

Factors Influencing Men's Involvement in the Prevention of Violence against Women in Nairobi City County, Kenya

Sarah Fedha Barasa¹ (Ph.D. Ongoing), Prof. Elishiba Njambi Kimani² (Ph.D.) & Dr. Pacificah Okemwa³ (Ph.D.)

Abstract

Violence against Women (VAW) is global problem that has adverse effects on women's health and wellbeing, undermining their overall quality of life. Historically, women globally have been known to fight VAW while men have been defined as part of the problem. Nonetheless, studies underscore a growing awareness and appreciation that men in partnership with women can play a significant role in ending Violence against Women (VAW). Consequently, within the last two decades, there has been a steady increase in programmes within organizations that involve men in the prevention of VAW both in Kenya and around the world. These programmes are men-led, women-led or initiated and spearheaded by both men and women working in partnership. In many societies globally, men are known to enjoy patriarchal dividends out of which stems VAW. However, some men have chosen to overlook these privileges in order to support efforts to end VAW notwithstanding the reprisals and backlash that comes with it. This study therefore sought to explore the factors that underpin men's involvement in VAW prevention efforts within organizations in Nairobi City County of Kenya. Research findings indicated that the reasons for men's involvement in VAW prevention were as diverse as the programmes that they were involved in. The study also noted that given a chance, men were capable of joining in and supporting efforts to prevent VAW. However, their involvement depended on whether the topics or conversations about VAW prevention resonated and connected with their emotions. Understanding these reasons was necessary for the effective involvement of men in VAW prevention programmes. The study recommends an all stakeholder synergy across the different ecological levels of society in order to leverage on the economies of scale and share best practices for engaging men.

Keywords: Men's involvement, Gender-based Violence, Violence against Women, Prevention.

1.0 Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV) is a global phenomenon of epidemic proportions affecting both developed and developing countries (World Health Organization (WHO), 2013). Bloom (2008) defines GBV as violence that occurs as a result of the normative role expectations associated with each gender, alongside unequal gender power relationships within the context of a specific society. According to the United Nations Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) (2012), men and boys are also victims and survivors of GBV, yet statistics confirm that the overwhelming majority of victims/survivors are women and girls worldwide. While GBV and violence against women (VAW) are terms that are often used interchangeably, VAW is a subcategory of GBV that focuses on the harm or suffering inflicted on women.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines VAW as violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts like, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in private or public life (UNESCO, 2009).

¹ Tutorial Fellow, Department of Gender and Development Studies, Nairobi, Kenya. Email: barasa.sarah@ku.ac.ke

² Associate Professor, Department of Gender and Development Studies, Nairobi. Email: kimani.elishiba@ku.ac.ke

³ Lecturer, Department Of Gender And Development Studies, Nairobi. Email: okemwa.pacificah@ku.ac.ke

The World Health Organization (WHO) and the Population Reference Bureau (PRB) reports further define VAW to include violence in domestic, inter-personal relationships and the current forms of stalking and harassment emerging from modern technology (WHO, 2011; PRB, 2013).

World Health Organization reports estimate that one in three women around the world has been sexually, physically or psychologically abused at some point in their lives (WHO, 2010). In another multi-country study in sub-Saharan Africa on women's health and prevalence of VAW, Ethiopia was with at least 50% of its female population having experienced physical violence, while (59%) had experienced sexual violence (WHO, 2011). In Tanzania, about half of the women experienced either physical (47%) or sexual (31%) violence (WHO, 2011). In the Kenyan context, the Kenya Demographic Health Survey (KDHS, 2014) report on population and health census indicates that 49% of women aged between 15-49 years have experienced either physical or sexual violence. The study also revealed that Nairobi County is the second highest in VAW prevalence at 34.5% after the Western region of Kenya (36.6%).

Violence against women has many far-reaching and overwhelming consequences that can be devastating on women's short and long-term health and wellbeing. Along with the immediate physical and emotional impacts, VAW adversely undermines women's overall quality of life, their participation and engagement in various aspects of life as well as the quest to achieve gender equity and equality. (Johnson, Righita, Kisiclewski, Asher & Lawry, 2010). These consequences to individual women can have ripple effects on society as a whole (WHO, 2011). Further, GBV hampers human development by reinforcing female subordination and perpetuation of male power and control. According to the United Nations (UN) reports, VAW is prevalent and serious but also preventable. Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) number five emphasizes the need to empower women and promote gender equality if sustainable development is to be accelerated. Therefore, addressing the issue of VAW and finding a lasting solution is important for sustainable development globally.

Historically, VAW was viewed as a 'women's issue', with women around the world leading in the efforts to prevent it, and a focus on men as the key perpetrators with women as the victims. However, within the last two decades, there has been a paradigm shift in these efforts with global efforts recognizing and focusing on the role of men and boys as key partners in the prevention of VAW (MenEngage, 2009). Consequently, men's involvement in these efforts has increasingly become part of the intervention strategies (UN, 2005). Thus SDG 5 on achieving gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls emphasizes the need for inclusion of both men and women in the efforts to end VAW if any strides are to be made in achieving gender equality and equity (UN, 2009).

In a study carried out by the National Centre for Injury Prevention and Control (NCIPC), the concept of 'men's involvement' in the prevention of VAW, being a fairly recent phenomenon, has been identified internationally as one of the top 20 'practice innovations' (Kress, Noonan, Freire, Marr & Olson, 2012). According to MenEngage (2009), many cultures globally have a number of masculinities that are affirmed as positive and non-violent. The term 'positive masculinities' has thus emerged to characterize the embodiment of norms, values and practices that anchor the work of involving men in efforts to end VAW (United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2015). Connell (2005) argues that instead of focusing on men as a homogenous group and proliferating one dominant model of the male gender role, identifying and promoting the many positive values, norms and practices among men can go a long way in reducing VAW and achieving gender equity and equality.

