GENDER & HEALTH

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Theories of sex and gender

The relevance of sex and gender for health

Theorising Sex and Gender

Defining sex and gender

Sex

- Biological/ physiological
- Defined by body reproductive organs

Gender

 Behavioural expression of being male or female

 Socially constructed/learned behaviour – therefore potentially open to change

What is the link between sex and gender?



Biological Theories

- Sex is a universal biological characteristic which is either male or female
- Sex "causes" gender
 - i.e. gender is determined by biology
- All differences between males and females are biological
 - e.g., hormones; physiological processes

Critiques of Biological Theories

How many sexes are there really?

- Male
- Female
- Intersex
 - hermaphrodites
 - female pseudohermaphrodites
 - male pseudohermaphrodites

Critique of Biological Theories

- Doesn't account for other graduations along the male/female sex dichotomy:
 - Transgender
 - Transsexuality

Socialisation Theories

- Sex is still seen as fixed universal biological body
- BUT: Sex does not cause gender
- Links between sex and gender are arbitrary
- Gender is based on learned behaviour

Criticisms of Socialisation Theories

- See gender as binary/dichotomous, as one out of two mutually exclusive roles
 - A person either behaves male or female
- Emphasis on maximum differences between male/female
- Only one female/male personality ignores different types of femininity/masculinity

Constructionist Theories

- Gender not static nor binary, but is rather socially constructed and dynamic
- Gender is produced and *re*produced through people's actions, language, interactions
- Gender is something that a person *does* instead of something that a person *is*

Why are sex and gender both relevant when discussing health?

Interactions between sex, gender & health



Interaction between sex, gender & health

Biological factors

- Hormonal differences
- Other physiological factors
- Reproductive health
 - e.g. maternal mortality, unsafe abortions

Social factors

- Gender inequality
- Occupation
- Risky behaviours and health-related behaviours
- Cultural norms and practices



Gender inequality – implications for women's & girls' health

- Examples:
 - Violence against women incl. intimate partner
 - violence and sexual child abuse
 - Sex-specific abortions
 - Discriminatory feeding practices
 - Access to health care system
 - Ability to make decisions regarding own health

Figure 13.2: Percentage of women who have a final say in decision-making regarding their own health care, 2001–2005.



Source: WHO (2008) Closing the gap within a generation

Case study: Gendered nature of HIV/AIDS

In South Africa, 26.5% of women between 20-24 are infected with HIV, whereas only 7.2% of men in the same age group are infected with the virus.

Source: Rob Dorrington et al (2006) *The Demographic Impact of HIV/AIDS in South Africa – National and Provincial Indicators for 2006.*



Women's increased vulnerability to HIV/AIDS

Biological factors

- Greater mucosal surface area in genital organs
- Higher viral load in semen than vaginal fluids
- STIs often undetected in women

Gendered factors

- □ Gender inequality
 - Ability to negotiate condom use
 - Poverty
 - Access to information
- Transactional sex with older men & sex work
- Cultural practices
- Victims of rape
 - mostly female
 - risk of injuries

Men's health and health behaviour

W. H. Courtenay "Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: a theory of gender & health" Social Science & Medicine 50 (2000) 1385-1401.

Mortality (USA)

- Men die nearly 7 years younger than women and have higher death rates for all 15 leading causes of death
- Men's age-adjusted death rate for heart disease is
 2 x higher than women's
- Men's cancer death rate is 1.5 x higher than women's
 - Cancer death rates among African American men are
 2x higher than among African American women

Morbidity (USA)

Incidence of 7 out of 10 of the most common infectious diseases is higher among men than women

Factors associated with health and longevity

Social determinants of health

- Socio-economic status
- Racial exclusion
- Access to care
- ••••

BUT: These factors cannot by themselves explain gender differences in health and longevity.

Case study: Men & skin cancer

In the US, skin cancer death rate is twice as high for men as for women (CDC, 1995)

□ Why?

Explanations skin cancer morbidity in men

- □ More exposure
- Men are 1.5 x more likely to believe that one looks better with a tan (American Academy of Dermatology, 1997)
- Men are significantly less likely to use sunscreen (Mermelstein an Risenberg, 1992; Courtenay, 1998)
- □ Use of screening services for skin cancer lower
- Use of curative services for skin cancer lower

Men's health behaviours

- Use of preventive care
 - Health screening and self-examination
 - Other forms of preventive care
- Use of curative care
- Risky (health) behaviours
 - Prevalence of risk behaviours such as smoking, drinking and driving, not using safety belts etc. more common among men in all but 3 of 14 non-sex-specific behaviours!

Why do men engage in risky or less healthy behaviour?

Hegemonic masculinity

- □ To be (seen as) a "real" man, men must...
 - Deny weakness or vulnerability
 - Be emotionally and physically in control
 - Appear strong
 - Dismiss any need for help
 - Be ceaselessly interested in sex
 - Display aggressive behaviour and physical dominance

Men construct gender by... (I)

... reenacting and endorsing hegemonic behaviour

Engaging in dangerous or risky behaviour

- Driving dangerously
- Consuming alcohol
- Not wearing seat-belts
- Dismissing health care needs
 - Not needing sick leave
 - Not going to see a doctor
 - Denying pain

Men construct gender by... (II)

- Rejecting what is constructed as feminine:
 - health care utilisation
 - positive health beliefs
 - positive health behaviours
- These behaviours are constructed as forms of femininity and must therefore be opposed

(Health) Behaviours & gender

- Men and women are active agents in constructing and reconstructing dominant norms of masculinity and femininity
- Health beliefs and behaviours are a way of constructing or demonstrating gender
- Men use (health) behaviour to fit into dominant masculine ideals that clearly establish them as men

Challenge

The evidence presented by Courtenay is largely from the US – do his conclusions apply in other settings, particularly in developing countries?

Applicability in other contexts

Gender roles and identities may vary from country to country but patriarchal structures still dominant in both the developed and developing countries

Example from developing countries:
 VCT

- Alcohol consumption
- Violence



- Gender is a socially and culturally constructed concept that changes over time
- People are actively involved in constructing gender through their behaviours
- Gendered behaviour" and "gendered vulnerability" have strong implications for health and should therefore be considered in public health interventions