

How Men Are Transforming Masculinities and Engaging Men and Boys to End Violence against Women and Girls in Zimbabwe: A Case Study

Major Research Paper

By Amber Minnings

Student #6707129

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Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Acknowledgements | 2 |
| Acronyms | 3 |
| Abstract | 4 |
| Section 1: Introduction | |
| Background | 5 |
| Research Objectives | 7 |
| Methodologies | 7 |
| Methods | 9 |
| Ethics | 14 |
| Section 2: Literature Review | |
| Masculinities and Gender-based Violence | 16 |
| Engaging Men and Boys to End Violence against Women | 18 |
| Gender and Development | 21 |
| Zimbabwean Masculinities and Gender Relations | 22 |
| Sex and Gender in Shona Communities | 23 |
| Colonial Masculinities | 25 |
| Gender, Nationalism and War | 28 |
| Negotiating Gender Identities after Independence | 31 |
| Section 3: Engaging Men and Boys to End Violence against Women in Zimbabwe | |
| Padare/Enkundleni/Men's Forum on Gender | 35 |
| Transforming Masculinities | |
| Men's Roles in Achieving Gender Justice | 37 |
| Toxic and Transformative Masculinities | 38 |
| Activities and Engagement Strategies | |
| Forums and Dialogues | 40 |
| Media and Messages | 42 |
| Violence against Women and Girls | 43 |
| Entry Points to Working with Men and Boys | |
| Gatekeepers | 45 |
| HIV/AIDS | 47 |
| Key Partners | 49 |
| Family AIDS Caring Trust | 49 |
| Women's Organizations | 51 |
| Men's Organizations | 52 |
| National and International Networks | 53 |
| Government and State Institutions | 54 |
| Ongoing Challenges | |
| Resistance | 56 |
| Funding | 59 |
| Politics | 60 |
| Section 4: Conclusion | |
| Key Findings | 60 |
| Research Summary | 63 |
| Reference List | 65 |
| Appendix: List of Interview Participants | 73 |

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Acronyms

AFI – Africa Fatherhood Initiative

CBT - Cognitive-behavioural Therapy

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

DVA – Domestic Violence Act

FACT – Family AIDS Caring Trust

GAD - Gender and Development

GBV – Gender-based Violence

IDS – International Development Studies

MDC – Movement for Democratic Change

Padare – Padare/Enkundleni/Men’s Forum on Gender

RF – Rhodesian Front

TTM - Transtheoretical Model of Behaviour Change

UNFPA – United Nations Population Fund

UNICEF – United Nations Children’s Fund

USAID – U.S. Agency for International Development

VAW – Violence Against Women (and Girls)

WCoZ – Women’s Coalition of Zimbabwe

ZANLA - Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZANU-PF – Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

ZIPRA - Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

Abstract

Physical, sexual and psychological violence against women and girls (VAW) is widespread in Zimbabwe and cannot be addressed without engaging men and boys. Men commit the majority of VAW and are most likely to be influenced by and receptive to discussions about masculinity and VAW when approached by other men, meaning anti-violence work led by and for men and boys is critical to solving the problem.

Padare/Enkundleni/Men's Forum on Gender has been leading men's gender justice and anti-violence efforts in Zimbabwe for almost 20 years, yet their approaches and strategies have never been systematically studied. This paper uses an intersectional feminist framework to analyze relevant literature, documents, and interviews with members of Padare and their partners, in order to situate the organization's work within Zimbabwe's unique social and historical context. The study identifies Padare's concerns, goals, activities and strategies of transforming masculinities and engaging men and boys to end VAW in Zimbabwe.

Padare is found to be an innovative organization with several notable strengths and challenges. Among the organization's strengths are its ability to reach individuals and communities that women's organizations cannot, such as traditional and religious leaders, abusers and ordinary men; its ability to work at multiple levels, including with individuals, communities, civil society, government and state institutions; and its ability to expand space for public discussion on taboo topics, such as gender identity, sexuality and HIV/AIDS, and violence against women and girls. The organization's challenges include a backlash from men and women that is rooted in identity and ideology; tensions with the women's movement regarding funding; and vulnerability to domestic and international political crises. Overall, this case study demonstrates that men play an important role in addressing issues of VAW in Zimbabwe.

Section 1: Introduction

Background

Physical, sexual, and psychological violence against women and girls (VAW) will not end without engaging men and boys. As the majority of violence against both women and men is perpetrated by men (Casey & Smith, 2010) and violence is often an integral part of masculinities (Katz 2006; Kaufman, 1999b; Kimmel, 2000), scholars suggest that it is men's attitudes, identities, behaviours, and relations that must change in order to end VAW (Flood, 2011; Katz, 2006). Surveys and interviews with men who have chosen to do anti-violence work have shown that men are most likely to be influenced by and receptive to discussions about masculinity and VAW when approached by other men (Casey & Smith, 2010; Crooks et al., 2007; Katz, 2006); therefore, anti-violence work that is led by and targets men and boys is critical in addressing the issue.

Men are engaging in anti-violence work and contesting harmful masculinities worldwide, but there is very little written on this topic that focuses on Zimbabwe. Given that domestic and politically-motivated VAW are widespread in Zimbabwe (ZIMSTAT, 2012; AIDS-Free World, 2009) and that men have been leading anti-violence efforts for over 18 years (Padare, 2014), this lack of inquiry is a major oversight. To fill this gap in the literatures on masculinities, VAW, and gender and development (GAD), my major research paper (MRP) examines how Padare/Enkundleni/Men's Forum on Gender (Padare) - Zimbabwe's only anti-sexist men's organization – is attempting to transform masculinities and engage men and boys to end VAW.

Although VAW is not the only form of gender-based violence (GBV), as any violence that is perpetrated against an individual on the basis of their gender is included under this label, violence that is directed toward those who are biologically female is by far the most common.

According to the Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey of 2010-11, 30% of Zimbabwean women age 15-49 have experienced physical violence; 27% have experienced sexual violence, 90% of which was committed by a current or former husband, partner, or boyfriend; and, only 37% of women who experienced physical or sexual violence sought help (ZIMSTAT, 2012, p.251). This high level of abuse constitutes a clear violation of women and girls' human rights, and is also damaging to men and boys who may be traumatized by witnessing such violence.

While national and international frameworks for protecting women's rights exist in Zimbabwe, they are not consistently upheld. Zimbabwe ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1991, but the Zimbabwean state has done little to implement this law. According to shadow reports to the CEDAW Committee produced by the Zimbabwean women's movement, significant abuses of women's rights, including VAW, are ongoing (Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance, n.d). Furthermore, the country has not created a National Action Plan to implement the United Nations' Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security, nor has it made efforts to implement Security Council Resolution 1820 on sexual violence in conflict, despite being named as a country of concern in the opening remarks. In 2001, the Sexual Offences Act criminalized marital rape, but prior to that the Zimbabwean legal system supported men's entitlement to sex within marriage (Mugweni et al., 2012). Currently, it is the 2007 Domestic Violence Act (DVA) that provides the core of Zimbabwe's national laws to address various forms of abuse, as it provides a legal framework to prosecute perpetrators; however, this law is also largely unenforced (AIDS-Free World, 2009; Mutenga, 2012). In fact, the Zimbabwean police and military have been implicated in the 2008 rape campaign that marred that year's national elections (AIDS-Free World, 2009). Given this culture of impunity, civil society

organizing to promote women's rights and end VAW is essential to address these problems at a local level and to put pressure on the Zimbabwean state to uphold both its national laws and international agreements.

Research Objectives

Because Padare is the only national organization run by and for Zimbabwean men and boys with the purpose of transforming masculinities and ending VAW¹, it is important to study in order to gain an understanding of Zimbabwean men's efforts to address these issues. By focussing on this organization's work in the context of Zimbabwe's social history, I aim to identify popular concepts of manhood and how Padare is challenging these. I do not evaluate the effectiveness of their efforts, but rather explore the concerns and goals identified by Padare in relation to masculinities, gender inequality and VAW. I then analyze how Padare frames these concerns and goals within discourse, and examine the strategies and activities they use to pursue social change. To my knowledge, this is first study focussing on men's efforts to transform masculinities and end VAW in Zimbabwe.

Methodologies

This study uses an intersectional feminist framework that recognizes the changing nature of socially constructed gender identities and sees men as allies in ending VAW. This theoretical framing is sometimes referred to as a pro-feminist approach (Crooks et al., 2007; Kaufman, 1999a). The paper positions men as agents of social change within the Zimbabwean social context, and as educators and activists within a global movement of men who promote gender

¹ The Africa Fatherhood Initiative (AFI), a pan-African fatherhood organization, is also working to transform masculinities and end violence against women in Zimbabwe; however, it is based in South Africa and seems to have limited reach in Zimbabwe. For more detailed information, please see *Men's Organizations* on page 52.

equality and gender justice. This framework also recognizes the intersectional nature of identity; that is, that race, class, gender, sexual orientation, disability, and other factors all intersect and interact to position an individual within a social context. Certain aspects of an individual's identity may privilege them, while other aspects may marginalize them, meaning various elements of identity must be considered simultaneously.

A few common principles characterize research as feminist. Brooke Ackerly and Jacqui True (2010) suggest that at the core of feminist research is "a sense of accountability to the women's movement" (p.465) and a desire to do research that is of value to women or could result in actions beneficial to women. Gesa E. Kirsch (1999) similarly suggests that feminist research, even if not *on* women, should work *for* women, create opportunities for reciprocal learning and empower participants to change the conditions of their lives.

To be accountable to the women's movement and other participants, I requested the participation of both women and men to ensure that a range of voices would be heard on this topic. I have tried to maintain the integrity of the participants' contributions by representing them accurately. I have also given participants the opportunity to review transcripts and draft materials in order to ensure that they were quoted and interpreted as they intended, and to advance reciprocal learning. My study endeavors to produce something of value to both women and men in that it attempts to raise awareness regarding VAW in Zimbabwe and also highlight local strategies of addressing the issue. This demonstrates the agency of local actors and value of their work, and does not position Zimbabwean women as victims in need of outside intervention. While my study aims to fill a gap in academic literature, it also aims to support the work of the Zimbabwean women's movement and its allies, including Padare. My research is, therefore,

committed to increasing academic knowledge, as well as to supporting civil society organizing and social change that benefits women and men.

Methods

This paper has four sections: section one identifies the research topic and objective, explains the research design, and addresses ethical concerns; section two contains a literature review; section three contains an analysis of documents and interviews; and section four summarizes key findings and points to future areas of research. My research, therefore, consists of three main elements: a literature review focussing on Zimbabwean masculinities and gender relations; a feminist critical discourse analysis (CDA) of texts produced by and about Padare; and an analysis of semi-structured interviews with representatives from Padare, a partner organization and the Zimbabwean women's movement. These qualitative methods allowed me to identify themes and topics of interest, and gain deeper insight into Padare's concerns, goals, strategies and activities. These methods also allowed me to triangulate information, meaning to collect similar information from different sources in order to cross-check the data and analyze it from different angles.

It should also be noted that throughout this study I have also drawn on my knowledge of Zimbabwe gained through an extended stay in the country. From January to March 2011, I had an internship in Harare with the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ), a national network of over 70 women's rights activists and organizations, and it was, in part, through this experience and the connections I made in Zimbabwe that I identified this research topic. Padare is an associate member of the WCoZ and works closely with Zimbabwean women's rights organizations, though I did not work with or have contact with Padare until I began this research.