Evidence from studies carried out in various settings around the world on engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequities in health suggest that involving men in other spheres of life such as efforts to reduce HIV/AIDS infections, reduction of maternal/child mortality and improvement of reproductive health among families greatly enhances the outcome of any intervention programme (Barker, Nascimento & Ricardo, 2007). In furtherance, well implemented interventions targeting men and boys positively impact on their attitudes and behaviours with regard to VAW and encourage them to challenge similar violent behaviour among other men. Thus, there has been a growing acceptance among women's movements and organizations around the world affirming that men's involvement in efforts to prevent VAW, is essential achieving gender equality (Barker et al., 2007). There is also a growing consensus and evidence among practitioners, scholars and policy makers that ending VAW is attainable through the involvement of men and boys (Flood, 2005; WHO, 2007).

Globally, many men's VAW prevention programmes are guided by the pro-feminist approach (Carlson, Casey, Edleson, Tolman, Neugut, and Kimball, 2013) informed by the principles of gender equality and social justice. The pro-feminist approach implies being critical of the negative aspects of men's behaviour, constructions of masculinity and gender relations that harm women.

Pro-feminism encourages men to develop respectful, trusting and egalitarian relations with women by promoting positive and open-minded constructions of gender or selfhood (Flood, 2005). Coulter (2003) and Funk (2008) in an evaluation of studies that examined factors associated with men's involvement in the prevention of VAW bring out three themes. First, exposure to or personal experiences with different forms of GBV appeared to be a critical element that drew men in efforts to prevent VAW. Second, the role of peer support and encouragement from role models and specifically, female mentors was associated with an initiation of men into anti-violence efforts (Coulter, 2003). Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach and Stark (2004) agree that men's willingness to intervene in sexist peer behaviour is directly related to their peers' perceptions about their willingness to do the same. Third, long term dedication of men's involvement efforts to the prevention of VAW work is associated with employing a social justice analysis of violence (DeKeseredy, Shwartz and Alvi, 2000; Funk, 2006). From a different perspective, the reasons for men's involvement in ending VAW and promoting gender equality vary globally.

According to Rus Ervin Funk's "Continuum of Men's Engagement" men occupy different stages in terms of their readiness to engage in VAW prevention (Funk, 2008). Family Violence Prevention Fund (FVPPF) in a study found out that one in five men in the USA were not involved in efforts to end VAW because they were not aware. Furthermore, thirteen percent of the men attributed their lack of involvement to a public perception that they were incapable of providing a solution since they were part of the problem (Barker, Greene & Siegel, 2010). This is an indication that men offer different reasons for not participating in efforts to prevent VAW. Therefore, besides focusing on men's positive roles, exploring their varied reasons for not getting involved provides an opportunity to formulate strategies that would enhance their involvement. Additionally, campaigns can potentially have a significant impact on men's involvement because they encourage other men to increase their ownership of VAW issue by seeing themselves as part of the solution (UN, 2012).

Flood (2005) raises a concern about the tension between men's patriarchal interests and what he perceives as their interest in undermining the same patriarchy. He further argues that men are the beneficiaries of patriarchal dividends that emanate from the unequal gender relations. Therefore asking them to let go of their unfair privileges as the price they pay for the promise of a more trusting, honest, pleasurable and fair relationship with women and children is disputable (Flood, 2013). Connell (2003) on a similar note asserts that, this is no doubt a rhetorical appeal to men since some men do not perceive the benefits in this way. He further argues that men support gender equality when they can see the positive benefits for themselves and the women in their lives. From the foregoing literature review, the study sought to explore whether indeed men were ready to change by giving up their patriarchal benefits for the sake of ending VAW.

Concurrently, there has been a focus by scholars and activists on the most effective strategies extending a hand to men as well as crafting catalysts in men's lives that motivate them to seek or accept and participate in VAW prevention efforts (Casey & Smith, 2010). However, to date, evidence regarding the experiences of men or approaches that trigger men's involvement in the efforts to prevent VAW is lacking or is largely descriptive. Connell (2003) believes that it is necessary to highlight and articulate the reasons why men should challenge violence and support gender equality. It therefore became imperative to address questions pertaining to why and how men get involved in efforts to prevent VAW. Overall, the specific individual and contextual factors and motivators influencing men's pathways to involvement in VAW efforts have not been identified by practitioners, current male allies and previous studies. This topic therefore became a gap relevant for research and investigation. The purpose of highlighting this gap was to provide a means to enrich the knowledge base and to give a different dimension to the perspectives already in existence on how to effectively reach out to more men in the effort to foster their positive involvement in ending VAW.

1.1 Objective of the Study

- (i) Establish the factors that influence men's involvement in the prevention of VAW within organizations in Nairobi City County, Kenya.

1.2 Research Question

- (ii) What are the factors that influence men's involvement in the prevention of VAW within organizations in Nairobi City County, Kenya?

