# Personal and collective histories, visions and practices: A quantitative study of men in Managua

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**REPORT**

# Credits

**Puntos de Encuentro:** A non-profit Nicaraguan civil society organization, it is feminist, autonomous, diverse and has a regional scope. It fosters favorable social environments, individual and collective action for the transformation of unequal power relations, and the recognition, defense and exercise of young and adult women's rights in daily life. It is part of the broader women's movement, a reference for feminist thought and practice and recognized for sustained knowledge management and communication strategies that impact diverse aspects of daily life.

**Centro Bartolomé de las Casas (CBC):** A Salvadoran non-profit social organization, focused on popular education and human development. It is a center for popular education that works in El Salvador and the Central American and Caribbean region. CBC bases its work on diverse understandings and in dialogue with colleagues from different countries, in order to reflect, share and influence the field of masculinities with a pro-feminist commitment. The Program proposes a methodology based on a comprehensive approach toward masculinities, emphasizing training and research among men from diverse backgrounds, and advocacy in partnership with national and international women's organizations.

**Promundo:** A non-governmental organization that acts in various countries around the world, seeking to promote gender equality and violence prevention, with emphasis on the involvement of men and women in the transformation of masculinities. Working with men and boys to transform unequal power norms and dynamics is a strategic factor in achieving gender equity. Their research, programs and actions to influence public policies show that promoting positive ideas about what it means to be a man or a woman improves lives.

**International Development Research Centre (IDRC):** Supports research in developing countries to create real and lasting change. This knowledge can be used as a tool to address global challenges. It provides financial resources, advice and training to researchers from developing countries to find solutions to local problems; shares knowledge with legislators, researchers and communities around the world; encourages new talent by offering scholarships and prizes; and shares new knowledge to those who can best use it to address global challenges.

# Contents

# ACRONYMS

**CASC:** Acronym in Spanish for Centro de Análisis Sociocultural (Sociocultural Analysis Center)

**Codeni:** Acronym in Spanish for Federación Coordinadora Nicaragüense de Organizaciones no Gubernamentales que trabajan con la Niñez y la Adolescencia (Nicaraguan Coordinating Federation of NGOs that Work with Children and Adolescents)

**ECLAC:** Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

**Endesa:** Acronym in Spanish for Encuesta Nicaragüense de Demografía y Salud (Nicaraguan Demography and Health Survey)

**GEM:** Gender Equitable Men Scale

**HIV and AIDS:** Human immunodeficiency virus infection and acquired immune deficiency syndrome

**ICRW:** International Center for Research on Women

**IDRC:** International Development Research Centre

**Images:** International Men and Gender Equality Survey

**IML:** Acronym in Spanish for Instituto de Medicina Legal (Institute of Forensic Medicine)

**MenEngage:** Global alliance of NGOs and UN agencies working together with men and boys to promote gender equality

**PAHO:** Pan American Health Organization

**STI:** Sexually transmitted infections

**UCA:** Acronym in Spanish for Universidad Centroamericana (Central American University)

**WHO:** World Health Organization

# I.    INTRODUCTION

This publication presents results of the Study on masculinities and violences carried out in Nicaragua within the framework of the bi-national research project Promoting forms of non-violent masculine identities in Nicaragua and El Salvador. It addresses men's practices and attitudes in their relationships with women and with other men, including different forms of male violence inside and outside the home. It also analyzes personal, family and community variables for understanding the construction of masculinity and violence exercised by men.

The study provides up-to-date and relevant information for the design of community and multi-sector interventions, communications and awareness campaigns, as well as for public policies and programs. It offers input to civil society organizations, the academic community, state institutions, and other sectors, for guiding their interventions with men, with the aim of contributing to the prevention of violence and its multiple manifestations.

In El Salvador, a similar study has been carried out as part of the same project. This research is the product of an inter-institutional alliance: Puntos de Encuentro (Nicaragua), Centro Bartolomé de las Casas (El Salvador) and Promundo (Brazil), organizations with a track record in the promotion of equitable and non-violent relations.

In both countries, consultative committees were set up composed of gender and masculinities experts, researchers from civil society organizations and academic institutes. The Sociocultural Analysis Centre (CASC) of the Central American University (UCA) led the organization and implementation for the fieldwork and information processing as of November 2016. The study is financed by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC).

Nicaragua's population is estimated at 6,327,927 inhabitants, 51% being women and around 40% minors (Inide, 2015). 16% of the population is illiterate and 64% of households are headed by men (Fideg, 2015). The study was conducted in the department of Managua, where a quarter of the national population is concentrated.

The report begins with the conceptual and methodological framework and a brief socio-demographic characterization of the survey sample (n=1,063). It continues with a chapter containing data and main findings of the study, in relation to both the description of the variables and dynamics of current and past life experience of the men surveyed, as well as the bi- and multivariate analyses that contribute to understanding the data. The report ends with a section of conclusions emphasizing the links between personal, interpersonal and social environment factors and different expressions of male violence within families and communities.

## II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: MASCULINITIES AND VIOLENCES

Gender refers to a set of widely shared expectations and norms within a society regarding appropriate male and female roles, responsibilities and behaviors, and the ways in which women and men interact with each other (Gupta, 2000). Therefore, gender encompasses masculinities and femininities, power relations between women and men, and structural contexts that reinforce and create these power relations.

The present study is framed by this relational and structural understanding of gender, and by the field of "masculinities", which seeks to understand how men are socialized, how roles are socially constructed (in constant interaction with women's roles); and how these roles and power dynamics change throughout the life cycle and in different social contexts (Connell, 1995).

Hegemonic masculinity is defined as a set of characteristics, values and behaviors that a society imposes as the way a man "must be". There is a standardized, accepted, reproduced and legitimized way that defines how men should feel, think and behave, which is manifested through physical force, domination and violent conflict resolution. This is how this model of being a man dictates the norms of what is allowed and what is forbidden.

Men are involved at the base of most situations of violence, as a product of hegemonic masculinity construction processes (characteristics, values and behavior socially imposed as the "must be"), as well as of factors related to social context (poverty, countries in conflict, among other aspects). Young people continue to occupy marginal spaces in the decisions that concern them, facing violations of their rights and living at risk of being both victims and perpetrators of violent situations. Young and adult men exercise violence in their families, affective relations and public and/or community spaces, as well as using rhetoric that legitimizes such violence.

Violence acts as a mechanism of control and power and sometimes functions as compensation for the disempowerment and devaluation experienced by men who hold hegemonic masculinity as their reference. Others have learned to give new meaning to their masculinity through 'positive deviations' in response to this model. That is, they do not exercise violence within their intimate partner, parental and social relationships, not even in environments that are shared with others who do.

Although invisible in discourses, in research perspectives, little is known about the mechanisms that make them this distancing from normative gender mechanisms possible.

The number of studies on male violence has increased over the last two decades, but few address the experiences of men who display non-violent lifestyles despite living in violent contexts. The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (Images), developed by Promundo and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), has identified factors that influence distancing from sexist[1] norms: having had equitable parents, proximity to men who resist violence and the presence of supportive peers.

The *Nadando contra corriente*[2] study, carried out in Nicaragua by Puntos de Encuentro (Montoya, 1998), characterizes these men highlighting qualities such as having a tendency to prioritize their family life ("family man"), showing openness to self-reflection and an awareness of ethics in life, able to accept criticism from their partners, and tolerant of conflict, but not of violence.

Other studies address the interconnections between different expressions of violence and similar causal factors: sexist social norms, social acceptance of the use of violence, highly conflictive family relations, lack of social support, having been victims or witnesses of violence during childhood, association with delinquent peers, low educational levels, lack of social skills for non-violent conflict resolution, and substance abuse, among others. Social norms around masculinity and femininity, along with this diversity of factors, appear to be common risk elements for violence within the home and the community (Wilkins, Tsao, Davis & Klevens, 2014).

Images repeatedly indicates the urgent need to prevent men's violence by paying attention to what happens with boys – in light of physical punishment and humiliation being seen as legitimate forms of education -- and to the connection between violence against women and violence against children.

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1    In Nicaragua the term "machista" is used rather than "sexista" to describe sexist men, attitudes, behavior and norms.

2    In English: Swimming against the current

## III.  MASCULINITIES AND VIOLENCES SURVEY

This research, based on the Images study, is pertinent and timely in the Central American context, where social, community and intrafamily violence levels are critical; and where social confrontation and authoritarianism have characterized socio-cultural dynamics in recent history.

The absence of regional studies that delve into the socio-cultural mental constructs that generate, justify and reproduce violence is notorious. The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) reports that between 22 and 30% of young people in Nicaragua perceive that they are living situations of violence in their schools, families, neighborhoods and between gangs (ECLAC, 2014). However, there is a lack of up-to-date, household survey-based data; data that would allow for measuring social changes, laying the foundations of policies and programs, and underpinning the content of communication and awareness campaigns.

The analysis of urban violence does not necessarily address how masculinities and gender socialization condition men to be prone to organized crime. Likewise, there is little information and analysis on intersections between different forms of violence within households and communities.

This document contains results of the Images-based survey conducted in Nicaragua, as part of a multi-method and bi-national research project3 that addresses masculinities and violence against women, youth violence and child abuse, from a gender, human rights and positive deviance approach.

Supported by new legal frameworks for the protection of children, adolescents, young people and women, public institutions and social organizations in the region are undertaking arduous efforts to prevent diverse forms of violence. However, few interventions seek to branch out from their thematic silos and the target populations they focus on, missing opportunities to build bridges, exchange lessons learned and collaborate on joint actions.

This investigative process has been designed as a contribution to the development of community-based and multi-sector interventions and public policies and programs. With a quantitative-qualitative approach, its specific objective is to investigate risk factors and protective factors associated with violence within both families and communities; to make evident the diversity of men's practices

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3        Research project Promoting forms of non-violent masculine identities in Nicaragua and El Salvador, financed by IDRC.

and attitudes in relation to gender equity and violence; and to contribute to the collaboration between social movements and other sectors in favor of a common agenda for violence prevention.

The questions that guided the entire process were:

1. How common are domestic violence against women and children and community-based youth violence?

2. How often are the same individuals involved in multiple forms of violence?

3. What are the risk and protective factors, both individual and shared, for intimate partner violence, violence against children within the home, and participation in gang violence or community violence?

4. What factors contribute to developing non-violent and more equitable masculinities and practices?

5. How can the understanding of risk and protective factors common to intimate partner violence, violence against children within the home and participation in gangs or community violence – especially those related to gender and masculinities – contribute to greater multi-actor collaboration?

The quantitative study object of this report addresses men's practices and attitudes in their relationships with women and with other men, including different forms of male violence within and outside the home. It also analyzes personal, family and community variables for understanding the construction of masculinities and violence against different individuals.

In addition, it adopts and adapts the instrument used in the Images study and implemented in different contexts worldwide. Based on technical and budgetary criteria, unlike in Images, the present survey was conducted only among men, because of the limited sample size of women and its implications for analysis.

# IV. METHODOLOGY

In November 2016, 1,063 adult men - 18 years or older - from 40 neighborhoods of three municipalities in the department of Managua were interviewed. The sample was selected using a sample design stratified by municipality, proportional to population size: Managua (84%), Tipitapa (9%) and Ciudad Sandino (7%). The sample design has three stages: first, a random selection of census segments using the 2005 census cartography (see Annex I); second, a random selection of households; and third, random selection of the interviewee, in cases where several men were eligible.

The survey content was adapted to the context and the survey questionnaire and interview selection procedures were validated in a pilot study that was carried out with 20 interviewees in two neighborhoods of Managua (3-80 and Edgard Munguía).

| Table 4.1 • Data from the "Masculinities and violences in Nicaragua" Survey | |
|---|---|
| **Household level** | Total |
| Selected households | 1246 |
| Inhabited households | 1229 |
| Interviewed households | 1063 |
| **Individual level** | |
| Eligible men | 1229 |
| Number of interviewed men | 1063 |
| Response rate of eligible men | 86 % |
| **Valid sample** | **1063** |

The information was collected through face-to-face interviews, using printed questionnaires filled out by the survey team. Ten women and five men conducted the interviews, organized in five teams of three interviewers led by a supervisor. Women conducted 66% of the surveys.

## Ethical and legal considerations

The study was conducted in accordance with the principles of the Central American University's Code of Ethics for Research, which requires adopting mechanisms for responsible academic management of scientific production. Design, instruments and data collection adhere to the guidelines of the Code established by Law 787, Law on Personal Data Protection, the governing legislation for information collection processes. Likewise, other methodological aspects and data processing were designed according to Articles 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 of the above-mentioned law; and evaluated under the category of Sensitive Personal Data (Art. 8).

In addition, interviewees were provided with a list of organizations and institutions offering psychological care and legal advice; and territorial coordination was prepared in case they sought support.

