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# The Fourth Wave

Violence, Gender, Culture &  
HIV in the 21st Century

Edited by Vinh-Kim Nguyen and Jennifer F. Klot

OVERVIEW & CHAPTER ABSTRACTS FROM THE  
FORTHCOMING UNESCO/SSRC BOOK

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United Nations  
Educational, Scientific and  
Cultural Organization



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FORTHCOMING UNESCO/SSRC BOOK

# **The Fourth Wave**

**Violence, Gender, Culture & HIV in the 21st Century**

**Editors**

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A publication developed in the context of a project led by the UNESCO Division for Gender Equality of the Bureau of Strategic Planning in collaboration with the Division for Cultural Policies and Intercultural Dialogue of the Culture Sector.

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## INTRODUCTION

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The HIV and AIDS pandemic is both fuelling and being fuelled by inequalities across gender, race, ethnicity, class and age. The patterns of impact vary across different settings and regions of the world and are also shaped by demographic crises, armed conflicts, natural disasters, environmental degradation, state incapacities, famine and poverty. The pandemic's refractory impacts on women and girls – and humanity writ large – are nothing short of catastrophic. In the third decade of the HIV pandemic, women and particularly young women and girls have become a growing proportion of those affected and infected. Nearly half of the 40.3 million people living with HIV are women between the ages of 15-49.<sup>1</sup> Gender disparities in HIV prevalence are more extreme among young women between the ages of 15-24, globally 1.6 times more likely to be living with HIV and AIDS than young men. And in sub-Saharan Africa overall, young women between 15 and 24 years old are at least three times more likely to be HIV-positive than young men.

Until recently, the epidemiology of the pandemic has been explained largely in biomedical and behavioural terms. More attention is now being given to the social, political and economic factors that shape individual behaviour and the effectiveness of responses. But without understanding the deeply rooted social and cultural norms which increase risks for girls, young women and other at-risk populations, the impact of HIV prevention will continue to diminish as the pandemic unfolds over generations. Addressing the gender dimensions of the pandemic – and the implications for policy makers and practitioners – requires a far deeper understanding about how to support families and communities as they mediate the epidemic's repercussions for household restructuring, gender and intergenerational relations, reproductive decision making, livelihood choices, education planning, economic status and civic participation. Equally urgent is the need to develop the knowledge necessary to strengthen national response capacities so those most affected by HIV and AIDS do not also have to shoulder its associated burdens.

### Background

Launched in 1998, the joint UNESCO/UNAIDS project 'A Cultural Approach to HIV and AIDS Prevention and Care' supports the development of policy and planning principles which are gender-responsive, human-rights-based and built on thorough analysis of the cultural and social specificities of those communities concerned. Recognizing the severe limitations of prescribing a single formula, the project takes 'cultural approaches' to generally encompass tailored strategies grounded on the traditions, beliefs, values and practices specific to a particular group, which also mobilize the group's cultural resources and assets as a basis for social engagement and development. It is within the framework of this project that UNESCO commissioned the Social Science Research Council to carry out a review of literature addressing the cultural dimensions of HIV and AIDS to identify the gaps in linkages between theory and practice and to propose ways in which they could be addressed. The review, published in June 2006 and distributed at the XVI International AIDS Conference in Toronto<sup>2</sup>, included thousands of citations covering academic, UN, NGO and policy reports published in English, French, and Spanish. While the review revealed a heartening increase in research into socio-cultural factors shaping the pandemic, it also exposed a lack of attention to gender issues, to the culture of response, and to comparative and interdisciplinary approaches. The review identified a great deal of project-focused literature attempting to assess the impact of specific responses but found much less that addressed the role of culture in shaping these responses or the broader cultural context in which they occur.

The vast majority of literature addressing the intersections of gender, culture and the pandemic continues to focus on specific groups of women or specific practices rather than on how gender organizes communities, institutions, and culture in everyday life. HIV and AIDS risks are still assessed largely in terms of 'risk groups' and 'risk behaviours', rather than on the socio-structural environmental factors that shape behaviour and place particular groups at disproportionate risk. Both the physiological and social risk factors associated with sexual violence, for example, have been vastly underrepresented in the literature on HIV and AIDS risks. And, although a confluence of factors – HIV and AIDS, crisis, poverty – underpin various risk 'behaviours', HIV and AIDS policies and programmes have yet to adequately distinguish among and respond specifically to these varied circumstances and groups.