In the literature review, scholarship on masculinities and men's anti-violence work in the global North provide useful background on theories of masculinity and approaches to engaging men and boys to end VAW. The literature on gender and development supplements this background. The main emphasis of the review is on the literature on Zimbabwean masculinities and gender relations, particularly with regard to Shona customs, the effects of colonialism and the civil war, and developments since independence in 1980. This provides insight into Zimbabwe's historical context, and highlights significant changes and issues in relation to Zimbabwean gender identities. A notable gap in this literature, however, is its lack of analysis regarding men's efforts to promote social change and end VAW in Zimbabwe.

In the document analysis, I used feminist CDA to examine written texts produced by and about Padare in order to identify the concerns and goals guiding their work, as well as the engagement strategies and activities they use. The majority of these texts were publically available and collected from Padare's official website, their funding and implementing partners' websites, and third party websites. Though documents such as program reports, workshop guides and other internal materials were requested from several organizations and individuals, only Oxfam Canada provided additional documentation.

CDA functions in several ways. According to Michelle Lazar (2007), feminist CDA can "show the complex and subtle ways in which taken-for-granted social assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, perpetuated, negotiated and challenged" (p.1-2). She goes on to say that "CDA is known for its overtly political stance and is concerned with all forms of social inequality and injustice" (Lazar, 2007, p.3), concerns that overlap with feminism's emancipatory goals. Feminist CDA, therefore, "offers a sophisticated theorization of the relationship between social practices and discourse structures...and a wide range of tools and

strategies for close analysis of actual, contextualized language” (Lazar, 2007, p.4). David Machin and Andrea Mayr (2012) offer guidance on these tools, including various forms of lexical analysis. Broadly, lexical analysis examines the words used in texts in order to reveal the implicit meanings, values and ideologies conveyed. For example, by calculating word frequency and identifying word associations within texts, one can identify correlations and the degree of emphasis placed on different topics and concepts.

Despite the benefits of feminist CDA as an analytical method, my analysis was also limited in several ways. Due to the short length of my study and inability to understand Shona or Ndebele, my analysis was restricted to texts produced in English. As a cultural outsider, I have also run the risk of misinterpreting meanings or missing context-specific references and nuances. Indeed, as I am a middle class, heterosexual and cisgender woman from Canada descended from English and German colonial settlers, my identity and cultural background has unquestionably influenced my perspective and findings. While this may be seen as a flaw in that I may have missed or misread the discourses under analysis, Vivienne Bozalek (2011) also suggests that this could be a strength in that I may bring new ideas and interpretations to the topics studied. On the other hand, Fabienne Darling-Wolf (1998) cautions that “our politics do not guarantee the usefulness of our work because the locations from which we speak are implicated in numerous systems of domination and subordination around the world. Thus, we must remain aware of the fact that the very structure that allows us to empathize with the “other” might insert us back into structures of inequality such identification would dismantle” (p.41). Given these concerns, I have tried to be cautious of speaking for or misrepresenting the individuals and organizations that participated in the study, and have continually reflected on and tried to address my biases and assumptions throughout the research process.

In addition to the literature review and document analysis, I also conducted semi-structured interviews via Skype with representatives from Padare, Padare's partner organizations and the women's movement in order to gain more detailed information about Zimbabwean masculinities and Padare's work, and to triangulate information. These interviews had several benefits and several limitations. Talking to a variety of qualified people ensured that multiple perspectives on masculinities and men's anti-violence work are acknowledged, and that both women and men were included in the discussion. By using semi-structured interviews participants were able to highlight issues they deemed most important, even those not previously identified in the interview schedule. In these discussions, I was also able to clarify information immediately or probe more deeply into topics that were not covered extensively in available documents. Overall, the method was particularly helpful in gaining insight into the priorities, perspectives, values and experiences of participants.

Semi-structured or open-ended interviews are also touted as a feminist method (Campbell, 2003; Kirsch, 1999; Undurraga, 2012). Kirsch (1999) points out that "feminists have noted that open-ended interviews...help establish interactive and non-hierarchical relations among researchers and participants" (p.25). To accomplish this, researchers must abide by two fundamental principles of feminist interviewing: rapport/empathy and democracy (Campbell, 2003). Rapport reduces distance and builds trust between the researcher and participant, and is instrumental in gaining access to information (Campbell, 2003), while democracy invites participants to contribute to the research process, as well as the results. The principle of democracy also allows both the researcher and participants to bring their identities to the study (Campbell, 2003). Closely related to this is what Rosario Undurraga (2012) refers to as reciprocity. Reciprocity ensures that the research process is one of exchange and creates a more

balanced power relationship (Undurraga, 2012). The concept also recognizes that participants are subjects, rather than simply objects of study (Undurraga, 2012).

To incorporate these feminist principles into the interviews, I attempted to follow Elaine Campbell's (2003) suggestions and use an interviewing style that gave expression to and validated participants' experience and knowledge, attempt to build rapport and empathetic understanding, and ensure a democratic interviewer-interviewee relationship by creating space for the participant to in-part guide the conversation. The aim was to have a dialogue, rather than an interrogation. This involved being an active listener, engaging with the participants' ideas and new topics raised, as well as answering any questions asked by participants and checking my understandings.

Among the limitations to this method, however, were the small sample size, short time frame for discussion, inability to read body language and other non-verbal communication, difficulty in establishing rapport over Skype, and the technical difficulties experienced, including dropped calls and poor audio quality. My word choice or the structure of my questions may also have influenced the answers given. Additionally, there is the possibility that participants may have been reluctant to share certain information with me due to a variety of factors including a desire to portray Padare and their partners as successful, my status as an outsider, or concerns around confidentiality or how the information given would be used.

Overall, these methods – the literature review, feminist CDA and semi-structured interviews - were selected due to their practicality for a small-scale study and coherence with feminist methodologies. To respect to the principles of feminist research, I chose an exploratory topic that highlighted the agency of the research subjects, gave precedence to local knowledge, allowed participants verify or dispute my findings and to speak for themselves through both

interviews and texts. The study, therefore, aimed to minimize ethical conflicts, though it still raised several issues which are discussed below.

Ethics

My research raised ethical concerns regarding my positionality, power, and collection and use of indigenous knowledge. Zimbabwe was a settler colonial state and the politics of race, gender, class, and sexual orientation continue to intersect and give form to each other, as the country continues to experience racialized violence, political and social unrest, and tension in gender relations. As indigenous or decolonizing methodologies point out, as a Northern researcher studying the global South, I needed to do the ongoing work of assessing my goals and research strategies, and to be aware of my position, privilege and biases so as to work in solidarity with Southern actors instead of co-opting their knowledge, misrepresenting them, or otherwise reinforcing various oppressions.

In this research there were power hierarchies due to the difference in my positionality as the researcher and the positionality of the civil society members who were participants (Esim, 1997). As a Canadian working from a Northern institution, I may have access to institutional power, influence and credibility that my counterparts in the global South do not despite my comparatively limited experience and knowledge on Zimbabwean masculinities and men's anti-violence work. As the researcher, I also had the power and privilege of setting the research agenda, choosing the topic and research methods, framing and situating my research within the literature, selecting participants, interpreting the written and visual texts and oral testimonies I collected, and choosing what information was included or excluded. Because I was aware that the results of my study would be shared with the participants and their networks, as well as my

networks in Canada and abroad, I was cautious about how controversial topics were included and framed.

I attempted to minimize these power differentials in several ways, including through my choice of methods. By focussing on texts produced by and semi-structured interviews with Zimbabwean experts, participants were able to influence the research agenda and highlight local understandings and values. Interviews also provided a democratic space for participants to challenge my assumptions, reframe my questions, and ask questions of me as the researcher. Because interviews took place via Skype, this method placed a minimal burden on participants who did not need to travel to an interview location or host me in their workplace or home, and allowed them to choose an interview time and location of comfort and confidentiality. Though these strategies attempted to create a more egalitarian research process, they did not remove hierarchies of power and privilege from my work.

I also sought to carry out my research in a manner that would benefit the participants in addition to myself. To enhance reciprocal learning and share knowledge, I offered all participants access to the pedagogical materials used in the study. To avoid misinterpretation or misrepresentation, I also offered to share interview transcripts and draft materials. Additionally, I asked participants during the interviews or by email how my research could best serve them and committed to attempt to fulfil any requests made by the participants in order to further their work. At the time of writing, the only requests I had received were to share the final paper with the participants and other institutions and organizations in Zimbabwe.

Lastly, I received approval to conduct this research from the research ethics board of the University of Ottawa on August 13, 2013, through file number 06-13-05. None of the participants are considered part of a vulnerable population, nor were they put at risk by

participating in the study. All participants were asked to give their free, informed and prior consent to participate and had the option to withdraw at any time without penalty. Participants were also advised of my research goals and of how the information they provided would be used and protected, with the option of participating anonymously. I did not apply for a research permit from the Research Council of Zimbabwe as all of my research was conducted from Canada and a permit is only required when a foreign researcher is present in Zimbabwe (Research Council of Zimbabwe, 2011).

Section 2: Literature Review

Masculinities and Gender-based Violence

Three of the leading authors in critical men's studies are Jackson Katz, Michael Kaufman and Michael Kimmel. All agree that masculinity is a social construction rather than a fixed state of being and is shaped within a social, political and economic context; that dominant constructs of masculinity are often harmful to both men and women; that men's violence is rooted in these constructs of masculinity; and that a fundamental shift in masculinities is needed in order to end VAW (Katz, 2006; Kaufman, 1999a&b; Kimmel, 1993). Masculinity here means the qualities and characteristics that a society associates with manhood. While this term is often used in the singular, Katz, Kaufman, Kimmel and many other scholars argue that the term 'masculinities' in the plural is more appropriate as there are many embodiments of masculine identity even within one society. These scholars also prefer the term 'men's violence' rather than 'male violence' in recognition that violent behavior is a choice made by individual men, rather than an inherent part of being biologically male; however, their analyses point out that men's violence is situated within male culture at a societal level, and acts of violence are not disconnected, individual acts.

While their arguments are similar and focus on the global North, Katz, Kaufman and Kimmel also add unique insights into this subject that may apply to the global South. In a globalizing world in which the majority of societies are patriarchal, these authors' observations are unlikely to be limited by geography.

Katz argues that from a young age, boys are taught that being a real man means putting on a "tough guise" that associates masculinity with toughness, physical strength, control and the threat of violence (in Ericsson & Talreja, 1999). Although this harms boys and men by forcing them to repress their emotions, hide their vulnerability and perform a narrow concept of manhood, Katz contends that peer pressure, media and societal expectations reinforce violent attitudes and behaviours (in Ericsson & Talreja, 1999).

Likewise, Kaufman suggests that the seven Ps of men's violence – patriarchal power, a sense of entitlement to privilege, societal permission, the paradox of men's power, the psychic armour of manhood, masculinity as a psychic pressure cooker, and past experience – enable and normalize VAW (Kaufman, 1999b). He explains that "individual acts of violence by men occur within...the triad of men's violence. Men's violence against women does not occur in isolation but is linked to men's violence against other men and to the internalization of violence, that is, a man's violence against himself" (Kaufman, 1999b, p.1). Ultimately the standards of masculinity set out in the dominant culture are impossible to attain and violence is used as a compensatory mechanism for failing to reach this threshold (Kaufman, 1999b).

Similarly, Kimmel argues that masculinity is constructed in relation to power over women and power over other men (Kimmel, 1993). Violence is a tool used to gain or maintain power, as "men initiate violence when they feel a loss of power to which they feel entitled" (Kimmel, 2000, p.242). Like Katz and Kaufman, Kimmel suggests that dominant ideals of

manhood are unattainable and that instead of pursuing a uniform model of masculinity, a range of possible gendered identities that allow men to display vulnerability, compassion and caring should be pursued.

