UNIVERSITY OF
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Transforming Masculinities into an Asset for HIV Prevention: A Case Study of how Mabutho's (The UCCSA men's organization) Teachings on Masculinities can Mediate HIV Prevention in the UCCSA-Mozambique

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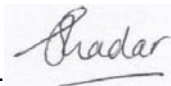
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Professor Sarojini Nadar   Date

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Abstract

This study explores whether and how Mabutho's (The UCCSA men's organization) teachings on masculinities can mediate HIV prevention in the Mozambique Synod of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA). It begins by showing the importance of Mabutho in church and society in order to establish whether this male-dominated Christian organization can play a role in HIV prevention.

The study is premised on the growing literature which suggests that organized religion (especially Christianity and Islam)[1], which are the main religious institutions in the world, and in Africa in particular, have been the birth place for the patriarchal ideologies which are critical in the promotion of the HIV pandemic.

Through a close analysis of Mabutho's teachings, the study will show that though most of Mabutho's teachings are sustained by a patriarchal ethos, Mabutho have agency, and can be an asset in the prevention of the HIV pandemic. It further argues that Mabutho, just like other men's organizations which play a pivotal role in the life of many churches, can be used as a space for the liberation of harmful notions of masculinities in the era of the HIV pandemic. The study concludes by recommending that the UCCSA in Mozambique improve in the pre- and post-marital teachings on marriage and sexuality.

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[1] See Manda, D. (2009). "Religion and the Responsibility of Men in Relation to HIV and Gender Based Violence: An Ethical Call". In *Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion, and Theology in Africa*, 15 (2). 23-40; and Camody, D. (1994). *Response to 101 Questions about Feminism*. Great Britain, 95.

Dedication

This study is dedicated to my friend, Bertus Vasternburg, who I appreciate more than words can express, to my father, Armando Manuel Macule, whose smile I still enjoy, and to my wife, Esmenia Macule, whose love I still enjoy.

Acknowledgements

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List of Acronyms

AIDS   Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

ARHAP African Religion Health Assets Program

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women

HIV   Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IPPF   International Planned Parenthood Federation IPPF

LMS   London Missionary Association

UCCSA United Congregational Church of Southern Africa

UN   United Nations

YMCU Young Men's Christian Union

WHO   World Health Organizati

General Introduction

1.0 Description of the study

This exploratory study will evaluate to what extent Mabutho's teachings on manhood can mediate HIV prevention in the Mozambique Synod of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA).

1.1 Study Background

Socio-religious practices and beliefs have placed Mozambique among the countries which suffer the world's biggest challenge of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS).[2] Despite the several legislative and policy changes that have been undertaken in the area of HIV prevention the outcome of such campaigns remain inefficient. Domestic violence, sexual assault and rape continue to be alarmingly high. A "Report CARD" on HIV Prevention for Girls and Young Women in Mozambique by the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) indicates the need for a legal instrument that defines domestic violence as a crime. The Report presents a critique to the fact that while the existing law sanctions rape outside of marriage, nothing is said about spousal rape, one of the most common and widely accepted practices in Mozambique.[3]

There is some evidence in current literature to suggest that organized religion (especially Christianity and Islam)[4], which are the main religious institutions in the world, and in Africa in particular, have been the birth place for patriarchal ideologies, which are critical in the promotion of the HIV pandemic. However, there is also a growing body of literature which recognises the role played by religion in public health and comprehensive well-being in Africa. In this study,

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[2]See Audet et al. (2010). *BMC International Health and Human Rights*. Viewed: 14 August 2011 http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov
[3] See IPPF Report Card (2006). *HIV Prevention for Girls and Young Women*. Pp. 1-4, Viewed: 23rd August 2012 http://www.unfpa.org/hiv/docs/report-cards/mozambique.pdf
[4]See Manda, D. (2009). "Religion and the Responsibility of Men in Relation to HIV and Gender Based Violence: An Ethical Call". In *Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion, and Theology in Africa*, 15 (2). 23-40; and Camody, D. (1994). *Response to 101 Questions about Feminism*. Great Britain, 95.

the term religion has been understood as "a human phenomenon that functions to unite cultural, social, and personality systems into a meaningful whole".[5]

As already stated, the aim of this study is to evaluate to what extent the teachings of Mabutho, a predominantly lay male Christian organization[6] in the Mozambique Synod of the UCCSA, can help mediate HIV prevention in Mozambique. The study seeks to investigate whether there is any role that the men's organization can play in the deconstruction of hegemonic masculinities, which have been shown to be a driver in the HIV pandemic in church and society at large.[7] Since religion dominates all aspects of human life in Africa, the study will further inquire what role the church can play in the transformation of the religio-cultural portrayal of masculinities in order to encourage mutuality and partnership between men and women.

That religious beliefs and practices can play a role in the transformation of human behaviour for the well-being of human society has long been documented.[8] It is presumed that men's organizations which are an integral part of the life of many churches can be used as a space of influence to challenge dominant patriarchal ideologies of masculinities. There is also recognition that men's organizations can offer men a chance to make life-giving decisions and translate such decisions into visible actions for HIV prevention.

1.2 Research Rationale

The rationale for embarking on this research emerges from what I have personally witnessed as an ordained minister in the UCCSA, where I have had much experience in working with the men's organization (Mabutho) in the Synod of Mozambique. During my term as the Regional chairperson for Mabutho in Maputo (2006-2009), I realised that Mabutho are informed by religio-cultural practices and beliefs of the environment in which they live. Mabutho live and function in a society where men are still at the forefront of many decision-making processes in the household, church and society. In this society, men are still regarded as heads of the family,

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[5] See Hargrove, B .(1979). *The Sociology of Religion: Classical and Contemporary Approaches.* Illinois, AHM, 12.
[6] There are also a few female members in the organization. In fact, female members who would like to identify with and live under Mabutho's principles are accepted to be part of the organization.
[7] See Chitando, E. (2009). *Troubled But Not Destroyed*. Geneva: WCC Publications.
[8] See Van Klinken, A. (2011). *Saint Joachim as a model of Catholic Manhood in times of AIDS: A case Study on Masculinity in an African Context.* Blackwell Publishing. 1-9

even though there are particular cases in which families are headed by women (widows and single mothers). Culture still denies women the right to participate in decision-making and thus prevents them from making meaningful decisions to cope with domestic violence as well as to protect themselves from HIV. At the same time I also recognised Mabutho as a space where men could change harmful patterns of behaviour.

This motivated me to reflect on Mabutho and investigate whether their teachings can mediate HIV prevention and how Mabutho could be transformed into an asset for HIV prevention in Mozambique.

1.3 Defining Masculinities

Robert W. Connell defines masculinities as socially and culturally constructed notions of being men in contrast to being women within gender relations.[9] As a socially and culturally constructed notion of linguistic and behavioural characteristics attributed to one group of society, masculinities are not a static concept. The concept of masculinities is still evolving, and its understanding and interpretation is dependent upon one's culture and generation.[10] The view that masculinities are a dynamic term which is subject to cultural influence makes it difficult to hold one notion of masculinity. Therefore, one cannot talk about masculinity, but masculinities because people have the ability to make choice about how to behave as masculine or feminine beings. Connell's definition suffices to illustrate that societal and cultural expectations of how men and women should behave are not "god-given" or "natural".

Understanding the trajectory of hegemonic masculinities is extremely important in contexts of gender relations because it maximises our horizons as we explore the question why many men choose to behave as they do in gender essentialist terms (authoritarians and even violent), and what can the church do in order to reshape the notions of masculinities into a new reality whereby the idea of maleness does not presume superiority, but mobilizes the strength of others for building a just society.

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[9] See Connell, R. W. (2005). *Masculinities*. 2nd Ed. Cambridge: Polity Press. 71.
[10] See Connel, R. W. and Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). *Gender and Society*. Sage Publications. Viewed: 20 August http://www.citt.ufl.edu/portfohio/genders/Readers. 829-859.

1.4 Preliminary Literature Review

Studies on masculinities, religion and HIV from an African perspective are still very few[11], though the body of literature is growing. An exploratory study like this will contribute in a small way to the slowly growing body of literature which addresses masculinities, religion and HIV in Africa and in Mozambique in particular.

This preliminary literature review will first build on material which defines and theorises masculinities in general; and secondly on written sources concerning the men's organization in the UCCSA, and lastly, on material that addresses the role of the men's organizations in the transformation of masculinities into an asset for HIV prevention in general.

1.4.1 Literature on (Hegemonic) Masculinities and their Implications to Health

The Oxford Dictionary of English states that hegemony derives from the Greek word *hegemon* coined in the mid XVI century to "describe leadership or dominance, especially by one State or social group over others".[12] In the context of gender studies, the term hegemony is closely linked to masculinities and it has come to describe struggles for power, gender injustices, political leadership, public and private violence.[13]

In the humanities and social sciences the term has been employed as an attempt to understand men's health practices and sexuality such as risk-taking sexual behaviour.[14] In fact, studies on masculinities and health have documented a direct link between hegemonic masculinities and high risk behaviour. For instance, Will Courtenay in *Constructions of Masculinity and their Influence on Men's well-being: a Theory of Gender and Health (2000),* argues that men are more likely than women to adopt health-denying practices and beliefs which make them vulnerable to risk-behaviours rather than engaging in behaviours that are life-affirming. Courtenay goes further and contends that gender roles as prescribed by society can be both oppressing and dehumanising

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[11] See van Klinken, A. (2011). "Transforming Masculinities towards Gender Justice in an era of HIV and AIDS: Plotting the path way". In Haddad, Beverley (Ed.) *Religion and HIV and AIDS: Charting the terrain. University of KwaZulu-Natal press*. 276.

[12] The Oxford Dictionary of English. (2003). 2nd Ed. Oxford University Press. 805.

[13] See Connell, R. W and Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). *Gender and Society. Sage Publications*. Viewed :24 August 2012 http://gas.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/19/6/829. 830.