2.0 Methodology

The study employed an exploratory research design. The study was carried out in Nairobi City County of Kenya. Systematic and purposive sampling techniques were used to identify organizations that had VAW prevention programmes as well as key informants and respondents within these organizations. The study employed a multistage sampling technique to identify and arrive at the sample size. A sample of 84 organizations representing 30% of the total number of targeted organizations was selected for this study. Key informants comprised VAW prevention Programme Officers while the respondents included male employees within VAW prevention programmes. Questionnaires were used to collect data from male employees, interview schedules to collect data from key informants while FGD guides were used to collect data from 2 groups of men consisting of community mobilizers working with the selected organizations. The necessary protocols were obtained from the appropriate authorities to facilitate data collection. The study was guided by two models namely; the Social Ecological Model (SEM) (Heise, 1998) and the Transtheoretical Model (TTM) by (Prochaska et al., 2008). Data was coded and analysed using the Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS version 22.0).

3.0 Findings

3.1 Factors that Influence Men's Involvement in the Prevention of Violence against Women within Organizations in Nairobi City County, Kenya

This section focuses on the study's objective which sought to establish the factors that influenced men's involvement in the prevention of VAW. Data analysis revealed several factors that influenced men to get involved in the prevention of VAW within organizations. The highest number of respondents cited a concern for issues of social justice 65(82%) as the reason for men's involvement in VAW prevention. Multiple responses were given.

Table 1.1: Factors influencing men's involvement in VAW prevention efforts

Factors	Frequency	Percentage
Marriage	60	76
Fatherhood	52	66
Educational qualifications	63	80
Work related exposure	51	65
Concern for social justice issues	65	82
Heard moving stories about violence	49	62
Witnessed violence (Bystanders)	43	54
Past experience with violence (Victims)	24	30
Past use of violence (Perpetrators)	16	20

*Required multiple responses

The question, what motivated you to get involved in VAW prevention efforts was posed to respondents and multiple answers were given as shown in Table 1.1.

3.1.1 Demographic Factors

(a) Marriage

A demographic survey revealed that a majority of the respondents were married (75.9%). This is further confirmed when the respondents indicate that marriage was a precipitating factor for their involvement in VAW prevention efforts as shown in Table 1.1. Flood (2010:3) argues that married men or men in relationships tend to strive more for equitable and more meaningful relationships. He attributes this to their new found sense of protection and their readiness and willingness to exercise it. Barker (2001) further explains that men in relationships are able to stand up against violence happening in other relationships around them and among their peers. This stood out during a FGD as was captured below:

It is paradoxical that marriage is the one institution where a lot of violence is happening, yet on the other hand it is the place where 'one's eyes are opened' enabling you to see things we ignore on a daily basis. One of them is the desire to be a good husband and father, and to protect your family from harm. Knowing and participating in these efforts equips one on how to go about it. (Interview with men working with a humanitarian based organization on Ngong RD on 24/05/2016)

From the preceding sentiments, this study found marriage to be an important variable for involving men in the prevention of VAW. While this study lacks similar studies to compare with regarding this finding, the WHO (2013) on the other hand maintains that marriage institution is one place where a majority of intimate partner violence (IPV) occurs accounting for 30% of violence among women aged 15 and above globally. Closely related to marriage was the theme of fatherhood which was cited widely by respondents as an antecedent to men's involvement in the prevention of violence against women.

(b) Fatherhood

The findings in Table 1.1 indicated that fatherhood was cited by 52(66%) respondents as a precursor to their engagement in VAW prevention efforts. This information is also corroborated male VAW prevention programme officers, who shared some insights as to why they got engaged and why they thought other men were getting engaged. Citing fatherhood, they noted that this was a rite of passage in men's lives that elicited emotions and responsibilities that manifested themselves in different forms. Some men became violent while others realized the need to stop or promote non-violent behaviours within themselves and those around them. In a FGD, there was a general agreement that fatherhood among other factors was an internal precipitating factor that encouraged men to change towards being positive role models for their children.

When I became a husband and father, I realized that it was not ok to be violent towards them. Now I see the need to protect the girls in my life and other women who may be undergoing such acts of violence. Being a father totally changes how you look at life. VAW no longer becomes other people's topic of discussion; you become a part of this discourse seeing the need to protect your family. (Voice of a male participant during an FGD in Buruburu on 19/05/2016)

The above sentiments highlight fatherhood as a motivating factor for men's involvement in efforts to end VAW. On the flipside, the study found out that fatherhood represented the inner struggle experienced by men caught up in between the traditional notion of masculinities and the broader discursive terrain around fatherhood and fathers. While this is true, the study found out that fatherhood had a way of altering the negative perceptions of men towards gender relations and being persuaded to be active participants in efforts to end VAW. Further, fatherhood provided men with an opportunity to reflect on issues of masculinity and gendered power relations and the range of complex interconnected factors that shape the social conditions that lead to VAW. A male VAW prevention programme officer opined:

Fatherhood for me was a turning point in my identity as man. I felt manly and I loved it every single day. It symbolized the epitome of manhood, maturity and responsibility. Five months later, I have started casting doubts around my own masculinity. Displaying 'softness' around my baby and being a nurturing dad makes me feel less of a man which is quite disturbing. For me, being a "real man" and fatherhood have totally disoriented me. (Interview with a male VAW prevention programme officer in an organization based in Upperhill on 26/05/2016).

Connell (2005) attributes this change of heart among men to emerging fissures within hegemonic masculinity that permit acts and discourses that introduce oppositional knowledge which tend to reconfigure public and private spaces opening new possibilities for challenging traditional patterns of gender performances. Berger, Wallis and Watson (2012) agree that masculinity is not only socially constructed but also performative, implying that the masculine role is fluid, contingent and not fixed and therefore changeable. This finding corroborates a study by Flynn (2012:3) who argues that fatherhood and parenthood provides an opportunity for men to examine how factors that contribute to VAW impact on their choices and behaviours on a daily basis. By increasing the role of men to include normalization of caring for children, the restrictions of traditional definitions of masculinity are expanded and replaced with a broader vision of men's capacity in family life and society in general (MenCare, 2011).