The fieldwork teams participated in a training and induction workshop, which emphasized the principles of participants' voluntariness, anonymity, confidentiality and protection. During fieldwork they received instructions on the purposes of the study and the possibility of pausing or cancelling the interview at any time, the signing of informed consent, CASC contact information, and information on local services.

Due to the characteristics of the study and the Nicaraguan context, the following security measures were taken to avoid dispersion of the teams, which consisted of four interviewers and one supervisor: selection of another interviewee if the interview was judged to be hostile or risky, based on the supervisor's evaluation; normal working hours to avoid working at night; and constant and immediate availability of transport for long-distance travel between census zones or in the event of a risky situation.

## Analysis methods

This report contains the results of a cross-sectional quantitative investigation, principally descriptive of the men interviewed, their personal and family backgrounds, gender attitudes and manifestations of interpersonal violence. It also presents analyses aimed at understanding key variables such as gender attitudes, exercise of violence in family and public spheres, and participation in childrearing and domestic tasks.

Data collected in the survey were entered by two people using CSpro. For statistical processing and analysis, the Stata program was used. Association analysis with

various socio-cultural factors and regression analysis[4] of ordinary least squares and logistic regression were carried out to explore the joint association of socio-demographic factors, personal history, gender attitudes and other intimate, family and social factors with each of these key variables.

The results presented in the report's tables were calculated using the complete sample of respondents, unless otherwise indicated. Where associations are reported (for example: age, educational level, etc.), it can be assumed that the relationships are significant at the $p < .05$ level.

## Construction of composite variables

The analysis of key variables, mainly related to experiences, attitudes and behavior of men in different spaces, required the construction of some composite variables and scales, including a Gender Attitudes Scale, variables composed of violence against the intimate partner, violence against sons and daughters, participation in domestic tasks, and violence against different individuals (see detail in Annex II).

# V.   CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEWEES

The interviewed men are between 18 and 96 years old, with an average age of 38. Two out of five are young people between 18 and 29 years old and a third are over 50. The majority (nine out of 10) of these men have had at least one relationship in their lives, and seven out of 10 are currently in a relationship. Half of the men interviewed are single; one third married; and the rest are in self-declared consensual union.

Little more than half of the men interviewed finished high school or higher education. One in 10 does not have any formal education, a ratio that doubles among men over 50.

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4        The regression analysis describes the relationship between one or more predictor variables and the response variable.

**Table 5.1 • Socio-demographic characteristics of interviewees**

| Age | % | n |
|---|---|---|
| 18-29 | 42 | 444 |
| 30-39 | 18 | 196 |
| 40-49 | 13 | 135 |
| 50-59 | 13 | 142 |
| Mayor de 60 | 14 | 146 |
| **Civil Status** | | |
| Married | 34 | 356 |
| Single | 50 | 530 |
| Consensual union | 16 | 172 |
| **Currently has a partner** | 70 | 652 |
| **Has had a partner at some time** | 88 | 937 |
| **Educational level** | | |
| No schooling | 11 | 121 |
| Primary | 36 | 384 |
| Secondary | 37 | 395 |
| University | 13 | 135 |
| Technical degree | 2 | 25 |
| **Currently employed** | 57 | 608 |
| **Feels stressed or depressed when unemployed or earning insufficient income** | 71 | 730 |

## Employment situation

Just over half declare having a job (six out of every 10 men interviewed) and the vast majority report working in the services and commerce sector. Seven out of every 10 men from the entire sample report having felt stressed or depressed when unemployed or earning insufficient income.

## Participation in organizations

Regarding the interviewees organizational life, it was revealed that only one in five reported participating in any group of a religious, political or social nature. Among these, a significant proportion indicates belonging to religious and/or political organizations (approximately 40% each).

| Table 5.2 • Participation in organizations | | |
|---|---|---|
| Distribution according to membership | | |
| | Men | |
| | % | n |
| **Belongs to an organization** | | |
| No | 80 | 838 |
| Yes | 20 | 194 |
| Community-based | 11 | 21 |
| Social | 9 | 18 |
| Political | 40 | 77 |
| Religious | 40 | 78 |

## Religion

Three out of four men express having a religion: mainly Catholic, followed by Evangelical. Three out of five interviewees show some level of influence of religious organizations on their decisions, while the rest say there is no influence.

| Table 5.3 • Distribution according to religion and influence on decision-making of interviewees | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Religion** | % | n |
| Catolic | 38 | 401 |
| Evangelic | 32 | 335 |
| Other | 5 | 52 |
| None | 25 | 257 |

| Influence of religious organizations on your decisions | % | n |
|---|---|---|
| A lot | 31 | 328 |
| Little | 30 | 314 |
| No influence | 39 | 412 |

## Alcohol and drug use

In reference to the past year, one third of interviewees reported not having consumed alcohol until drunkenness, and one fourth said they had not consumed five or more drinks on a single occasion. On the other hand, more than a third of the interviewees reported drunkenness at least once a month over the last year, while almost half stated having consumed five or more drinks on a single occasion. Half of the sample state not using drugs; however, more than 40% says they do so with some frequency. It should be noted that the survey did not go into detail on the type of drug referred to by the interviewee.

| Table 5.4 • Consumption of drugs and alcohol | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men (%) | | | | |
| | No con-sumption | A few times a year | At least once a month | Once/ twice a week | (Almost) every day |
| Over the last 12 months, how often did you consume five or more alcoholic beverages on a single occasion | 27 | 25 | 32 | 14 | 2 |
| Over the last 12 months, how often did you consume so much alcohol that you were drunk | 37 | 24 | 31 | 7 | 1 |
| Over the last 12 months, how often did you consume drugs | 50 | 5 | 41 | 2 | 2 |
| | | | | % | n |
| Over the last 12 months, have you been hurt or have you hurt someone while under influence of alcohol/drugs | | | | 9 | 61 |

Inquiries were made regarding participation in war (which occurred in the 80s) as a relevant fact in terms of experiencing situations of violence. One in five men reported having been directly involved as a combatant (22%). Out of these, the majority (81%) said they participated as a volunteer. Also, the majority (72%) of those who participated in war consider that this experience has given them positive strength to live life. No further detail was requested on their assessment (positive or negative) of this experience or about post-war psychosocial care.

## VI.  RESULTS

### 6.1  Education and environment during childhood and adolescence

Experiences in early stages of life, reference people and groups during childhood and adolescence, and the social community environment are key influences in the conformation of value and attitudes systems, in the context of social norms that regulate masculinities and gender relations.

Several studies conducted around the world have shown probable links between violence during adolescence and childhood, social norms related to masculinity, and violent behavior of young men and adults (Connell, 2000). Violence in intimate relationships (of men against women) is associated with past experiences of violence during childhood. It also appears that women who experience intimate partner violence may treat their children harshly as a way to protect them from their father's violence (Fulu, McCook & Falb, 2017); a sample of the intersectionality of violences within families.

The masculinities study includes inquiries on the interviewees' family and social environment during their childhood and adolescence, particularly regarding relationships in their homes, characterization of peers, and experiences of violence as witnesses or victims, as relevant influences in that stage of their lives. Furthermore, inquiries were made regarding other important referents in their environment, especially for analyzing possible links between social support and positive influence (or not) in the home and in the community.

## Referents in the family and social environment

More than half of respondents reported that women took care of them for the most part during childhood: mother (43%), grandmother (11%) or stepmother or another relative (3%). One third mentions shared care by father and mother, while 8% reports having been under the care of men, either principally or exclusively.

Three out of four men indicate that those who took care of them had a primary or lower level of educational. Schooling of the women who acted as caregivers is notably lower than that reported in the case of male caregivers.

| Table 6.1.1 • Educational level of caregivers according to sex | | |
|---|---|---|
| **What is the last grade approved by the person who took care of you** | Women | Men |
| | % | % |
| No schooling | 34 | 21 |
| Primary | 42 | 44 |
| Secondary | 16 | 23 |
| Technical | 7 | 10 |
| University | 1 | 3 |

Almost all men interviewed reported having good relations with their relatives during childhood and adolescence; although one in four also stated that they had aggressive arguments with their fathers, mothers or guardians.

### Table 6.1.2 • Family relations and friendships

| Before age 18, how often did the following happen (percentage of men who say they agree or strongly agree with the following statements): | |
|---|---|
| **Family** | **%** |
| Good relations with caregivers | 94 |
| Aggressive arguments with parents (or guardians) | 26 |
| **Friendships** | **%** |
| Close friends involved in activities like sports, culture, community support | 86 |
| Close friends involved in fights, robberies, assaults or drug use | 26 |

Regarding friendships in childhood and adolescence, the vast majority reported that they were engaged in activities that hold positive social value; while one in four also mentioned friendship with people involved in activities such as robbery, fights, and drug use, among others.

## Personal experiences of violence during childhood

The patriarchal norms and structures in which family relations develop can condition the type of relationships and behavior within both the family and other socialization spaces. Having been a witness to or a victim of violence during childhood may be linked to greater vulnerability to situations of violence during adulthood, either as victims or as perpetrators.

The study reports that one in four men expresses having witnessed situations of partner violence against their mother, exercised primarily by their own father (21%)[5]. Almost half reported having suffered at least one expression of violence against them in the private sphere; almost a third report humiliations and insults; another third mention physical violence; and 13% think that there was negligence in their caretaking, due to consumption of alcohol or drugs by their father and/or mother.

Almost 5% report having witnessed sexual violence (see Table 6.1.3 in Annex III). Half of the sample has been a witness to or a direct victim of violence; and 15% report having lived both experiences (witness and victim).

These data show contradictions with the positive assessment of family relations by almost the entire sample, which could indicate views that normalize violent behaviors and relations within families. The following figure summarizes the results of the inquiry on violent experiences during childhood and adolescence.

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5    Data from Endesa 2011/2012 indicate that on a national level 24% of urban men between 15-59 years old state having seen their fathers physically abuse their mothers when they were children (this percentages rises to 26% in the Department of Managua).

## Figure 6.1.1 • Percentage of men that report having lived violence during childhood and adolescence

Witness to or victim of violence within the family

Witness of physical violence against their mother (by..)

Victim of emotional violence within the family

Victim of physical violence within the family

Victim of sexual violence

Victim of father/mother's negligence due to drug or alcohol use

Experienced any of the previous forms of violence

Experienced physical or emotional violence in the school/community

Experienced violence both within and outside the home

16
25
30
29
5
12
45
41
25

Approximately one quarter of those interviewed reported having suffered physical punishment at school and a similar proportion, teasing at school or in the neighborhood. In total, two out of five report having experienced violence, both at school and in the neighborhood.

As a whole, these data show that the interviewees grew up in adverse family and community contexts. Three out of every five individuals in the sample (60%) experienced violence, within or outside the home; one in six grew up in homes where both they and their mother experienced violence; and one in four suffered violence both at home as well as in those other spaces (school, neighborhood, community).

Studies conducted in other contexts identify similar patterns that stem from witnessing partner violence against their mothers, for example. Among these are stress or trauma for having witnessed violence against someone in the family; adoption of abusive behavior and loss of respect for the mother; protection of the abused person, risking greater violence (for those who try to protect this person); displacement of aggression using girls and boys as objects of their vengeance; or in women, inflicting abuse on themselves or their children (Raising Voices, 2017). A study conducted in Brazil also showed the connection between urban public violence and intrafamily violence (Taylor, et al., 2016).

## 6.2 Participation in domestic tasks

The distribution of domestic work and care is one of the main challenges to building equitable gender relations within families, where we find much of the resistance most sensitive to changes, particularly in caregiving. Information was collected on the participation of men in domestic tasks, both of those men who were male referents for the interviewed men during their childhood and adolescence, as well as of themselves and in their current life as adults.

### Participation in domestic tasks during childhood and adolescence

One third of the interviewees reported that their father or adult male referent always or frequently participated in tasks related to cooking, cleaning or helping them with their homework. However, they remember that these referents participated less frequently in taking care of children and ill and/or elderly people, as well as in doing laundry.

In reference to their own participation during adolescence (13 to 18 years old), more than half said they had participated mainly in activities such as cleaning the house and doing the laundry. In comparison with their male referents at an early age (their father or another man in the family), they report more frequent participation with significant differences regarding the mentioned tasks and preparation of food. However, for both themselves and their referents, the activity showing least participation is taking care of other people (see detail in Table 6.2.1 in Annex III).