A singular and defining question emerged from the UNESCO-SSRC review: How and why is the response to the HIV epidemic failing women? While this stark observation emerges clearly from the latest epidemiological literature documenting

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1 UNAIDS/WHO, AIDS Epidemic Update, December 2005

2 The review is also available at <http://www.unesco.org/culture/aids> and <http://www.ssrc.org/programs/HIV/>

the unabated spread of HIV in young women and girls around the world, there is a dearth of critical and engaged literature which attends not only to the increasing vulnerability of women but the inability of the existing response to address it. The dominant focus on children affected by AIDS, and the current turn to female controlled methods and celebrity aid may in fact be deflecting attention to broader forms of social and gendered violence that concern both women and men. And there is growing evidence that the current epistemological framework within which we engage with the epidemic (i.e., the ways we measure risk and outcomes) may not be able to capture these processes.

### **Understanding the Fourth Wave**

To respond to these gaps in awareness, understanding and response, UNESCO's Division for Gender Equality in collaboration with the Division for Cultural Policies and Intercultural Dialogue commissioned the SSRC to co-publish an edited volume addressing what will be termed the 'Fourth Wave'. The volume brings together nearly 30 accomplished authors, senior policy makers and young scholars to offer original insights and empirical analyses of socio-cultural factors shaping the gendered course of the pandemic and responses to it. It poses provocative questions and challenges conventional theories and methods used to explain the pandemic's brutal effects on women and its tragic consequences. The volume does not treat gender as an additive variable, nor does it focus on women to the exclusion of men. Rather, it identifies explicit ways in which the global AIDS pandemic is, and has always been, 'gendered' and shows how increased understanding about these dimensions can shape more effective responses.

Section one, **The New Geographies of HIV and AIDS**, uses socio-cultural and human rights approaches to explore how globalisation shapes vulnerability to HIV along strongly gendered lines. Section two, **Cultures of Intervention**, explores the paradox and unintended consequences of massive institutional interventions and responses to the pandemic that have nonetheless appeared to recognize the centrality of gender issues to programme design and impact. Section three, **Cultures of Response**, focuses on how societies and individuals respond to HIV and AIDS interventions. It uses the lens of culture to sharpen analysis of the unwitting power of intervention to produce local responses that, inadvertently, may heighten social inequalities and gender vulnerabilities. Section four, **Cultures of Measurement**, interrogates the limitations and potential of widely accepted biomedical approaches to collecting and analysing HIV and AIDS data and proposes new concepts and theories for assessing and measuring socio-economic and cultural drivers and impacts.

Responding to the need for comparative approaches, the volume is global in scope, including emerging epidemics in India and China, areas with less-developed or under-recognized epidemics, as in the Caucasus, and those with advanced pandemics, such as sub-Saharan Africa. The volume takes interdisciplinary approaches that synthesize quantitative and on-the-ground qualitative research, avoiding the reduction of complex phenomena to simple biological or social variables. It seeks to contribute to the development of new conceptual frameworks that move beyond notions of risk behaviour and individual power, and that focus on risk context and structural power. It also gives attention to the way in which communities, organizations, institutions, and broader cultural influences both mediate and shape the epidemic's evolution.

Current research on these topics is not centralized or easily digestible for senior policy makers and practitioners. This volume synthesizes current state of the art knowledge for senior-level, UN bilateral policy makers and practitioners with the goal of bringing socio-cultural and gender analysis more centrally into HIV and AIDS policies and programmes. It builds on the important collection of articles compiled in the recent *International Social Science Journal* issue on HIV and AIDS, aiming to reach an even broader audience, including scholars, but directed more towards policy makers and practitioners. It also seeks to advance and deepen understanding about the broad range of issues outlined in the Commonwealth Secretariat's *Gender Mainstreaming in HIV and AIDS: Taking a Multisectoral Approach*. The goal of the volume is not only to assess the impacts of programmes, but to develop tools to further improve programme performance by analysing programmes from a gender perspective and within their broader socio-cultural context.

What follows are abstracts of the chapters contained in the forthcoming UNESCO/SSRC volume, *The Fourth Wave: Violence, Gender, Culture and HIV in the 21st Century*.