One of the strengths of Katz, Kaufman and Kimmel's analyses is that they recognize that social structures of power are mediated not only by sex, but also by race, class and sexual orientation. They argue that the intersectional nature of men's identities must be considered in order to reformulate ideas around masculinities and to engage men and boys in ending VAW. This is especially important as men's lived experiences may be informed by feelings of marginalization as well as dominance, or what Kaufman calls "men's contradictory experiences of power" (Kaufman, 1999a). Raewyn Connell suggests that there are at least four categories of masculinity - hegemonic, complicitous, marginalized, and subordinated – which refer to men's differing ability to access the benefits of patriarchy or advantages gained from women's subordinate social status (cited as Robert Connell in Ouzgane & Coleman, 1998). This model implies that not all men are equally privileged by patriarchy as their ability to exercise power is mediated by other social structures.

Engaging Men and Boys to End Violence against Women

Efforts to engage men and boys to end VAW focus on violence prevention. Because no specific theoretical framework for studying these efforts has been developed, scholars use cognitive-behavioural therapy (CBT), the transtheoretical model of behaviour change (TTM), the ecological model and the spectrum of prevention model in their analyses. CBT is a psychotherapeutic approach that emerged out of psychology and is one of the most useful approaches used to understand and change behaviours (Crooks et al., 2007). Crooks et al. suggest

that CBT's "principles of surfacing and reshaping an individual's core beliefs about an issue, identifying specific behaviours that build toward a desired behaviour, and building opportunities to practice new behaviours could address common barriers to men's anti-violence involvement" (as cited in Casey & Smith, 2010, p.955).

TTM is also based on psychotherapy theories and is used to analyze stages of behavioural and attitudinal change. Rus Funk adopts the TTM approach because it offers insight into how to adapt efforts to the target audience as "individuals occupy different statuses in terms of their readiness to engage in behaviour change over time" (as cited in Casey & Smith, 2010, p.955).

The ecological and spectrum of prevention models are commonly used in sexual violence prevention efforts within the public health field (Lee et al., 2007). The ecological model examines the origins of GBV, suggesting that abusive behaviours develop from a combination of personal, situational and sociocultural factors (Heise, 1998), and that prevention strategies operate on four levels: individual, relationship, community and societal (Lee et al., 2007). The spectrum of prevention model is also used to design violence prevention programs and emphasizes the need to work with individuals, as well as "to change communities, organizational and social norms" (Lee et al., 2007, p.17). Michael Flood (2011b) suggests that the ecological and spectrum of prevention models both recognize that VAW "is the outcome of a complex interplay of individual, relationship, community, institutional and societal factors, and that violence prevention too must work at these multiple levels" (p.361). All of these theoretical frameworks are useful in that they highlight different methods of engagement.

Despite these discrepancies in approach, the literature on engaging men and boys to end VAW suggests that men be seen as allies in, rather than obstacles to, anti-violence work. Allies are "members of dominant social groups who are working to end the system of oppression that

gives them greater privilege and power based on their social group membership” (Casey & Smith 2010, p.954). Developing men and boys as allies to end VAW is most effectively done along a continuum of understanding and involvement, meeting men and boys where they are in terms of their self-reflection, commitment to anti-violence and understanding of patriarchal privilege, then propelling them toward deeper involvement (Casey & Smith, 2010; Funk, 2008; Kaufman, 2009). The bystander approach is commonly used to accomplish this.

The bystander approach encourages non-violent men to play a more active role in ending VAW by speaking out about violence and sexist attitudes they see around them. Getting men to speak out or act to oppose VAW is difficult, however, as they “are challenging the dominant culture and the understandings of masculinity that maintain it” (Crooks et al., 2007, p.219).

While men who become active bystanders may be confronted with hostility, there is often more support for their actions than they realize. Indeed, Flood (2011a) found that violent or sexist men often overestimate the extent to which their peers agree with these behaviours and attitudes as they interpret other men’s silence as approval, while those who oppose violence and sexism mistakenly believe that they are in a minority for the same reason.

One of the keys to success in men's efforts to engage men and boys to end VAW is to work with women's programs and organizations (Kaufman, 2009). This helps to ensure accountability, as women are the pioneers of such efforts and among the main beneficiaries. Kaufman (1999a) also cautions, however, that “efforts to be “accountable to feminism and the women’s movement” sometime [sic] ignore the fact that there isn’t one feminism and that there are very real differences and debates within the women’s movement: there is no way we can agree with everyone or adopt policies that will meet the approval of all feminists” (p.78). He

therefore suggests that men celebrate their contribution to positive change, but remain cognisant that these successes are rooted in the achievements of the women's movement (Kaufman, 1999a).

Gender and Development

Women were the primary focus of the gender and development literature until the mid-1990s when critics pointed out that efforts to achieve gender equality were unlikely to be sustainable without considering the influence of men (Morrell & Swart, 2005). Scholars suggested that to enhance the effectiveness of development processes, projects and programs, these interventions should pay attention to men's self-image, make efforts to reduce men's violence, and promote their collaboration with women, involvement in parenting and caring roles, and understanding of reproductive health issues (Morrell & Swart, 2005). While research and interest in men's identities and roles in Southern societies has increased over the last decade (e.g. Bannon & Correia, 2006; Cornwall, Edström, & Greig, 2011; Greig, Kimmel & Lang, 2000; Jones, 2006; Lindsay & Miescher, 2003; Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005), there are still gaps in this literature. For example, in her research on gender-relations in rural Zimbabwe, Allison Goebel (2007) pointed to Zimbabwean masculinities and men's strategies to cope with social change as subjects needing more study.

Putting men at the centre of GAD efforts has also raised concerns, however. Connell (2011) argues that though it is crucial to include an "analysis of men as gendered actors, that is to say, the study of patterns of masculinity and the way masculinities are involved in the distribution of resources and the shaping of development strategies...highlighting men within the gender and development discourse opened the possibility of a backlash, with men returning to occupy the only part of the development field over which women had gained some control"

(p.57). Though this is an ongoing point of tension, attention has increasingly been paid to men's influence in advancing or inhibiting gender and development work.

There are also gaps in the gender and development literature on GBV, particularly in relation to other development issues such as HIV/AIDS. In this regard, Gwendolyn Beetham and Justina Demetriades (2007) argue that GBV has historically been marginalized as a development issue; therefore, it is crucial to examine its prevalence and nature to demonstrate the significance of the issue itself, as well as its relationship to HIV/AIDS. Connell (2011) furthers this point arguing that “as [Margrethe] Silberschmidt (2004) observes on the basis of research in east Africa, the danger to women comes not so much from the “traditional” forms of men's gender privilege as from postcolonial changes in gender relations. Risk of infection is created by attempts to reassert men's power in changed circumstances” (p.57). Furthermore, she states that “some of the best ethnographic research on masculinities, sexuality, and violence has developed in response to the AIDS crisis...studies of inequality in local gender orders, and local gender orders' role in creating vulnerability among women, continue to be important” (p.57). The connections between masculinities, VAW and HIV/AIDS also emerged from the literature on Zimbabwean masculinities and gender relations.

Zimbabwean Masculinities and Gender Relations

Gender identities and relations are never static, and in Zimbabwe they have undergone significant changes within the past two centuries. This section is divided into four parts as there are four periods of Zimbabwean history that have significantly influenced masculinities. Given that Shona peoples make up about 82% of Zimbabwe's population, the Ndebele 14%, and a mix of other ethnicities 4% (CIA, 2014), the first part focusses on historical gender identities and

relations within Shona communities. The second part focusses on the disruptions in gender identities and relations caused by British colonial rule in the country – then called Southern Rhodesia - between 1888 and 1965. The third part focusses on the civil war from 1964 to 1979, and the influences of nationalism, militarism and violence on male identities, while the fourth part focusses on the gender dynamics of the post-independence period, from 1980 to present.

Sex and Gender in Shona Communities

Much has been written about patriarchal and patrilineal kinship structures, gendered cultural practices and socialization processes within Shona communities (e.g. Andifasi, 1997; Beach, 1994; Bourdillon, 1998; Chiwome, 1996; Janhi, 1997; Masasire, 1996; Mavenkea, 1997; Mhondoro, 1997; Shire, 1994), though most do not explicitly discuss how these construct particular notions of masculinity. To do so, I draw on and summarize these works below.

From the pre-colonial period until recent times, Shona boys and girls were increasingly separated from the opposite sex from the age of six onwards (Masasire, 1996). Boys were taught skills, such as how to herd cattle, and qualities, such as toughness, strength, and linguistic expression and argumentation, by older boys and men (Masasire, 1996; Mavenkea, 1997; Shire, 1994), while girls were taught etiquette and how to carry out domestic duties by their mother (Bourdillon, 1998). Gender roles were clearly separated, as were physical spaces, with girls and women dominating indoor, domestic spaces, and men outdoor, public spaces.

It was considered taboo to have sex before marriage and any child born out of wedlock was considered a disgrace to the parents' families (Chiwome, 1996). While men could be fined for preying on young women and girls, girls and their mothers were considered responsible for maintaining girls' virginity until marriage (Chiwome, 1996). To marry, men were expected to

follow elaborate courtship rituals and pay lobola, also known as roora or bridewealth (Andifasi, 1997; Chiwome, 1996; Janhi, 1997). The payment of lobola provided social legitimacy to the marriage, created a symbolic connection between the two families, and secured the husband's rights to sexual access to his wife, to her domestic and field labour, and to any children born during the marriage (Masasire, 1996). To further secure the marriage and attain adulthood in the eyes of society, the couple was expected to have children and continue the patrilineal line (Masasire, 1996). Men were positioned as the head of the household, key decision-makers and economic providers for the family, while women were expected to do the reproductive labour needed to maintain the home. Within this social order, women were supposed to be faithful to their husbands, while men were permitted to be polygamous (Masasire, 1996).

Most Shona families lived in rural homesteads surrounded by multiple generations of patrilineal kin. This clan and its sub-clans were linked by a common ancestor and their clan name, or totem, would help other clans recognize their relationship to each other (Bourdillon, 1998). This social structure was tied to the land and settled agriculture, as adult men owned tracts of land and built large family networks of labourers (Bourdillon, 1998). When the patriarch died, the eldest son would inherit his name and position of authority within the community (Bourdillon, 1998). While this ideal still existed late into the colonial period, especially in rural areas, economic changes drastically changed familial relations (Bourdillon, 1998). Labour migration, the diminishing availability of land, and urbanization made large families a liability rather than an asset, and separation from kin placed a greater emphasis on spousal relations (Bourdillon, 1998). These changes also reduced the authority of extended family and traditional leaders over men and women living in urban areas (Mavenkea, 1997).

Several characteristics of Shona masculinities emerge from these social arrangements. Generally, manhood was associated with a number of traits and abilities, including physical strength and toughness; heterosexuality, virility and sexual prowess; land ownership and the ability to provide for and protect family; and authority, power and control, especially in relation to women and children. Today, men are rarely able to live up to these ideals, as changes in political economy have resulted in a loss of power, status, self-esteem and control, particularly to and of women (Morrell and Swart, 2005). Definitions of manhood and the way in which men exercise power have become critical issues in Zimbabwe as a result.