(c) Formal Educational Qualifications

The results in Table 1.1 revealed that 63 (79.7%) of the men who were employed in VAW prevention programmes were university graduates. This is an indication that education played a key role in enabling men to join VAW prevention programmes within organizations. The respondents confirmed that their level of education was directly related to the type and level of engagement within VAW prevention programmes.

Within the context of organizations, VAW prevention programme officers confirmed that having educational qualifications was a pathway to men's involvement. They were however quick to caution that, even though education was a determining factor for male entrants into VAW programmes, their professional backgrounds did not necessarily have to be related to the activities that they were engaged in.

Violence against women prevention programme officers disclosed that, men who had professional backgrounds in the relevant fields of study however, stood a better chance of getting into VAW prevention programmes at the organizational level. Therefore, leveraging on education and professional qualifications provided organizations with an opportunity to identify the most suited men to engage. A female VAW prevention programme officer at a humanitarian NGO noted:

Qualified employees are hard to come by The most important thing for us is that we hire people who have some educational background in gender issues or even human rights issues after which we subject them to some in-house induction training, to instill some sincerity about the work they are getting involved in. Currently, we only have one professional mentor because trained personnel are far too few and hard to come by. (Interview with a VAW prevention programme officer 3/06/2016).

Within organizations, educational qualifications played a role in determining the level and type of engagement of men in VAW prevention programmes. Nonetheless, at the community level, educational qualification was not a determinant as was expressed below during an FGD:

We ride on the assumption that violence is a global phenomena and that it is something that men learn and unlearn, resulting in the way they express their masculinity in their relationship with women, children or other men. We therefore reach out to all men regardless of age or status. However, there are those who are quick to understand and respond to the concept while others do not regardless of their educational qualifications. Sometimes educated men are the most difficult to convince. (FGD with community mobilizers working with a humanitarian on Ngong Rd on 24/05/2016).

The sentiments raised during the FGD show the relevance of educational qualifications in different settings as a motivating factor for men's involvement in VAW prevention efforts. According to Funk (2008), in his continuum of men's involvement in violence prevention, he notes that men occupy different statuses in terms of their readiness to get involved in VAW prevention efforts. Educational qualifications should therefore not be the only factor influencing their involvement. The Transtheoretical Model by (Prochaska et al., 2008) suggests working with men across different levels of society regardless of their educational qualifications and guiding them through the change process. The Socio Ecological Model by Heise (1998) also illustrates the different social ecological spheres occupied by men, influenced by different factors that interrelate. They both root for a multi-level approach to engaging men that is grounded in the understanding of the links between social constructions and masculinity as well as men's use of violence. Engaging men successfully therefore necessitates a consideration of several other factors besides educational qualifications and an understanding of how these factors interact. A further analysis of the findings revealed that beyond educational qualifications, respondents exposure to VAW prevention and related activities at the work place influenced their decision to get engaged.

3.1.2 Work Related Exposure

While some male employees in VAW prevention programmes indicated that their initial drive was to have access to employment and a salary at the end of the month, the study established that overtime, their constant exposure to issues of VAW brought about a shift in their interest towards VAW prevention efforts. This is shown Table 1.1 where 31 (39%) who were previously engaged in other gender related programmes, later crossed into VAW prevention programmes.

In view of this, the study established that employment and exposure of men to issues of VAW at the work place awakened a sense of connection that drew them in or got them interested. Casey and Smith (2010) agree with this finding citing that men's decision to take a stance on issues of VAW or join an anti-violence group is as a result of a combination of experiences, exposure and internal reflection that spark or deepen their interest on the issue. Men employed in VAW prevention programmes further reported that their attitudes and behaviours were authentically grounded in the overall principle that was based on the fact that men and the society at large had the potential to change.

Respondents often used terms like 'developing a growing interest' or 'being enthusiastic and passionate' about gender issues, especially VAW' to describe how they felt about their work. Even though this study could not quantify 'passion', it was operationalized as that positive feeling that was inclined towards VAW efforts.

Male respondents explained that this 'passion' developed while some men undertook studies that were related to VAW or joined VAW prevention organizations either as volunteers or interns. Therefore, leveraging on employment opportunities was found to be a viable entry point for involving men in VAW prevention efforts.

3.1.3 Concern for Matters of Social Justice

As indicated in Table 1.1, majority of respondents 65(82%) cited the concern for issues of social justice such as exploitation, marginalization, oppression and discrimination of women among others, as their antecedent for getting involved in efforts to prevent VAW. A further interrogation revealed that their interaction with issues of social justice made them realize that VAW stemmed from gender inequalities that were witnessed in all sectors of the society. These inequalities perpetuated VAW which was used as a weapon that exacerbated women's suffering by further oppressing and marginalizing women. Therefore, attending to matters of social justice presented men with an opportunity to deal with VAW and consequently contribute to a fair and just society. The following sentiments from a male VAW prevention programme officer clearly amplify this concern:

A lot of women suffer many forms of injustices including lack of access to and control over resources, rape, FGM, early pregnancies, early marriages, gender-based violence among others, yet they have no voice to fight back. Therefore standing in the gap gives hope to these women and to society at large. (Interview with a VAW prevention programme officer on 19/5/2016)