[14] See Connell, R. W and Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). *Gender and Society*. Sage Publications. Viewed :24 August 2012 http://gas.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/19/6/829. 833.

because they force people to behave in a way compatible with what the society expects from them.[15] In a study entitled *Man is the remedy of man: Constructions of Masculinity and Health Related Behaviours among Young Man in Dakar, Senegal (2009),* Sarah Helen Mathewson seems to be in accord with Courtenay when she states that hegemonic constructions of masculinities are "bad for health" because such masculinities incite aggression, violence and disrespect for one's health.[16]

The above information will help assess the kind of masculinities adopted by Mabutho and its implication for health and HIV prevention in particular.

1.4.2 Literature on men's organizations in the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa

Xavier Massingue, in his unpublished 2004 paper *Matimu ya Mabutho* (translated as A history of Mabutho), states that Mabutho emerged with the aim of preaching the gospel of conversion to the unconverted and to teach Christian teachings of moral purity among the non-Christians. One of the teachings of Mabutho from the beginning has been that women are both the "bearers of life and the 'poison'" of their own wombs, for women have been responsible for preparing the home brew and tobacco for their husbands, who in turn become violent and ignorant of God's will on earth.[17] At a point this paper presents us with a discourse which may incite detestation and violence against women.

In his 1999 article *Reflecting on the Heritage of the London Missionary Society*, Rupert Hambira states that the London Missionary Society was a male dominated organization. "The male dominated mission came from overseas to a male dominated society in Africa and did not recognise the situation as a challenge".[18] This prompted Hambira to question how the spirituality

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[15] Coutenenay, W. H. (2000). *Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: a theory of gender and health.* Journal of Social Science & Medicine. Soma State University. Viewed: 25th August 2012. www.elsevier.com/locate/socscimed.1387.

[16] Mathewson, S. (2009). *Man is the Remedy of Man: Constructions of Masculinity and Health Related Behaviour among Young Men in Dakar, Senegal.* London: Development Studies Institute. Viewed: 14th November, 2012www.lse.ac.uk/depts/destin. 1-31.

[17] Massingue, X. (2004). *Matimu ya Mabutho*. Seminário Unido de Ricatla (unpublished Paper). 6

[18] Hambira, R. (1999). "Reflecting on the Heritage of the London Missionary Society". In de Gruchy S. (Ed) Changing Frontiers*: The Mission Story of The United Congregational Church of Southern Africa*. Gaborone: Pula Press. 224.

in the UCCSA could be informed by the perspective of both men and women in contemporary society.[19]

Both the unpublished article by Massingue and the article by Hambira will be the key resources in sketching a history of the men's organization in the UCCSA right from its missionary roots to its current expression.

1.4.3 Literature on the role of the men's organizations in transforming masculinities into an asset for HIV prevention

At this time, there is no current literature which particularly and specifically addresses Mabutho as such; however, there are some studies which have already been done elsewhere about the role religious men's organizations can play in the deconstruction of traditional concepts of masculinity for societal transformation in the context of HIV and AIDS.

In his *Fathers, Fatherhood and Masculinity in South Africa* (2006), Robert Morrell argues that the notion of violent masculinities as perceived by most Africans can change since masculinities are not biologically determined. For Morrell, masculinities can be conceived in "terms of a broader project that enhances the development of gender equity, the development of non-toxic masculinities".[20] Though writing from a History perspective, Morrell's article argues that hegemonic ideals of masculinities can be deconstructed provided they are promoting risk health practices.

In his 2011 Case Study of men's organizations entitled *Saint Joachim as a model of Catholic Manhood in Times of AIDS: A case study on Masculinity in an African Christian Context* Adriaan van Klinken shows how religious groupings can be utilized as a strategy in the transformation of critical masculinities through correcting certain behaviour and attitudes of men

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[19] Hambira, R. (1999). "Reflecting on the Heritage of the London Missionary Society " in de Gruchy, S. (Ed) Changing Frontiers*: The Mission Story of The United Congregational Church of Southern Africa*. Gaborone: Pula Press. 225.

[20]Morrell, R. (2006) "Father, Fatherhood and Masculinity in South Africa". In Richter, L. and Morrell, R. (Eds). *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press 13-25

in the fight against the HIV pandemic.[21] Van Klinken shows how Catholic men in Zambia have deconstructed traditional conceptions of masculinity by transforming hegemonic forms of manhood linked with carelessness of men in marriage and sexual immorality into responsible agents that can contribute to preventing the HIV pandemic.

Beverley Haddad in her article *Choosing to Remain Silent: Links between Gender Violence, HIV/AIDS and the South African Church* (2003) argues that behaviour patterns of men in communities can be changed provided that the church is willing to do so. Haddad argues that the church can play a significant role in the transformation of critical masculinities if men could only be given space through men's organizations, where they can start exploring life-affirming masculinities.[22]

Van Klinken in his article *Transforming Masculinities Towards Gender Justice in an Era of HIV and AIDS: Plotting the Pathways* (2011), states that while acknowledging that most aspects on the socialisation of men are informed by religious beliefs and practices, it is also true that religion (the Christian church in particular) can offer a platform for the transformation of any dominant beliefs of manliness considered to be life-threatening in this era of the HIV pandemic.[23] Indeed, the men's organizations within Christian churches can be an influential space for change and transformation.

Domoka Manda in her article *Religion and the Responsibility of men in relation to HIV and Gender-Based Violence: An Ethical call* (2009) argues that although Christianity is traditionally understood as a patriarchal religion, it can still create a space for the transformation of men into change agents in the HIV pandemic and gender based violence in Africa.[24] Church organizations,

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[21] See van Klinken, A. (2011). *St. Joachim as a Model of Catholic Manhood in Times of AIDS: A Case Study on Masculinities in an African Christian Context*. Blacwell Publications. Viewed 1st March 2012 <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=07789097-0e06-4930-a0e6-98>.

[22] Haddad, B. (2003). "Choosing to Remain Silent: Links Between Gender Violence, HIV/AIDS and the South African Church". In Phiri et al (Eds) *African Women, HIV/AIDS and Faith Communities*. Cluster Publications. 162.

[23] van Klinken, A. (2011). "Transforming Masculinities towards Gender Justice in an Era of HIV and AIDS: Plotting the path way". In Haddad, B. (Ed). *Religion and HIV and AIDS: Charting the terrain*. University of Kwazulu-Natal Press. 278 ff.

[24] Manda, D. (2009). "Religion and the Responsibility of Men in Relation to HIV and Gender-Based Violence: An Ethical Call". *In Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion, and Theology in Africa,* 15(2). 29.

pulpits and sermons can be powerful weapons in the deconstruction of hegemonic masculinities in church.

Ezra Chitando in his article *Men as Gender Activists: Opportunities and Challenges within the Religious Sector* (2010), argues that since men are victims of their own socialization it is important that the concept of manhood be transformed so that men can become agents of social transformation. For men to fight against patriarchy and strive for their own humanity they must abandon religio-cultural practices which dehumanize them.[25] Chitando further asserts that men's organizations are at the right position to influence change among men.[26]. Men's organizations can play a significant role in the transformation of negative masculinities.

Kennedy Owino in his article *Maleness and its possible influence on abuse and domestic violence in South Africa: A critique of some Expressions of Evangelical Theology* (2010), has put forward that culture and religion are major forces of socialization in Africa which have reinforced notions of maleness that have been affecting the relationship between men and women in this era of the HIV pandemic.[27] The church as a male dominated institution can help reshape the notions of masculinities into a new reality whereby the idea of maleness does not presume superiority, but mobilizes the strength of others for building a just society.

In their paper *Mobilizing Religious Health Assets to Build Safe Communities* (2009), Lazarus S. et al. have come to the realization that the religious health assets program can offer valuable spiritual knowledge that can be employed to promote health in most African communities. They also observe that spiritual and social capital is an important resource for violence prevention and comprehensive well-being.[28]

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[25] Chitando, E. (2010). "Men as Gender Activists: Opportunities and Challenges within the Religious Sector. In *Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion and Theology in Africa.* 16(2). 127.

[26] Chitando, E. (2010). "Men as Gender Activists: Opportunities and Challenges within the Religious Sector. In *Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion and Theology in Africa.* 16(2). 134.

[27] Owino, K. (2010) '"Maleness" and its Possible Influence on Abuse and Domestic Violence in South Africa: A critique of some Expressions of Evangelical Theology'. In *Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion and Theology in Africa.* 16(2). 146.

[28] See Lazarus, S. et al (2009). *Mobilising Religious Health Assets to Build Safe Communities*. Paper prepared at the ARHAP Conference, Cape Town. 1-20. Viewed: 24th August 2012 http://www.arhap.uct.ac.za

This study will build on the research which has demonstrated how the Christian church has contributed to shaping hegemonic masculinities; and therefore highlight the role that Mabutho can play in church and society.

1.5 Research Question and Objectives

1.5.1 Research Question

From the above it is clear that studies have shown not only the ways in which religion has shaped negative masculinities, but also the potential of religious beliefs and practices through men's organizations to be a space for the deconstruction of harmful patterns of behaviour in church and society. **Hence the question this study seeks to answer is**

To what extent can the teachings of Mabutho mediate HIV prevention?

In attempting to probe the above question, I will use the following **sub-questions:**

1. What is the function of Mabutho (men's organization) in church and society?

2. What is Mabutho's understanding of "manliness"?

3. To what extent can Mabutho's teachings be used to mediate HIV prevention?

1.5.2 Hence the objectives of this study are:

- To describe the function of men's organizations such as Mabutho in church and society.
- To describe and understand Mabutho's interpretation of "manliness".
- To investigate the extent to which Mabutho's teachings can mediating HIV prevention.

1.6 Research Limitations

Until recently, the Mozambique Synod of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa operated in two regions of South Mozambique. Mabutho operates in both rural and urban churches within the Synod. I will, however, limit my study to four churches in an urban setting, because the results from a rural setting may be different from those of an urban setting due to the

way people are socially constructed in each setting. The churches will be selected as follows: Maputo region (Mavalane and Choupal Congregational churches), Inhambane Region: (Balaza and Muele congregational churches). The focus of the study is on the Mabutho's teachings and HIV prevention only.

The fact that I have served the organization as the regional chairperson may have been a disadvantage in that some of the focus group participants may not have felt free to talk to me as their former group leader. In order to overcome the limitations I conducted my research in group settings so that the answers which I obtained could be corroborated, but also so that the participants would have felt more comfortable to share.