## CHAPTERS AND AUTHORS

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**Forward:** Saniye Gülser Corat and Lydia Ruprecht

**Introduction:** Vinh-Kim Nguyen and Jennifer F. Klot

This volume addresses the growing feminization of the pandemic and the aspects of everyday culture that undergird it. By documenting the pandemic's refractory impacts on women and girls, it exposes the deeply rooted socio-cultural, political and economic processes which are shaping the trajectory of the pandemic and responses to it.

### **Section I: The New Geography of HIV**

Introductory Essay: Veena Das

This section uses case studies from the frontlines of the epidemic to question unexamined assumptions in our current understanding of the AIDS pandemic and the intense and varied ways in which it is gendered. The assumed universalism of HIV determinants in epidemiological discourse distracts from local and situated knowledge and practices which can enable or prevent HIV transmission. Socio-cultural and human rights approaches need to be mindful of local socio-cultural factors and economies in order to better mobilize existing community energies in the response to the epidemic. Gender and generational relations – within and outside of families and communities – shape HIV risk and must be addressed and understood in both the context of local realities and broader social constellations of socio-cultural, economic and political terms.

1. The Global Risk Culture: Macro-Structural Contributors to Women's Vulnerability to HIV and AIDS (Colleen O'Manique)
2. Social exclusion: The Gendering of Adolescent HIV Risk in South Africa (Kelly Hallman)
3. HIV, Male Labour Migration and Female Risk Environments in the Southern Caucasus (Cynthia Buckley)
4. Armed Conflict, Refugee Camps and Patterns of Vulnerability to HIV Infection among Refugee Women and Girls in Sub-Saharan Africa (Johannes John-Langba)
5. The Price of Liberation: Economy, Gender and HIV and AIDS in the People's Republic of China (Shao Jing)
6. Masculinity + HIV = Risk: Exploring the Relationship between Masculinities, Education and HIV in the Caribbean (David Plummer)

### **Section II: Cultures of Intervention**

Introductory Essay: Didier Fassin

This section focuses on global responses to the epidemic. In light of the manifest failure of international HIV interventions to protect women, it asks whether these responses are sufficiently attentive to the gendered vulnerabilities discussed in the previous section, despite the acknowledged centrality of gender discourses in the response to the epidemic. It explores the unintended consequences of massive institutional interventions and responses to the pandemic that have nonetheless appeared to recognize the centrality of gender issues to programme design and impact.

7. The Rock Man's Burden? (Product)<sup>RED™</sup>, African Women and AIDS at the New Frontier of Development Assistance (Lisa Ann Richey and Stefano Ponte)
8. Nevirapine for the Prevention of Mother-to-Child Transmission of HIV: Travelling with Baggage (Alton Phillips)
9. Horizontal Approaches: Social Protection and the Response to HIV and AIDS in Brazil (Inês Dourado, Vera Paiva, Francisco Inácio Bastos)
10. How Should We Understand Sexual Violence and HIV and AIDS in Conflict Contexts? (Judy El Bushra)

### **Section III: Cultures of Response**

Introductory Essay: Mary Crewe

This section focuses on how societies and individuals respond to HIV interventions, focusing specifically on unintended and unexamined responses. This examination uses the lens of culture to sharpen analysis of how interventions produce cultural forms and local responses, rather than seeing culture as a barrier to intervention. We demonstrate in this section the unwitting power of intervention to produce cultures of response that, inadvertently, may heighten local social inequalities and gender vulnerabilities.

11. Colonial Silences, Gender and Sexuality: Unpacking International HIV and AIDS Policy Culture (Hakan Seckinelgin)
12. 'Sleeping with My Dead Husband's Brother!' The Impact of HIV and AIDS on Widowhood and Widow Inheritance in Kampala, Uganda (Stella Nyanzi, Margaret Emodu-Walakira and Wilberforce Serwaniko)
13. An Epidemic of Meanings: The Importance of Language, Gender, and History in HIV and AIDS Responses – A Case study of Iran (Orkideh Behrouzan)
14. Masculinities, Homosexualities and Sexual Violence in India and Namibia: Beyond the New Geography of Dissident Gender/Sexual Identity Categories (Robert Lorway)
15. Getting Results: Pimping, Policing and Orphaning in Targeted HIV Programmes in French West Africa (Joséphine Aho and Vinh-Kim Nguyen)
16. AIDS, Gender and Access to Antiretroviral Treatment in South Africa (Nicoli Natrass)