It is however worth noting that matters of social justice as an antecedent for men's involvement in VAW prevention efforts was cited prevalently among women-led organizations and among those VAW prevention programmes that were led by women programme officers. ICRW (2007) agrees with these findings, stating that VAW prevention directly promotes women's economic autonomy, reduces poverty, delays girls' early marriage, fights FGM, promotes access to education and reduces the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. These are key if any progress is to be made towards achieving gender equity and equality. According to VAW prevention programme officers across the three types of organizations, men within such programmes played a significant role including mobilizing gender activists and reaching out to both men and women from diverse cultural and socio-cultural backgrounds to work together to eradicate VAW. A male VAW prevention programme officer below aptly captures this:

Our work is to amplify the voices of the minority through campaigns, lobbying and advocacy on behalf of victims of human rights violations. Our programme 'The Rapid Response Team' is active in assisting VAW survivors in accessing justice and medical treatment. Our Men's Travelling Conference (MTC) actively participates in 16 days of Activism on Violence against Women reaching out to many communities with messages on the importance of involving men in the fight against GBV. (Interview with a VAW prevention programme officer on 18/5/2016)

The opinions voiced above are indicative of the fact that a vast majority of organizations were driven by their quest to address issues that hindered women's progress and participation in development processes. The 1994 Programme of Action of the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development (UNICPD) agree with this finding noting that men play a key role in bringing about gender equality. By exercising their preponderant power in nearly every sphere of life, ranging from personal decisions regarding the size of families to the policy and programme decisions taken at all levels of government, men are able to bring about a change in the status quo. Working for justice and equality in gender relations is therefore meant to be understood as part of men's broader efforts to secure equality in social relations (Joachim, 2007). Further, Joachim expresses that a concern for justice provides a political incentive for many men to seek change within the gender order. Taylor, Coninck and Culp (2013) concur with these findings stating that pursuing matters of social justice by involving men is precisely what must be done if policymakers are to introduce interventions that can make a significant difference in the war on VAW and to the lives of people who have been excluded from the benefits of development.

3.1.4 Hearing Moving Stories about Violence against Women

The study findings showed that 49(62%) (Table 1.1) of the male respondents attributed their interest in efforts to prevent VAW to hearing moving stories about violence. This is confirmed and supported by a female victim of VAW, who runs a foundation for the rehabilitation of rape victims. In her narration about a carjacking rape ordeal at the hands of a gang and years of trying to heal, she got herself propelled into anti-violence activism which formed part of her healing process. She narrated how her story to both men and women elicited mixed reactions but more importantly, triggered and continues to trigger support from both men and women from diverse backgrounds who are keen on ending VAW.

For her, the men who come on board to support her course to end VAW has confirmed to that there are still some 'good men' out there who detest VAW. A male VAW prevention programme officer within her organization said the following:

Violence against women is widespread yet trivialized. There is a lot of stigma associated with rape. The victim is always seen to have been on the wrong. Therefore they end up not reporting to anyone. But when you eventually get to hear some of the experiences some rape victims go through and the resulting effects, you can't help but empathize and try to do something that can get them to a better place. Healing for women is a little faster when men are involved in counselling processes, assuring the victims that not all men are violent. There are those who are good and understand them and at the same time detest acts of VAW. (Interview with a male VAW prevention programme officer on 20/05/2016)

According to the study findings, hearing or listening to moving stories from victims of violence stood out as a trigger for some men's involvement in the prevention of VAW. The study found out that listening to and hearing moving stories from victims of violence was equally an empowering tool that encouraged both the men participants and survivors of VAW to move beyond the mere telling of stories to the development of critical consciousness. It also provided an opportunity for men to assume a multiple spectator perspective seeing the world through the eyes of the survivors and as a result became empathetic which was therapeutic in the healing process of the survivors of VAW. This findings aver with Torres et al. (2012) and Casey and Smith (2010) who agree that testimonials or speak-outs have been identified as promising men's involvement catalysts because they spark empathy and sympathy, deepening a personal connection with the issue of VAW. Hence, some men are exposed to materials about VAW, for example in prevention education programmes or have been moved or troubled by stories of victims/survivors (Casey & Smith, 2010).

Piccigallo, Lilley and Miller (2012) however caution that secondarily, hearing moving stories from women survivors of violence could inadvertently reinforce notions of men as protectors of women and women as potential victims in need of protection, ideas that do not potentially challenge gender inequity. Nonetheless, the study found out that leveraging on survivor stories was significant towards drawing men into efforts to end VAW.

3.1.5 Witnessing Acts of Violence (Bystanders)

Witnessing acts of violence was cited by 43(54%) (Table 1.1) male respondents as the antecedent for their involvement in efforts of VAW prevention. While most studies focus on the effects of violence on the primary victim (Carlson, 1984), this study conceptualized the 'witness of violence' as the secondary victim who may have either seen actual incidences of VAW, heard threats or noises that were as a result of fighting, or observed the aftermath of violence at some point in their lives also known as the bystander.