1.7. 0 Theoretical framework and Research Methodologies

1.7.1 Theoretical framework

This study on the transformation of masculinities into an asset for HIV prevention aligns itself with the conceptual and theoretical basis of the African Religion Health Assets Program (ARHAP).[29] Therefore, the framework for this study is going to be based on *the Redemptive Concept of Religious Health Assets* coined by James Cochrane (2006).

The *Redemptive Concept of Religious Health Assets* posits that religious organizations, of which Mabutho is one, can play a significant role in providing for health in situations where the state and public health services are inefficient or absent.[30] The main objective of ARHAP[31] is to "contribute to enlivening and strengthening the contribution of faith-based initiatives in health through investigation into their scope, scale, nature and potential".[32] In his *Of Agency, Assets and Appreciation: Seeking Some Commonalities between theology and Development* (2003), Steve de

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[29]ARHAP emerged in 2002 as a result of the growing appreciation among international public healthy and religious agencies that faith-based organizations can play a role in the HIV pandemic. This was caused mainly by the recognition that public health systems are ineffective *vis* to a new healthy threat like HIV and AIDS. See Cochrane, J. (2006). *Conceptualizing Religious Health Asset Redemptively*. Journal of Religion and theology. Unisa Press. 107-120

[30] Cochrane, J. (2006). *Conceptualizing Religious Health Asset Redemptively*. Journal of Theology. Unisa Press. 107-120.

[31] ARHAP is an International Collaboration working at the interface between religion and public health. See ARHAP international Colloquium. (2007). Cape Town. 157.

[32] Cochrane, J. (2006). *Conceptualizing Religious Health Asset Redemptively*. Journal of Theology. Unisa Press. 109.

Gruchy argues that most community contributions and endeavours to public health have been undermined and underestimated since communities are often not recognised as having the potential to contribute to social wellbeing.[33]

In the context of an exploratory study like this in which the intention is to derive from first-hand information the extent to which Mabutho as a faith-based organization could be a resource for the HIV prevention.

There has been an appreciation that the interface between faith and health can offer a platform for the development of programs that can help break socio-religious practices and beliefs which deny people's health and wellbeing.[34] The recognition that church men's organizations can be used as a safe space for the transformation of critical masculinities into an asset for HIV prevention implies recognizing the role played by faith based organizations in empowering people to resist life-denying religio-cultural constructions of masculinities.

A redemptive concept of Religious Health Assets as a framework assists into the investigation of the role Mabutho can play in men's lives within church and society. This framework will also help to assess how Mabutho can be transformed into assets for the empowerment of communities.

A redemptive organization, according to Cochrane, would strive to create a domination-free community in places where gender inequalities are supported by cultural and religious practices. The term *redemption* carries theological and secular meanings. Theologically, redemption is understood in terms of "confession and repentance, forgiveness and restoration"[35]. Secularly, the term redemption is used to mean liberation.[36] The words *Repentance* and R*estoration* are key for this framework, because Mabutho are not only expected to repent from a "wrong doing such as breaching trust in interpersonal relationships, infidelity in marriage or abuse that violates

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[33] De Gruchy, S. (2003). *Of Agency, Asset, and Appreciation: Seeking Some Commonalities Between Theology and Development.* Journal of Theology for Southern Africa. 31

[34] de Gruchy, S. (2007). "Taking Religion Seriously: Some thoughts on 'Respectful Dialogue' Between Religion and Public Health in Africa." In *ARHAP International Colloquium: Collection of Concept Paper*s. Cape Town. 8 viewed: 7th June 2012 http://www.irhap.uct.ac.za. 7-14

[35] See Clark, M. W. (2003). *Becoming More Human.* The Expository Time. SAGE Publications. Viewed: 16th June 2012, <http://web.ebschost.com>. 76-81.

[36] See Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary. Springfield, Massachusetts, USA, 1971.

boundaries that ordinarily provide safety, trust and security",[37] they are also expected to restore broken relationships which they may have caused within the church or the wider community. Indeed, for an efficient prevention strategy one should not separate people's physical health from good interpersonal relationships.

In *I want to be like Jesus: The Self-defining Power of Evangelical Hymnody (*1986), Mary de Jong observed that hymns sung in Protestant churches can also offer a redemptive concept of masculinity. She recognises that most of the hymns sung in protestant settings associate Christ with sympathy, mildness and servitude. By being 'Christ-like' a real man is regarded as he who recognises Jesus Christ as the one who fights publically for a cause perceived as legitimate.[38] By being 'Christ-like' one can find a redemptive model of masculinity. The question above posed by this study requires a redemptive answer flowing from the recognition that religion can indeed create a safe space for the wellbeing of all.

1.7.2 Research Methodologies

This was an empirical study that applied a qualitative method inspired by the way in which ARHAP conducts research. Hence ARHAP strategies for research were employed. The ARHAP research strategies are:

> (1) Collecting and cohering basic enriched empirical data of community programs to ascertain whether there is any information on the role of the interface between faith and religion; (2) Carry out complementary and detailed case studies of faith-based organizations programs in their relevant communities which are intended to enhance public health; and (3) engaging in comparative, qualitative research to find out how faith-based organizations can function as religious health assets in their communities.[39]

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[37] Clark, M. W. (2003). *Becoming More Human. The Expository Time* . Sage Publications, Viewed: 16th June 2012,<http://web.ebscohost.com>. 76-81.

[38] de Jong M. (1986). "I want to be like Jesus": The Self-defining Power of Evangelical Hymnody. Journal of the American Academy of Religion, 54 (3). Viewed: 16 June 2012 <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/results?sid=07789097-0e06-493>.   461-493.

[39] See Cochrane, J.(2006). *Conceptualizing Religious Health Asset Redemptively*. Journal of Religion and Theology. Unisa Press. 107-120.

In order to answer the question posed by this study unstructured observation and focus group discussions were used for data collection in September and October 2012. Gary Thomas in his book *How to do Your Research Project: A guide for students in Education and applied social sciences* (2009) describes unstructured observation as that observation which takes place when the researcher is also a participant to understand what is happening there.[40] Monique Hennink defines focus group discussion as "the unique method of qualitative research that involves discussing a specific set of issues with a predetermined group of people".[41] The main objective of focus group discussions is "to identify a range of different views around the research topic, and to gain an understanding of the issue from the perspective of the participants themselves".[42]

According to Hennink, in health and social sciences, focus group discussion is the most appropriate method for studies on issues such as HIV and AIDS, and the development of social and community initiatives, due to the higher acceptability of qualitative methods in these fields.[43]

A thematic question guide with eight open-ended questions was used during the focus group discussions (for questions see appendix A).

1.7.3 Ethical Clearance

The authorization to conduct this study came from the Humanity Ethics Committee, University of KwaZulu-Natal on the 7th of September 2012. The permission to conduct focus group discussion was obtained from the Synodical Mabutho President, after I had written to them asking for permission (see appendix A). A consent letter was sent to Mabutho prior the focus group discussions.

In the consent form it was indicated that should they agree to participate in this study, they would be informed that participation was voluntary and that the participants would be free to withdraw at

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[40] Thomas, G. (2009). *How to do your Research project: A guide for students in Education and applied social sciences*. Los Angeles: Sage publications. 186.

[41] Hennink, M. M.(2007). *International Focus Group Research: A Hand book for the Health and Social Sciences*. Cambridge University Press. . 2

[42] Hennink, M. M. (2007). *International Focus Group Research: A Hand book for the Health and Social Sciences*. Cambridge University Press. 2.

[43] Hennink, M. M. (2007). *International Focus Group Research : A Hand book for the Health and Social Sciences*. Cambridge University Press. 1.

any time. It was also made clear that the respondents would use the language they are comfortable with, that is, Portuguese or Chitswa. In terms of benefits it was indicated that by participating in this study Mabutho would be contributing in a small way to the body of the scarce literature on masculinities and HIV in Mozambique. The consent form made it clear that no names would be used in this study and no information will be able to disclose one's identity.

1.7.4 Study sample

Convenience sampling was used. In a convenience sample the respondents are selected on the basis of their availability. This method is used for preliminary studies and it is advantageous in that the participants are ever available.[44] The population of the study was strictly members of Mabutho regardless of their status in church and society. Arrangements were made in advance in order for the Maputo Regional Conference to be a space where focus group discussions could be held. There were seven participants in Maputo and nine participants in Inhambane. In both groups there were two and three women respectively. The respondents were all middle-aged men and women. The respondents were reluctant to provide information about their education and economic background. As a researcher I could infer that most members of Mabutho in Inhambane are self-employed, whereas in Maputo most of the respondents have formal jobs.

1.7.5 Data analysis

The data collected from the focus group discussions was recorded using tapes as well as hand-written notes. The respondents felt more comfortable to use Chitswa, which is regarded as an inclusive language in the church. I had to translate the questions into both Chitswa and Portuguese in advance, and appoint two note-takers, who are fluent in Chitswa to help write down the findings while I facilitated the discussions. Later on the data was typed and translated into English. The responses from the focus group discussions appear in Chitswa and have been put in italics throughout chapter three.

The method used to analyse the data was thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is "a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and

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[44] See http://www.wisegeek.org/what-is-a-convenience-sample.htm. Viewed: 07th October 2012.

describes your data set in (rich) detail".[45] Because of its flexibility, thematic analysis is an important method when working with participants as collaborators, and it helps summarise and describe complex findings.[46]

1.8 Summary of the key study findings

On the understanding of "manliness", the missionary teachings have been identified as having influenced Mabutho's worldview. "Manliness" is conveyed in terms of harshness associated with the idea of male headship, fatherhood and heroism.

The church's poor pre and post-marital teachings on marriage and sexuality with its biased emphasis on prescribing how women should behave and what they should do in the house in order to secure marriage have enhanced dominant ideals of masculinities.

On the role of Mabutho in mediating HIV prevention, it became clear that this organization emerged in a context where HIV and AIDS was not a problem. This has actually contributed to Mabutho's slow intervention in the HIV pandemic. Findings have shown that Mabutho is remorseful for their slow or even absence intervention in the HIV pandemic.