**Figure 6.2.1 • Percentage of participation in domestic tasks (of male referents and of the interviewee during their childhood and adolescence)**
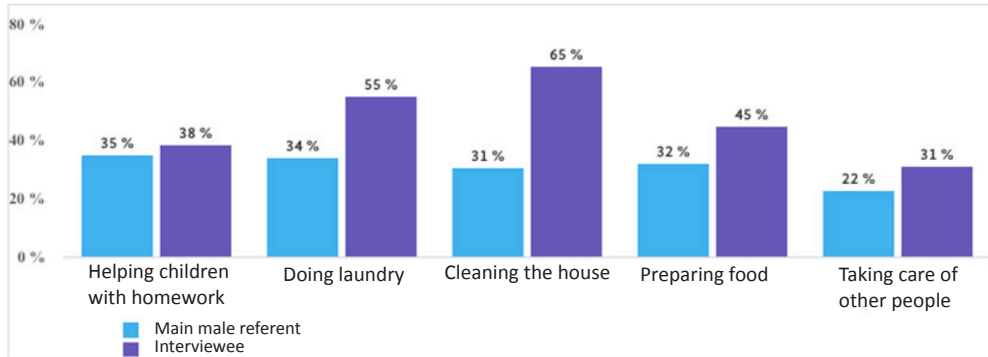


**Participation in domestic tasks in adult life**

Currently, two thirds of interviewed men report participating in at least one of the following domestic tasks: doing laundry, cleaning the house, preparing food, cleaning the bathroom. However, the most frequently mentioned area of involvement (seven out of 10 men) is managing the household budget, showing a notable difference compared to other tasks. Little more than half report cleaning the house, helping children with homework or preparing food; while fewer than half report taking care of other people (children and ill and/or elderly people), doing laundry, or even fewer, cleaning the bathroom.

81% of these men participated in domestic activities between the ages of 13 to 18; while only 40% reported that they had a male referent that participated in any of these tasks.

No association is shown between participation of male referents during childhood and current participation of interviewees, but association has been identified with having participated in adolescence in at least one domestic task: increasing the probability of current participation by eight percentage points (p < .05). A significant association was also found with the Gender Attitudes Scale developed for this research (see next section).

After constructing a simple scale of participation in four of the key tasks (doing laundry, cleaning the house, preparing food, cleaning the bathroom) a regression analysis was carried out (see table 6.2.2). The association with participation in household tasks in the past was corroborated and a significant association was found with the Gender Attitudes Scale constructed for this research (see next section).

Factors were revealed relating to current participation in domestic tasks, such as interviewees' employment and education levels: those who are employed contribute less to household chores; and those who have primary or secondary education participate more than those without formal education. These associations persist even when the analysis model is adjusted for other variables on interviewees' personal history and attitudes.

It should be noted that the involvement of men in the distribution of tasks is more linked to budget administration, and thus to economic power within the household. Also, having work – and therefore being able to situate oneself as a provider (sole or not) within the household – is associated with distancing from domestic responsibilities, in particular taking care of other people.

The influence of educational levels is not linear; there is more participation among those with primary and secondary education, but not among those with university level education. This could be linked to other elements, such as being able to pay for domestic services.

## 6.3 Gender attitudes

The survey in Nicaragua included 20 items on attitudes, taken in part from the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale. This scale has been adapted and applied in diverse contexts globally to study attitudes regarding gender dynamics and roles (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). In the case of the present survey, the items are affirmations related to gender roles, attitudes towards the partner and towards sexuality, gender violence, gender equality, female participation in politics, and notions on masculinity or forms of being a man (see tables 6.3.1 and 6.3.3). These attitudes were explored by asking the interviewees to indicate their level of agreement with each item.

| Table 6.3.1 • Attitudes towards women and gender relations | |
|---|---|
| Percentage of men that state (strong) agreement with the following statements: | % |
| Changing diapers, bathing and feeding children are all the mother's responsibility | 10 |
| It is natural for a man to be the head of family | 52 |
| When there are boys and girls, only the girls should help with domestic tasks | 11 |
| Sometimes a woman deserves to be beaten | 4 |
| Intimate partner violence is a private matter and others should stay out of it | 54 |
| When a women is raped, she generally did something to provoke it | 23 |
| To be a man, one needs to be tough | 16 |
| If another man in my neighborhood offends me, I will defend my reputation by force if necessary | 42 |
| A man that cannot have children is not a real man | 7 |
| +Men need to have knives or blades to defend themselves | 10 |
| +Men need to have firearms to defend themselves | 13 |
| Women who have a partner should not have friendships with other men | 19 |
| Women like it when a man harasses them | 29 |
| Even if a man is happy with his partner, he needs to be with other women | 14 |
| It is important that women stay virgin until marriage | 37 |
| A woman that has had many partners is an "easy" woman | 33 |

*+ Not included in the GEM scale*

Although in general the majority of the interviewees disagree with unfair social norms, it is necessary to highlight those statements on which positions are clearly divided: the headship of men within the household and intimate partner violence as a private matter that others "should stay out of". Practically half are in favor and the other half against. Male reputation as an asset to be defended, even with use of force, also reflects a certain level of acceptance (4 out of 10 men).

One third of the interviewees agree with norms that regulate women's sexual life: being virgin until marriage (37%) and number of partners as an indicator of being an "easy woman" (33%). Also remarkable is that one in four men validates women having a level of responsibility in the occurrence of rape and sexual harassment (23 and 29% respectively). It was found that the acceptance of these statements is prevalent among older men with less education (31% of men without education think that rape is the woman's responsibility).

## Gender Attitudes Scale

With the help of a Principal Component Analysis (PCA)[6], a Gender Attitudes Scale similar to the GEM was defined, composed of 14 of the 16 items listed in the previous table, and with a scale of 0 to 3 (higher scores showing more egalitarian attitudes). This scale represents a summarized form of respondents' attitudes, and was used to conduct the association analyses presented below (see Table 6.3.2).

On average, the interviewees recorded a value of 1.846 on the gender scale, with minor differences (less than 0.02) regarding being in a relationship, having a job or being married at the time of the interview. More considerable differences in gender attitudes are revealed by age and educational level, with more egalitarian attitudes among young men (especially compared with men over the age of 50) and men with a higher educational level. Differences are also reflected according to civil status, with men in "consensual union" showing less empathic attitudes towards gender equity, than those who are married or single[7].

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6        Multivariate statistical technique of information synthesis or reduction of the number of variables.

7        This association has been found in almost every country where Images and / or the GEM scale have been used.

| Table 6.3.2 • Gender Attitudes Scale according to socio-demographic characteristics (Mean and Standard Deviation) | | |
|---|---|---|
| | **Media** | **DE** |
| **Age** | | |
|   18-24 | 1.9093 | 0.3299 |
|   25-34 | 1.8828 | 0.3149 |
|   35-49 | 1.8548 | 0.3228 |
|   **50+** | **1.8101** | **0.3525** |
| **Educational level** | | |
|   Illiterate | 1.7521 | 0.3648 |
|   Primary | 1.817 | 0.3185 |
|   **Secondary** | **1.9125** | **0.3464** |
|   **University** | **1.9514** | **0.2715** |
|   **Technical** | **1.8973** | **0.2544** |
| **Civil status** | | |
|   **Married** | **1.8707** | **0.3382** |
|   **Single** | **1.8781** | **0.3227** |
|   Consensual union | 1.8055 | 0.3532 |
| **Married** | | |
|   No | 1.8603 | 0.3317 |
|   Yes | 1.8707 | 0.3382 |
| **In relationship** | | |
|   No | 1.8416 | 0.3496 |
|   Yes | 1.8641 | 0.3241 |
| **Employed** | | |
|   No | 1.868 | 0.3399 |
|   Yes | 1.8615 | 0.329 |
| **Total sample marker** | **1.846** | **.3332** |

*Categories in bold differ significantly from the 5% confidence level.*

These associations are confirmed through multivariate analyses in which joint associations of demographic variables, social norms, and the contextual setting in which they were raised were explored and contrasted with interviewees' attitudes (see Table 6.3.3 in Annex III). To corroborate what has previously been mentioned, the multivariate model reveals that, even controlling for other demographic variables, those men who finished their secondary or university degrees tend to have more egalitarian attitudes. There is also an association of attitudes in favor of equity when the person in charge of their care during childhood had higher education levels and when they had participated in domestic tasks during adolescence.

However, the variable that shows a higher level of influence is the perception of social norms among the interviewees' relatives. Men who perceive egalitarian attitudes among their relatives reveal themselves to be more inclined towards equity (67% higher probability compared to those who perceive non-egalitarian norms within their families).

### Attitudes regarding political participation of women and gender equity

In theory, the Nicaraguan legal framework establishes equality of conditions for men and women in public life. Law No. 648: Equal Rights and Opportunity Law (February 2008) is based on equity, justice, non-discrimination and non-violence, respect for the dignity and life of people. In practice, women access public life in spaces characterized by limits on their decision-making power and where their leadership is questioned or disparaged.

The study inquired about where men stand on ideas that challenge equality in women's participation in the public sphere. Almost 30% agree that women are too emotional for leadership and 17% think women cannot fulfill both political and domestic needs adequately and simultaneously. Those who express agreement with these statements tend to have a lower educational level (16% university degree vs. 33% without formal education; p=0.01) and being single (33% compared to 24.5% married, p=0.02).

| Table 6.3.4 • Percentage of men that declare (strong) agreement with certain attitudes towards gender equity and public participation of women. | |
|---|---|
| **Attitudes towards political participation of women** | **%** |
| Women are too sentimental to be leaders | 29 |
| Women that participate in politics or hold leadership positions cannot be good wives or mothers | 17 |
| **Attitudes towards gender equity** | |
| Feminism has not helped women to have more rights | 30 |
| Equal rights for women mean loss of rights for men | 19 |

On the other hand, a third of interviewees believe that feminism has not helped to improve women's rights and one in five considers that equality of rights implies loss of rights for men.

### Attitudes regarding homosexuality

The National Strategic Plan for STIs, HIV and AIDS and Law 820: Law for the Promotion, Protection and Defense of Human Rights for HIV/AIDS and for its Prevention and Care recognize the importance of working with LGBT[8] people on this public health issue. They also include anti-stigma and anti-discrimination measures focused on people living with HIV and AIDS, but do not necessarily promote respect for sexual diversity.

Currently, the Nicaraguan penal system no longer condemns non-heterosexual practices among people of legal age. However, the educational system, religion and other systems that regulate daily life are based on heterosexuality as a norm. Also, hegemonic masculinity is based on the differentiation and distancing of the feminine as an opposite.

In this study, interviewees' positions on homosexuality were explored, given its relevance in the construction of masculine subjectivity. Normative systems foster fear, risky behaviors, low self-esteem, stigma and discrimination in relation to sexual diversity; they determine how law enforcement operates in practice and foster homophobia and violence against people that elect a sexual option other than heterosexuality.

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8        Acronym of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transsexual.

Figure 6.3.1 shows data related to attitudes toward homosexuality. Two thirds of respondents disagreed that they would be ashamed of a homosexual son and three out of four, that they would feel uncomfortable close to a homosexual. However, half of them are against homosexual men working with children or having access to adoption or equal marriage. Although there seems to be some openness, at the same time homosexuals are not considered equal in rights.

### Figure 6.3.1 • Percentile distribution of interviewees' attitudes towards homosexuality (agree or strongly agree)
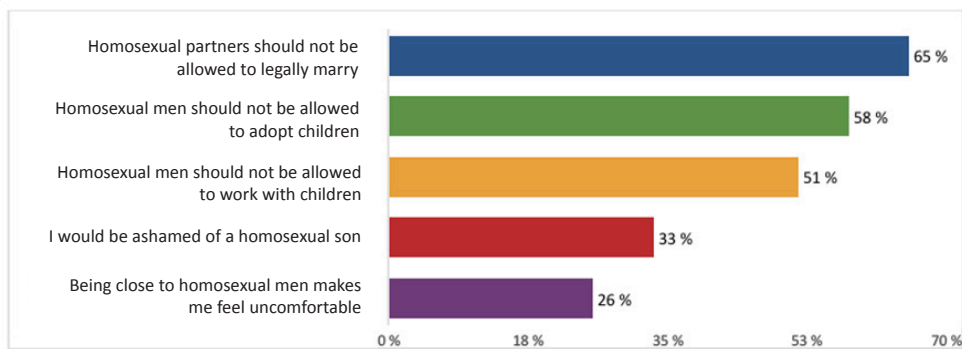


The contradictions on this issue are highlighted by the fact that a good share of the interviewed men expressed that being close to homosexual men does not make them feel uncomfortable, while at the same time being against allowing them to legally marry.

## Opinions on Law 779

Nicaragua is a signatory to several international instruments that promote women's right to a life free of violence, and that recognize the importance of involving men in the prevention of violence against women. The country has policies and programs created to raise awareness of violence against women and to guarantee their right to a life free of violence. Among these instruments, Law 779 and its regulations stand out, referring to a prevention strategy that promotes relations between men and women based on family values, equity, non-discrimination, equality and respect for human rights.[9]

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9        The family focus on which these instruments are based limits the understanding of violence as a systemic problem and promotes mediation between parties, ignoring unequal power relations within the family. Also, it does not recognize either the need for social change or connections to social-community aspects.

The present study inquired about how men perceive the legal framework on gender violence, and particularly, their visions regarding the effects of Law 779: Comprehensive Law against Violence towards Women.