During an FGD in Buruburu, Nairobi, community mobilizers were categorical in their views on witnessing violence as a factor to their involvement in efforts to end VAW, while paying attention on the magnitude of VAW that was taking place in their neighbourhoods. Their sentiments were affirmed as follows:

If it is not happening within the immediate family, it is happening at your neighbours'. Some violence leaves you perplexed. Men beating their wives daily, raping their own daughters, killing family members maiming them or even totally neglecting them. Once a neighbour's wife stormed into my house for refuge. I knew at that point that I had to do something. (FGD with community mobilizers Buruburu 19/05/2016)

On a similar note a male VAW prevention programme officer in an interview shared his sentiments:

I grew up hearing screams from my mother on a daily basis while she got beaten by my father. Back then I was too young to do anything. As much as it still pains me that I could not help her that time, I would never want to subject or watch any woman go through that kind of torture. Doing this work gives me satisfaction that I am helping towards the bigger course which is ending VAW. (Interview with a VAW prevention programme officer with an organization based in Kileleshwa on 24/05/2016).

With regard to the above responses, witnessing acts of violence tended to awaken a desire among some men to want to get involved in the prevention of VAW. While 43 (54%) had witnessed acts of VAW and taken action, moving from the point of witnessing to becoming active bystanders in VAW prevention, Banyard (2011) explains that this action may have been influenced by a variety of other factors including perception of norms about violence, the pros and cons of taking action in an on-going act of violence, a sense of responsibility as to whether it was upon the witness of violence to act and the context within which the act of violence was taking place.

Casey and Ohler (2012) elucidate that traditionally, men were perceived as the potential perpetrators of violence and women as the potential victims. It was therefore imperative to critically explore traditional masculinities and their associated privileges that generated fundamental tensions inherent in motivating men who once witnessed acts of VAW.

This therefore necessitated the framing of VAW as a community issue so that the responsibility for getting bystanders involved in VAW prevention efforts are situated within the community focusing on positivity, inclusivity and empowerment (Berkowitz, 2013). Roberts, Andrea, Stephen, Gilman, Garret, Decker and Koenen (2010) emphasize the need to reinforce witnesses of acts of violence through multiple subsequent learning and exposure to opportunities of change as this potentially makes them resilient and committed to anti-violence efforts. Roberts et al. (2010) further caution about exposure to violence as a risk factor for future perpetration depending on the severity.

The study found out that this approach was appropriate for involving men in VAW prevention efforts given that most men do not perpetrate violence and are in a position therefore to prevent perpetration by other men. These findings aver with Gidycz, Orchowski and Berkowitz (2011) who argue that bystander approaches should focus on teaching individuals skills that enable witnesses of violence to take action and to intervene when witnessing risky peer behaviour.

3.1.6 Past Use of Violence by Men (Men as perpetrators)

Research findings showed that past experiences of violence was least cited by male respondents 24(30%) (Table 1.1) as the motivator for their involvement in the prevention of VAW efforts. This study conceptualized 'past use of violence' as having engaged in acts that could have violated the rights of women with a likelihood of causing physical, sexual, psychological and economic suffering to women. While the respondents did not specify the acts of violence they had perpetrated in the past, some VAW prevention programme officers confirmed working with men who had either sought counselling services or were undergoing a rehabilitation process. They confirmed that these men were better placed to offer advice to other men who may have used violence or were in the process of using violence, as part of their own rehabilitation process.

Violence against women programme officers pointed out that it took a strong will power for perpetrators of violence to seek help. Reformed past users of violence were better placed when it came to appealing to other men to stop using VAW. This was because they drew from their own experiences that other perpetrators were able to relate with. Within organizational and community contexts, such men participated in talks during public campaigns, workshops or community outreach programmes encouraging other men to lay aside their masculine characteristics and treat women with respect. Other VAW prevention programme officers were categorical that such men were quite resourceful during the 16 days of activism on ending VAW held annually. A VAW prevention programme officer in a GBV recovery centre quipped:

Working with men who once used violence and are truly reformed is quite rewarding. First, these men are able to stay the course because they are daily involved in efforts to end VAW. Secondly, they are able to appeal to other men, drawing from their own experiences as former perpetrators of violence against women sharing with other men the dangers of mistreating women. (Interview with a GBV officer at GBVRC on 13/05/2016)

While some VAW prevention organizations applied tertiary prevention efforts by basically focusing on victims of violence and holding perpetrators of VAW accountable, this study found that reformed men who had used violence in the past played a key role in efforts to end VAW. Even though there is a lack of rigorous evaluation of studies in VAW prevention programmes on the effectiveness of programmes that sought to change the behaviour of men who previously used violence, WHO (2007) confirms that well-designed programmes and interventions with men and boys can produce short-term change in attitudes and behaviour whereas programmes that show evidence of being gender-transformative seem to show more success in changing behaviour among men and boys. In summary, this study found out that behaviours and attitudes of men and boys that have often been considered unchangeable can be changed leading to better health outcomes for men, their partners, their families and their children and society as a whole.

3.1.7 Past Experience of Violence by Men (Men as victims of violence)

The study established that past experience of violence 16(20%) was the least cited reason by male respondents for their involvement in efforts to prevent VAW.

While it is important to state that more women suffer GBV than men, men also suffer GBV, but often face many barriers to disclosing their experiences due to the culture of masculine expectations (Shamita, 2002). This explains the variance in responses received across the three types of organizations.

Past experience of violence was noted more among male respondents working in men led organizations as opposed to those working in women led organizations.

Although these men declined to specify the kinds of violence they had experienced, VAW prevention programme officers said that there were men who suffered different forms of violence including violence at the hands of women and in armed conflict, yet they themselves were not violent. When such men joined VAW prevention programmes, they were taken through debriefing sessions within structured group meetings where survivors of violence were freely allowed to talk about their experiences and distresses as they were helped to get through the trauma and cope with the after effects. They were made to understand the bigger picture of how a majority of women suffered violence at the hands of men which sometimes led these women becoming violent as well. These sentiments are captured in an FGD;

The fact that men also suffer GBV is often overlooked. This is partly because of the societal expectations on men. Most men choose to suffer in silence because of the fear of the reprisals. It is usually a big step for these men to turn around and become ambassadors of anti-violence (FGD with community mobilizers working with a humanitarian on Ngong Rd on 24/05/2016).