Colonial Masculinities

African masculinities have roots in the pre-colonial period but have been profoundly affected by the colonial experience. In her analysis of East African masculinities, Margrethe Silberschmidt (2011) points out that during the colonial period gender roles and ideas around masculinity came into contact with European beliefs and colonial administrations actively sought to change local gender identities and relations based on European ideals (in Cornwall, Edström & Greig). Connell (2011) furthers this argument, saying that “colonialism tends to exaggerate gender hierarchies, and to produce simplified, power-oriented masculinities among the colonizers – which are sometimes imitated among the colonized” (p.60-61). The colonial traders, settlers and missionaries of the late 19th century – the main period of Zimbabwe’s colonization – brought with them the male-centric Christian beliefs and morality of the Victorian era, which was characterized by racialism, a strict social hierarchy, deference to male authority and sexual restraint. Over a century later, 74% of Zimbabwean men and 93% of Zimbabwean women

identify as Christians (ZIMSTAT, 2012). The colonial encounter, therefore, resulted in new, hybridized masculinities and dramatically altered gender relations within Africa.

In Zimbabwe, early European settler masculinities were influenced by British and Afrikaaner identities, and characterized by heterosexuality, a sense of racial superiority, physical toughness, prowess in sport, the ability to overcome the natural environment, ‘hard living and drinking’, and a feeling of community due to shared hardships (Godwin & Hancock, 1995; Parpart, 2008) In contrast, the African masculinities described in the section above were greatly affected by the loss of land, reduced political authority and new economic opportunities in urban areas (Parpart, 2008). Agricultural and economic policies severely limited African men’s land ownership which, up until this time, had been a significant marker of manhood, encouraged labour migration and separation from family, imposed greater burdens of labour on African women, and created generational conflict (Kesby, 1996; Pape, 1990; Thompson, 2010). At the same time, 'pass laws' were used to control African men's mobility and economic options (Barnes, 1997). Masculinities began to shift as senior men lost control over younger men, and younger men began to associate manhood with their cash-earning potential (Kesby, 1996).

Overt racism also had an impact on gender relations and identities in the colony. For example, African men were portrayed as animalistic sexual predators that were unable to control their libidos, and their close interaction with white women through domestic service jobs created bouts of hysteria over ‘black peril’ (Pape, 1990). While sexual assaults of white women by black men were extremely rare, anxiety over ‘black peril’ allowed for socially- and legally-sanctioned violence targeting black men (Pape, 1990). In contrast, ‘white peril,’ or white men’s sexual exploitation of African women, which was much more prevalent and often violent, was tacitly accepted (Benson & Chadya, 2005; Pape, 1990). Meanwhile, other “racist practices – being

forced off the pavement when a European passed by, prohibitions on speaking English to officials, being called ‘boy’ no matter one’s age and doing ‘women’s work’ as domestics in European homes – undermined male status and authority” (Parpart, 2008, p.183-184).

This sense of loss contributed to contestations for power between African men. Though early colonial laws sought to undermine local authority structures and destabilized gender relations in Shona and Ndebele communities, the state later recreated and formalized ‘traditions’ through ‘customary laws’ that reinforced senior men’s domination over women and junior men (Kesby, 1996; Parpart, 2008; Schmidt, 1990). African male elites, including chiefs, headmen and kraalheads, were complicit in this restructuring as it provided an opportunity to secure their waning power under colonial rule (Schmidt, 1990). Similarly, African men of higher economic classes attempted to restrict African women’s mobility and distance themselves from working class men by appealing to the colonial state, as they saw migrant labourers as a threat to their bourgeois aspirations and social positioning which was, in part, based on their control of women’s sexuality (Schmidt, 1990; West, 2001). African men's struggles to retain traditional masculine identities, then, were tied to their struggles to maintain access to land and authority in their homes and communities (Kesby, 1996).

After the Second World War, ideas around manhood changed and became increasingly associated with education, rationality and modernity (Parpart, 2008). This was attractive to men of all racial groups as it seemed to offer greater prospects to be successful within a politically and economically diversifying colonial society. Men of lower classes, or those unable to access this elite world, however, tended to hold on to locally established norms of gender identity and relations (Parpart, 2008). Women’s increasing autonomy, especially in urban areas that provided more economic opportunities for women, were seen as a threat by many men who continued to

see control over women, children and junior men as a marker of manhood (Manganga, 2011; Parpart, 2008).

As hopes for a multiracial and equitable future diminished in the 1950s and 1960, civil unrest spread. Ongoing marginalization and intervention by the state had eroded African men's patriarchal power, making armed nationalist struggle a viable opportunity to re-establish control over the land, junior men and women (Kesby, 1996). The state's harsh response to calls for social change strengthened African nationalists' resolve, and both sides began to develop and privilege increasingly militant forms of masculinity (Parpart, 2008). In 1965, the government issued a Unilateral Declaration of Independence in an attempt to avoid Britain's requirement that majority rule be implemented before independence was granted. Britain and the United Nations responded with economic sanctions and refused to recognize the legitimacy of the breakaway state. At the start of Zimbabwe's civil war then, the political party in power – the Rhodesia Front (RF) - hoped to maintain a white-dominated settler state, while two African nationalist groups – ZANLA and ZIPRA - took up arms to fight for black-majority rule.

Gender, Nationalism and War

According to Jane Parpart (2008), throughout history “militarization has tended to reinforce a masculine identity tied to protecting nation, women and children, while tolerating violence, and a femininity that requires both vulnerability and endurance” (p.182). Zimbabwe's case seems to attest to this.

During the civil war, discourses and practices of masculinity became central. All parties framed their (mostly male) fighters as national heroes and protectors, particularly of women and children. Any resistance to the dominant narrative was condemned, and those men and women

who advanced differing attitudes or behaviours were labelled ‘sell-outs’ and traitors (Godwin & Hancock, 1995; Parpart, 2008). Moderate African men who worked for the state or wanted to pursue gradual change were often deemed effeminate or homosexual by the nationalists (Parpart, 2008). Killing these traitors not only showed loyalty to the nationalist cause, but provided a convenient method for men to obtain property, punish personal enemies and enforce discipline within their own group (Parpart, 2008). Likewise, “the Rhodesian regime vilified their enemies as weak, effeminate, failed men – whether white or black” (Parpart, 2008, p.188). This rhetoric reinforced the notion that women were subordinate to men, pressured men to embody a singular and narrow form of masculinity, and portrayed alternative gender dynamics and identities as threats. Existing class and generational tensions were also exploited to bolster a masculinist sense of nationalism and to undermine opponents.

Infighting amongst the nationalists and the Rhodesian military’s dirty tricks, such as poisoning the water, made for a brutal war with a high death toll amongst fighters and civilians alike. Throughout, both Rhodesian and nationalist forces justified the struggle in masculinist terms. Nationalists framed the war as a chance for ‘real men’ to overcome colonial rule characterized by white-male domination, justifying violence as the only way to redeem and restore African manhood (Parpart, 2008). Recruits were assured of their manliness as the war would transform them into warriors fighting for justice (Parpart, 2008). The RF in turn framed the war as an effort to protect civilization, women and children, and supported this with claims to white male superiority (Godwin & Hancock, 1995; Parpart, 2008). Parpart explains that “the Rhodesian Front’s determination to defy British opinion, as well as internal and external critics, fostered a belligerent, martial masculinity, emerging easily from a racist, macho culture centred on racial hierarchies, rugby, beer and braais (barbeques)” (Parpart, 2008, p.188). Recruits were

told that “the war ‘was a glorious adventure, an easy test of manhood, a war that was right and always honourable, a war where the good were white and the evil were black, a war as simple as that’” (Parpart, 2008, p.189). Fighting in the war, therefore, was a right of initiation for both black African and white settler boys to become young men in their own eyes and in the eyes of society.

While the nationalists’ propaganda promoting gender equality has garnered much attention, Parpart argues that the war did little to advance women’s position in society. Women played integral roles as fighters and as supporters of nationalist and Rhodesian forces, but ultimately both sides reinscribed traditional gender hierarchies through their womanizing, tacit acceptance of gender-based violence, and rhetoric positioning men as women’s protectors (Parpart, 2008). Though patriarchal power structures remained largely intact, the political, economic and social instability of the civil war complicated and undermined social hierarchies of age, class, race and gender. Youth took the opportunity to seize their independence from elders, and allegations of disloyalty could undermine an individuals’ long-established authority based on age or wealth (Parpart, 2008). Toward the end of the war, racial divisions collapsed as government forces became increasingly multiracial and previously segregated institutions refused to uphold racist policies (Parpart, 2008). Militant masculinities that promoted the pursuit of power through force, however, continued to characterize both sides as it became clear that violence would determine the outcome of the conflict (Parpart, 2008)

Given this, Parpart (2008) argues that “the war turned out to be a triumph for masculinist [sic] authority and long-established gender hierarchies” (p.196). The militant masculinities that emerged during the conflict “prized physical toughness, the ability and willingness to use violence, loyalty to the cause and protection of dependents [while] enemies

were feminized” (Parpart, 2008, p.196). These characteristics remain an integral part of masculinities, as patterns of domination, paternalism and violence have carried over from the colonial period to the independent era.

Mike Kesby (1996) comes to a similar conclusion, saying that contrary to many scholars’ focus on women’s emancipation, “struggles over masculine identity were at the centre of 'gender struggle' in this period...[while] women exploited spaces of opportunity that opened at the margins of this conflict and those between guerrillas and the state” (p.584). He argues that the liberation war ultimately did little to transform patriarchal gender relations or established gender identities; instead, it resulted in an increase in power amongst African male elites in rural areas and a resurgence in masculinities premised on land and home ownership, as well as domination over women (Kesby, 1996).

Negotiating Gender Identities and Relations after Independence

According to Parpart, many war-weary citizens voted for Robert Mugabe in 1980 in the hopes that order would be restored and young men and women would be brought under control. She argues that after his election, Mugabe’s ZANU-PF party did attempt to return to an established and gendered social hierarchy using sometimes violent attacks on independent women, homosexuals and critics to muzzle opposition (Parpart, 2008). Though the 1980s were a relatively progressive decade, with advancements in gender equality due to the emergence of the women’s movement and the government’s focus on social sectors which upheld women’s and children’s rights (UNICEF, 2012), the 1990s and 2000s were more turbulent. In 1995, after attempting to ban the Association of Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ) from participating in the Zimbabwe International Book Fair, Mugabe publically condemned

homosexuality and supported the persecution of homosexuals (GALZ, 2014). Discrimination, harassment and violence against the LGBTQ community continues and homosexual relationships are illegal in the country (GALZ, 2014). In 1997, war veterans organized in order to call attention to the government's failure to deliver compensation and pensions to them, improve living standards, provide land for the poor, and address corruption (Dixon, 1997; Sadomba, 2011). This was the first real threat to the ZANU-PF's political power and soon after the MDC, the country's main opposition party, was formed. In 2000, a new constitution did not pass at a national referendum, public criticism increased, and the state responded with attacks on its opponents (Sadomba, 2011; Schäfer, 2013). At the same time, the government also began to implement the fast-track land reform program, which is sometimes called the Third Chimurenga or “revolutionary struggle.” The First Chimurenga occurred in the 1890s when the Shona and Ndebele peoples fought against colonial rule, while the Second Chimurenga occurred in the 1960s and 1970s when the nationalists fought against the RF in Zimbabwe's civil war. Calling the most recent land reform program the Third Chimurenga, therefore, invoked nationalist, anti-colonial sentiment and aligned the ruling party with these values. Indeed, the last two decades have seen the ZANU-PF return to masculinist language, violent practices and the rhetoric of war to legitimize its power and validate particular gender identities (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011).