The results of this study reflect a certain level of acceptance regarding this legal instrument (see Table 6.3.5 in Annex III). Little more than half of the men (56%) said they agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that Law 779 has contributed to a decrease in violence against women, although half believe that it has harmed men[10].

These positions are not mutually exclusive: one third of the interviewees agree with both statements and the fact that these represent more than half of the respondents with positive opinions on this law, is relevant to the promotion and application of a legal instrument designed to provide secure conditions for women, while it is perceived as acting to the detriment of men.

Just like in the present survey, a national study on women's rights conducted by Puntos de Encuentro (Puntos de Encuentro, 2014), revealed that nine out of 10 men had heard about the law; 57% said they agreed with it, 18% partially agreed and 9% disagreed.

## 6.4 Social norms and the social-community sphere

Social norms serve as frames of reference for guiding people's behavior in different spheres of daily interaction. Social norms are composed of diverse elements, including beliefs about what is traditional (that is, what other people do, the prevalence of a practice in a reference group) and beliefs about what is appropriate (that is, shared expectations in a reference group on how one should act) (Heise & Manji, 2016). In general, social norms are not written; they are social creations, invisible, informal and they differ according to the reference groups that are relevant to groups of people.

This research questioned men regarding their perceptions of what happens in their environment, what their referents think (particularly relatives and close friends), as well as their own positions on some issues key to the construction of masculinities: family headship, violence against intimate partners, violence against children, and homosexuality.

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10       52% of women consider that Law 779 helps women who experience violence, and 55% think that it protects women's rights, according to a recent study in Nicaragua (Ellsberg, Quintanilla, Molina & Zelaya, 2017).

## Violence in their environments (neighborhoods/communities)

Three of every five interviewees mention living in neighborhoods or communities where expressions of physical violence within the family are common. One in four refers to intimate partner violence and the majority (six out of 10) perceives that generational violence against children is common.

**Figure 6.4.1 • Perception of violence within the community (towards children, adolescents and women)**
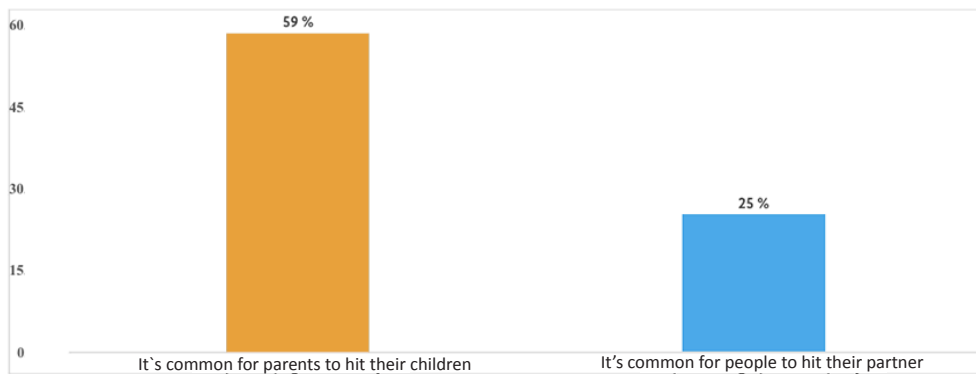


## Social norms: family and friends

In order to obtain elements necessary for analyzing the interviewees' social environment, investigators explored the men's perception of where their relatives and friends stood with respect to issues relevant to the construction of masculinity and violences: the role of men within the family, intrafamily violence, and homosexuality.

Most consider that their friends think that men should be the head of the family and that their relatives hold the same position. Seven and six out of 10 men, respectively, took this position.

**Figure 6.4.2 • Percentage of interviewees that (strongly) agree with the following questions regarding social norms**
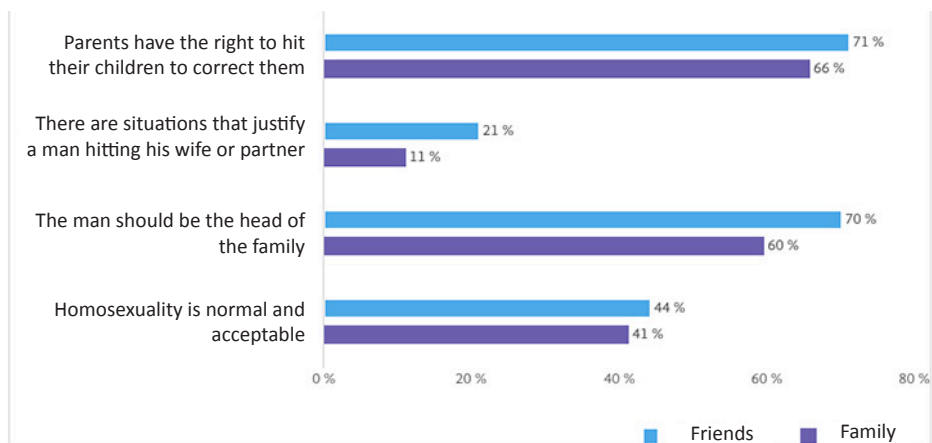


Regarding violence against women in intimate relations, one in five men indicates that their friends justify this type of violence; while one in nine thinks the same with regard to their relatives.

In general, these men perceive their referents to be less tolerant towards intimate partner violence than towards violence against children. Most of the interviewees also perceive that their relatives and friends approve of physically punishing children for educational purposes. On the other hand, men perceive less tolerance of intimate partner violence among family members than among their friends.

In summary, regarding norms related to violence within the family:

- More than half of the men interviewed perceive that violence against children is common in their community and a similar proportion consider that their friends or family support this violence, for educational purposes, as a right.

- One out of four interviewees considers that intimate partner violence is common in their community and a similar proportion considers that their friends believe that this form of violence is justifiable in some circumstances.

Finally, fewer than half of men interviewed consider that there is acceptance of homosexuality among their families and only a few more mention this acceptance among their friends. This probably implies a social questioning of characteristics and behaviors that deviate from heterosexuality. Taken together with headship of the

household as part of the obligatory masculine role in their immediate environment, these mark two important elements for the construction of masculinities.

## Personal attitudes and social norms[11]

Attitudes towards gender equity (see corresponding section) seem to be associated with the way in which the interviewees perceive their families and friends to position themselves with respect to the natural headship of men within the household, justification of violence against the partner, the right to physically punish children, and rejection of homosexuality.

Reporting that their families and/or friends accept these non-egalitarian norms is associated with their own positioning on these issues. The Gender Attitudes Scale average is significantly higher (indicating more egalitarian attitudes) among men who perceive egalitarian positions among their close referents, as compared to those who perceive that their referents adopt non-egalitarian positions.

Although this seems evident, it is an important association since it allows for the identification of a significant association between the Gender Attitudes Scale and the exercise of violence (see section on intimate partner violence). Based on this fact, a social environment prone to gender equity is associated with equitable personal positions that can act as a relevant factor in the prevention of violence.

On the other hand, a difference is observed according to whether it is family or friendships that adopt egalitarian attitudes. The family seems to have more influence than friends with regard to social norms on headship, physical punishment, and partner violence.

Interviewees' perception that their family members accept the four norms presented in Figure 6.4.2, is associated with a reduction of 0.46 points on the Gender Attitudes Scale (that is, with less egalitarian attitudes), compared to those who say that their family members reject them all ($p < 0.005$). However, one third (31%) of men indicated that their relatives accept at least three of these four norms.

These findings coincide with other analyses that have highlighted how patriarchal family structures, rigid norms and hierarchies that emphasize controlling "subordinates" within the family, normalize many forms of violence. Violence is seen as an expression of masculinity, a form of discipline, and a way to reinforce gender norms (Raising Voices, 2017).

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11      Norms are collectively shared beliefs about what other people do and what they are expected to do. Attitudes are individual constructions, beliefs that have an evaluative component.

## 6.5 Intimate relationships

The interviewees' families are predominantly nuclear and headed by the men themselves. The majority (7 out of 10) report being in a relationship at the time of the interview and 88% mention having had at least one relationship in their life. Two thirds of the interviewees have children (two on average) and most live with them. One in 10 lives with non-biological children.

In this section we present data on the dynamics that are present in the respondents' current or recent relationships. In addition, the connections between these dynamics and family background are explored, among other aspects.

### Participation in household decision making

Distribution of decision making power within interviewees' childhood households is mostly unequal. Half of the interviewees state that mainly their father was the one who made important economic decisions within the household, including about children's education. Few state that it was their mother who made decisions independently or jointly (see figure below).

**Figure 6.5.1 • Household decision making during childhood**
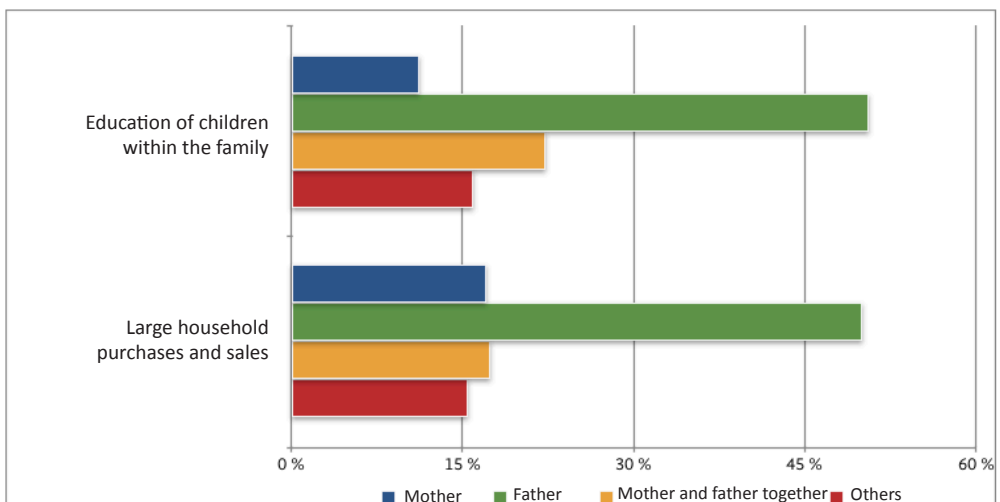
However, the dynamics seem to be different in current households. Nine out of 10 men consider that their female partner participates to a certain extent in decision making. 78% of men say that the woman, or both the woman and the man, decide on the four topics on which enquiries were made. Joint decisions are more frequently indicated in terms of purchase and sales, as well as use of contraceptives.

| Table 6.5.1 • Current household decision-making | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| In your current or most recent relationship, who was the "last word" or "authority" in terms of... | The man (1) | The woman (2) | Both (3) | Woman or both (2+3) |
| Large household purchases or sales | 18% | 22% | 60.10% | 82% |
| The time your partner spends with her family, friends or relatives | 8% | 44% | 48.15% | 92% |
| Decisions on the use of contraceptives | 10% | 31% | 58.79% | 90% |
| Whether the woman can work outside the home | 12% | 39% | 49.56% | 88% |

However, in decisions such as contraceptive use, time spent with friends or relatives, or work outside the home (decisions specifically related to women's autonomy and body), it was found that:

- Only 9% of interviewees express that all these decisions are made exclusively by their partners.

- Only 43% of interviewees affirm that these decisions (at least one) are made exclusively by their female partners.

## Intimate relationships: power, control and violence

The Nicaraguan Family Code recognizes families conformed by a woman and a man as the only form of family, promoting heterosexuality as a norm. The conservative approach to the family establishes roles and inequities with regard to reproductive work, and although it grants power and privileges to men, it can also generate frustration when they cannot fulfill the socially established role of provider, among

other undesirable effects in personal and family life. This establishes part of the normative framework for the construction of masculinities and gender relations.

Power imbalances in relationships can have a significant impact on health and behavior. Violence is one of the most extreme manifestations of power imbalances, used by many men to exercise control over and possession of women. This section of the report presents data on control and violence (physical, sexual, economic, emotional) and its relation to violences experienced by men[12].

When asked about power and control mechanisms in their relationships, 75% agree with at least one of the behaviors measured in this study, related to limitation of women's autonomy in terms of their freedom of movement, the way they dress, their sexuality, and their relationships with other people (see chart below). It should be noted that these behaviors represent other forms of violence against women and that they may or may not be associated with physical or sexual aggression.

| Table 6.5.2 • Controlling behavior: percentage of men that have had a partner and declare (strong) agreement with the following affirmations | |
| --- | --- |
| **Agree or strongly agree:** | **%** |
| Would not let his partner dress in a certain way | 41 |
| Decides when his partner can leave the house | 13 |
| Likes his partner to know that she is not the only partner he could have | 18 |
| When he feels like having sex, he assumes his partner does too | 42 |
| Should always be informed of where his partner is | 66 |
| Is bothered if his partner talks to other men | 22 |
| Suspects his partner of being unfaithful to him | 14 |
| Controls his partner's phone calls and text messages | 9 |
| **Men that use at least one of the above described controlling behaviors** | **75** |

Six out of every 10 interviewees consider that they should always be informed of their partner's whereabouts; four of every 10 agree with controlling the way their partners dress; and four out of 10 assume that their partners want to have sex when they do. In addition, one in five says that it bothers him when his partner speaks to other men and a similar proportion states that he likes his partner to know that he could have other partners.