Mabutho is rich in resources often referred to as assets (this includes indigenous knowledge in terms of metaphorical expressions, their uniforms and networking) which they could use to mediate HIV prevention in Mozambique. Mabutho could claim their space for the liberation of masculinities through teaching other men to become agents of public health promotion, and for HIV prevention in particular.

[45] Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006). *Using Thematic analysis is Psychology*. University of Auckland and University of the West of England. Eduardo Arnold (publishers) Ltd. Viewed: 06th October 2012< http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>. 79.

[46] Braun, V. and Clarke, V. 2006. *Using Thematic analysis is Psychology*. University of Auckland and University of the West of England. Eduardo Arnold (publishers) Ltd. P 97 Viewed: 06th October 2012< http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>.

1.9 Structure of the Study

This study is composed of six chapters, and each chapter is organized as follows:

Chapter one introduced the study and it covers the following: Study Background, Research Question and Objectives, Research Limitations, Theoretical framework, Research Methodologies, the summary of the study key findings, and the structure of the study.

In Chapter two I have described the importance of Mabutho in church and society. This chapter covers the following: A brief history of the emergence of Mabutho in the UCCSA, the emergence of Mabutho in the Mozambique Synod of the UCCSA, and the importance of Mabutho in the Mozambique Synod of the UCCSA.

In Chapter three I have presented the study findings on Mabutho's understanding of manliness. Under this chapter I have identified important themes emerging from the focus group discussions such as male headship, fatherhood, fearlessness, the implication of the church's poor teachings on sex and sexuality, finally this chapter shows that Mabutho have potential assets with which they can prevent HIV.

In Chapter four I have analysed Mabutho's understanding of manliness. This chapter covers the following: Mabutho's socio-cultural background, Mabutho's understands of maleness, engaging the ARHAP concept with Masculinities for public health, life denying masculinities, redemptive Masculinities, and finally, it elaborates on the implications of the church's poor teachings on sex and sexuality for public health.

In chapter five, I have analysed Mabutho's teachings on masculinities. This chapter covers the following sub-headings: repentance, Mabutho as guardians of public health, using indigenous metaphors for HIV prevention, peace, justice and hope on earth. This chapter wraps up with the theme activism.

In chapter six I have presented a summary of the study. This chapter presents the summary of all the chapters and the recommendation.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 The Function of Mabutho in Church and Society

Introduction

This chapter describes Mabutho's role in church and society by firstly giving a brief history about the emergence of the organization as well as the reasons behind its emergence. Mabuto's teachings are grounded on the Bible, and carry strong ethical values which Mabutho can utilize to establish and or enhance social cohesion in church and society. Of great importance in this chapter is the extent to which Mabutho's uniform can be utilized for peace and justice promotion in church and society. This chapter covers the following sub-headings: a brief history about the emergence of Mabutho in the UCCSA, the reason behind the emergence of Mabutho, the church women's response to the emergence of Mabutho, Mabutho's uniform and its theology, Mabutho's emergence, structure and membership in Mozambique, and lastly it elaborates on Mabutho's role in church and society.

2.1 A brief history about the emergence of Mabutho in the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa

2.1.1 The genesis of the organization

In 1896, George Weavers, an American Board missionary and former civil war veteran, who was serving at Mapumulo church, outskirts of Durban, founded an organization known as the 'Volunteers'.[47] The 'Volunteers' were an organization made up of full members of the church men and women who were passionate about preaching the gospel. Their task was to assist the missionaries in their work of evangelism. This has also been described as the revivalism and purity period in the life of the church, for there was a sudden growth in terms of membership and also of ordained pastors.[48]

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[47] Houle, R. J.(2008). "The American Mission Revivals and the Birth of Modern Zulu Evangelism" in Carton, B et al (eds) *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. 222-235.
[48] Sales, R. (1999). "From ABM to BCC: Twentieth Century Changes to the American Board Mission in Zululand" in de Gruchy, S. (ed) *Changing Frontiers, the Mission Story of the UCCSA*. Gaborone: Pula Press. 107.

In 1909, a similar organization known as Young Men's Christian Union (YMCU) was established in some black communities of the former Congregational Union of South Africa (Eastern Cape, Western Cape and in Transvaal).[49] The Young Men's Christian Union had the same responsibilities as those of the 'Volunteers'.

2.1.2 Mabutho in the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa

Before the formation of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa in 1967, there were three denominations which operated separately, namely the American Board Mission, the Congregational Union of South Africa and the London Missionary Society.[50]

With the merger of the three denominations and the formation of the UCCSA in 1967, the Volunteers and the Young Men's Christian Union had to unite and form a bigger organization which is currently known as Mabutho or Soldiers of Christ. The first president of Mabutho was the Reverend B. K. Dudla.

To date the terms Mabutho and Soldiers of Christ have been interchangeably used to refer to the same thing. Since their formation, Mabutho have been a vibrant wing of the church, especially in black communities. It was in 1967 that the organization was granted the status of being a standing committee in the UCCSA.[51]

2.2 The Reasons behind the Formation of Mabutho

After the promulgation in 1879 of the Umsunduze rules, which "censured polygamy, ilobola, alcohol and dagga smoking",[52] there was a realization that the church was living among people whose lives were influenced by alcohol, tobacco, and also by other stimulants.[53]

The blame for alcohol and tobacco abuse was bluntly expressed some years later in 1910 during the first Mabutho conference held in Durban under the theme "women are the poison of their

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[49] Rev. Makhanya, E-mail correspondence, 2nd March 2012.
[50] de Villiers, P. (1999). "Unity: The formation of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa" in de Gruchy, S (ed) *Changing Frontiers, the Mission Story of the UCCSA*. Gaborone: Pula Press. 151.
[51] Rev. Makhanyi, E-mail correspondence, 2nd March 2012.
[52] Sales, R. (1999). "From ABM to BCC: Twentieth Century Changes to the American Board Mission in Zululand" in de Gruchy, S. (ed) *Changing Frontiers, the Mission Story of the UCCSA*. Gaborone: Pula Press. 107.
[53] Massingue, X. (2004). *Zi Gonzo za Mabutho*. Seminário Unido de Ricatla (unpublished paper), 6.

own wombs". The conference had been called to discuss and assess the reasons behind the high drop of moral and ethical values in church and society[54]. At this conference women were frankly blamed as being the ones responsible for preparing the home brew and tobacco for their husbands, who in turn become violent and ignorant of God's will on earth.

Therefore, Mabutho emerged with the objective of preaching the gospel of conversion to the unconverted, teach Christian teachings of moral purity among the unconverted and win souls to Jesus Christ. All evangelism carried out during that period was strongly influenced by the teachings of George Weavers, and presently his legacy is still experienced in different settings where the UCCSA operates.[55]

2.3 How did Women respond to the Emergence of the Men's Organization?

It should not go unmentioned that the men's organization has, since the beginning been open to female membership. The few women who attended the 1910 conference felt very uncomfortable with the theme and all the discussions around it. The 1910 Mabutho conference gave way to the emergence of the women's organization known as *Isililo* in 1912, with the aim of praying and fasting for their wombs, which were believed to be the root of the immoralities because it was believed it is in the womb that human life as well as the process of socialization starts. *Isililo* emerged therefore with the aim to respond to the drop of ethical values in family life and society at large.[56]

2.4 Mabutho's uniform

Before the merger of the 'Volunteers and the YMCU' both organizations had their own uniform which differed from one another. The Volunteers had as uniform black shoes, black socks, white shirt, black tie, khaki jackets and the round pin. On the other hand, the YMCU had as their

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[54] Massingue, X.(2004). *Zi Gonzo za Mabutho*. Seminário Unido de Ricatla (unpublished paper), 6.
[55] Sales, R. (1999). "From ABM to BCC: Twentieth Century Changes to the American Board Mission in Zululand" in De Gruchy, S. (ed) *Changing Frontiers, the Mission Story of the UCCSA*. Gaborone: Pula Press. 107.
[56] Report of the Isililo/Manyano/Bome to the 1990 Assembly.

uniform white shirts, black tie, cream-white waist coats trimmed with royal blue, which could be worn with black trousers, black shoes and black socks.[57]

After the merger and the formation of the UCCSA to the present time, Mabutho have as their uniform black trousers or skirts, black shoes, black socks, cream-white waist coat trimmed with royal blue, white shirt, black tie, khaki jacket and a pin specially designed for Mabutho.

2.5 The Theology behind the Uniform

As "soldiers of Christ", the organization have their own uniform and principles which binds them, just like any ordinary soldiers. Mabutho's principles are grounded on Paul's letter to the Ephesians:

> Put on the full armour of God so that you can take your stand against the devil's schemes. For our struggle is not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the powers of this dark world and against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly realms. Therefore put on the full armour of God, so that when the power of evil comes, you may be able to stand your ground, and after you have done everything to stand. Stand firm then, with the belt of truth buckled round your waist, with the breastplate of righteousness in place, and with your feet fitted with the readiness that comes from the gospel of peace. In addition to all this, take up the shield of faith, with which you can extinguish all the flaming arrows of the evil one. Take the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. And pray in the Spirit on all occasions with all kinds of prayers and requests. With this in mind, be alert and always keep on praying for all the saints. (Ephesians 6:11-18).

As far as the members are concerned, the uniform is to be worn on specific occasions like the organization's meetings and conferences as well as in meetings of other organizations or groups within the church. It can also be worn in special occasions like Good Friday and Easter Sunday or whenever a member of the group is going to deliver a sermon or lead a service liturgy. Other situations like a minister's funeral or Holy Communion also demand that members put on their

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[57] Rev. Makhanya, E-mail correspondence, 2nd March 2012.

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uniform.[58] Failure to wear the uniform in situations like these may result in a fine for breaching the organization's norms.