However, in a different FGD, community mobilizers strongly contradicted the fact that those men who once experienced violence especially at the hands of women would be useful at all in anti-violence efforts. They were described as having ‘no face’ before community members and therefore could not speak among fellow men. They explained that such men needed protection themselves. Further, they expressed that men who did not subscribe to the masculine script by not being aggressive enough to protect themselves from men and women were seen ‘not to be men enough’ to stand before other men and talk about the effects of VAW and why other men should not be violent as was expressed by FGD participants.

However weak physically one is, no man should be beaten by a woman. How can you defend women if you are being beaten by the same women? It's unheard of. Such men have no place among men. (FGD with community mobilizers working with a VAW organization based in Buruburu 19/05/2016)

The above sentiments by participants in an FGD is a portrayal of the traditional perceptions of the description of what it means to have the ideal characteristics of being ‘manly’ or ‘less manly’ and the consequences that accompany the different character traits. According to Connel (2005), hegemonic masculinities guarantee the dominant position of men and subordination of women. Therefore, violence is perceived to be more or less serious depending on the gender of the victim or perpetrator (Golden, 2015 & Munirkazmi et al., 2012). Violence against women programme officers nevertheless, refuted this claim saying that if some of such men received the right assistance, they were able to participate productively in anti-violence efforts. While there is a bias on the attitudes and how male victims of violence are handled in comparison to their female counterparts, this study established that proper rehabilitation of male victims of violence would contribute to the efforts to end VAW significantly.

4.0 Summary and Conclusion

The study findings indicate that the factors that influenced men’s involvement in VAW prevention efforts were varied from individual involvement to organizational involvement. Across different organizations, men’s initial experiences or reasons for seeking or accepting opportunities to engage in efforts to prevent VAW were differentially related to the type and nature of involvement. They ranged from individually driven factors for instance employment, personal experience with violence, witnessing violence at some point in their lives, past use of violence, hearing disclosures of violence from survivors of abuse), to work related exposure and a concern for issues of social justice (including exploitation of women, marginalization, oppression, discrimination among others).

The findings further showed that across these factors, men were most effectively drawn into VAW prevention efforts in contexts that were familiar to them and through discussions or topics that facilitated a personal connection with the issue of VAW. Although programme officers across organizations endorsed the general principles of involving men cited in (Casey, 2010), the specific tactics used by each individual organization for recruiting men were grounded in the nature of work that they were involved in and the context in which they carried out these activities. Additionally, involving men in VAW prevention programmes at the organizational level was not an end in itself, but a part of a larger process.

Organizations also ensured that they reached out to men in communities and society at large using varied approaches. Cognizant of the above, the Social Ecological Model (Heise, 1998) advocates locating men's current status and assisting them gradually through the process of change and involvement.

5.0 Recommendations

Considering the fact that the decision for men to get involved in efforts to end VAW is dependent on the ability of programmes to impact on their perception of VAW as a vice, the study recommends that;

- Organizations should be cognizant of the different statuses and ecological levels men occupy in terms of their readiness to change and match these with intervention strategies to facilitate their effective involvement.
- There should be a cross programme coalition and partnerships among likeminded VAW activities within organizations to create an environment that enables leveraging on economies of scale, sharing of strategies and best practices and creating a synergy in an effort to reach more men. Furthermore, this could impact funding processes, policy formulation and the gendered distribution of power within community structure.

References

- Banyard, V.L. (2011). Who will help prevent sexual violence: Creating an ecological model of bystander intervention. *Psychology of Violence* [online]. 1 (3), 216-229.
- Barker, G.(2001). Development 44:94. [tps://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.development](https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.development).
- Barker, Gary, Ricardo, C., & Nascimento, M. (2007). Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: Evidence from programme interventions. Geneva: World Health Organization, 2007.
- Berger, M., Wallis, B., & Watson, S. (2012). *Constructing masculinity*. Routledge.
- Berkowitz, A.D. (2013) *A Grassroots' guide to fostering healthy norms to reduce violence in our communities: Social norms toolkit* [online]. Atlanta, GA: CDC.
- Bloom, S. (2008). *Violence against women and girls: A compendium of monitoring and evaluation indicators*. Chapel Hill, NC: MEASURE Evaluation.
- Casey, E, and T Smith. (2010). How can I not?: Men's pathways to involvement in anti-violence against women work. *Violence against Women*, 16(8), 953-73.
- Casey, E. A., & K. Ohler (2012). Being a positive bystander: Male anti-violence allies' experiences of 'stepping up'. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 27:62–83.
- Carlson, Juliana, Erin Casey, Jeffrey L. Edleson, Richard M. Tolman, Tova B. Walsh, and Ericka Kimball. (2013). Strategies for engaging men and boy in violence prevention: *A global organizational perspective*. VAW.
- Coulter, R. P. (2003). Boys doing good: Young men and gender equity. *Educational Review*, 55, 135-145.
- Fabiano, P., Perkins, W., Berkowitz, A., Linkenbach, J., & Stark, C. (2004). Engaging men as social justice allies in ending VAW: Evidence for a social norms approach. *Journal of American College Health*, 52, 105-112.
- Connell, R. (2005). *Masculinities*. Second Edition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Fabiano, P., Perkins, W., Berkowitz, A., Linkenbach, J., & Stark, C. (2004). Engaging men as social justice allies in ending VAW: Evidence for a social norms approach. *Journal of American College Health*, 52, 105-112.
- Flood, M. (2005). Men's collective struggles for gender justice: The case of anti-violence activism. *In the handbook of studies on men and masculinities*. Eds M. Kimmel, J. Hearn, and R. W. Connel. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage (pp. 458-466)
- Flood, M. (2010). *Where Men Stand: Men's roles in ending VAW*. Sydney: White Ribbon Prevention Research Series.
- Flynn, D (2012). Fathers, Fathering and Preventing Violence Against Women. *White Ribbon Research Series – Preventing Men's Violence against Women, Report No. 5* Sydney: White Ribbon Foundation.
- Funk, R. (2008). "Men's Work: Men's Voices and Actions against Sexism and Violence." *Journal of Intervention and Prevention in the Community* 36:155–71.
- Gidycz, C.A., Orchowski, L.M. and Berkowitz, A.D. (2011) Preventing sexual aggression among college men: an evaluation of a social norms and bystander intervention program. *Violence Against Women* [online]. 17 (6), pp. 720-742.
- Golden, Tom (2015). "Male Bashing in Mental Health Research". *Men Are Good*. Archived from the original (PDF) on 2015-03
- Heise LL, (1998). Violence against women: an integrated, ecological framework. *Violence against Women*, 4(3):262-290.