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12      The questions from Images are focused on violence in heterosexual couples. Other forms of gender based violence are not explored in this survey.

## Intimate partner violence

Intimate partner violence is the most common form of violence against women. According to recent global estimates, 30% of women aged 15 years and older have experienced physical and/or sexual violence in their relationships during their lives (Devries et al., 2013). It is also the leading cause of women's death by homicide worldwide (Stöckl et al., 2013) and has many other adverse consequences, including important consequences in terms of women's health and significant social and economic costs for families, communities and governments (Ellsberg et al., 2008; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2013).

Approximately one in four women has experienced violence from her partner (PAHO-WHO, CDC, 2014). In Nicaragua, a total of 2,954 reports of rape were recorded; 27% of these involved victims under the age of 18 and 32% were victims of sexual abuse (Nicaraguan National Police, 2012).

In the present survey, approximately one third of those interviewees who have ever had a partner stated having exercised some type of emotional violence against their current or most recent partner, mainly insulting her or deliberately making her feel bad about herself (see Table 6.5.3). To a lesser extent (13%), the interviewees also admit to have committed acts of economic violence such as throwing their partner out of the house or prohibiting her from seeking employment or income. These questions are adaptations of questions applied in multiple surveys with women on this topic.

13% of men who have ever had a partner report having exercised at least one form of physical violence included in the survey, against their current or most recent partner: 14% report having pushed his partner to harm her, less than 5% admit to having used other forms of aggression such as slapping, throwing objects or punching with a fist or other objects. Acts of sexual violence were admitted to by 2.5% of interviewees, with differences appearing according to the sex of the interviewer: almost 4% if interviewed by a man and a little less than 2% if interviewed by a woman. In total, approximately one in five men reported having exercised physical and/or sexual violence (18%).

| Table 6.5.3 • Intimate partner violence: percentage of men that state having committed the following acts on some occasion: | |
|---|---|
| **Have you done this to your partner?** | **%** |
| Have you insulted your partner or deliberately made her feel bad about herself? | 40 |
| Have you scorned or humiliated your partner in front of other people? | 13 |
| Have you done things to scare or intimidate your partner, for example, looking at her in a certain way, shouting or breaking things? | 14 |
| Have you threatened to hurt your partner? | 8 |
| Have you damaged things or hurt people that are important to your partner, as a way to harm her? | 4 |
| *Any emotional violence against the partner* | **37** |
| Have you prohibited your partner from looking for work, going to work, negotiating or earning money? | 6 |
| Have you taken your partner's income against her will? | 4 |
| Have you thrown your partner out of the house? | 8 |
| Have you taken your partner's savings for your expenses, knowing that they were for her own use or for household expenses? | 3 |
| *Any patrimonial violence against the partner* | **13** |
| Have you slapped your partner or thrown things at her in order to harm her? | 5 |
| Have you pushed your partner with intention to hurt her? | 14 |
| Have you hit your partner with your fists or with an object? | 4 |
| Have you dragged, suffocated or burned your partner? | 1 |
| Have you threatened or used a gun, knife or other weapon against your partner? | 1 |
| *Any physical violence against the partner* | **13** |
| Have you forced your current or previous partner have sex with you when she did not want to? | 3 |
| **Sexual or physical violence against the partner (compound)** | **18** |

On the other hand, these data contrast with a large majority of men saying that in general, their relationships are good or very good, which may imply a vision that normalizes these forms of relating and/or a positive valuation of other elements in the relationship.

In the present study, multiple risk factors related to the use of physical and sexual violence by men towards their partner were identified. On the one hand, personal childhood experiences of violence as direct victims (p = 0.000) or as witnesses of violence against their mothers (p =0.001), doubles the probability of acts of intimate partner violence. Associations were also found with having experienced violence outside (p = 0.006) and/or within (p = 0.000) the home.

Associations also appear with participation in war as a combatant (p = 0.031); friendships in childhood and adolescence involved in acts such as robberies, fights, etc. (p = 0.002); and frequent consumption of drugs or alcohol (p = 0.013). These data match with the aforementioned study among women, which demonstrates that the risk of women experiencing physical violence doubles when their partner was beaten as a child, as well as when he consumes alcohol (Ellsberg, Quintanilla, Molina & Zelaya, 2017).

Reporting controlling behavior (p = 0.003) and aggressive discussions (p = 0.000) towards their partners, are both associated with a greater occurrence of acts of physical or sexual violence. In fact, it was found that the probability of using physical or sexual violence increases almost five times among those who manifest between three and five of the controlling behaviors mentioned above, compared to those who do not report any of them (ratio of 4.57 to 1).

This is especially relevant because of the frequency with which informants admit to these types of situations: two thirds of the interviewees reported at least one controlling behavior and one third admits to aggressively arguing with their partner.

Several of these associations are also found in the results of multivariate analysis: having witnessed violence against their mothers, having themselves been victims of violence during their childhood and adolescence, experiencing stress or depression due to not having a job or enough income, and controlling behavior, all increase the probability of using physical or sexual violence between 60% and 388% according to a model adjusted for age, education, marital status, employment and gender attitudes (see Table 6.5.5 in Annex III).

In one model, controlling for socio-demographic variables (age, education, employment, civil status) and childhood experiences (having witnessed and having experienced domestic violence as a child), holding more equitable gender attitudes is strongly correlated to positive deviance regarding the use of violence (OR = 2.196, p <.01).

In addition, in another model controlling for socio-demographic variables (age, education, employment, civil status), childhood experiences (having witnessed and having experienced domestic violence as a child) and gender attitudes, a positive, marginally significant association was found between the non-use of violence and

the perception of mutual support within the community, with an increase of 65% in contrast to those who did not perceive this support (p = .057). The opposite effect is caused by having suffered physical violence in the home (the probability of non-use of violence is reduced by 4% compared to those who did not suffer violence in the home, p <.01) and having had friends involved in negative activities such as robberies, fights, etc. (reductions of 43% in the use of violence compared to those who did not have such friendships, p <.01).

Associations were found with experiencing acts of violence as well as with employment status, an issue that puts into question their role as head of household and providers of the family. However, there are also strong associations with other ways of exercising control and power within relationship. Problematizing these associations is necessary, not in the sense of finding reasons to justify violence, but rather to emphasize unraveling the power relations and social expectations that mark the way men's negative experience are interpreted and how these influence both their exercise of power and violence in their intimate relationships.

The same analysis model reveals that favorable attitudes towards gender equity decrease the probability of exercising violence (30% less for each point on the scale). Also, men perceiving that intimate partner violence is not justified among family (p =0.007) and friends (p =0.000), has been identified as a protective factor. However, very little evidence was found regarding other factors that could contribute to reducing these violent behaviors.

The indices detected in this survey differ from those reported in other studies of violence.

- A recent investigation carried out with women in León (Nicaragua), indicates that 28% had experienced physical violence in a relationship at some point in their lives and 8% over the last 12 months; 15% had experienced sexual violence at some time and 43% emotional violence (Ellsberg, et al., 2017)

- According to data from Endesa 2011-12, women from Managua who have been in a partnership at least once, reported having lived: verbal or psychological violence (44%), physical violence (27%), sexual violence (15%), physical or sexual violence (30 %), at least one of the three types of violence (47%) and all three types of violence (11%) (Endesa, 2012).

The indices presented in the current survey are notably lower, indicating a possible underreporting by men, which – among other reasons -- could be linked to the role they play in the act of violence (as perpetrators), or because violence against women is a criminal offense in the country. Although the above information is relevant, it must be taken into account that the investigations are not comparable, given the variances in how and with whom they were conducted.

The individuals consulted in this research were men who have been in a relationship at least once, reporting on their own practice in the use of various types of aggression against their current or most recent partner. The Endesa data correspond to women from Managua who have been in a relationship at least once and who were questioned on their relationship experiences over the last 12 months.

Many investigations have shown that intimate partner violence is deeply rooted in unequal power relations between women and men, and that it occurs in all cultures, socioeconomic strata, ethnicities and other demographic variables. It reinforces gender hierarchies and power imbalances between women and men within families and communities, and its prevention is vital for moving forward on gender equity.

Despite the aforementioned data, the interviewees' assessment of their current (or most recent) relationship is positive. Nine out of 10 respondents who have ever had a partner describe their relationship as very good or good (33 and 58% respectively); 83% mention that they usually talk with their partner about relationship problems; and a similar proportion (87.5%) reports showing affection to their partner on a frequent basis. However, 33.6% admit that they often argue aggressively with their partner and 23% report that their partner has mistreated them without any previous attack or harm done to her. It should be noted that mistreatment does not necessarily imply physical violence.

Although these data are indicative of relationship quality and can be problematized, the general assessment of respondents' relationships is positive.

## 6.6 Relations to sons and daughters

The survey included inquiries on paternity and relational dynamics with their children in their role as fathers and educators. The continuous and positive involvement of fathers can improve physical, cognitive, emotional and social development of children and contribute to their overall happiness (Panter-Brick et al., 2014; Cabrera, Shannon & Tamis-Le-Monda, 2007; Davis, Luchters & Holmes, 2012; Burgess, 2006).

It is important to highlight that men's participation in domestic tasks and caretaking impacts the acceptance of gender equity by children and on developing girls' sense of autonomy and empowerment (DeGeer, Carolo & Minerson, 2014), both being fundamental to challenging inequitable gender norms that sustain the current unequal distribution of care work.

Recognition of men's role in childrearing and caretaking in Nicaraguan public policies is minimal, and important cultural changes are required for involvement in caretaking to be valued in the same way as being the "provider". Legal, economic, and social support are also required to achieve this.

## Participation in childrearing

Two thirds of the interviewees are fathers and half of them already had children at 21 years of age. The majority continues to live with their children and approximately one in 10 live with non-biological children. Among those who do not live with their biological children, nine out of 10 say they communicate and support them financially on a regular basis.

Many of the interviewees who are fathers (almost three quarters) report being regularly involved in routine childcare activities. However, a significant proportion of the fathers interviewed say they do not get involved (or only extraordinarily) in some specific tasks such as caretaking in case of illness, communication on personal issues, or helping with homework (see details in Table 6.6.1 and Annex III).

**Figure 6.6.1 • Involvement in childrearing activities with sons and daughters (rarely or never participated)**
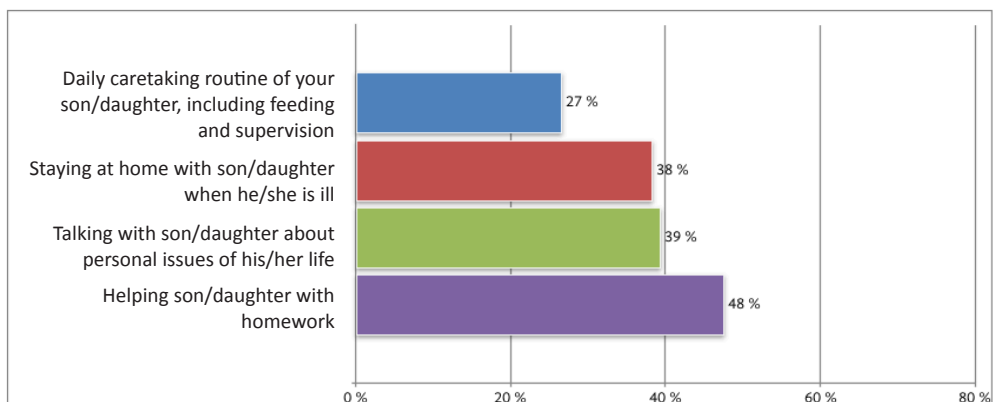
Results of the regression analysis reveal that age and education are relevant factors for participation in childrearing. Participation decreases significantly as the interviewees' age increases, and having university studies doubles the probability of involvement (see Table 6.6.2 in Annex III)[13]. However, when controlling for other variables related to childhood and adolescence or gender attitudes, both cease to be significant[14]. Only gender attitudes remain significant in this more complete analytical model: each major point on the scale towards equity implies 48% more participation in raising children.

## Violence against sons and daughters

The Code on Children and Adolescents (Law 287) and policies and programs aimed at the protection of boys, girls and adolescents in the country, recognize their right to a life free of violence, and the obligation of fathers, mothers and guardians, as well as the State, to guarantee this[15]. In 2016, the Institute of Forensic Medicine (IML in Spanish) reported 573 cases of domestic violence against individuals under 13 years of age and 557 cases between 14 and 17 years of age.

Recent research (Ipsos and World Vision, 2017) indicates that 41% of people consulted in Nicaragua consider physical punishment very common; that the vast majority recognizes that physical abuse has a long-term impact on children; and that situations of violence occur most frequently inside the home, followed by religious spaces and schools.

