

Scatterplot

Dependent Variable: REGR factor score SEX

Cases weighted by weight

Scatterplot

Dependent Variable: REGR factor score RETALIATE

Cases weighted by weight

Appendix B: Interview Guide

1. Current Relationship
   a. How does your marriage/relationship differ from the relationships of others?
   b. Who does what tasks in your house?
   c. Who makes the big decisions in your family?
   d. How do you and your wife/partner divide childrearing responsibilities?

2. Gender Attitudes
   a. Do you see yourself as different or the same as most Ghanaian men?
   b. How would you describe the gender attitudes of typical Ghanaian men?
   c. Why do you think you are different than most men?
   d. What makes a Ghanaian man "gender equal"?
   e. What is difficult about having beliefs that are different from most Ghanaian men?
   f. Are there benefits to having your unique perspective?

3. Family Context
   a. Who were your primary caregivers during your childhood?
   b. What type of relationship did you have with your caregivers?
   c. How did your caregivers interact with each other?
   d. How did you fit into your family, in conjunction with your siblings and extended family?

4. Schooling Environment
   a. What was your school environment like?
   b. How were girls and boys treated at school?
   c. Where there any particular teachers that had a strong influence on you?

5. Early Relationships
   a. Where do you think you learned the most about relationships?
   b. When did you first start dating?
   c. What were your first relationships like?

6. Changes over time
   a. What experiences during your life strongly shaped the way you think about women and men?

Appendix C: Gender Attitudes Survey of In-Depth Interview Respondents

Sometimes a husband is annoyed or angered by things that his wife does. In your opinion, is a husband justified in hitting or beating his wife in the following situations?

If she goes out without telling him	YES	NO	Don't Know
If she neglects the children	YES	NO	Don't Know
If she argues with him	YES	NO	Don't Know
If she refuses to have sex with him	YES	NO	Don't Know
If she burns the food	YES	NO	Don't Know

Husbands and Wives do not always agree on everything. Please tell me if you think a wife is justified in refusing to have sex with her husband when:

She knows her husband has a sexually transmitted disease	YES	NO	Don't Know
She knows her husband has sex with women other than his wives	YES	NO	Don't Know
She has recently given birth	YES	NO	Don't Know
She is tired or not in the mood?	YES	NO	Don't Know

Do you think that if a woman refuses to have sex with her husband when he wants her to, he has the right to:

Get angry and reprimand her	YES	NO	Don't Know
Refuse to give her money or other means of financial support	YES	NO	Don't Know
Use force and have sex with her even if she does not want to	YES	NO	Don't Know
Go and have sex with another woman	YES	NO	Don't Know

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Education

2009	Ph.D., Sociology and Demography, The Pennsylvania State University
2006	M.A., Sociology and Demography, The Pennsylvania State University
2000	B.A., Sociology (Cum Laude), Smith College

Professional Experience

2004 – 2009	Research Assistant and Instructor, The Pennsylvania State University
2003 – 2004	Research Associate, Basic Education Coalition, Washington DC
2000 – 2002	Peace Corps Volunteer (Education), Benin, West Africa

Selected Publications and Presentations

Ashley E. Frost and F. Nii-Amoo Dodoo. 2009. "Men are Missing from African Family Planning." *Contexts* 8(1): 44-49.

Dodoo, F. Nii-Amoo and **Ashley E. Frost**. 2008. "Gender in African Population Research: The Fertility/Reproductive Health Example." *Annual Review of Sociology* 34: 431-452.

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Frost, Ashley E. 2009. "Exploring the Nature of Gender-Equitable Attitudes among Ghanaian Men: Why do some Men Reject the Patriarchal Dividend?" Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Population Association of America, Detroit, Michigan, April 30.

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Frost, Ashley E. 2007. "Contestation and Compliance: Adolescent Girls' Attitudes toward Domestic Violence in Ghana." Paper presented as a poster at the Annual Meetings of the Population Association of America, New York, New York. March 30.

Frost, Ashley E. and F. Nii-Amoo Dodoo. 2006. "The Prospect of Change: Adolescent Male Perspectives on Marital Gender Relations in Ghana." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Montreal, Canada. August 13.

Frost, Ashley E. and F. Nii-Amoo Dodoo. 2006. "Prospects for Change: Adolescent Male Perspectives on Marital Gender Relations in Ghana." Paper presented as a poster at the Annual Meetings of the Population Association of America, Los Angeles, California. March 31.

Grants and Awards

2009 – 2014	Co-Principal Investigator, NIH RO1 grant, "Gendered Social Contexts of Adolescent HIV Risk Behavior: Family, Peer Group, and Community Influences in Southeastern Ghana." ($2,074,000 over 5 years)
2008	Graduate Student W. LaMarr Kopp International Achievement Award ($1,000)
2008	Joan Huber and William Form Graduate Scholarship in Sociology ($2471)
2008	Doctoral Research Fellowship Application Incentive Award ($500)
2007	Regional Institute for Population Studies, Grant for dissertation data collection ($2240)
2007	Penn State University, Africana Research Center Research Grant ($1000)
2007	Penn State University, College of the Liberal Arts Dissertation Support Grant ($1500)