#### **Section IV: Cultures of Measurement**

Introductory Essay: Philip Setel

This section provides a critique of the data collection and knowledge production related to the pandemic within the context of a constantly evolving and dynamic bio-social environment. It further examines the dangers of over interpreting data, its selective use, and how well-intentioned desires for rapid information and responses can misrepresent the way in which the pandemic is evolving on the ground. It interrogates the limitations and potential of widely accepted biomedical approaches to understanding socio-cultural drivers and impacts of HIV and AIDS.

17. Epidemiological Fallacies: Beyond Methodological Individualism (Catherine M. Pirkle)
18. Measuring the Gendered Consequences of AIDS: Householding and Poverty in South Africa (Jeremy Seekings)
19. Measuring the Impacts of HIV on Household Structure and Gender Relations (Patrick Heuveline)
20. Behind the Scenes of Sex and Sexual Debut: Unpacking Measurement (Charlotte Watts)
21. From Unpaid to Paid Care Work: HIV and AIDS, Women's Time-tax Burdens and Macroeconomic Implications of Employment Guarantee Programmes (Rania Antonopoulos and Taun Toay)

## **ABSTRACTS**

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### **Section I: The New Geography Of HIV**

#### **The Global Risk Culture: Macro-Structural Contributors to Women's Vulnerability to HIV and AIDS**

*Colleen O'Manique*

Drawing on the insights of feminist political economy and the political economy of HIV and AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, this chapter draws attention to the influence of global economic restructuring over the past three decades on the gendered dimensions of risk, vulnerability to HIV and AIDS and policy responses to it. The gendered dimensions of risk and resilience are about more than inequalities between men and women, boys and girls; rather, they are encoded in cultural practices at the household and community levels. The chapter argues that the global political economy is an important contributor to the feminization of the AIDS pandemic, and that the pathways between deep structures and the feminization of HIV and AIDS include changes in gendered divisions of labour and power within households and communities; an increasing polarization in the distribution of income and resources; disruptions to local economies; and the erosion of the exercise of citizenship.

#### **Social exclusion: The Gendering of Adolescent HIV Risk in South Africa**

*Kelly Hallman*

This chapter investigates the links between community social cohesion, group membership and individual sexual behaviours that increase the risk of HIV among 14 to 18-year-olds in KwaZulu-Natal province (South Africa). Social capital indices and then their components were used in successive multivariate regressions. The study showed that young men in more cohesive communities were less likely to have a non-consensual first sexual experience. Residing in a turbulent community was associated with an increased likelihood of multiple partners for both sexes. Greater perceived trust among neighbours



mapped to higher ages for young women's sexual debut and a lower likelihood of nonconsensual sex, as did membership in sports, study and religious groups. In particular, young women who were members of sports groups were less likely to experience non-consensual sex and were more than 11 times more likely to have used a condom during their last sexual encounter than young women who were not members. At the same time, membership in musical groups was associated with earlier sexual debut for young men. The study concludes that the design and targeting of HIV-prevention programmes for adolescents should incorporate such gendered social determinants of vulnerability.

### **HIV, Male Labour Migration and Female Risk Environments in the Southern Caucasus**

*Cynthia Buckley*

Who migrates? What are the effects of migration on the families of migrants? This chapter contributes to studies of HIV transmission and migration by focusing on migration as a household rather than an individual activity and by exploring how migration is linked, directly or indirectly, to behaviours related to increasing the risk of HIV infection among household members. It concentrates on migrant-sending families in the southern Caucasus, a region noted for wide-scale male labour migration and rapid increases in HIV incidence. Secondary statistics and insights from fieldwork in the region indicate that women in households from which a man has migrated are challenged in terms of relational and behavioural pathways to HIV exposure. The results point to the importance of considering all members of migrant households (including women and children) in establishing the effect of migration on the risk of HIV infection and the particular importance of viewing migrant wives as active social agents rather than passive partners exposed to risk only through the behaviour of their husbands.