Another, previously conducted study (Save the Children, 2009), revealed that in Managua, 70% of households physically punish boys and girls: 72% of people surveyed reported having experienced physical punishment. Also, eight out of 10 showed some level of agreement with the statement that parents have the right to hit their children in order to correct them; as well as acceptance of the use of objects for punishment such as a ruler at school or a belt at home. Among factors associated with physical and humiliating punishment, a history of physical punishment during childhood was identified.

The present survey emphasized investigating forms of violence considered valid

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13      The values go from 1 to 0, with 1 meaning that the man participates in daily caretaking routine and 0 that he does not participate.

14      These variables maintain the magnitude of their influence in model 2. The loss of meaning of these variables may be due to the fact that, given that the sample is reduced by the inclusion of new variables in model 2, the standard errors of these coefficients increase.

15      These instruments include neither violence exercised toward girls and boys due to gender, nor its prevention based on a gender approach.

as educational (disciplinary) methods, and consulted interviewees on behaviors related to their sons and daughters. The analysis has not been limited to associations with factors related to family environment. As evidenced in other studies, these types of aggression against children are based on stereotypes and gender norms at the social and community level, in addition to factors directly related to exposure to intimate partner violence at home and personal characteristics of the parents (The Equality Institute, undated).

The vast majority of respondents who are fathers report that in order to discipline their children, they explain to them why their behavior was wrong and two thirds report imposing prohibitions or removing privileges as a disciplinary method.

However, it is common for fathers to admit resorting to physical violence as an educational method. There are abundant reports of the use of more severe methods: almost half of the men interviewed report shouting at their children, and a third report hitting them with objects such as a belt or a stick (see Figure 6.6.3). Other forms of violence, reported to a lesser extent by these fathers, are insults and slaps (see detail in Table 6.5.4 in Annex III).

**Figure 6.6.3 • Percentage of men with children that admit using the following disciplinary methods**
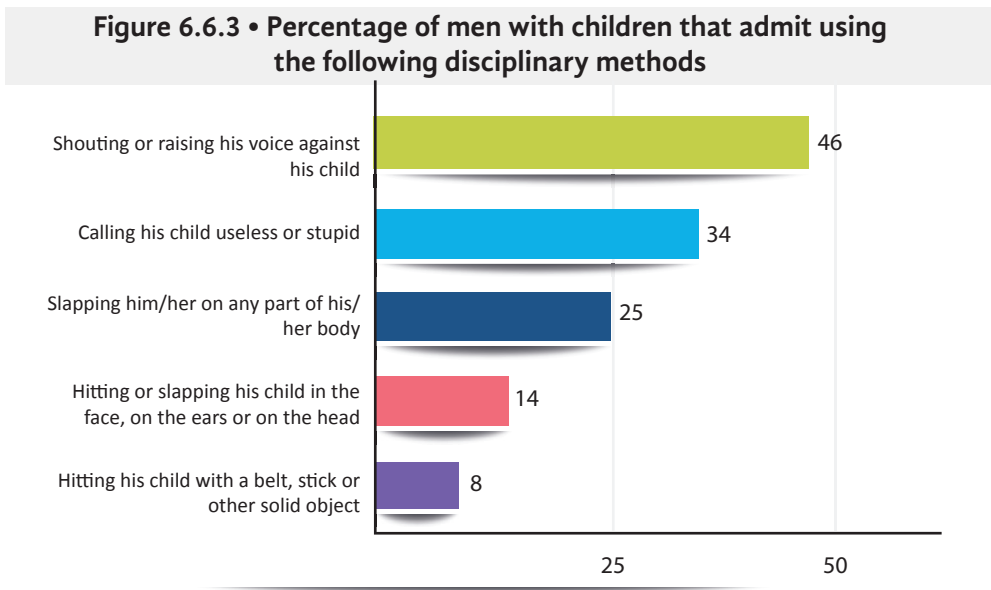
Associations were also identified that coincide with those found in relation to intimate partner violence: having witnessed violence against their mother (p = 0.027) or having suffered violence during childhood and adolescence (p <0.005) is related to the exercise of violent behavior towards their own children. Likewise, an association was found with having lived violence within and/or outside the home (p = 0.000). In addition, the use of violence against children is significantly associated with participation in war (p <0.005).

Social norms guiding intergenerational relations are quite permissive of corporal punishment and other forms of violence, legitimizing these as educational methods. In most cases, men report that their friends (71%) and family (66%) consider that parents have the right to exercise physical violence against their children in order to correct them.

Protective factors include having the perception that friends question the use of violence (particularly hitting) in educating their children (p <0.005); and participating in organizations of diverse types (p = 0.006). The differences vary between 8 and 13 percentage points regarding the exercise of violence.

Multivariate regression analysis, used to explore personal and social variables related to the positive deviation (not exercising physical violence against children), reveals that having had friendships in childhood and adolescence involved in sports, cultural and community activities doubles the probability of non-violent behavior towards daughters and sons.

By contrast, violent behavior is more likely among those who have experienced violence outside the home in comparison to those who have not; and when friends approve of the parents' right to use violence in disciplining their children. Also, at an older age, men are more likely to admit to exerting violence against their children, which may indicate acceptance and justification of childrearing models that use violence as an educational method.

Although it is common for violence against women and children to coincide in the same household, a more complex analysis is necessary, as is avoiding consideration of girls and boys as mere secondary victims of the violence experienced by their mothers. In this sense, it is necessary to take a closer look at the short- and long-term implications of directly experiencing different manifestations of violence within and outside the home. These implications are not only found at a personal level, but they represent – as highlighted in this and other studies – community and social conditions that favor generational transmission of violent relationships.

## 6.7 Community and violence

The community can be a space favoring establishment of constructive relationships, collaboration, solidarity, recreation, and individual and collective growth. But it can also encourage exercise of power and control over other people and become a setting for violence led by some men against others. Hegemonic masculinity and factors related to their social and structural context can create conditions for men to exercise violence within the community, or to legitimize some of its manifestations.

When they become aware of these situations, next generations become vulnerable to the normalization and perpetuation of these contexts. Different forms of violence such as street harassment, abuse of older adolescents, or violence as an expression of power are identified by women and men as part of their community environment (Codeni, 2016).

To demonstrate the importance of the community environment, this study explores (in addition to violences exerted in private spaces) social support and violence against other people in the immediate social environment.

### Community support

A large proportion of interviewees do perceive community support: six out of 10 consider that neighbors and/or community members support each other. They also say that they can count on other people to talk with or find solutions to their problems: seven and six out of 10 respectively (see figure below).

**Figure 6.7.1 • Access to support networks: percentage of men who affirm to have the following community conditions**



In general, people in the neighborhood and/or community support each other mutually — 63.72 %

Counting on someone to help find solutions to his problems — 64.15 %

Counting on someone to talk to about his problems — 71.13 %

62.0 %    69.0 %    76.0 %    83.0 %    90.0 %
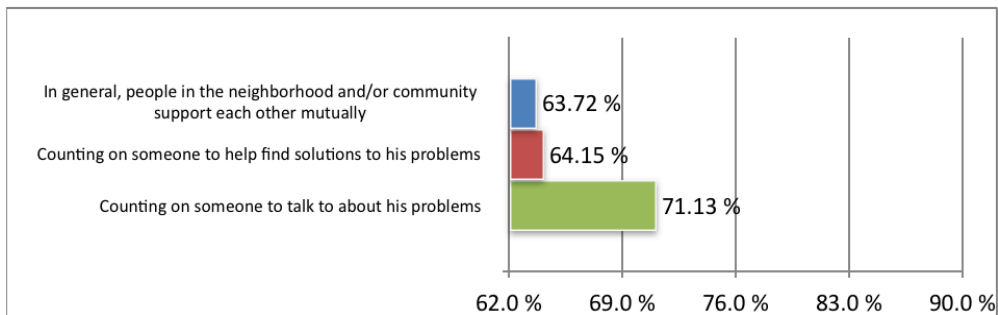
Approximately one in five respondents reports having participated in talks or activities on human rights, violence, and other topics. The reach of campaigns is relative among the sample of men interviewed, given that only one third said they remembered the message of any campaign for violence prevention targeting men.

## Violence towards other people in the social environment

The amount of violence that men in this survey report is substantial. Two out of every five men interviewed admit to having attacked someone and more than half admit to having done so several times. Just under half (45.81%) of the respondents participated in at least one of the investigated forms of community violence (see details in Table 6.7.1 in Annex III). It should be noted that one in four admits to having engaged in gunfights, and again, more than half of them have done so several times. It should be highlighted that underreporting in these data is also possible given the type of incident queried.

Excluding wartime, two out of five men admit to having assaulted someone and one in four admits having engaged in gunfights.

Association of men's behavior within the community with multi-level variables is revealed: experiences in early stages of life, quality of networks, close relationships and the social environment, personal factors, and norms within their families and close social circles.

Exerting violence towards other people in their environment is associated with having suffered violence in childhood and adolescence ($p < 0.005$); as well as with having had friends involved in acts such as fights, robberies, or drug and alcohol use ($p < 0.005$). In addition, there appears to be an association with having been a victim of violence outside the home ($p < 0.009$) in cases where violence has been experienced within and/or outside the home ($p < 0.000$) and when men report having hurt themselves or someone else under the effects of alcohol or drugs ($p = 0.000$).

These expressions of violence were also found to be associated with frequent consumption of drugs or alcohol ($p = 0.002$), a perception of violence in their communities ($p \leq 0.005$), childhood friends involved in acts like robberies, fights, etc. ($p = 0.000$), and with considering that family and friends justify violence against children or partners ($p < 0.005$), all of which points to an environment and referents characterized by the normalization of violence.

On the one hand, regression analysis detects that the perception of living in a mutually supportive community makes non-violent behavior towards other community members more likely (50% increase). These findings validate previous studies, which show the association between different types of violence, demonstrating that non-violent and supportive relationships with and among family members, friends, and other groups can act as protective factors (Wilkins, et al., 2014).

**Figure 6.7.2 • Percentage of men that admit to having been involved in acts of community violence (against other people), excluding wartime**
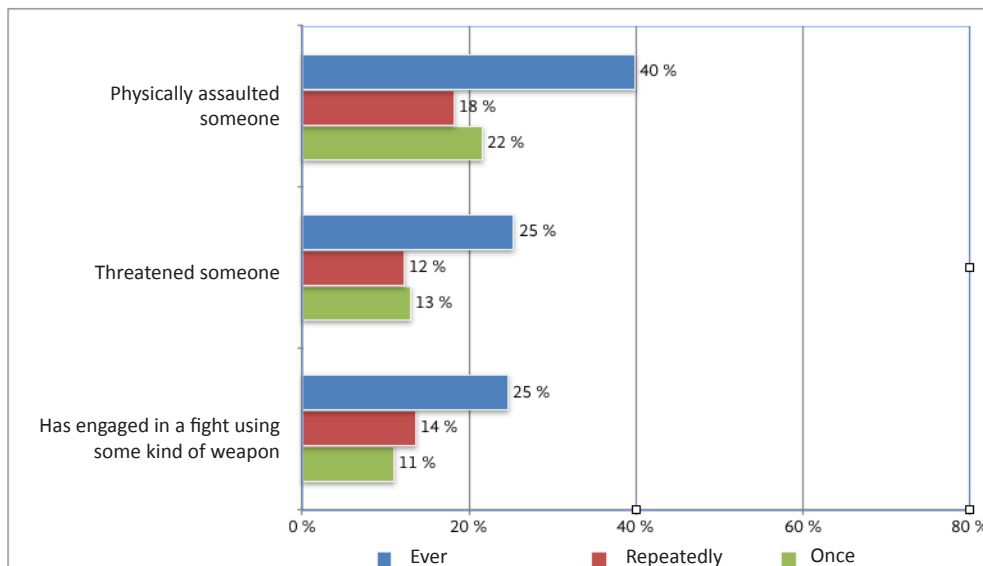


On the other hand, it corroborates the lower probability of not being violent among those who experienced violence in the home during childhood and adolescence, among those who have hurt themselves or someone else under the effects of drugs or alcohol, and among those who have had friends involved in robberies, fights, etc.

## 6.8 Relationship between different forms of violence

Based on studies that link violence against women and violence against children (Fulu et al., 2017), and with the aim of providing information on male violence within the Central American context, an examination of crossings among different forms of violence was carried out: within households (against women and/or children) and communities (against other men). These analyses were conducted in line with similar analyses carried out on an international scale.[16]

Data from the present survey confirm the existence of associations between forms of violence against family members (partner, sons, daughters) and the interviewees'

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16    A knowledge framework in development exists, linking violence against women and violence against children, the co-occurrence of child abuse, intimate partner violence and violent parenting practices. See https://www.whatworks.co.za/documents/publications/16-global-evidence-reviews-paper-1-state-of-the-field-of-research-on-violence-against-women-and-girls/file

environment (other people). Violence against the partner was found to be linked to violence against children (p <0.005), as well as to violence against other people (p<0.005). 51% of men who report engaging in physical or sexual violence against their partner also admit to violent behavior against their children; and 61%, against other people (see Table 6.7.1 in Annex III).