- Joachim, J. M. (2007). *Agenda setting, the UN, and NGOs: Gender violence and reproductive rights*. Georgetown University Press.
- Johnson, K., Scott, J., Rughita, B., Kisicewski, M., Asher, J., Ong, R., & Lawry, L. (2010). Association of sexual violence and human rights violations with physical and mental health in territories of the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. *JAMA* 2010; 304(5): 553-562.
- KDHS, (2014); The Kenya Demographic and Health Survey Report. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, Nairobi.
- Kress, H. C., Noonan, R., Freire, K., Marr, A., & Olson, A. (2012). Top 20 violence and injury practice innovations since 1992. *Journal of safety research*, 43(4), 257-263.
- MenCare. (2011). A Global Fatherhood campaign.
- MenEngage Alliance (2009). "Global symposium on engaging men and boys on achieving gender equality: *The Rio de Janeiro Declaration*" Rio de Janeiro
- Munirkazmi, Syeda Sana; Mohyuddin, Anwar (2012). "Violence Against Men (A Case Study of Naiibaadichaakra, Rawalpindi)". *International Journal of Environment, Ecology, Family and Urban Studies (IJEEFUS)*. Trans Stellar, Journal Publications. 2 (4): 1–9. ISSN 2250-0065.
- Piccigallo, Jacqueline R., Terry G. Lilley, and Susan L. Miller. (2012). "It's Cool to Care about Sexual Violence": Men's Experiences with Sexual Assault Prevention." *Men and Masculinities* 15:507- 25.
- Population Reference Bureau, (2013). World Population Data Sheet.
- Prochaska, J.O., Butterworth, S., Redding, C.A., Burden, V., Perrin, N., Lea, Michael, Flaherty, Robb M., and Prochaska, J.M. (2008). Initial efficacy of MI, TTM tailoring, and HRI's in multiple behaviors for employee health promotion. *Preventive Medicine*, 46, 226-23.
- Roberts, Andrea L., Stephen E. Gilman, Garrett Fitzmaurice, Michele R. Decker, and Karestan C. Koenen. (2010). "Witness of Intimate Partner Violence in Childhood and Perpetration of Intimate Partner Violence in Adulthood." *Epidemiology* (Cambridge, Mass.) 21:809.
- Shamita, Das Dasgupta, (2002). A framework for understanding women's use of nonlethal violence in intimate heterosexual relationships". *Violence against Women*. 8 (11): 1364–1389
- Taylor, V., Coninck, J., & Culp, J., (2013). African Perspectives on Social Justice. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Uganda Office.
- Torres, Virgilio Mariano Salazar, Isabel Goicolea, Kerstin Edin, and Ann O' hman. (2012). "Expanding Your Mind': The Process of Constructing Gender-equitable Masculinities in Young Nicaraguan Men Participating in Reproductive Health or Gender Training Programs." *Global Health Action* 5:173–98.
- UN (2005). Elimination of all forms of VAW, including crimes identified in the outcome document of the 23rd special session of the General Assembly, titled "Women 2000: *Gender equality, development and peace for the 21st century*. *Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, fifty-ninth session*, 59/167.
- UN (2009). 'Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (for the period from 9 July 2008 to 29 January 2009)', UN doc., S/2009/72.
- UNESCO (2009). Unesco World Conference on Education for Sustainable Development. UNESCO
- UNESCO (2014). Global status report on violence prevention, 2014.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (Ed.). (2012). *The state of the world's refugees 2012: in search of solidarity*. Oxford University Press
- USAID (2015). Working with men and Boys to End Violence Against Women and Girls: *Approaches, Challenges and Lessons*.; USAID.
- WHO (2007). Engaging Men and Boys in Changing Gender-based Inequity in Health. Geneva World Health Organization (2010). Preventing intimate partner and sexual violence against women: *Taking action and generating evidence*. Geneva.
- World Health Organization. (2011). "Violence against women: Intimate partner and sexual violence against women." *Fact Sheet*. No. 239.
- World Health Organization. (2013). *Global and regional estimates of violence against women: prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence*. World Health Organization.