### **Armed Conflict, Refugee Camps and Patterns of Vulnerability to HIV Infection among Refugee Women and Girls in Sub-Saharan Africa**

*Johannes John-Langba*

The gendered dimensions of exposure to HIV during armed conflicts and in refugee and post-conflict situations in sub-Saharan Africa are still under-documented. In particular, very little is known about the varying patterns of female vulnerability to HIV in conflict zones, where women and girls are likely to be victims of sexual violence and exploitation. Using empirical research evidence from fieldwork conducted in sub-Saharan Africa, this chapter examines the patterns of women and girls' vulnerability to HIV during armed conflicts, refugee situations and post-conflict transitions. It presents evidence-based analysis of the impact of sexual and gender-based violence and exploitation on this vulnerability and in these contexts. These patterns suggest specific prevention approaches not only in terms of sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) prevention and response but also of national HIV and AIDS policies and interventions in the region. Research evidence from the region suggests complex relationships between violence against women, gender norms – such as those associated with masculinity – and social problems such as migration, poverty and crime that require nuanced analyses for effective HIV and AIDS policy and practice interventions, particularly during armed conflicts and in refugee and post-conflict situations. In sub-Saharan Africa, conflict and displacement prepare the way for the spread of HIV by increasing individual and community risks of HIV infection through the increased vulnerability of women and girls to sexual violence and exploitation within an environment of decreased availability and/or use of reproductive health and other health services, as well as low levels of knowledge about HIV prevention and condom use.

### **The Price of Liberation: Economy, Gender and HIV and AIDS in the People's Republic of China**

*Shao Jing*

In China, gender figures prominently in epidemiologically informed interventions aimed at preventing the sexual transmission of HIV. However, as an anthropological investigation of the outbreak of HIV infection among commercial plasma donors in rural central China in the early 1990s suggests, a gendered understanding remains crucial in radically different epidemiological settings where sex may, or may not, be the primary route of transmission. The chapter presents three concurrent historical processes: agricultural sector reforms, health care reforms, and the emergence of a plasma fractionation industry. It argues that the pathological confluence of these historical processes determined the scope and shape, that is, the geography and demography of the HIV epidemic among plasma donors in rural central China. The chapter also uncovers the conditions for value to be extracted, not from labour, but from human plasma harvested from rural residents, and concludes that future efforts to curb the spread of HIV and to alleviate the suffering of those already infected should pay attention to these same conditions, especially as they are influenced by persistent gender inequalities that produce new forms of vulnerability.

## **Masculinity + HIV = Risk: Exploring the Relationship Between Masculinities, Education and HIV in the Caribbean**

*David Plummer*

Using qualitative data, this chapter analyses the impact on men of shifting gender roles in the Caribbean region. In recent decades, Caribbean women have made great strides in educational attainment. In contrast, gender taboos mean that opportunities for a boy to secure his gender identity have increasingly shifted away from educational achievements towards physical dominance, including through hard, physical, risk-taking, hyper-masculine activities such as bullying, harassment, crime, violence and risky sexual behaviour. Boys who engage in intellectual pursuits are vulnerable to being considered 'suspect' by their peers. For example, boys who show a preference for reading regularly report homophobic criticism: homosexuality is perhaps the deepest masculine taboo of all. Likewise, through the twin mechanisms of masculine obligation and taboo, a wide range of risk-taking behaviours, including those related to vulnerability to HIV infection, have become resiliently embedded in the social fabric and are, as a result, extremely resistant to change. 'Social embedding' exerts its effect via gender roles, peer group dynamics, taboo and stigma, and socio-economic inequalities.

## **Section II: Cultures of Intervention**

### **The Rock Man's Burden? (Product)<sup>RED™</sup>, African Women and AIDS at the New Frontier of Development Assistance**

*Lisa Ann Richey and Stefano Ponte*

(Product)<sup>RED™</sup> is a brand created to raise awareness and money for The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria by teaming up with iconic brands to produce RED-branded products. The advent of 'Brand Aid' explicitly linked to commerce, not philanthropy, reconfigures the modalities of funding international development assistance. RED is situated as a new kind of intervention in the international response to HIV and AIDS in Africa. The chapter considers (Product)<sup>RED™</sup> as an example of cause-related marketing, consumer-driven philanthropy, but also as a meaningful player in representing HIV and AIDS and Africa. The chapter draws on Treichler's (1999) work that argues that the representations of AIDS are critical to shaping the possibilities for understanding, responding and living with the disease. (Product)<sup>RED™</sup>'s representation of HIV and AIDS distracts our attention from critical gender relations issues in the context of recipient societies in Africa and consumer societies in the North.