Experiencing violence during childhood and adolescence is a factor that is strongly linked to exercising various forms of violence in adult life. Having been a victim (p<0.005) or witness (p=0.004) of violence during childhood is linked to expressions of violence in adulthood, against both partners and children, as well as towards other people. It is also associated with having lived both experiences (p=0.000) and with having experienced violence within the household and/or in both spaces (p=0.000).

**In summary:**

> 25% of those who were victims of violence during their childhood and 23% of those who witnessed violence against their mothers, report having exercised violence against two or more types of individual. The same data are less frequent among those who were neither victim nor witness (11 and 14% respectively).

>  26% of those who were victims of violence during their childhood and 31% of those who witnessed violence, report not exercising violence against any of the subjects (partners, children or other people), while this percentage is higher among those who did not live these experiences (47 and 40% respectively).

> However, exercising violence against a single individual does not differ with respect to having witnessed (or not) violence against the mother; although there is a difference of 8 percentage points with respect to having been a victim of violence (half of those who were victims vs. 42% of those who were not, see Table 6.8.1 in Annex III).

This analysis indicates creation of a dynamic of intergenerational transmission of violence (see table 6.8.1 in Annex III).

Finally, associations were explored with the absence of physical violence exerted by interviewees, both internally at the household level as well as in their social environments, using demographic variables, childhood experiences of violence and gender attitudes.

**In summary:**

> It is more likely for men who are employed not to exercise violence, in comparison to those who are unemployed. The probability of them exercising physical violence within their relations (with children, partner and other people) is reduced by 27%.

> It is more probable for men not to commit violence among those who have not suffered violence within the families they were brought up in, compared to those who were victims. This fact reduces the probability of using physical violence against children, partners or other people by 61%.

> Those who show more favorable attitudes to gender equity are more likely not to exercise violence. Each point on the gender attitude scale increases probability of not exercising physical violence against children, partners or other people by 69%.

When analyzing relationships with different subjects separately some nuances were found:

> More gender equitable attitudes did not imply a greater likelihood of non-violent relationships with sons and daughters, possibly due to the fact that the beliefs and norms that justify violence based on adult dominance are different (protection, education, etc.).

> Having a job is linked to a lower probability of exerting physical abuse toward children, while it is a risk factor for violence against the partner and other people.

> Being or having been married turns out to be a condition that increases the likelihood of exerting violence against sons and daughters, in comparison to men who have never been married.

> Men that have not been a witness of violence against their mothers are less likely to exercise violence in their intimate relations (in comparison to those who did witness this violence), which could be considered an effect of their referents on adult masculine behavior during childhood and adolescence.

When introducing variables from the social environment into the model, it is corroborated that the likelihood of non-violent behavior decreases for all the following cases: having been married, having been a victim of violence, having hurt oneself or someone else under influence of alcohol. Finally, a supportive community is associated with greater probability of not exercising violence, particularly against people in their surroundings, a topic to explore in greater depth.

# VII. CONCLUSIONS

In Nicaragua, the masculinities and violences survey, based on Images[17], was conducted with a sample of 1,063 men from the capital city of Nicaragua, Managua, and in the municipalities of Ciudad Sandino and Tipitapa. The information was collected in November 2016.

The focus of this study with men is to acquire insights and to understand attitudes and practices related to gender equity, violence, health, community contexts and social inequality; and associations between variables at the macro-structural, community, family, and individual levels. It also aims to identify links between different types of violence, spaces, and key moments in which they occur; between the different subjects against whom acts of violence are perpetrated; and between the role of men as victims, witnesses, and perpetrators of acts of violence.víctimas, testigos y ejecutores de actos de violencia.

## Multiple expressions of violence within families and communities

This investigation offers self-referenced data on the exercise of acts of violence of various kinds, both within the family and outside of it. Although this is not a prevalence study[18], and possible underreporting is acknowledged, it is striking that 18% of men admitted to exercising physical or sexual violence against their current or most recent partner; 34% reported having hit their children with a belt or another object; and 46% reported having threatened or physically assaulted other people.

On the other hand, violence is not a reality in which men only act as perpetrators. Half of the interviewees report having been a direct victim of violence in their families of origin, and the proportions of those who admit to having suffered emotional and physical violence (one in three) and sexual violence (5%) are significant.

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17    Images is a reference for research on gender and masculinities and its results have provided input for the design of programs and policies in different contexts. Its implementation in more than 20 countries con tributes to a knowledge framework based on national and regional results.

18     Prevalence makes it possible to estimate the proportion of individuals who have exercised or currently exercise violence over a certain period of time.

According to the analyses conducted, coexistence of relationships marked by violence with different individuals in their immediate surroundings - family and community - is clearly shown. Physical abuse of the intimate partner is often accompanied by physical violence against children and other people in their environment. Thus, a relationship pattern of using violence is observed among these men, both within their intimate family spaces, as well as in other relationships.

## An ecological analysis applied to the construction of violent masculine identities

The study contributes to verifying the cross-sectional nature of conditions and factors that explain violent masculine practices, beyond national contexts. In this sense, the association of personal history, particularly in early stages of life, with practices in adult life, is reinforced.

The findings in Nicaragua are generally consistent with those of studies with men in other regions; and the factors associated with violent practices reveal that in addition to being multi-causal, its antecedents or risk factors are multilevel. History of violence in childhood and adolescence is an element to consider; however, there are also elements on the interpersonal and social-community levels associated with the use of violence against different subjects in adult life.

## Risk factors for the use of different types of violence

Violence experienced during childhood and adolescence is a common antecedent among men who exercise physical violence both within and outside their families. The study indicates that men who admit to mistreating their partners and children and to assaulting other people are more likely to have experienced violence as a child.

Also, having witnessed physical abuse against their mothers is particularly significant in the case of violence against partners in adult life. This offers elements for analyzing the development of violent masculine behaviors as a precursor of physical violence against intimate partners.

It is worth mentioning that the evidence does not lead to establishing causal relations, but rather shows that the quality of family relationships in early stages of life is related to practices within their families as adults. This does not mean that

the majority of childhood victims of violence will inescapably be perpetrators in adult life, but that among those who exercise violence, it is more likely to find men who were victims, than among those who do not exercise violence.

Both from a personal point of view, regarding perceptions of their environment, there is generally less questioning of the use of violence in relation to children. There is even an apparently contradictory assessment of family relations during the men's childhood and adolescence, in the sense that reporting having experienced violence does not prevent a majority from considering that their family relations were good.

This is consistent with findings of a study carried out by Save the Children, in which men speaking as adults positively value the effectiveness of their parents' use of physical violence in their upbringing.

The fact that being married appears to be associated with exercising violence towards children could be related to views on what marriage means regarding the responsibility to educate and to discipline; or with the fact that married men have more interaction with their sons and daughters.

Regarding personal factors that encourage the use of violence, analyzed attitudes regarding gender equity are associated with men's behavior towards their partner and other people. It is worth noting the exception with regards to violence against children, probably because the underlying beliefs are not totally or directly related to a vision of equity in the construction of gender identities and in relationships between men and women. Although it is not within the scope of this study, variances in these dynamics could be further explored when it comes to violence against sons compared to violence against daughters.

On the other hand, controlling attitudes and behavior towards the partner appear strongly related to the exercise of physical violence against women, as well as arguments with a certain level of aggression. This could indicate a kind of continuum and a greater risk of physical violence in relationships marked by other forms of exercising power and control, based on gender norms that place women in subordinate roles and as property of the men with whom they cohabit.

With this research it was possible to verify that violent practices identified in the interviewees' environment, as well as permissive social norms that justify and legitimize violence within families, contribute to the exercise of physical violence against partners and children.

Other associations related to men's personal history are: having grown up with referents (friends) with violent and criminal behaviors and having fought in the war. Feeling stressed by lack of employment or income, as well as consuming alcohol or drugs, also frequently appear to be associated with intimate partner violence.

## Protective and resilience factors for the exercise of violence

This investigation also sought to identify conditions and factors that contribute to explaining positive deviations, by which we refer to men who do not exercise violence in their intimate, family and social relationships, even when sharing social environments with other men who do.

For these analyses, the "positively deviant" men were identified, selecting those who did not report any form of physical violence against their partner, children or other people. The probability of fitting in this category decreases in the case of men who experienced violence during childhood.

In other cases, associations arise depending on specific relationships. For example, those who have a job are less likely not to have exercised violence in any of their relationships (partner, children and other people), compared to those who have exercised violence towards at least one subject. But it was also found that men who have jobs are more likely not to exercise physical violence against their sons and daughters. Participating in organizations and having friends that question the "right" to physically punish children, are other factors identified as protectors for this type of violence.

Regarding intimate partner violence, not having witnessed violence against the mother is associated with a lower probability of violence against intimate partners. The same is true of the influence of attitudes favorable to gender equity. Meanwhile, at the social environment level, the perception that violence against an intimate partner is not justified among family members and friends is a protective factor.

The perception of having mutually supportive relationships in the community they live in is one of the factors that stands out in terms of absence of violent behaviors in men's interactions with community members.

In addition, other associations were found – although with marginal statistical significance – between this perception of the community and the absence of other forms of violence. Based on this and other findings of the study, there is evidence of the need to continue exploring the link between social community variables and the behavior of men inside and outside the home.

These findings highlight the crucial role of networks and immediate referents in terms of gender norms and violence in different spheres. That is why it is pertinent for interventions to include strategies that influence – not just directly -- by questioning, challenging, and transforming attitudes, but that also contemplate actions that question social expectations regarding gender identities and relations.

The point is to condemn inequalities and subordinations at the social level and also to visualize and recognize changes in favor of gender equity.

Living in a threatening environment can lead to violent reactions. Nonviolent relationships and support from family members, friends and other groups in the social environment can act as protective factors. Although the investigation focused on family members and close friends, an issue to explore further in terms of strategy development, could be the identification of individuals and/or groups of reference relevant to men and their positions on particular issues.

## Issues for multi-actor collaboration

The investigation highlights the complex relationships between personal and family history, attitudes, normative processes at the social-community level, and men's practices in relationships with their partners, family and other people.

Addressing these issues with men, based on their role as fathers and educators, should be considered a priority, particularly taking into account the identified pathways of generational transmission of dynamics that reproduce intrafamily and social violence. In a normative environment that is favorable to the use of violence and legitimizes it as an educational method, one way forward is to become aware of, to visualize, and to analyze the implications this form of education can have on men and their relationships in adult life.

It may also be opportune to identify significant collective referents (reference groups) that legitimize non-violent ways of educating children and establishing intimate partner and other relationships, in order to transition from permissive norms to questioning any expression of violence in interpersonal, family, and community relationships. The investigation reveals a majority of men who do not agree with unfair social norms; however, in relation to intimate relationships and spaces (household headship, intimate partner violence and privacy), positions are rather divided.

Recent research carried out in Nicaragua (Ellsberg, et al., 2017) shows a reduction in prevalence over the past 20 years and suggests that social norms have changed: intimate partner violence is less acceptable today than it was two decades ago. It also adds that these changes have been brought about by a combination of improved laws, national programs, and communication campaigns. The study also suggests that it is necessary to coordinate efforts for women's access to justice, comprehensive services for victims, and greater awareness of women's rights.

It would be interesting to analyze possible links between the abovementioned results and those of this investigation where men perceive themselves to be more equitable in their relationships compared to their parents, and they report a higher prevalence of violence exercised by their parents compared to their own current behavior.

The results of this study point to the need to address the different levels and areas involved in the construction of masculine identities and violence in its diverse manifestations, applying a systemic approach. They highlight the need to consider programs and processes that point to the transformation of gender identities and relationships; that make visible the associations between controlling behaviors with regards to women's lives and bodies and the exercise of different forms of violence; and that question normalization of violence in families' and communities' everyday life.

In addition, visions and proposals that question paternity based on hegemonic masculinity and adultism are required, so that parenting, protection and education can contribute to equity and nonviolence in generational relationships.

The family proves to be a key space for the promotion of changes that can contribute to more equitable relationships in the short, medium and long term in different arenas. The investigation also demonstrates the importance of designing proposals with a psychosocial approach that promotes a sense of community and support networks. Another option to assess is the provision of mental health care for men who have been witnesses or victims of violence during early stages of their lives.

Finally, the study identifies other keys that may be valuable for analyzing and promoting deviation from social norms that encourage, justify and allow maintaining the use of violence in social relations. Among these is the perception of having normative references that reject the use of violence in their immediate social environments and community support. On the other hand, elimination of physical punishment and humiliation, among other forms of violence in childhood, is one of the keys to making changes in this regard, as well as promotion of favorable attitudes towards gender equity.