While there are continuities from the pre-colonial, colonial and civil war periods, the post-independence era has also seen new challenges and changes in Zimbabwean masculinities and gender dynamics. One of the most significant issues affecting both has been the emergence of an HIV/AIDS epidemic. About 15% of Zimbabwean adults are HIV positive (ZIMSTAT, 2012), giving Zimbabwe the fifth highest prevalence rate in the world (CIA, 2014), and heterosexual sex accounts for 92% of new infections (Mugweni et al., 2012). Masculinities that

promote men's early sexual initiation, dominance in intimate relationships, and promiscuity, and cultural taboos around condom use are, therefore, a dangerous combination for both men and women. Women are particularly at risk of infection as they are more likely than men to contract HIV through unprotected sex, especially in instances of rape (AIDS-Free World, 2009).

While little research has been done on marital rape in Zimbabwe, one survey found that 78% of HIV-positive women had experienced forced sex and 50% of these said that their husband had a sexually transmitted infection at the time (Mugweni et al., 2012). Another survey suggested that 25% of women in long-term relationships had experienced forced sex (Mugweni et al., 2012). Additionally, in their research on gender roles, forced sex and HIV transmission within Zimbabwean marriages, Mugweni et al. (2012) found that "hegemonic masculinity characterised by a perceived entitlement to sex, male dominance and being a provider contributed to forced sex in marriage. A femininity characterised by a tolerance of marital rape, the desire to please the husband and submission contributed to women experiencing forced sex" (p.577). Many of the men who participated in this study perceived women's sexual autonomy as emasculating and used marital rape to reassert control, discipline wives, and enforce established gender norms that associate femininity with submissiveness (Mugweni et al., 2012). The payment of lobola also contributed to some men's sense of ownership over or entitlement to their wives (Mugweni et al., 2012). Women reported that they were socialized by older female family members to accept forced sex as part of marriage, and that shame, embarrassment and potential financial repercussions made it difficult to prosecute their husbands (Mugweni et al., 2012). Taken together, these studies suggest that both married and unmarried Zimbabwean women are at high risk for HIV infection from romantic partners, and that masculinities that position men as dominant over women are commonly accepted by both men and women.

Efforts to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS then, must understand and acknowledge the inter-related issues of masculinities, HIV/AIDS and VAW. As Jane Chege (2005) explains, in many African societies “expectations that men are self-reliant, sexually experienced and more knowledgeable than women, inhibit men from seeking treatment, information about sex and protection against infections, and from discussing sexual health problems. Men fear that admitting their lack of knowledge will undermine their manhood” (p.115). In Zimbabwe, cultural discomfort in talking about sexual health is one of several barriers to addressing the spread of HIV/AIDS. High prevalence rates of other sexually transmitted infections contribute to the spread of HIV, as anyone with open sores on their genitals are at higher risk of contracting it. Another obstacle was the introduction of user fees for health services in 1991. This limited access to screening and prevention methods, such as condoms, at a time when HIV was spreading quickly. Robert Morrell and Sandra Swart (2005) also suggest that the idea of *simba*, an amoral force that is seen to reside in the male body and is connected to vitality and potency, informs not only masculinities but also efforts to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic. They argue that Shona understandings of health and appropriate treatments for illnesses are gendered, yet programs that promote condom use as the main method of limiting HIV transmission often fail to take this into account and, therefore, face resistance from men. Similarly, Shari Dworkin et al.’s (2012) study of anti-violence and HIV/AIDS programs targeting men in South Africa points to the importance of indigenous understandings of gender identities and relations, as well as human rights, in addressing these issues. While these studies point to the need to engage men in sexual and reproductive health programs in locally appropriate ways, few initiatives have documented their experiences and strategies of engaging men other than HIV/AIDS prevention programs in schools (Chege, 2005; Chifunyise et al., 2002; O’Donoghue, 1996 & 2002).

According to Marc Epprecht, lack of attention to, or conscious efforts to invisibilize, non-normative sexualities have also inhibited HIV/AIDS initiatives in Zimbabwe. He argues that homophobic rhetoric impedes honest conversation regarding sexuality and HIV/AIDS transmission, and “precludes education about widespread risky practices among the majority of population such as anal intercourse and heterosexual-identified men who occasionally have sex with males” (Epprecht, 2005, p.262). Due to intense social pressure to marry and bear children, and stigma against homosexuality, many gay and lesbian Zimbabweans have heterosexual marriages and families, though they may still seek out intimate relationships with those of the same sex (Epprecht, 1998). A broader understanding and acknowledgement of gender identities and human sexuality is, therefore, needed to address the challenge of HIV/AIDS.

Section 3: Engaging Men and Boys to End Violence against Women in Zimbabwe

Padare/Enkundleni/Men’s Forum on Gender

Padare is a men's organization that promotes gender justice in Zimbabwe. The organization was formed by five men in 1995 as a forum to discuss and take action on gender issues after the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing (Padare, 2014). As of 2013, it had over 68 chapters, each of which had more than 30 members, in 7 provinces across the country (M. Nhengo, personal communication, December 18, 2013). Each chapter chooses a thematic issue of importance to the community they are working in, such as HIV/AIDS or gender-based violence, and uses this to guide their activities. The chapters, therefore, have the independence to identify, strategize around and address local needs, while also participating in national campaigns and receiving support from the national framework, which includes a National Coordinating Committee and Management Committee.

Padare members and associates have described the organization variously as an anti-sexist (Ngwa, 2006; Scheub, 2010), pro-feminist (Makoni-Muchemwa, 2012) and feminist men's organization (N. Mushonga, personal communication, December 13, 2013); however, Munyaradzi Nhengo, a Programs Officer with Padare, describes it as a gender justice organization or men's movement. Though Padare does not define gender justice in its publications, Oxfam International (2012) describes it as "full equality and equity between women and men in all spheres of life" (p.22). By gender equality, Oxfam International (2007) means "the situation in which women and men enjoy the same status; have equal conditions, responsibilities and opportunities for realising their full human rights and potential; and can benefit equally from the results" (p. 22), and by gender equity the organization means "fairness of treatment for women and men according to their respective needs" (p.22). Padare then works toward both gender equality and gender equity through its gender justice work.

Nhengo explains that Padare uses a rights-based approach to promote the equal rights and participation of women and men, girls and boys, in all aspects of Zimbabwean society. "Our main issues are around issues of domination and control by men" he says. "We're trying to challenge the patriarchal power of men, the patriarchal privileges of men, for a gender-just society" (Nhengo, 2013). This means working with government and state institutions, traditional and religious leaders, civil society organizations and international donors, as well as directly with Zimbabwean communities in rural and urban areas to challenge and change attitudes, behaviours, policies and laws that disadvantage and undermine the rights of women and girls. For this reason, while the organization's activities primarily target men, women and girls are the ultimate beneficiaries of Padare's programs (Nhengo, 2013).

Transforming Masculinities

Men's Roles in Achieving Gender Justice

One of Padare's core principles is that men have an important role to play in achieving gender justice and ending violence against women and girls. Due to patriarchal power and privilege, men hold positions of authority in all aspects of society and, as such, wield a high degree of influence over social relations and attitudes. Recognizing this, the men of Padare use their position of privilege and the resources afforded to them by patriarchy to subvert the very system that gives them this advantage over women, then encourage other men to do the same.

Nhengo's interview illustrates this understanding of patriarchy and Padare's role in relation to it. During our 45-minute conversation, Nhengo spoke about the need to challenge patriarchal attitudes and behaviours 13 times, each time associating "patriarchy" with men's power, privilege and domination over women, and "patriarchal" norms with Padare's efforts to contest these (Nhengo, 2013). He in turn referred to Padare's members as "gender-positive men" (Nhengo, 2013), an affirmative characterization that suggests that members see themselves as positive contributors to society and that they take pride in their involvement in gender justice work.

Working toward a gender just society is "not about women only, it's also about men," explains Nhengo (2013). "That's why this issue of male involvement is getting a lot of support...because men are the main perpetrators of abuse and they are also in key leadership positions, they are husbands in families, so they are critical to any change that may...happen. It's not a gender relation that's one-sided." Netsai Mushonga, then National Coordinator of the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe, agrees, saying that "the early feminist approach that [the women's movement] were working with assumed that as soon as we changed the women's

attitudes then injustice and violence would end in society, but what we are discovering now is... men are in charge of the opinion makers, they are in charge of civil organizations, so if they make behaviour and attitude change then we also go a long way in terms of achieving our objectives of gender equality and ending the exclusion of women...[Men] are half of the human race...and have a huge role to play and we shouldn't leave them behind. Because they are 50% of the problem, they can be 50% of the solution" (Mushonga, 2013). Both Padare and members of the women's movement, therefore, see men as critical allies in creating a gender equitable society.

Toxic and Transformative Masculinities

Much of Padare's work focusses on transforming masculinities from what the organization refers to as "toxic masculinities," which are characterized by the belief that men are superior to women, to "transformative masculinities," in which women are seen as equals. At a fundamental level, this approach assumes that masculinities are not fixed or natural, but are social constructions that can change. Indeed, it suggests that male identities, particularly deeply held attitudes and commonly accepted behaviours towards women, *must* change in order to achieve gender equality. In the words of founder Regis Munyaradzi Mtutu (2005), "Padare's work on masculinity stems from the hypothesis that behaviour is learnt, and can, therefore, be unlearned through the conscious process of reflection on daily practice" (p.138). Nhengo explains that "men and boys are products of patriarchy. They are products of the socialization process that gives them an advantage over women and girls. So that is what we seek to reject, that's what we seek to challenge, that's what we seek to raise awareness around and to engage men and boys so that [we can create] an equitable society, equitable communities and a society where everyone

can participate at an equal level” (Nhengo, 2013). Padare then seeks to change the socialization process of boys and men, and to challenge dominant notions of masculinity, suggesting alternatives that offer a wider range of possibilities.

According to Mushonga, commonly held stereotypes of Zimbabwean manhood suggest that men “are powerful, invincible, they make a lot of money, they’re in charge, they’re in control...A man doesn’t cry, a man always finds a way to do something, a man knows his directions, [and] is never confused” (Mushonga, 2013). Likewise, Nhengo says men often “think they know everything [and that] they don’t need to share anything” (Nhengo, 2013). Pemberai Zambezi, Manager of Research and Knowledge Management for the Family AIDS Caring Trust (FACT), one of Padare’s partner organizations, adds that men are generally considered powerful, while women are considered weak, and that men are expected to be the “breadwinners” of their household (P. Zambezi, personal communication, December 9, 2013). Similarly, Nhengo says that men commonly think that women are weak, cannot think, and need to be beaten in order to listen to them (Nhengo, 2013).

In contrast, Padare promotes masculinities that are less restrictive for men, encouraging them to be caring, communicative and egalitarian in their relationships with women (Makoni-Muchemwa, 2012), and to see men and women as equals and partners. The organization encourages men to “be more accommodating, be more inclusive and be more caring and loving as a way of resolving conflict [rather] than using force and violence” says Nhengo (2013). Mushonga elaborates, saying that Padare advocates for “‘healthy masculinities’ and in that regard we are simply meaning that the men are adopting a type of masculinity that is soft, that is gender-sensitive, that respects people around them, that shows some weaknesses” (Mushonga,

2013). This is very different from the status quo in which men's expression of feelings, emotions and affection is taboo, even in loving relationships (Mtutu, 2005).

This process of change will take time, however. Many men hold the idea that “men’s positions need not to be challenged, especially by women and children. So in a way, women are put in the same category as children” says Nhengo. “[This] affects the communication in relationships, it affects the communication in families which to us then develops a breeding ground for abuse. It becomes a breeding ground for discrimination...[and] for the subjugation of women” (Nhengo, 2013). This attitude also makes Padare’s work all the more necessary, as the men who most need to be reached - those who see women as inferior and those who are abusive – are unlikely to listen to women doing gender equality or anti-violence work. They may, however, listen to the men of Padare or male community members who have been trained by the organization.