### **Nevirapine for the Prevention of Mother-to-Child Transmission of HIV: Travelling with Baggage**

*Alton Phillips*

Nevirapine has been lauded as a 'magic bullet' to prevent mother-to-child transmission (PMTCT) of the HIV virus. Despite the availability of more effective regimens and concerns about the development of drug resistance, single-dose Nevirapine has become one of the most widely used antiretroviral regimens for PMTCT in developing countries. To understand how this came about, the chapter traces the life course of Nevirapine and its intersections with gender as it travels from clinical trials, becomes entangled in donor regulations on pharmaceutical procurement, and ultimately into the supply chains that distribute Nevirapine and other ARVs to people living with HIV and AIDS. The story of Nevirapine reveals the influential role of donors in shaping the culture of response to the pandemic, and how this culture has been characterized by an 'emergency' mindset that focuses overwhelmingly on short-term goals, often to the detriment of more effective long-term strategies.

### **Horizontal Approaches: Social Protection and the Response to HIV and AIDS in Brazil**

*Inês Dourado, Vera Paiva, Francisco Inácio Bastos*

This chapter discusses challenges faced by the Brazilian response to the HIV and AIDS pandemic, which has been marked by growing social inequalities, 'heterosexualization', 'pauperization' and 'interiorization' of the virus. It assesses the response in Brazil, coordinated by a government coalition, which included different stakeholders and civil society organizations and that cooperated closely with international stakeholders. The chapter calls for innovative research to monitor hard-to-reach vulnerable populations and for initiatives to address persistent gender, regional, racial and age inequalities. The chapter concludes that Brazil's initiatives to curb the spread of HIV and AIDS have made great strides but, as one of the world's most unequal societies, much remains to be done.



## **How Should We Understand Sexual Violence and HIV and AIDS in Conflict Contexts**

*Judy El Bushra*

Gaps in our understanding of the social context of HIV transmission hinder our capacity to provide an effective response in situations of violent conflict. To address this, the chapter explores the conflict-sexual violence-HIV and AIDS nexus from the perspective of gender relations. It summarizes evidence on sexual violence and international responses to it in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda, suggesting that, despite strong policy advocacy and campaigning and increased project investment, the collective sum of policy, programme and political responses have failed to make a dent in overall levels of sexual violence in the Great Lakes region of Africa. The transformational potential of gender frameworks lies in their capacity to throw light on the nature and quality of human sexual relationships, but to achieve this they must incorporate an analysis of power relations, including the structures within which these are reproduced and their affective and ideological underpinnings.

## **Section III: Cultures of Response**

### **Colonial Silences, Gender and Sexuality: Unpacking International HIV and AIDS Policy Culture**

*Hakan Seckinelgin*

This chapter analyses the international policy processes that have evolved over the past two decades in relation to HIV and AIDS interventions in developing countries. It identifies six dimensions of 'unexamined areas' in the way that the policy processes are gendered. It argues that the gendered nature of international policies has impacted the way these policies have addressed questions of sexual behaviour and HIV and AIDS by constructing and reproducing silent gender prejudices within the policy implementation context. The chapter suggests that this is due to the gap that exists between policy perspectives and the way people think about their own sexual behaviour in their own socio-cultural contexts. This gap is considered to be instrumental in considerations on why policies succeed or fail.

### **'Sleeping with My Dead Husband's Brother!': The Impact of HIV and AIDS on Widowhood and Widow Inheritance in Kampala, Uganda**

*Stella Nyanzi, Margaret Emodu-Walakira and Wilberforce Serwaniko*

This chapter explores interactions between HIV and AIDS, gendered experiences of widowhood and local enactments of widow inheritance in Kampala, Uganda. It is based on a study that triangulated policy review, participant observation, focus group discussions and individual interviews of 35 widows and 9 widowers of Kiganda ethnicity. The study found that widows and widowers are increasingly stigmatised because they are suspected of being HIV-positive. Many of the participants reported ostracisation, alienation or blame for HIV infection – particularly if their spouse died of an AIDS-related illness. During the funeral rites, a levir (typically the deceased husband's brother or kin) is appointed to take care of the widow(s). HIV and AIDS are reconfiguring the interactions between widows and levirs; in particular, sexual relationships between the two no longer occur because of the fear of (re-)infection. In addition, many levirs no longer offer the necessary support to widows and orphans. The chapter provides evidence that in order to compensate for this development and the lack of targeted public provision for widows and widowers, individuals are increasingly mobilizing informal support networks among their families and community, as well as in workplaces and religious organizations.