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# IX. ANNEXES

## Annex I • Sampling design for Masculinities and Violences in Nicaragua Study

We calculated a sample of 1,063 men, valid with a 95% confidence level and a 3.2% margin of error.

| Distribution of forms by municipality | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Municipality** | **Homes** | **(%)** | **N° forms** |
| Managua | 179 127 | 84.4 | 897 |
| Tipitapa | 19 140 | 9.0 | 96 |
| Ciudad Sandino | 14 044 | 6.6 | 70 |

| Distribution of forms by district in Managua | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **District** | **Homes** | **%** | **Sample** |
| District II | 23 639 | 13 | 117 |
| District III | 32 997 | 19 | 170 |
| District IV | 27 260 | 16 | 144 |
| District V | 38 836 | 22 | 197 |
| District VI | 52 815 | 30 | 269 |
| Total | 175 547 | 100 | 897 |

# Annex II • Construction of compound variables

**Gender Attitudes Scale**

To construct the scale used in this study, which was inspired by the GEM scale, 14 statements were used whose correlations and validity tests fulfilled the required criteria. The scale included responses of "strongly agree," "agree", "disagree" and "strongly disagree." For analysis the median value of the response scale was calculated for the 14 statements: 3 indicated a greater tendency toward and 0 a greater rejection of egalitarian positions.

**Compound variables for violence**

The quantitative study included various forms of expression of violence by men, for which compound variables were constructed. These were then analyzed in relation to aspects of personal, family and social community history, among others.

**Violence against intimate partners**

Interviewees were questioned about different forms of exercising emotional, economic, physical and sexual violence in their current intimate partner relationships (or the most recent, if he was not in an intimate partner relationship at the time of the interview). To avoid bias, none of the questions included the word "violence" (see details in the corresponding section). For each of the types of violence, the interviewee responded whether he had exhibited the violent behavior "many times," "few times," or "never."

The compound variable was constructed on the basis of whether the men disclosed having exhibited "many times" or "few times" at least one of the expressions of violence for each type (as opposed to "never").

No significant differences were found due to the sex of the interviewer, with respect to emotional violence (p-value=0.751), economic violence (p-value=0.351), and physical violence (p-value=0.385). In the case of sexual violence, significant differences were found due to the sex of the interviewer. 4.11% of men interviewed by a man stated having committed sexual violence, while the percentage drops to 1.7% among those interviewed by a woman (p-value=0.032), which should be taken into account when analyzing these data.

### Violence against sons and daughters

This variable includes three forms of physical abuse (see items in the corresponding section), expressed as actions to which the man would respond as having committed toward his children under 18 years of age, "always," "frequently," "rarely," or "never".

The variable was constructed based on whether the men disclosed having committed any of these acts at least once (any option besides "never"), with a value of 1 if he reported at least one of the actions and 0 if he reported never having committed any of them.

### Violence against other people in the community

This variable was constructed based on questions about violent acts (not including participation in war), for each of which the interviewee responded "many times," "once," or "never" (see items in the corresponding section). It was calculated as a violent behavior if they responded as having been involved in any of these situations once or several times.

### Exposure to violence during childhood and adolescence

The study inquired about experiences during childhood and adolescence of having been witnesses to violence toward the mother, and if they themselves had been victims of different types of violence.

**Witness:** The interviewee was asked if he "saw or heard his mother being hit" by his father or other intimate partner. The response options were "many times," "a few times," or "never." The compound variable included abuse by the father and by other intimate partners. It has the value of 0 when the interviewee responded "never" in both situations and 1 when he reported "many times" or "a few times" for either of them.

**Victim:** The interviewee was asked about different forms of emotional, physical and sexual violence experienced in childhood and adolescence. The response options for each of these questions were "many times," "a few times," or "never." Two compound variables were created: one related to the family sphere (home) and the other to the environment (outside the home).

The compound variables had the value of 0 when the interviewees reported never having experienced any of the mentioned expressions of violence and 1 in the case of having experienced any of these expressions of violence.

The compound variable for having been a victim of violence in the home includes types of emotional violence (having been "insulted or humiliated by someone in the family"); physical violence (having been "physically abused by someone in the family" or "hit with such force as left a mark or bruise") and sexual ("someone touched your body with sexual intent without your consent" or "they forced you to have sexual relations"). It also includes negligence in childrearing ("one or both of your parents were too drunk or high on drugs to care for you").

The compound variable for victimization outside the home refers to manifestations of emotional violence ("you were bullied at school or in the neighborhood") and physical violence (having been "hit or physically punished at school by a teacher").

**Compound variable for participation in domestic chores**

Interviewees were questioned on their own participation in domestic chores in their homes before the age of 18, as well as their father's participation during the same period; and about the interviewee's current participation. The response options included "always," "frequently," "rarely," and "never." The scale values go from 1 to 4, where 1 means never participating in any domestic activity, and 4 means always participating in all the mentioned activities.

The compounds were calculated in two ways: a binary variable with a value of 1 if the response was "frequently" or "always" on at least one of the mentioned activities, and a scale of the average of the responses on participation on each of the activities, with 4 for always participating in all of the mentioned activities, and 1 for never participating in any activity. The binary variables were used for crossing variables presented in the section corresponding to this topic; and the scales, in the multivariate regression models of the same section.

## Annex III • Results tables

| Table 6.1.3 • Experiences of violence during childhood and adolescence | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Adverse events and violence before age 18** | **Hombre** | |
| | **%** | **n** |
| Exposure to violence against an intimate partner (against his mother) | | |
| Did you see or hear your mother being hit by your father? | 21 | 201 |
| Did you see or hear your mother being hit by another intimate partner who was not your father? | 9 | 70 |
| **Witnessed abuse toward the mother committed by the father or other partner** | **25** | **250** |
| Suffered emotional violence during childhood | | |
| Were you insulted or humiliated by someone in your family? | 30 | 313 |
| Suffered physical violence during childhood | | |
| Were you physically abused by someone in your family? | 24 | 255 |
| Were you hit at home, with enough force that it left a mark or bruise? | 20 | 204 |
| **Experienced physical violence (compound)** | **29** | **304** |
| Suffered sexual violence during childhood | | |
| Did anyone touch your body with sexual intent without your consent? | 4 | 42 |
| Did they force you to have sexual relations? | 2 | 18 |
| **Experienced sexual violence (compound)** | **5** | **51** |
| Other adverse events | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Were one or both of your parents too drunk or high on drugs to care for you? | 12 | 130 |
| *Were one or both of your parents too drunk or high on drugs to care for you?* | **46** | **484** |
| *Witnessed and was a victim of violence in childhood* | **16** | **174** |
| *Violence at school and in the community* | | |
| Were you hit or physically punished at school by a teacher? | 28 | 292 |
| Were you bullied at school or in the neighborhood? | 23 | 245 |
| *Experienced some type of violence outside the home (compound)* | **41** | **437** |
| *Experienced violence both within and outside the home* | **25** | **262** |

| Table 6.2.1 • Domestic chores during childhood and adolescence | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Participation in household chores: father or other male figure during childhood** | | | | | |
| Domestic chores carried out by the primary male referent | % Men | | | | |
| | Always | Frequently | Rarely | Never | At some time |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (1+2) |
| Preparing food | 14 | 17 | 15 | 54 | 32 |
| Cleaning the house | 14 | 17 | 15 | 54 | 31 |
| Washing clothes | 13 | 11 | 13 | 64 | 34 |
| Taking care of other people | 10 | 13 | 14 | 64 | 22 |
| Helping children with school-work | 17 | 18 | 12 | 53 | 35 |
| | | | | | |
| **Interviewee participation in household chores during childhood** | | | | | |
| Domestic chores carried out by the interviewee when he was between 13 and 18 years old | % Men | | | | |
| | Always | Frequently | Rarely | Never | At some time |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (1+2) |
| Preparing food | 20 | 25 | 20 | 35 | 45 |
| Cleaning the house | 30 | 36 | 15 | 20 | 65 |
| Washing clothes | 30 | 25 | 14 | 31 | 55 |
| Taking care of other people | 15 | 16 | 11 | 58 | 31 |
| Helping children with schoolwork | 18 | 20 | 14 | 48 | 38 |

| | Percentage of men who report having carried out the following tasks when their children were under 18 years old | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Always | Frecuently | Rarely | Never | At some-time |
| **Activities related to care and childrearing** | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (1+2) |
| Daily routine of caring for his child, including feeding and supervision | 47 | 26 | 15 | 12 | 73 % |
| Staying home with a sick child | 38 | 24 | 21 | 17 | 62 % |
| Talking with the child about personal aspects of his or her life | 32 | 29 | 19 | 21 | 61 % |
| Helping children with schoolwork | 23 | 29 | 14 | 34 | 52 % |
| | | | | % | n |
| Men who always or frequently participated in daily care of their children | | | | 73% | 490 |

**Table 6.6.1 • Involvement in childrearing: percentage of men who participated in caring for children under 18 years old**

| Dependent variable: scale for participation in chores (1 – 4 more participation) | Model 1 | | | Model 2 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Independent variables | Odds Ratio | EE | p-value | Odds Ratio | EE | p-value |
| Model 1: | 3.365** | (1.619) | 0.0116 | 3.634 | (2.850) | 0.100 |
| 0.0736 | 0.984** | (0.00617) | 0.0119 | 0.988 | (0.0103) | 0.228 |
| 0.2 | | | | | | |
| 0.708 | 1.316 | (0.347) | 0.299 | 0.687 | (0.290) | 0.373 |
| -1.4676*** | 1.504 | (0.431) | 0.155 | 1.303 | (0.598) | 0.565 |
| 0.31 | 2.252** | (0.790) | 0.0206 | 2.177 | (1.285) | 0.187 |
| 0 | 0.918 | (0.560) | 0.889 | 0.578 | (0.511) | 0.535 |
| | 1.223 | (0.261) | 0.346 | 1.400 | (0.430) | 0.273 |
| Currently employed | 1.033 | (0.203) | 0.870 | 0.861 | (0.245) | 0.599 |
| *Model 2:* | | | | | | |
| Guardian's education (0= No education) | | | | | | |
| Primary | | | | 1.425 | (0.431) | 0.241 |
| Secundary | | | | 1.111 | (0.505) | 0.818 |
| Technical | | | | 1.562 | (1.077) | 0.518 |
| University | | | | - | | - |
| Witnessed father hitting mother | | | | 1.303 | (0.375) | 0.357 |
| Score on Gender Attitudes Scale | | | | 1.482 | (0.217) | 0.00735 |
| Father's participation in domestic chores (score) – standardized | | | | 0.891 | (0.140) | 0.461 |
| N | 662 | | | 358 | | |

Note: *the asterisks in the Odds Ratio column indicate that the coefficients are statistically significant at 1 % (***), 5 % (**) and 10 % (*) levels of statistical confidence.

| Table 6.5.4 • Forms of disciplining children and adolescents | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of men who report having applied the following forms of discipline at some time | **Men** | | | | |
| | Always | Frecuently | Rarely | Never | At sometimes |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (1+2+3) |
| Explaining to the child why his or her behavior was wrong | 42 % | 28 % | 14 % | 16 % | 84 % |
| Removing privileges from or forbidding something to the child or not allowing him/her to leave the house | 17 % | 22 % | 22 % | 39 % | 61 % |
| Shouting or raising the voice to his child | 4 % | 15 % | 26 % | 54 % | 46 % |
| Calling his child stupid, useless or an idiot | 1 % | 3 % | 10 % | 86 % | 14 % |
| Slapping or spanking his child on any part of the body | 2 % | 6 % | 16 % | 75 % | 25 % |
| Hitting or slapping his child in the face, ears or head | 1 % | 2 % | 6 % | 92 % | 8 % |
| Hitting his child with a belt, stick or other solid object | 4 % | 11 % | 19 % | 66 % | 34 % |
| | | | | % | N |
| Uses violent disciplinary measures with his child (compound) | | | | 27 % | 291 |

| Table 6.7.1 • Violence toward different persons | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Physical or sexual violence against the current or most recent intimate partner | |
| | | Yes | No |
| Physical violence against his children | Yes | 51% | 29% |
| | No | 49% | 71% |
| | **Total** | **100%** | **100%** |
| Community violence | Yes | 61% | 42% |
| | No | 39% | 58% |
| | **Total** | **100%** | **100%** |

| Table 6.8.1 • Reproducing violence against different persons | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Compound violence** | **Witnessed violence against the mother** | | | **Victim of violence** | | |
| | **No** | **Yes** | **Total** | **No** | **Yes** | **Total** |
| None | 40 % | 31 % | 38 % | 47 % | 25.64 % | 38 % |
| One | 46 % | 46 % | 46 % | 42 % | 50 % | 45 % |
| Two or more | 14 % | 23 % | 16 % | 11 % | 25 % | 17 % |