Activities and Engagement Strategies

Forums and Dialogues

Monthly discussion forums remain one of Padare’s main activities. The word “dare” means “meeting place” in Shona and is a historical reference to village meetings between men in which they discussed and made decisions on issues of importance to their community, as well as personal issues (Mavenkea, 1997; Shire, 1994). “Enkundleni” is an Ndebele word that has a similar meaning (Schäfer, 2013). In English, this practice is translated as a “men’s forum.” Given this, Padare’s name has a culturally specific meaning and clearly signals what it does as an organization.

As Nhengo explains, these discussion forums create a space for men to come together and consider what it means to be a man (Nhengo, 2013). Here they can discuss current issues facing men in Zimbabwean society, such as unemployment, marital breakdown, and HIV/AIDS (Schäfer, 2013). The forums also serve to raise awareness amongst men about the patriarchal structure of society, the limitations this imposes on male identities and expressions of humanity, and the disadvantages that women and girls face, then challenge practices and behaviours that hinder women and girls (Nhengo, 2013; SARPN, 2008). The end goal is behavioural change in men and boys, and a greater sense of appreciation of women and girls as human beings and equal players in society (Nhengo, 2013).

In addition to men's-only forums, Padare hosts community dialogues which bring together all members of a community, including women and children, traditional and religious leaders, and sometimes outside experts, such as health professionals or police. These dialogues aim to facilitate discussion on issues affecting the community, such as gender-based violence or discrimination, and come to an agreement on how to address these issues (Nhengo, 2013).

Public events with entertainment, prizes and activities are also used to facilitate conversation, particularly among youth, as are gender clubs in schools (Nhengo, 2013). According to Nhengo (2013), "it's always easier to mend a child than to try to do with a broken man. So we try to engage them at that level, at that very formative level, where they are trying to form certain traits of older men." This again demonstrates Padare's understanding of and attention to socialization processes that shape boys' attitudes and behaviours toward women and girls from an early age. It also gives reason to targeting both boys and men. Children learn core values when they are young and are, therefore, more amenable to behaviour change programs. As children mimic the actions of adults, men must also be engaged to model and reinforce

respectful attitudes and behaviours toward the opposite sex. Padare's recognition of this pushes the organization to use multiple, reinforcing techniques to engage men and boys in different settings and age groups.

Through these methods of engagement, Padare also encourages men to become change-makers and leaders in addressing gender inequality. Though it can be difficult to oppose societal norms, as this can lead to feelings of alienation and disempowerment, Padare offers support for men who promote new ways of expressing manhood (SARPN, 2008). According to Mushonga, these efforts have had a noticeable impact. "I was training a community in Mutare [and] there was a guy there who was saying I have been trained by Padare," she says. "In the end he was almost my co-facilitator because he had so much data. He was talking to the men and saying 'you know you should listen very carefully, you should respect your women, you should respect your children, there should be no violence.' He was...running forward with the message" (Mushonga, 2013).

Media and Messages

Padare also uses several media platforms to engage with communities. Presentations and discussions on radio and television talk shows bring national attention to the questions "what is a man?" and "what is a boy?" (Nhengo, 2013). Broad topics like these bring attention to men as gendered actors, and ask listeners to consider the values, attitudes and behaviours associated with manhood. This provides a starting point for discussion on gender relations, issues such as VAW, and possible alternatives or solutions to social conflicts. Radio and television programs give Padare the ability to engage much larger audiences than they can through community dialogues or events, while print media, such as flyers and banners, are more targeted. These are distributed

or displayed at localized events and contain key messages that promote gender equality and challenge patriarchal power and the abuse of women and children (Nhengo, 2013).

One of Padare's most well-known slogans is "men of quality are not afraid of equality" (Mushonga, 2013; Padare, 2014). While this phrase is not confrontational or aggressive, it does level a direct challenge to men to accept women as equals lest they be considered a flawed or poor quality man. The slogan implicitly argues that good men are men who see women as equals and support gender equality. It assumes that men will want to see themselves as good or as men of quality, leading them to the conclusion that they must then support gender equality.

Another slogan Padare uses is "real men do not abuse women and children" (Padare, 2014). This slogan is more direct in its message, suggesting that abusers are not real men but rather imitators or fakes, without the credibility or maturity to be considered a man. Men presumably wish to see themselves as 'real men', with the social standing and authority that this implies, and the slogan tells them how to achieve this status – through non-violence and respect for women and children.

Violence against Women and Girls

As these two slogans demonstrate, the issue of violence against women and girls is addressed both directly and indirectly in Padare's work. Because Padare uses a rights-based approach, seeing women's rights as human rights, VAW is framed as result of women's subordinate social standing and a denial of their rights. Issues of VAW, therefore, underlie all of Padare's gender justice work. The organization focusses on both primary prevention - that is, stopping violence before it occurs – as well as responding to violence after the fact by attempting to re-socialize abusive men, offering counselling services to perpetrators and collecting

testimonies from former abusers (Nhengo, 2013; Padare, 2014). Padare also refers female survivors of abuse to organizations such as Musasa, a women's organization that provides services to women and children, and leads campaigns against VAW (Anonymous, 2012b; Nhengo, 2013).

While Padare uses the language of gender-based violence, it seems to focus on violence against women and girls. In fact, the organization's discourses and activities described by various sources, including Padare, partner organizations and international donors, relate exclusively to VAW, and particularly domestic violence, rather than other forms of GBV (Mushonga, 2013; Nhengo, 2013; Oxfam Canada, 2012 & 2013; Padare, 2007; Padare, 2014; Zambezi, 2013). Though this suggests that Padare equates the word "gender" with the female sex, rather than seeing gender as an identity, this may not be the case. The topics of gender identity, sexual orientation and GBV are relatively taboo in Zimbabwe, meaning civil society organizations must be careful in how they frame their work and values. There is tension, therefore, between what is culturally and politically acceptable to say and what organizations may do.

Padare's Training of Trainers Manual (2007) offers a more nuanced definition of GBV, saying that "many people consider Gender Based Violence to be simply a man beating up his wife, or "wife-battering", but it is not that simple. The best definition of GBV is a purposeful pattern of assaultive and coercive behaviours that adults or adolescents use against their intimate partners or co-workers or causing physical, economic, or psychological harm. Most gender-based violence is gender violence, which means it is violence by men directed at women or girls, due to the fact that they are female. Though males can be victims as well, we will refer to the abuser as male and the victim as female throughout the module as this is the most common scenario that

you will encounter in counseling” (p.30). This definition makes a distinction between “gender-based violence” and “gender violence,” defining the latter as violence perpetrated against women and girls due to their biological sex. This suggests that Padare recognizes that GBV is a broad category that encompasses more than just VAW, but that it chooses to focus on violence directed at females rather than males. Because of this biological focus and the fact that the broader category of GBV is left undefined, the definition above does not capture the nuances of gender identity, which is not solely determined by biology, and thereby invisibilizes LGBTQ identities and violence that may be perpetrated against these individuals on this basis. This may be due to the organization’s limited focus on VAW or a desire to remain within the boundaries of social and political acceptability, but does not preclude a deeper understanding of GBV and non-normative gender identities. Indeed, Padare condemns men’s violence in all of its forms, whether against men or women, girls or boys. In Nhengo’s words “we are also denouncing all forms of abuse that is perpetrated by men” (Nhengo, 2013).

Entry Points to Working with Men and Boys

Gatekeepers

One of the main entry points to working with men and boys, particularly in rural communities, is engagement with traditional leaders. Traditional leaders, such as chiefs, headmen, and kraalheads, have significant influence over rural communities, so their support for or resistance to transformative masculinities is amplified. They are also community gatekeepers and can help or hinder the work of civil society organizations by facilitating or restricting access to community members, and by legitimizing or delegitimizing their presence and messages. Padare’s work of building relationships with local leaders has helped them engage men and boys

on issues of gender equality and violence against women as girls in ways previously unavailable. As Mushonga explains, “the traditional chiefs in Zimbabwe are all men, so when we [the women’s movement] go in with Padare and we work with them, they have a better chance of those chiefs listening to and believing men than listening to and believing a woman. So if Padare speaks to the message of gender equality, respect of women...and all that, we actually see that there’s more impact...that becomes an advantage for the work that we do” (Mushonga, 2013). Though Nhengo admits that these leaders were sometimes difficult to reach, he says that many have responded well to Padare’s work, ensuring more sustainable engagement with communities. “Some are even offering to be peer educators to their fellow traditional leaders,” he says. “We’ve managed to shift the mindset of these traditional leaders to appreciate the work that we’re doing and they’ve become willing advocates to advance this agenda” (Nhengo, 2013).

Another entry point to working with men and boys has been through engagement with religious leaders. Though Padare itself has a basis in Christian teachings, as one of the founders, Jonah Gokova, is an Evangelical Christian pastor (Schäfer, 2013), the organization is secular. This Christian ethic and connection, however, may help the organization find common ground with Christian groups. In this regard, Zambezi credits Padare in helping the Family AIDS Caring Trust reach conservative religious communities that they had previously been unable to engage. He explains that the Apostolic, African and Independent church communities are generally resistant to outside intervention, but Padare’s expertise in engaging men combined with FACT’s expertise in addressing HIV/AIDS has produced an effective collaborative effort that has extended to these difficult-to-reach groups (Zambezi, 2013). Padare's international donors have also noted the importance of these efforts. In an internal report, Oxfam Canada writes that “Padare has...managed to do work with communities which are predominantly conservative in

nature and preserve the culture of male superiority such as the Apostolic Faith churches. These are some of the small pockets of society's structures in which polygamy and forced marriages are still being practiced which can facilitate the spread of HIV and AIDS" (Oxfam, 2013). The report states that Padare's success in reaching these communities is among the organization's most notable achievements (Oxfam Canada, 2013).

Nhengo too recognizes this as one of the organization's greatest strengths. He says some religious leaders "use the Bible as an excuse to abuse girls, use the Bible as an excuse to harass women, they use the Bible as an excuse to discriminate against women and girls, but we do have a group of religious leaders now...who are prepared to engage fellow religious leaders in different platforms. They even preach [responsible male behaviour] in churches" (Nhengo, 2013). This shift in awareness and attitude amongst religious leaders has allowed them to use their authority not only to guide their congregants, but also to influence their fellow leaders, meaning Padare's message and training has extended beyond the organization's initial engagement.

HIV/AIDS

Health issues, particularly the issue of HIV/AIDS, provide another avenue for engagement. The HIV/AIDS crisis has had a profound impact on how men see themselves as men. Men face a high degree of stress "once they know that they're HIV positive and they juxtapose that with their responsibility as breadwinners," explains Zambezi. "[The] pressure that is on us as breadwinners is quite phenomenal and insurmountable for most men. So it's quite shattering to talk about HIV and AIDS with men and this explains why you'd find that even our health-seeking behaviour is kind of low...We don't want to get tested, we don't want to utilize

the services because going and getting tested means that in the end you get to know your status. If you know you're positive, you start looking at the implications" (Zambezi, 2013). According to Zambezi, HIV-positive men can face job loss and a rapid decline in mental and physical health (Zambezi, 2013). This suggests that an HIV-positive diagnosis undermines many men's sense of self, in part by eroding common markers of manhood, such as the ability to provide economically for their family. That Zambezi refers to this experience as "shattering" – a strong word that gives the sense of complete destruction – indicates the severity of the emotional and mental toll that this diagnosis can have on men's identities and self-worth.