The meaning of the uniform is as follows: the round pin represents the world in which we live. The dove within the round pin conveys peace and justice in the world; it follows then that Mabutho should strive and seek for peace and justice. The green leaf in the pin represents hope. Part of Mabutho's responsibility is to bring hope in the world. The cross symbolises Christ, because it is for Christ that Mabutho fight. The blue colour in the pin symbolises heaven; as Mabutho they should know that they are sojourners in this world, the heavens are their ultimate destiny.[59] The black trousers remind Mabutho that they live in a pluralistic and sinful world characterized by injustices; they must try to address such injustices. The black belt means that Mabutho are firm enough to start the fight against evil forces in this universe; the black shoes and socks remind them that the soil which they tread is not clean; therefore one has to be cautious. Khaki is durable, and therefore preferred by soldiers. The cream-white waist coat symbolizes the breastplate of righteousness. The five buttons of the waist coat symbolize the five scars of Jesus on the cross. The cream colour of both the jacket and the waist coat symbolizes charm, because members of Mabutho should be neat and in good-looking so they are be able to convert others to their organization. The three buttons of the jacket symbolise the trinity. The black tie symbolizes the hanging of Jesus on the cross. The white shirt means that Christians as soldiers of Christ should not reflect dirt in their lives; they must by all means try to reflect purity in the world.[60] As soldiers of Christ, Mabutho get their inspiration from the following hymn which is sung in a soldier-like manner tune while the members march:

Ka wena Jehova (Chitswa)

1 Ka wena, Jehova,

Nzita ka wena.

U nzi koke wena;

Nzita ka wena.

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[58] Massingue, X. (2004). *Zi Gonzo za Mabutho*. Seminário Unido de Ricatla (unpublished paper). 14.

[59] Mr. Phikiso Hasi. Oral conversation, the UCCSA House of Formation, PMB, 9th May 2012, South Africa.

[60] Rev. B. K Dudla. Oral conversation, Durban, 27 February 2012, South Africa. Rev. Dudla is one of the oldest ministers and pioneer in the formation of the Soldiers of Christ.

Nza vumela, nziku:

Ka Hosi ya mina,

Ka Hosi ya mina:

Nzita ka wena

2 Loku nzi hambuka,

Nzi alakanye!

Loku nzi xaniswa,

Wena nzi vune.

Nzi kombela lezo,

Ka Hosi ya mina:

 Nzi ta ka wena.

3.Kutani nzi mbela

Le misaveni;

Tana, nzi tyise

Leyo kufeni.

Nzi famba le kaya,

Ka Hosi ya mina,

Nzi ta ka wena.[61]

Translated version from Chitswa into English

1 To you, Oh Jehovah,

I am coming to you

You pull me to you

I am coming to you.

I accept, that:

[61] A Tisimu Ta Ivangely (Tswa Hymn book) (1996). Braamfontein: Sasavona Publisherss & Booksellers.

To my Lord,

To my Lord:

I am coming to you

2. If I happen to deviate from you,

You remember me!

When I struggle,

You help me.

That is all I want,

From my Lord;

I am coming to you.

3. Even when I am desperate,

In this world,

Lord, come and make me stronger

In the shadow of death,

I am returning home

2.6 The emergence of Mabutho in the Mozambique Synod

Mabutho in the Synod of Mozambique was introduced on the 3rd of March 1955, by the Reverend Asserone Tiriwane Litsuri, one of the most energetic ministers which the Synod of Mozambique has ever produced in all its history.[62] Actually the year 1955 witnessed new developments in the history of the church in Mozambique thanks to the return of some ministers like Litsuri who had received some theological training at Adams, Durban. Besides the introduction of Mabutho, the year 1955 witnessed the formation and introduction of other groups

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[62] Rev. Maria Guiringane, current Synod Secretary. Oral conversation, Maputo, May 14, 2012.

like the Women's Ministry (Xirilo), the Youth Ministry; and the Children's Ministry (locally known as estrela).[63]

2.7 The structure of Mabutho in the Mozambique Synod

The structure of Mabutho follows the same patterns as that of any other organization within the Synod. Mabutho exist in every local church and it operates as an autonomous group. The leadership of Mabutho is composed of the President, the Secretary, the Treasurer and the Counsellor.

At the regional level the officials of the organization are elected by the Annual Regional Conference which takes place once a year in November. It is in this conference that Mabutho at the local church come and report the progress of their activities. The decisions made at the November Regional conference are reported at the Synodical annual conference. The president's task is to organise, prepare and conduct worship and revivals aimed to evangelise and attract new members into the group. The secretary is responsible for writing minutes and keeping all the information of the organization. The treasure's responsibility is to collect and register membership fees. The counsellor is expected to help the organization with counselling should there be any type of crisis.[64]

2.8 Membership

In Mozambique and other parts where the organization exists, membership is open to all men and women[65] who are married to one spouse, widowers as well as unmarried men and women should there be a strong reason why they are not married. Although the church (UCCSA-Mozambique) has been silent on religio-cultural issues, one of the missionary's legacies of which the church of Mozambique can be proud of is its regular prohibition on aspects of polygamy. Polygamy is hostile and strictly forbidden within the organization.[66] This is probably due to the earlier missionary teaching which postulated that polygamy was evil and a good Christian would not become a polygamist.

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[63] Litsuri, A.T. (2004). *Matimu ya Bandla*. Maputo. (Unpublished paper)
[64] Massingue, X. (2004). *Zi Gonzo za Mabutho*. Seminário Unido de Ricatla (unpublished paper). 13
[65] Women are allowed to be part of Mabutho should they be willing to identify and live as men.
[66] Massingue, X. (2004). *Zi Gonzo za Mabutho*. Seminário Unido de Ricatla (Unpublised paper).1

As far as Mabutho's constitution is concerned, there is no age limit for membership. Members are expected to be honest with one another and in good standing within the group, church and society. They should be people who live within Christian principles. A member of Mabutho should allow the Holy Spirit to guide him/her. Members of Mabutho are expected to pay membership fees.

Mabutho, like any other organization within the church, is demanding. One can have his or her membership withdrawn any time. Emotional stability is of great importance for members.[67] In fact this seems to be the dominant dogma among Mabutho. The establishment of sound relationships with one another both within and out of the group is regarded as grounds for a working relationship with self and God. It follows then that one can have his or her membership withdrawn should they not observe these regulations or found guilty of anything which goes against the organization's constitution. Some of the issues which can force members to forfeit their membership include offending one another by words or actions within the organization or within the church at large.[68] Misbehaviour in one's house and family can also affect one's membership in the group and force one to have his/her membership withdrawn, because members of Mabutho are meant to live an exemplary life in their families. Debts are not encouraged in the organization. If a member fails to pay off his/her membership fees they can have their names deleted from the organization. The withdrawal of membership is done at the local church. Currently, the organization has close to one thousand members in the entire Synod of which 15 per cent of this number are women.

2.9 The role of Mabutho in church

Mabutho is the most extensively documented organization in the Synod. Basically the responsibility of Mabutho is to help in the spiritual edification of the whole church of God as well as facilitating people's moral growth in the church.[69]

Mabutho meets every Thursdays at 6:00 p.m. in the house of one of the group members for their spiritual revivals. The venue varies deliberately because this gives them an opportunity to visit

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[67]Massingue, X. (2004). *Zigonzo za Mabutho.* Seminário Unido de Ricatla (Unpublished paper). 13.

[68] Massingue, X.(2004). *Zi Gonzo za Mabutho*. Seminário Unido de Ricatla (Unpublished paper).13.

[69]Massingue, X. (2004). *Zi Gonzo za Mabutho*. Seminário Unido de Ricatla (Unpublished paper). 13.

the member in their own houses and families and assess whether they are living under the group principles. Most of their discussions when they are gathered focus on charity, spiritual revival, visiting and praying for the sick as well as identifying the strengths and possible threats within the organization. Mabutho's meetings are regular and obligatory. Such meetings create space for Mabutho's oneness, allowing the spirit of brotherhood to bind them. Coming together as one people united by faith is recognition that the essence of being church is reflected in social relationships.[70]

Meeting on a regular basis gives them an opportunity to assess their spiritual involvement in the life of the church, and also to identify in what way they can assist in terms of physical activities (church maintenance). It is in these meetings where they learn and teach each other how to pray, preach and conduct services. At times they organise Bible studies for the group. This has also been a special space for men to chat about family and other social issues.

Among the many tasks they engage in Mabutho's tasks include ensuring that the church benches are in good order, ensuring that there are enough latrines within the church compound and dig new ones should this be required. Their activities also include deciding whether the painting of the church hall still conveys a good image or it is time to have it changed. When they meet for these kinds of activities, they proudly nickname themselves as *wusokoti (*ants). The term *wusokoti* translates the network they form when they come together for a specific activity in the church in imitation to networks formed by ants. This is what has made Cochrane assert that religious groups gain their strength in part because of the positive features of their networks which are connected and supportive.[71]

At a funeral of a Mabutho member, one can see Mabutho as they come in the forefront of the ceremony. They actively participate in everything from conducting prayers, memorial services, cooking and dishing for the participants. Their strength in praying and singing with the family of the departed simply conveys that death is not the ultimate thing in one's life, but the beginning of a long journey. Events of that nature give them an opportunity to show solidarity to the extended family. Spaces like these may also be used to put together some money for food and

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[70] See Simmel, G. (1959). *Sociology of Religion*. New York, Philosophical Library. 25
[71] Cochrane, J. (2007). "The Missing Link? The Role of Intermediaries in Scaling Up and Sustainability". In *ARHAP International Colloquium*. Cape Town, South Africa. 104.

refreshments in the house of the departed. In situations where the deceased did not leave any money and the family cannot afford a coffin, money is immediately collected from the members or taken from the organization's bank account to buy a coffin and organise the funeral. Perhaps De Gruchy is right in affirming that in large parts of Africa the 'portfolio of livelihood assets, the livelihood strategies, and the desired livelihood outcomes are deeply influenced by religion, culture and customs'.[72]

The current financial crisis which is hitting the world and thus leaving thousands of people jobless has had an immediate impact on women, who until recently were leading the tracks of joblessness due to patriarchal and cultural prejudices. Mabutho are among the few privileged in our society who still hold formal jobs or are engaged in business whether formally or informally. Therefore, Mabutho represent a strong financial wing within the church, and they are in the forefront of many activities which involve both money and physical work.[73] One would not be wrong to affirm that Mabutho play a significant financial role for the survival of the church, and without them the church would have closed down. Among many other activities and programs which have been founded by Mabutho in Mozambique is the Zaqueu Licumbe Bible School, which plays a pivotal role for the ministerial formation.[74]

It is frowned upon if a member of Mabutho presents excuses when he/she is solicited to do some work at church or when he is invited for a family gathering. They are instructed to be guardians of time, who should never be late at church, family gatherings and work.[75] Attendance and consideration to family gatherings is prescribed to members because there is the assumption that one's family can contribute to the edification of one's behaviour. Further, this means that individualism is not allowed, but companionship and solidarity, indeed, the extended family can play an instructing role in the socialization of individuals, for it is the extended family that nurtures reciprocity and mutuality. It has long been documented that in Africa, one's wellbeing is only possible through the community and the web of relationships that is sustained by the wider

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[72] de Gruchy, S. (2003). *Of Agency, Assets, and Appreciation: Seeking Some Communalities Between Theology and Development.* Journal of Theology for Southern Africa .34.