### **An Epidemic of Meanings: The Importance of Language, Gender, and History in HIV and AIDS Responses: A Case study of Iran**

*Orkideh Behrouzan*

The AIDS epidemic needs to be understood in both medical and socio-cultural terms. As the Islamic Republic of Iran's successful harm reduction policies have shown, the HIV and AIDS epidemic in the country has distinctive features and requires customized approaches. Gender is a pivotal pole around which meanings and power relations evolve and revolve. Addressing gendered aspects of the epidemic must go beyond the inclusion of women as a risk group: gender roles, gendered (and gendering) languages, the sexual histories of both men and women and the status of individuals in social and sexual networks also need to be examined. Historical and socio-political contexts provide important access to the dynamics of an epidemic. An understanding of the semantic relays in the Iranian HIV and AIDS discourses surrounding, explaining and attempting to intervene in the epidemic is necessary. Equally important to understanding the course of the evolution of an epidemic is an examination of the psychology of gender, language and professional discourses.

## **Masculinities, Homosexualities and Sexual Violence in India and Namibia: Beyond the New Geography of Dissident Gender/Sexual Identity Categories**

*Robert Lorway*

The homosexual transmission of HIV in Africa now receives significant attention as health and development initiatives begin to target African men who have sex with men (MSM). This chapter critically examines interventions that foster sexual self-recognition among sexual minorities in Namibia, placing particular emphasis upon the gendered subject positions that surface within communities of young, feminine males. These men's idioms of "uncontrollable and unexplainable" desire for violent men as sexual partners reveal the ironies surrounding these interventions, which celebrate gender/sexual non-conformity as they depoliticise gender inequalities between males. Drawing upon long-term ethnographic research, this chapter illustrates the cultural politics through which a new geography of homosexuality proliferates. It argues that the notion of MSM as a universal, decontextualised risk group or as a global typology of fixed cultural identities must be re-conceptualised within HIV prevention policy to account for how emerging sexualities interact with local gender and power inequalities between men and women.

## **Getting Results: Pimping, Policing and Orphaning in Targeted HIV Programmes in French West Africa**

*Joséphine Aho and Vinh-Kim Nguyen*

In HIV interventions, 'gender' is often reduced to differentiating women from men and they fail, therefore, to engage with the realities of power that shape relationships between individuals in everyday life. Using epidemiological and anthropological approaches, and qualitative and quantitative methodologies, the chapter presents examples of some unintended consequences of HIV prevention and treatment programmes in two West African settings. In the case of prevention, the chapter examines the impact of an intervention targeting a core group of high-risk sex workers. The chapter also explores the impact of antiretroviral treatment programmes on women who are their principal beneficiary. It argues that it is necessary to assess and take into account the unexpected consequences of interventions as they, in turn, may shape the epidemic and responses to interventions. The chapter provides a critique of conventional behavioural and biomedical indicators and concludes that multidisciplinary approaches are necessary in this respect.

## **AIDS, Gender and Access to Antiretroviral Treatment in South Africa**

*Nicoli Natrass*

This chapter explores the role of gender in shaping the HIV and AIDS epidemic and structuring access to highly active antiretroviral treatment (HAART) amongst African people in South Africa. South African women are at greater risk of HIV infection than men, but are more likely to access HAART once they become sick with AIDS. Using regression analysis of survey data, the chapter argues that the main reason for the under-representation of men in HAART programmes is that constructions of masculinity militate against accessing care for all illnesses. The chapter argues that policies to increase access to HAART should therefore focus more closely on the cultural and ideational barriers faced by men.