While not knowing one's status can preserve a sense of self, men's reluctance to be tested for HIV can have negative consequences for their wives, girlfriends or other sexual partners. Zambezi explains that FACT sees "gender inequality as a key driver of HIV" (Zambezi, 2013), meaning that men's ability to exercise power within a sexual relationship can determine whether HIV is transmitted to their partner. The power dynamics within a household determine whether there is space for the negotiation of safe sex, open communication regarding sex, and whether sex is consensual. FACT attempts to address these issues and encourage more equal relationships through behaviour change programs that engage both women and men on issues of sex and sexuality within the context of HIV and AIDS (Zambezi, 2013). Padare has played a significant role in helping FACT target men through these programs and in using the broad topic of health to segue into discussions of male identity, violence against women and girls, and gender equality.

Padare also engages men on issues related to HIV/AIDS in its own work. Like FACT, Padare sees gender inequality as a driver of HIV/AIDS (Ngwa, 2006), as the disease is typically spread from men to women (Nhengo, 2013), contributing to a higher rate of HIV/AIDS

infections in heterosexual women (ZIMSTAT, 2012). Amongst men, having multiple sexual partners is often associated with status and success, an attitude reinforced by peers, family and media, though in the context of HIV/AIDS, this behaviour is literally killing men, their partners and their children (Mtutu, 2005; Ngwa, 2006). Men's low uptake of HIV/AIDS services (UNAIDS, 2012; Zambezi, 2013), limited understanding of sex and biology, and resistance to condom use, combined with a sense of entitlement to power and control, is dangerous for women and men, girls and boys, as physical, psychological and sexual violence is not only perpetrated against spouses but also sisters, children and male partners (Mtutu, 2005). For this reason, the topic of HIV/AIDS is integrated into many of Padare's discussion forums, community dialogues, and public and school events.

Key Partners

Another of Padare's engagement strategies has been partnership-building with a range of actors. The following does not constitute a complete list of Padare's partnerships, but rather a sampling that places this strategy within Zimbabwe's social context and illustrates how the organization works with civil society organizations, the women's movement, government and state institutions, to advance its goals.

Family AIDS Caring Trust

FACT is a regional organization that formed in 1987 in response to the HIV/AIDS crisis in Zimbabwe and is one of Padare's civil society partners. Though HIV/AIDS services are still a core component of its work, the organization has expanded its activities to include other health

and social issues, such as cancer treatment, palliative care, programs for orphans and vulnerable children, and livelihoods programs.

According to Zambezi, Padare has helped FACT engage men on the topic of HIV/AIDS, providing technical expertise and capacity-building that has changed how the organization runs its programs (Zambezi, 2013). While FACT built up considerable technical expertise in HIV/AIDS services over time, it recognized that its ability to mainstream gender into its programs was limited. To address this weakness, FACT engaged Padare to help increase the organization's knowledge of and ability to integrate gender into its work through a train-the-trainer approach (Zambezi, 2013). As FACT had also noted that men's uptake of HIV/AIDS services was lower than women's and wanted to strengthen the organization's ability to engage men, it was natural to work with Padare given that it is one of the only organizations specializing in male engagement, explains Zambezi (2013).

In addition to providing staff training, Padare has collaborated with FACT to host community trainings on gender, and developed a gender curriculum for FACT to use in its subsequent community engagement. In this regard, Padare helped FACT identify strategies to involve community leaders and sensitize them on gender-related issues (Zambezi, 2013). Padare also suggested that FACT change its community engagement practices to address groups of men and women separately, as well as in integrated groups, to make their interactions more effective. Zambezi explains that "there are certain levels where you need to target men separately because you need to discuss with them certain issues...that they consider taboo to discuss with women, and in that way then you make a breakthrough. But there are also certain instances where you would want to join them together to gain rapport, to gain consensus" (Zambezi, 2013). Padare

has, therefore, assisted FACT in increasing its understanding of gender identities and relations, and improved the organization's technical capacity to mainstream gender into its programs.

Women's Organizations

Padare's work remains grounded in the knowledge that it was women who pioneered work on women's rights and gender equality. According to Nhengo, "the work we're doing as a men's organization, it was started by the women's movement. To us, that's the starting point. We don't have a new agenda – the agenda was already set by the women's movement. So the women's movement are our chief allies in this work" (Nhengo, 2013). Similarly, Mushonga says that "the benefit of working with [Padare] is that we are collaborating on one issue. They understand what we do, they support our agenda...They don't want violence in the society. They teach men or they raise awareness among men to respect women more. So I think we are sort of working towards one goal" (Mushonga, 2013). This shows a coherence of opinion regarding Padare's goals and the close relationship between Padare and women's organizations.

In a further illustration on this, the WCoZ considers Padare an associate member and many of its organizational members, including Musasa, the Women's Action Group, and the Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association, work closely with Padare to implement their programs (Mushonga, 2013; Nhengo, 2013; Padare, 2014). Padare is welcome to come to WCOZ meetings to share and gain information, and to coordinate agendas, explains Mushonga. Nhengo also describes this process of exchange, saying "they engage women, we try in a way to engage men, then we learn from each other, we see each other's strategies...we share with them, so that at least we can have a coordinated approach" (Nhengo, 2013). In this way, Padare and women's organizations are able to build on each other's' strengths and work towards common goals.

Two of the most significant ways Padare and the women's movement have partnered is in advocating for the Domestic Violence Act, then monitoring its implementation, and in advocating for a gender-sensitive constitution, as well as women's participation in the constitution-making process. Both carried out campaigns on these laws and were in regular communication throughout. The DVA became law in 2007, while the newest constitution was approved in 2013 and met 75% of the women's movement's demands (Mushonga, 2013).

Ultimately, the partnership between Padare and women's organizations has helped both accomplish more than they could alone. From this working relationship Padare gains a better understanding of women's perspectives on gender issues and of the practical work women's organizations are doing on the ground. It also likely gains a degree of legitimacy as the partnership suggests that Padare is accountable to and aligned with the women's movement. The women's movement in turn gains a better understanding of men's perspectives and strategies of engaging men, as well as access to communities and individuals that they may not have had without male allies. The relationship has also changed the way some women's organizations and activists approach and understand their work, in that they now see men as allies and appreciate that men have an important role to play in the pursuit of gender equality (Mushonga, 2013).

Men's Organizations

While there are several other men's organizations in Zimbabwe, Padare works with only one of them (Nhengo, 2013). Like Padare, the Africa Fatherhood Initiative (AFI) promotes gender equality, anti-violence and transformative masculinities; however, it relocated its head office from Harare to Sandton, South Africa, in 2013 and is focussing its activities there (Nhengo, 2013). AFI is a pan-African organization that considers fatherlessness a key social

problem and thus promotes men's roles as caregivers for their children and supportive partners to their children's mothers (Anonymous, 2012a). According to Nhengo, AFI has partnered with Padare to hold public presentations, share strategies and advance similar goals (Nhengo, 2013). The organization does not seem to have strong links with the women's movement, however, as Mushonga was unaware of any partnerships between AFI and women's organizations (Mushonga, 2013). Originally this organization was to be analyzed in more detail in this study, but due to its reduced presence in Zimbabwe and a lack of information about its operations, it was omitted.

National and International Networks

Padare is also part of a number of national and international networks. Nationally, Padare chairs and is a member of the Domestic Violence Council, which promotes and monitors the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act. Internationally, the organization sits on UN Women's Gender Based Violence Committee, is part of the MenEngage Global Alliance and coordinates the Zimbabwe MenEngage Network, a coalition of regional organizations working to engage men and boys on gender issues in Africa (Padare, 2014). In 2013, Padare hosted an exchange program in Harare with members of the MenEngage Africa Network, bringing together men's organizations from Kenya, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Gambia, and South Africa for joint workshops and strategizing (Nhengo, 2013). Padare is, therefore, situated within a broader African and global movement of men advocating for gender justice, and plays a key role in coordinating actions, knowledge-sharing and building the movement's momentum.

Government and State Institutions

In addition to its civil society partnerships at home and abroad, Padare has successfully engaged state institutions, elected leaders and government ministries, including the Ministry of Women's Affairs, Gender and Community Development, the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, the Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, and the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture. Alignment with the government is imperative and benefits both Padare and its partner ministries, says Nhengo. Through these partnerships, the organization is able to promote women's and children's rights, share information, and exchange technical expertise with government officials. For similar reasons, Padare also works with elected leaders. According to Nhengo, political leaders, including members of parliament and councillors, are close to and elected by the people, so it is important to discuss issues that affect and that are of interest to their constituents, including issues of gender equality (Nhengo, 2013).

One example of Padare's work with the government is a program called "Walking in the Shoes of Our Daughters" undertaken in partnership with the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare. This initiative strives to raise awareness and debate around how the day-to-day lives of girls compare to those of boys (Padare, 2014). As the title suggests, the program also asks men to consider how their daughters, nieces or other young girls experience life and how they, as a father or father-figure, have a positive role to play in these girls' lives. Nhengo explains that men are encouraged to be responsible in their relations with girls and to help ensure that girls have access to HIV/AIDS services, reproductive health services and rights, and other medical treatments (Nhengo, 2013). Community dialogues and entertainment, such as soccer matches, community theatre and musical performances have been used to engage audiences in conversation and provided a positive, relaxed atmosphere in which to deliver education (Padare,

2014). Counselling and HIV/AIDS testing services have also been made available, allowing community members to act on their increased knowledge and to access services they may not otherwise have (Padare, 2014). This program, then, does not simply identify issues of gender inequality, but offers tangible ways for men to create social change that improves the lives of girls.

Partnerships with state institutions are also important to Padare's work, and the organization has developed relationships with the Zimbabwe Republic Police and the national courts (Nhengo, 2013). As the police apprehend the perpetrators of abuse, they are central to the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act, says Nhengo. In particular, the Victim Friendly Unit is often involved in cases of abuse as they have specialized training and skills to respond to domestic violence and engage survivors (Nhengo, 2013). The ministries of health and justice, as well as the courts, may also be involved in domestic violence cases, so Padare's engagement with these institutions strengthens communication between them (Nhengo, 2013).

At times, Padare also acts as a facilitator or liaison between communities and the police. "We take them out whenever we do have awareness activities...so even in workshops and even in community dialogues they raise awareness around the work of the police, the role of the police, so that they are not feared," says Nhengo. "People, they need to be free to oppose the police. Because, you know, whenever you see the police, that's something different, it's something else...So the dialogue is to make sure that we create a platform where people are free to engage the police. Because ultimately every detail of abuse it ends up in the office of the police" (Nhengo, 2013). Though Nhengo is purposely vague in his description of people's feelings about the police, this in itself suggests that the relationship is not generally a positive one. The fact that Padare creates a platform for interaction in which the police can explain their

work “so that they are *not* feared” implies that they *are* feared. Likewise, saying that people “need to be free to oppose” or “engage” the police suggests that people are not usually free to voice their opinions to the police, nor able to hold the police to account. This dialogue then serves as a confidence-building exercise for communities, and performs an educational and accountability function for the police. That Nhengo ends his explanation by referring to the role of the police in responding to abuse suggests that enhancing this relationship plays a role in encouraging people to report abuse and in increasing their confidence in the police’s ability to address issues of violence. It is worth noting here that the police have a reputation for refusing to investigate instances of rape and for refusing to refer rape cases for prosecution, particularly during the politically-motivated violence of 2008 (AIDS-Free World, 2009). Given this, Padare plays an important dual role in building public confidence in and engagement with state institutions, and in holding these institutions accountable to national laws, such as the Domestic Violence Act.