[73] See van Klinken, A. (2011). *ST. Joachim as a model of Catholic Manhood in Times of AIDS: A Case Study on Masculinity in an African Christian Context*. Blackwell Publishing. Viewed: 1st March 2012 <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=07789097-0e06-4930-a0e6-98>. 5

[74] See 2010 Maputo Region Mabutho Report

[75] Massingue, X. (2004). *Zi Gonzo za Mabutho*. Seminário Unido de Ricatla (Unpublished paper). 14.

community. In *A Biblical Vision for Africa's Development*, Speckman reminds us that "The African proverb, *umntu ngumtu Ngabantu* has a very profound meaning. In the first place, it reminds the individual that someone is nothing until he/she recognises the fact that they have responsibility towards the others and are accountable to them".[76] Mabutho know that when one falls sick or when the 'last day' comes, it is the extended family that is notified before the church community is told. African anthropology posits that humans are beings who depend on life-in-community for their self-understanding.[77] It follows then that one cannot survive without "oiling the wheels of relationship, with the recognition of the worth and the needs of the other.[78] The importance of the community for an African is further captured by John Mbiti in his *African Religions and Philosophy* (1969), when he states that:

> When he [sic] suffers, he does not suffer alone but with the corporate group; when he rejoices, he rejoices not alone but with his the kinsmen, his neighbour and his relatives whether dead or living. Whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group, and whatever happens to the whole group happens to the individual. The individual can only say: I am, because we are; and since we are therefore I am.[79]

According to Mabutho, these responsibilities can only be accomplished through prayers and regular reading of the Bible, because it is the Bible that lays ground for the formation of the human community.

2.10 The role of Mabutho in Society

The responsibility of Mabutho is not only confined to the church. Mabutho play a significant role in the wider society. The teachings and vows on solidarity which are enshrined in their constitution do not benefit the church alone, but the wider society. Members of Mabutho are instructed to show solidarity and assist the least of society. Mabutho have strong ethical values and carry a huge responsibility in the fight against alcoholism and tobacco.

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[76] Speckman, MT. (2007). *A Biblical Vision for Africa's Development*? Pietermaritzburg: Cluster publication. 47
[77] Oduyoye, M. (2001). *Introducing African Women's Theology*. Shefield Academic Press, England.26.
[78]Oduyoye, M. (2001). *Introducing African Women's Theology.* Shefield Academic Press, England. 36.
[79] Mbiti, J. (1969). *African Religion and Philosophy*. Heineman Educational Books. 108.

Mabutho are intolerant to all products which are disruptive to the wellbeing of people in society. Members are, therefore, expected to be selective in what they consume (food and drink), as well as in the type of entertainment to adopt. There has been an appreciation that the interface between faith and health can play an influential role in breaking socio-religious practices and beliefs which deny people's health and wellbeing.[80] Food, drinks and entertainment which may contribute to spoil one's character are strictly forbidden. According to Mabutho's teachings there are products and entertainment which may cause the members to stay away from the group, church and family. The responsibility of Mabutho in society and the prohibitions of their involvement in alcoholism and entertainments which may be harmful to one's life and to society in general have been well expressed by Litsuri in the following words:

> *Mu fanele a ku vuna a zi siwana, ni ku fambela a va babyako, ni ku fambela lavo vanga ha wonekiko andluini ya Nungungulu a malolo ya khozo, niku khongelala a vafelweko, ni lavo va fako mu va khongelela, ni ku hlota lavo va dukako, niku hanyisa lavo vanga zi bochwa za byala, niku chavelela lavo va rilako, niku neha a va onhi ka muHanyise wavona. Nika tiro lowu wu mi maha nwina wtsumbo munga kokwi hi zona lezizi bihileko, ngana muve vayimele va Bandla ga Jesu Kristu a ka za ku biha hiku khozela loku ku mi rwexa a tiro wa hombe.*

> [You are called to help the poor, visit the sick, and visit those of us who have turned away from the church; pray for those who have lost their beloved ones. Pray for those who pass on; help those who are alcoholics, those people who are addicted to alcohol; bring to Christ those who are lost. You yourselves watch out to be won by the evil. Be stewards of the Church of Christ and you must reflect light in the world].[81]

There is some evidence to suggest that alcohol and tobacco have had negative impact in people's lives. A number of reports have testified to the fact that alcohol and tobacco have contributed to people's violence and misery in society. For instance, the results of a study conducted by Sherry

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[80] de Gruchy, S. (2007). "Taking Religion Seriously: Some thoughts on 'Respectful Dialogue' Between Religion and Public Health in Africa." In *ARHAP International Colloquium: Collection of Concept Paper*s. Cape Town. 8 viewed: 7th June 2012 http://www.irhap.uct.ac.za.
[81] Litsuri, A. T. (1967). *A Buko ga Tikhozo. Igreja Congregacional Unida de Mocambique (Unpublished),* 127.

Lipsy et al[82] in the United States show a link between alcohol use or abuse with an increased male-to-female violence among black and Hispanic patients. Similar results are tested by a summary of the World Health Organization (WHO) report of the Collaborative Studies on Alcohol and Injuries also testified that:

> Alcohol is consumed by large proportions of adults in most countries around the world. Though not causing significant problems for most drinkers, alcohol use is associated with numerous negative consequences for the drinker and society at large. Globally alcohol causes 3.2% of all deaths or 1.8 million deaths annually and accounts for 4.0% disease burden".[83]

Similar research has also shown that tobacco use is associated with poverty among families of higher financial constraints.[84] Most of those people who have embarked in acts of gender-based violence have claimed to have been alcohol driven. Although Mabutho are not concerned about gender violence they have unknowingly been contributing to the liberation of men from alcoholism. They have played a significant role in the liberation of those who are prisoners of alcohol and have also been contributing to a more stable and balanced society, where men and women have great respect for self and others.

Mabutho are strictly forbidden to attend any political or social meetings whose purpose is obscure, because there has always been a fear that any meeting with an obscure agenda may end up inciting violence or public strikes. While members of Mabutho can belong to parties of their own choice and actively participate in the political life of their parties, they are not allowed to be in the forefront of any electoral campaign which may incite violence. Members of Mabutho are strictly forbidden to transform the organization into a battle field for political propagandas.

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[82] Lipsky, S. et al. 2005. *The Role of Alcohol Use and Depression in Intimate Partner Violence Among Black and Hispanic Patient in an Urban Emergency Departmen*t. The American Journal of Alcohol and Drug Abuse, California. 226.

[83] WHO. (2007). *Alcohol and Injury in Emergency Departments: Summary of the Report of the WHO Collaborative Study on Alcohol and Injurie*s. WHO Library Catalogue –in Publication Data. 1. Viewed 24th May 2012 (www.who.int/substance_abuse/activities/en/WHOAlcoholInjries Mexico Report

[84] John, Rijo et al. (2011). *Tobacco Expenditures and its implications for Household Resource Allocation in Cambodia*. International Tobacco Control Research, American Cancer society, Georgia. Viewed 24 May 2012 <www.tobaccocontrol.bmj.com>

Mabutho have opened space for women who want to live under Mabutho's principles and has given room to women to occupy leadership positions within the organization.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the importance of Mabutho in Church and society. As can be seen, key to Mabuthos's teachings is their full humanity and their involvement in church and society. Mabutho have played an important role by prohibiting and denouncing what is deemed incompatible with the gospel of their Lord Jesus Christ as well as the promotion of what sustains and enhances life in church and society. The present ethical and moral crisis in society calls for organizations like Mabutho. The inter-relationship between men and women which we see among Mabutho make us believe that the organization stands a good chance to develop a liberating response to the social challenges that people face in church and society.

CHAPTER THREE

Key Study Findings

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated the importance of Mabutho in the life of the church as well as in the fight against what is believed to be contradictory to the gospel of Jesus Christ in church and society. This chapter describes the main study findings from both focus group discussions in Maputo and Inhambane. As will be seen in this chapter, the missionaries have greatly contributed to the current perception of "manliness" within Mabutho. This chapter is composed of two main themes which are Mabutho's understanding of manliness and Mabutho's teachings and HIV prevention.

3.1 Understanding Manliness

In response to a key question "what is your understanding of manliness as Mabutho?" the men provided a range of answers, but three key themes emerged from their responses: male headship, fatherhood and sexuality.

Male Headship

On the issue of male headship the respondents had the following to say,

> *Hina hi gonzisilwe hi va missionário lezakua wa nuna hi yena anga lhoku ya muti. Hi gonzile lezy loku hi lava a ku chada. Va hi gonzisile a ku hi vani responsabilidade hi lezy hi nga ti lhoku ta mi mity ya hina. Kota lhoko ya muti a wa nuna afanela aku tiva lezaku a muti wonthle u chuwuka yena. Ku fana ny lhoko ya xitimela, lomo a lhoko yi yaku kona a miri wonthe u taya konawu. Loku a lhoku yi nga fambi hi wuneni a ngango wonthe u ta lahleka...*

> [Our understanding of manliness as heads of the family emanates from what we have learned when we were about to get married. Those of us who were married by the missionaries learnt to behave responsibly and in an exemplary way because we are

the heads of our families. As heads of the family one should know that the entire family depends on you. You are like the head of the train wherever the head goes, the entire trailer will have to follow, if you misbehave, the entire family will turn upside down]…"[85]

Fatherhood

In regard to fatherhood this is what the respondents had to share,

A ku Dadani a nga ni Ntamu wonthle zi wula a raru a mbheleleko. A raru a mbheleleko wa ranza vanana vakwe vontlhe. Wava nyika zontlhe lezi zi lavekako ku hanyeni kabye. A rangela ngango wakwe hi nongameto ni wuthari

[When we affirm that God is almighty, we are saying that God is a powerful and complete father. A powerful and complete father loves all of his children and provides for their needs. He runs/leads his household with disciple and intellect ...] [86]

Fearlessness

The hegemonic expressions of heroism are evident in Mabutho's discourses,

Kota Sotchwa a wanuna a nga na lhenekera, a nga chavi. I fanela a ku komba a ntamu. Loku a vala yena a ku komba a lhenekera laha mutini, a mamani wa muti ni vanana ke va ta kuyini?