## **Section IV: Cultures of Measurement**

### **Epidemiological Fallacies: Beyond Methodological Individualism**

*Catherine M. Pirkle*

While no single measure can capture every gender dimension of the epidemic, certain measures may be better suited than others. While it is broadly accepted that gender plays a determining role in many HIV epidemics across the world, this chapter demonstrates the inadequacies of conventional methodologies in measuring such impacts. Gender is not well-captured by predominant epidemiological methods, which have difficulties linking gender, as a structural characteristic, to individual outcomes. Women's social vulnerability to HIV stems from gender norms shaped at levels that reach beyond the individual; it is therefore very difficult to alter at the level of the individual. As a result, interventions based solely on the assumption that gender is a malleable behavioural characteristic will be innately flawed, as they will fail to recognize that gender is constrained by social norms and expectations.

## **Measuring the Gendered Consequences of AIDS: Householding and Poverty in South Africa**

*Jeremy Seekings*

This chapter examines the indirect effects of AIDS on African women in South Africa, using quantitative and qualitative research. Indirect effects include the impact of the syndrome on care-givers and dependents. The scope of such effects depends on the 'radius of responsibility' among and between kith and kin. South African women living with HIV and AIDS now have increased access to employment opportunities and public grants, but they still have less access to resources for themselves or their children. Their access to resources from kin (especially husbands and kin through marriage, or paternal kin for children) is also diminishing. Whilst the 'extended family' accommodates almost all orphaned children, the 'radius of responsibility' among kin has shrunk dramatically for the sick or adults without assured sources of income. Responsibilities are also exercised more often through co-habitation rather than financial remittances. The changing nature of kinship has implications for research on AIDS and poverty; it is therefore important to focus more closely on the claims that individuals can make on, and their responsibilities towards, other people.

## **Measuring the Impacts of HIV on Household Structure and Gender Relations**

*Patrick Heweline*

This chapter presents a review of the impacts of the HIV epidemic on households, focusing on orphans from populations with high HIV prevalence in eastern and southern Africa. The HIV-related mortality that first attracted the attention of demographers is now recognized as only one of the potential social impacts of the epidemic on the demographic systems of these populations (such as fostering, marriage, household structures, gendered relationships, etc.). In order to exemplify the challenges of documenting any such consequences, the chapter focuses on one of the epidemic's least ambiguous effects: its impact on orphans. It addresses the paucity of our knowledge about ex ante social institutions, the multifaceted social changes contemporaneous with the epidemic and the use of broad empirical categories as limiting factors in understanding the mechanisms through which the epidemic operates and on our ability to inform policies that would mediate its effects on orphans.

## **Behind the Scenes of Sex and Sexual Debut: Unpacking Measurement**

*Charlotte Watts*

The HIV epidemic has led to extensive research on sexual behaviour around the world and across different cultures and settings. Most population research focuses on quantifying numbers of sexual partners, sex acts and condom use. The chapter presents evidence of physical and sexual violence against women, including at sexual debut and from women's partners, to illustrate the dangers of using simple reductionist measures to understand sexual behaviour, and argues that current methods of quantifying and understanding risk need to be overhauled. Research priorities focus on how to move beyond categorizations of patterns of sexual behaviour to documentation of the levels and drivers of coerced, unwanted and unsafe sex. The chapter concludes that a more nuanced understanding of the power structures and contexts that underpin risk, including the role of gender, economic and power inequalities, is more likely to provide meaningful insights for prevention.

## **From Unpaid to Paid Care Work: HIV and AIDS, Women's Time-tax Burdens and Macroeconomic Implications of Employment Guarantee Programmes**

*Rania Antonopoulos and Taun Toay*

This chapter considers public employment guarantee programmes in the context of South Africa as a policy tool that has the ability to address the nexus of poverty, unemployment and unpaid work burdens, all factors exacerbated by HIV and AIDS. To be effective as an intervention, the authors argue, public job creation must be gender-informed, particularly so in view of the HIV and AIDS pandemic. Paying particular attention to mitigating the 'time-tax' burdens of women, the chapter focuses on a South African government initiative, the Expanded Public Works Programme. This job creation programme, in addition to physical infrastructure, includes projects designed to redress social sector service delivery deficits. To help offset the destabilizing effects of HIV and AIDS and endemic poverty, the chapter highlights the need for scaling up resource allocation for Community Home-Based Care (CHBC). The authors conclude with results from macroeconomic simulations for such an enlarged programme, using a Social Accounting Matrix (SAM) framework, and set out its implications for participants and policymakers.

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