Ongoing Challenges

Resistance

According to Nhengo, Padare’s two major challenges are backlash or resistance from Zimbabwean men and women, and tension with the women’s movement regarding funding (Nhengo, 2013). Other sources also cited disruptions in funding and program implementation due to domestic and international politics as obstacles (Oxfam Canada, 2012; Zambezi, 2013).

In contrast to Padare and AFI, some of the men’s organizations in Zimbabwe actively oppose women’s emancipation and gender equality (Mushonga, 2013). One of these is Varume Svinurai/Vhukani Madoda Men's Forum, which means “men, wake up.” According to

Mushonga, this organization is a backlash against the women's movement that defends the status quo, saying that men and women each have their own place in society (Mushonga, 2013).

Although the organization does not appear to have an official website, it has a Facebook group and has been extensively profiled in Zimbabwean media (Butaumocho, 2013; Chiwanga, 2013; Langa, 2013; Mapuranga, 2013; Sunday Mail Reporter, 2012; Varume Svinurai, 2014).

According to an article in Zimbabwe's national newspaper, The Herald, "their main concern is to reinforce God-given gender roles of men as heads of families, breadwinners and generally caretakers for families and the nation at large. In their constitution, they bemoan being emasculated and not being given the role to care for the family unit, a disadvantage they would want addressed" (Butaumocho, 2013). From this perspective, men are not only entitled to hold positions of power and authority in all public and private spheres, but this privilege is ordained by God. Women must, therefore, play secondary roles. Furthermore, in online comments, interviews and newspaper articles, members of Varume Svinurai argue that gender-based initiatives have given women more power than men, that men are now a minority and need protections as such, that the 2013 constitution discriminates against men, and that there is much abuse against men that is not being addressed, including the denial of "conjugal rights" (Chiwanga, 2013; Langa, 2013; Sunday Mail Reporter, 2012; Varume Svinurai, 2014). Though the organization has co-opted the language used to promote gender equality and oppose gender-based violence, its arguments are anything but progressive. Indeed, members presume that the advancement of women comes at the expense of men and that gender justice will undermine, rather than protect, the rights of men. The organization also seems to suggest that one of men's rights is to demand sex with their wives, and that her refusal is akin to abuse. The organization is, therefore, making an argument in favour of marital rape. Ultimately, the members of Varume

Svinurai seem to have little understanding of women's rights, and appear threatened by changing gender roles and relations that erode men's patriarchal privileges, power and authority. In this way, they closely resemble the so-called "men's rights" movement that has emerged to oppose gender equality predominantly in the United States.

Attitudes like those held by Varume Svinurai's members are part of a broader challenge that Padare faces. The backlash against Padare's work is rooted in both ideology and identity, says Nhengo (2013). Men and women want to maintain their community identity and sense of belonging, so they are often reluctant to challenge the system into which they were socialized (Nhengo, 2013). Instead, people accuse Padare of erasing Zimbabwean traditions, culture and "the gains that we have made as an African race," and of advancing the "European" ideal of gender equality, he explains (Nhengo, 2013). This suggests that some Zimbabweans see gender equality as a foreign concept, and one that is part of an ideological colonization process. It suggests that acceptance of gender equality would undermine African identity, incur a loss of self, and once again put Zimbabweans in a subordinated social position. Anti-colonial discourses are used to resist an idea that goes against the established gender order and power structures within communities. This framing also reveals a static view of tradition and culture that does not recognize how practices and beliefs continually change over time, in part due to interaction with other societies, and, therefore, makes a claim to cultural purity. Given ongoing political rhetoric invoking the need for anti-colonial struggle and the popularity of organizations such as Varume Svinurai, the characterization of gender equality as a foreign idea that could undermine African peoples' identities and status poses a significant challenge to Padare's work.

Funding

With regard to funding, Padare is well financed by a variety of sources, including multilateral donors such as the European Commission, UNFPA, UNAIDS and UN Women; bilateral donors such as USAID; and international non-governmental organizations such as Oxfam Canada, Save the Children International and Plan Zimbabwe (Nhengo, 2013; Oxfam Canada, 2012 & 2013; Padare, 2014). The tension emerges around how this funding is shared with the women's movement or, more to the point, how Padare's funding may detract from women's organizations. Mushonga explains that Padare tends to receive more resources than women's organizations which has inspired opposition from women (Mushonga, 2013). She recalls an instance "where a funding partner wanted to give resources to four organizations – three of them were women's organizations and one of them was Padare – and it turned out that Padare was getting about three times more than what the women's organizations were getting. So I remember there was a lot of quarrels around access to resources. I think that has been a sore point" (Mushonga, 2013). According to Nhengo, however, this tension is unwarranted. "Gender issues are not women's issues but they are human rights issues," he says (Nhengo, 2013). Men are not trying to "take over" the work of women, but rather playing a critical role in engaging men and boys to support gender justice and social change (Nhengo, 2013).

Both agree that this is an ongoing point of tension in the relationship between Padare and women's organizations; however, it does not seem to have diminished their partnerships, nor respect for each other's work. As Mushonga explains, "there are other men's organizations in Zimbabwe whose work is not really informed by feminist principles or really don't work with women and we have a challenge with that, but Padare is different...They have lots of respect for feminist principles and try as much as possible to link up and support women's organizations"

(Mushonga, 2013). Likewise, Nhengo admits that while it is sometimes tricky to collaborate, Padare and the women's movement continue to work together toward similar goals (Nhengo, 2013).

Politics

Domestic and international politics can also present hurdles for civil society organizations in Zimbabwe. As Zambezi explains, the political impasse with regard to the United States' debt ceiling delayed funding from USAID indefinitely, meaning FACT and Padare have had to put their joint research on men's low uptake of HIV/AIDS services on hold (Zambezi, 2013). Zimbabwe's national elections in July 2013 also prevented the implementation of activities (Zambezi, 2013), and even rumoured elections, such as those planned for 2011, have caused disruptions (Oxfam Canada, 2012). Despite the organization's outreach amongst elected officials, some politicians remain skeptical of Padare's work, though the participation of police reduces the likelihood of political interference in some activities (Oxfam Canada, 2013). While Padare is a well-established organization, these issues reveal its vulnerability to ongoing political tensions in Zimbabwe, as well as political crises abroad.

Section 4: Conclusion

Key Findings

There are several dimensions of Padare's work that can be distilled from the literature, documents and interviews analyzed in this study. Padare's main concerns are around gender inequality and inequity, while its main goal is to create a gender just society in which women and girls enjoy the same rights and freedoms as men and boys. Violence against women and girls is

framed as a manifestation of the current power imbalance and as an issue rooted in patriarchy. To address this, Padare uses a variety of activities and messages. Among the organization's key outreach strategies are direct community engagement through men's forums, community dialogues and public events; collaboration with community gatekeepers, including traditional and religious leaders; partnership-building and capacity-building with civil society organizations, government ministries and state institutions; and creating connections with international networks of like-minded men. Padare approaches men and boys in non-confrontational ways, asking them to critically consider the values, attitudes and behaviours they associate with manhood, then promoting gender equality, respect for women's rights, and non-violence as important elements of masculinity. The organization also offers tangible ways in which to act on these values, giving men an opportunity to express themselves in new ways and become part of a movement for social change which will support and reinforce these principles. All of this is done within a framework that respects and builds upon local histories and cultural norms. Though Padare challenges patriarchal attitudes and practices that are harmful to women and girls, they do not seek to undermine or destabilize religious or cultural institutions, such as the dare, but rather to utilize these structures in new ways that promote equity, peace and cooperation.

This study suggests that men can play a role in advancing gender equality and women's rights, and that they do so in innovative ways. In Zimbabwe, as in other countries, there are certain topics which are difficult to speak about publically, so the organization must exercise a degree of self-censorship or, at the very least, choose its words carefully; however, Padare is trying to enlarge the scope of possible discussion to include masculinities, violence against women and girls, and men's roles in preventing violence. Though the organization does not frame its work in terms of CBT, TTM, the ecological or spectrum of prevention models, Padare's

methods have considerable overlap with these models of behaviour change. As in CBT, Padare attempts to surface and reshape men's core beliefs around gender and violence, while building toward gender-just and non-violent masculinities. As the ecological and spectrum of prevention models suggest, the organization recognizes that abusive attitudes and behaviours develop from a variety of personal, situational and sociocultural factors, and that violence prevention efforts must work at multiple levels. At times, Padare uses the bystander approach, asking non-violent men to become change-makers in their communities and to act as allies to women in engaging other men. Both Padare and their partners attest to men's role in gaining access to individuals and communities that women sometimes cannot, including conservative religious communities, traditional and religious leaders, abusers and ordinary men, and to their ability to change men's perceptions of manhood. This makes men's involvement in gender and development, especially anti-violence work, crucial in order to educate and engage men and boys on these issues. While there are points of tension between them, it seems that Padare and the Zimbabwean women's movement share similar goals and principles, and often complement each other's work due to their willingness to communicate and collaborate.

That said, more research into the relationship between men's and women's organizations and their access to resources is needed. In this regard, it is important to note that international donors may inadvertently cause tension between local actors when they fund men's organizations to work on gender, particularly when men's organizations are perceived to be receiving more than women's organizations doing similar work. It would be worth exploring how donors' funding decisions effect the local working environment and inform the relations between men's and women's organizations. Men's support and work as allies is needed to address issues of gender inequality and VAW, so the question is not whether men's

organizations should be funded, but rather to what extent, for what purposes and to what effects in relation to women's organizations. It would also be useful to examine organizations such as Varume Svinurai and the backlash against gender equality work in more detail. These actors' claims to cultural purity, tradition, religious doctrine and nationalism are unsurprising, as any action toward social change is bound to inspire a reaction, but they are interesting in the context of Zimbabwe's colonial past and politically contentious present, in which a masculinist form of nationalism continues to be prevalent.

Research Summary

Overall, this study has given insight into Padare's work within the social, economic and political context of Zimbabwe. It sought to fill a gap in academic knowledge on Zimbabwean masculinities and enhance both local and international understandings of Padare's work. Using an intersectional feminist framework, the study examined how Padare seeks to transform masculinities and engage men and boys to end violence against women and girls. By reviewing the literature on masculinities and gender-based violence, engaging men and boys to end violence against women, gender and development, and Zimbabwean masculinities, I established a context in which to situate Padare's work. I then conducted a feminist critical discourse analysis of texts produced by and about Padare, as well as an analysis of semi-structured interviews with representatives from Padare, the WCoZ and FACT. This helped me to identify common local concepts of manhood and the alternatives encouraged by Padare. This also helped to illustrate how Padare's main concerns and goals were framed within discourse, and the strategies and activities they used to address these. The study has positioned Zimbabwean men as agents of social change, important allies in advancing gender equality and advocating for

women's rights, and highlighted the important work that they are doing to achieve these ends in collaboration with local and international actors. Ultimately, this study has demonstrated that both men and women have taken initiative to find local solutions to locally-identified problems, and are working toward a gender just future for all Zimbabweans.

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Appendix: List of Interview Participants

1. Munyaradzi Nhengo, Program Officer, Padare/Enkundleni/Men's Forum on Gender. Interviewed December 18, 2013.
2. Netsai Mushonga, National Coordinator, Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe. Interviewed December 13, 2013.
3. Pemberai Zambezi, Manager of Research and Knowledge Management, Family AIDS Caring Trust. Interviewed December 9, 2013.