[Like a soldier, a man should be fearless. He should be strong and self-confident. If he (man) is the first one to show fear what more about his wife and the children?]

The respondents also suggested that the church should re-visit their teachings on marriage, and if possible include teachings on sexuality. Most men do not know what their obligation in the

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[85] Focus group discussion, Maputo, 29th September 2012.
[86] Focus group discussion, Maputo, 29th September 2012; see also Massingue, X. 2004. *Matimu ya Mabutho.* Seminario Unido de Ricatla (unpublished Paper), p.1

marriage is. They run their homes with the knowledge they obtained from their parents and their grand-parents.

Poor pre and post marital teachings on marriage and sexuality fuels violent masculinities

Following is how the respondents complained on matters of sex and sexuality,

Hina ni fanelo yo gonzisiwa mufindisa… a kama hi nga chada a hi zangi hi kuma a gonzo yak u hi ta hanyisa a ku yine ni va sati va hina. Hina va vanuna a hi gonzi nchumu. Mas vona va gonza, kambe va gonzisana hi xaka vona. Loku a sati wa mina a kuma a zi gonzo hi sati wa mufundisi anga lhayi za ku zi gonzu muny. A taku mabulu ya va vasati u nga ti ngenisse…

[Pastor, all along the church has denied us the right to learn on issues of sexuality. They have discriminated against men to learn about sexuality. When I was about to get married we had classes with the pastor and his wife, but all the teachings about sexuality were targeted on my wife. The few lessons we had in common were about our responsibilities in the household. The minister's wife would ask her in private for a few minutes… on our way home… whenever I asked her what was the meeting about she said it is women's stuff, you are not supposed to know…][87]

Lack of Loyalty in Marriage

In response to the question "what do you think Mabutho should improve in their teachings so they can play an effective role in the HIV prevention?" one respondent claimed that the church and Mabutho in particular, need to invest a bit more on teaching the importance of spousal loyalty. The respondent eloquently stated,

Hambu Lezi hi gonzisiwako a ku tsembana laha ngangweni, nzi alakanya a zaku hi lalhile a nongameto wa lava va nga hi syela a ntiro wa Mabutho. Hi ku maha lezo hi lalhile a nongameto wa hosi Jesu Kristo. Hina a hi thembane, ka va sati va hina a hi tshembeke, hi ku maha lezo, a hi tshemeki ka hosy Jesu Kristo. Loku u lava a ku

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[87] Focus group discussion, Maputo, 29th September 2012.

wona a za ku a hi thembeke ka va sati va hina, famba mi lhanganuine, u ta zi wona
lezi zi mahekako leyo.A ziro zy nyingue laha a zi fambi ni va sati vazi, kambe hambu
loku vona ava zi lava, vanga ta vumelwa akuya, a kuva seyo va taya wona vamnwane

["I have to confess that in spite of the rigid teachings and principles on our constitution we have lost the legacy left by the founding members of Mabutho, the legacy of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have not been loyal to one another, to our spouses, and consequently to our Lord Jesus Christ…if you want to see how disloyal some members are to their wives, just go and attend some of our conferences which take place far from our homes, and see what happens there. Most men would not want to go to such conferences with their spouses, even if their spouses want to, because when they get there, they see other women…"][88]

3.2 Mabutho's teachings and HIV prevention

In response to the second main question "How can Mabutho's teachings on masculinities mediate HIV prevention?", a number of issues emerged. The respondents said that even though Mabutho did not emerge with the mandate to address issues of HIV, there are ways in which they can do that. Among many other issues raised, two things dominated the discussion: the recognition that soldiers can play a pivotal role in public health, and in the HIV pandemic in particular and that Mabutho can use some religio-cultural metaphors to prevent HIV as well as promote peace and justice.

Repentance for silence on HIV Prevention

There was a dominant feeling of repentance for the fact that Mabutho have not been doing much to fight the epidemic. While not denying that Mabutho emerged in a time when only alcohol and tobacco were a problem, not HIV and AIDS, Mabutho regret that they have been silent on issues of HIV and AIDS. The respondents felt that it is now time for Mabutho in the Synod of Mozambique to express their heartfelt apologies for their deadly silence.

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[88] Focus group discussion, Inhambane, 15th September, 2012.

Hi nani nanzo… kambe hi fanela a ku kombela a rivalelo a ka zi zukulwana lezi za ha tako. Lavo vatu tiva a zaku a Mabutho, va kokwane vabswe, va hanyile a ka chikhate xo karata angovu, xikhati xa nguva yah IV, kambe va ta tiva lezaku a hi mahangi ncthumo kase a kulwa ni tungo lowu, hi kombela a rivalelo zineni.

[We are very sorry… and we will have to apologize to those who will come after us… the next generations. Because they will hear that we… Mabutho, their grandparents, lived in an era when HIV was a serious issue… yet Mabutho did nothing to help the situation. May God forgive us…][89]

They also added that,

Xi kona a xi khati lexi a minthangano ya hina yothle yi nga incluira a tema chungetano hi Mabswe lawa ya HIV ni SIDA, mas wona a zaku a zi zangi zya kule… a ha hamahi kambe. Zukwatsi hi loku a tindleve ta hina a ti karele hi ku zwa a gezy legi ga HIV ni SIDA…Hambu hi wona a massiku lawa a tema ga HIV ni SIDA zinga huwelelwa ka milhangano ya hina, avanho va wanga kumeke kwatsi. Mas nyamutlha a resultado yi laha kubasene… a machaka ya hina ma mbhela. Hi lezo tirisako zona Satani

[There was a time when our conferences could include one lecture on the issue of HIV and AIDS, but that did not last long... We no longer talk about it. It appears that our ears are now tired of hearing the words 'HIV' and 'AIDS'… Even in those early days when topics on HIV and AIDS were part of our gatherings, one could see that the attendance was not satisfactory. But now the results are visible… our relatives are dying. That is how the force of evil works!][90]

Mabutho and Public Health

The respondents also felt that as soldiers of Christ they have a huge responsibility in protecting the church and its people through public health promotion, because the army's responsibility is to defend people:

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[89] Focus group discussion, Inhambane 15th September 2012.
[90] Focus group discussions, Inhambane, 15th September 2012.

Hina a hi Massotchwa yo fana ni massotchwa ya tiko. Hina hi massotchwa ya hosi Jesu Kristo.A wu sotchwa ga hina ga hambana a ngovu ni legi ga missava. Hi fanela a ku vikela a bandla ni vanho va hosi Jesu

[We are not just any soldiers… We are soldiers of and for Christ… we differ from secular ordinary soldiers. Our task is to protect the church and the people of Christ, our commander][91]

Buckle up in order to prevent HIV (metaphor: take care of your sexuality)

The respondents also said that there is in their uniforms a potential metaphor with which they can prevent HIV, without creating any language embarrassment at family and community levels. This metaphor is grounded in the Letter of Paul to Ephesians, and is enshrined on the organization's uniform. "Stand firm then, with the belt of truth buckled round your waist".[92]

Hi ku boha a mabandi ma tya zi wunweni hinga zi kota a ku vikela a HIV. A ku boha a bandi gi tya zi wula a ku vikela a miri wa wena. Loku u hi wa nsati u fanele a ku boha a bandi ga saya ya wena gi tiya. Loku u hi wa nuna boha a bandi ga buluko ga wena gi tya kwatsi. Respeitara a miri wa wena ni leyi ya va mwani a vanhu. Ngovu ngovu a kama lowu wa tungu ya HIV ni SIDA

[If we could buckle up, we can win the battle against HIV... to buckle up implies protecting one self and others. If you are a woman you need to buckle your skirt up. If you are a man you need to buckle your trousers up… You should respect your own body and other people's bodies, mainly in this era of the HIV pandemic...][93]

Peace, justice and hope on earth

The respondents also mentioned that their uniforms convey powerful messages with which they can promote peace and justice values. Peace and justice are central images to Mabutho's worldview as depicted by the dove and the green leave in their badges:

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[91] Focus group discussion, Maputo 29th September 2012.
[92] Ephesians 6:14. For more detailed information see chapter 1 of this study.
[93] Focus group discussion. Maputo, 29th September 2012.

"The round pin represents the world in which we live. The dove within the round pin conveys peace and justice in the world, it follows then that Mabutho should strive and seek for peace and justice. The green leaf in the pin represents hope. Part of Mabutho's responsibility is to bring hope in the world".[94]

Activism

The discussions led Mabutho to reiterate their role in the face of the HIV pandemic. This was expressed in the following terms,

A xi karato xu vangiwa hi HIV xa woneka lomo my ngangweni ya hina….kutani ke lexi a hi xona a xi khati xo wutisana a ku hi nga maha ayine kase a kulwa ny mababwe lawa, kambe I kama wa ku hi ti wutisa aku hi ta maha yini hi lava va makumileko xana ke… a maxaka ni va nghana va hina

[The damage caused by HIV is visible in our families… Perhaps this should not be the time we can only talk about how to or not to prevent HIV…it is also time to ask ourselves what can we do with those of us who have been infected already… our families, relatives and friends..][95]

However, others felt that it is never late to act,

"Kota Massothwa, a hi zi koti a ku wula aku hi lhuliwe. Loku hi vumela a ku hi lhuliwe a misava yonthle yi ta lova. Hi fanela a ku kuma antamu wa kulwa kala hi lhula"

[As soldiers we can never admit that we have completely lost the battle. If we admit that the entire nation will be executed. Let us redouble our efforts and fight…][96]

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[94] Focus group discussion, Inhambane, 15th September 2012.
[95] Focus group discussion, Inhambane, 15th September, 2012.
[96] Focus group discussion, Maputo, 29th September, 2012.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, a summary of the study findings in the attempt of exploring the questions "what is Mabutho's understanding of masculinity and whether Mabutho's teachings on masculinities can mediate HIV prevention" is presented. The findings have shown that Mabutho's understanding of masculinities is based on hegemonic ideals of manhood, which are said[97] to be critical to health. The findings suggest that Mabutho have enough resources, and that they can actually make use of the ARHAP concept to enhance their potential in the struggle for a just society, and in public health in particular.

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[97] See Chitando, E. (2010). "*Men as Gender Activists: Opportunities and Challenges within the Religious Sector*. In Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion and Theology in Africa. 16(2). 127; See also Manda, D. (2009). *"Religion and the Responsibility of Men in Relation to HIV and Gender-Based Violence: An Ethical Call"*. In Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion, and Theology in Africa, 15(2). 29.

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis I-Mabutho's Understanding of Manliness

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter gave a summary of the study findings on Mabutho's understanding of masculinities, and on their role in HIV prevention. This chapter is going to explore and analyze Mabutho's understanding of manhood as well as the implication of such understanding to Mabutho as a church organization. This chapter is made up of the following sub-headings: Mabutho's socio-cultural back ground, male headship, engaging ARHAP concept with Masculinities for health promotion, life denying masculinities, redemptive masculinities, and lastly it will focus on the implications of the church's poor teachings on marriage and sexuality.

4.1 Mabutho's Socio-cultural Background

4.1.1 Patriarchal dominance

In order to assess Mabutho's understanding of manliness, we should first have a brief look on the socio-cultural factors which have informed this organization. People are social beings who are born and raised under certain social and cultural circumstances. Wherever people are, they take with them their socio-religious background. With approximately one thousand members, Mabutho are composed of people mainly from four patrilineal ethnic groups of south Mozambique (Changana, Tswa, Chopi and Bitonga).

According to a report on Democracy and Political Participation, "Mozambique has ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and its Optional Protocol, as well as the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights of Women in Africa".[98] The same Report goes further and indicates that Mozambique is leading in Sub-Saharan Africa in terms of female representation at parliaments, with 90 seats

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[98] AfriMap (2009). Mozambique: *Democracy and Political Participation*. The Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa. Viewed: 11 August 2012 http://www.africafiles.org/article.asp?ID=21631.

occupied by women out of 250 seats in the Assembly of the Republic.[99] Still, in political and state bodies women are invisible. Socio-cultural beliefs and practices do not give privilege for them to make any political decisions.

In Mozambique, women are still believed to belong to private sphere, as they can only lead in the "kitchen" in case the head of the family allows it. On the contrary, their counterpart men are in forefront of many decision-making in the household, church and society at large. One popular proverb often used to discredit women in leadership positions in Mozambique says *a trás de uma grande mulher está um grande homem* (behind a great woman there is a great man)! Culture and patriarchy has created such negative stereotypes of female leaders in the belief that only male can fit for leadership positions. This means that though women are seated at the parliament or church offices they become a mouth-piece of a male agenda.

This scenario has implications on women's socio-economic conditions. Until recently women are the most affected by poverty due to socio-cultural stereotypes and prejudices which have contributed to the marginalization of women at school and at the workplace. In Mozambique, as elsewhere, women are leading statistics in terms of illiteracy, and consequently they represent the most unprivileged of the population.[100]

The climate change and the economic crises in Mozambique as a result of the global recession have had direct impact on women, for even though women are still denied property rights (land inheritance, buildings and other assets); their survival is directly linked to land. When a certain employer decides to retrench part of the staff, women come first in the list. This situation enhances men's dominant status in church and society, because just as Alfred Chana has noted, "where women have economic independence, men feel threatened to their dominant status as superior".[101]

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[99] AfriMap (2009). *Mozambique: Democracy and Political Participation*. The Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa. Viewed: 11 August 2012 http://www.africafiles.org/article.asp?ID=21631.

[100] AfriMap (2009*). Mozambique: Democracy and Political Participation*. The Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa,. Viewed: 11 August 2012 http://www.africafiles.org/article.asp?ID=216311. 44.

[101] Chana, A. (2006). *Church and Women's Livelihoods in Zambezi District: A case study of Luvale Women and the Evangelical Lutheran Church.* Unpublished Masters Thesis, Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

4.1.2 Religion and Health Institutions in Mozambique

The Republic of Mozambique is a secular state. Before the National independency in 1975, the Roman Catholic Church was the only church that enjoyed the privilege of being assigned responsibilities which were meant to reinforce the agenda of the colonial government in Mozambique[102]. The ideologies of Marxism-Leninism which had a great impact during this period postulated that religion was a threat to historical progress. This was caused by the fact that the Marxist-Leninist ideology envisaged an economic development based on the socialist mode of production. Furthermore, Marxism was against imperialism as well as colonialism. It was against this background that Mozambique, with strong ties on socialism rejected Christianity and particularly the Roman Catholic Church which was viewed as a strong ally of the colonial government.

Though this may not be the right space to explore this further, suffice is to mention that the events of this period (pre-independent Mozambique) undermined the church-state relations in the proceeding decades of the political history of Mozambique. As a result, after independence, the government of Mozambique under the leadership of the late president Samora Moises Machel nationalized mission hospitals, but with the democratization of the country in the early 1990s, most of the missionary hospitals which had been nationalized by the government have been returned to their legitimate owners[103]. Even though I lack statistical data, I can affirm that there are a considerable number of mission hospitals working in partnership with other public or governmental hospitals.

4.1.3 The impact of Religion on Health

Religion has a potential to inform people's attitudes and beliefs towards health, because it is built on people's cultures and cosmologies. Religion is intertwined in the fabrics of health. When one is healthy or successful in life he/she expresses his/her gratitude to God; when one falls sick he/she needs God's providence. In the focus group discussions one participant shared, "for us to embark on this difficult task of mobilizing our fellow men to change their behaviours we need

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[102] See Serapiao, L.B. 2004. *The Catholic Church and Conflict Resolution in Mozambique post-Colonial Conflict, 1997-1992*. Journal of Church and State, 4 (2): Pp. 365-387.
103 See http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Mozambique-RELIGIONS.html viewed:30th November, 2012

God's help, because on our own we shall never succeed"![104] The link between religion and health is visible in most missionary hospitals where every working days start with prayers or meditation. In such prayers health service providers as well as health seekers are prayed for.

The impact of religion on health in Mozambique is best captured in a study entitled *Religion, Child Mortality and Health in Mozambique* by Boaventura Cau et al. Though recognizing that religion can incite unhealthy behaviours (e.g. promoting aggressive masculinities, prohibiting people to seek health services in the hope that prayers will heal them), there is a widespread agreement throughout their study that religion can significantly contribute to "promote salutary life-styles, enhancing social support and enabling individuals to have a positive opinion about life".[105]

4.2 Mabuthos' understanding of "Manliness"

Mabutho's understanding of manliness in the UCCSA has not only been shaped by the patriarchal language of the Bible, but also by the London Missionary Society (LMS) worldview. We hear that the LMS missionaries tried "to shape gender roles in the societies they encountered, on Westernized, Christian lines".[106] That organized religion (Christianity and Islam) is a patriarchal religion has long been documented.[107] However, no one has perhaps given a more sober analysis of the influence of both the missionaries and the African culture on patriarchy in the UCCSA than Rupert Hambira:

> The early missionaries came as men; they lived and died as men. Their wives were meant for working with children as a school teacher, as a nurse, as a Sunday school teacher, an instructor. They were never to talk in church; they were never to lead the public worship in the church. They remained so for their entire period of service. The LMS was a male organization through and through. The missionaries would write

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[104]Focus group discussions, Maputo 29th September, 2012.

[105] Cau, Boaventura et al (2010). *Religion,Child Mortality and Health in Mozambique.* Center for Population Dynamics, Arizona University. 1-18

[106] See Cleall, E. (2009). *Missionaries, Masculinities and War*. Routledge. Viewed: 22 March 2012. 233. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02582470902859476

[107] See Manda, D. (2009). "Religion and the Responsibility of Men in Relation to HIV and Gender Based Violence: An Ethical Call". In *Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion, and Theology in Africa*, 15. (2). 23-40; and Camody, D. (1994). *Response to 101 Questions about Feminism*. Great Britain. 95.

back to the 'fathers in London'. It was like a men's club. The male dominated mission came from overseas to a male dominated society in Africa, and did not recognize the situation as a challenge.[108]

We hear claims that in Southern Africa, the LMS missionaries defined the relationship between men and women among their converters according to the patriarchal British Protestant Gender System.[109] A close analysis of the history of the LMS in Southern Africa does reveal behavioural patterns of hegemonic masculinities among the missionaries. Evidence shows that the missionaries could, in some instances, support violent conflicts, not to say that they were themselves involved in violence,[110] which is a feature of dominant ideals of masculinity. The LMS perception of masculinity was that of violence and war, for we are told that:

> The missionaries also linked war and masculinity in ways clearly reflective of their other cultural assumptions. It is not the case that all soldiers are constructed as 'manly', or even that all fighting men are recognized as 'soldiers' (or conflicts named as 'wars' as opposed to 'irruptions'). The shifting standards of colonial rhetoric were all too easily able to present British men committing violence as 'masculine soldiers', whilst using the violence committed by indigenous men to effeminize them (this has been most clearly explored in the case of the violence and alleged rape committed during the Indian Rebellion).[111]

In other words, for the LMS missionaries to be masculine was equivalent to being a violent soldier. According to this view, masculinities are characterized by violence and the eagerness for conquest. The affirmation that Mabutho's understanding of manliness emanates from what men have learned since times immemorial confirms the view that men are also victims of patriarchal structures which have been fossilized in society. Elsewhere, we catch glimpses that even among the contemporaries of George Weavers, the patron of Mabutho, "Gendered hierarchies were also

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[108] Hambira, R. (1999). *Reflecting on the Heritage of the London Missionary Society*. In de Gruchy, S. (ed) Changing Frontiers: The Mission Story of the UCCSA. Gaborone: Pula Press. 224.

[109] See Cleall, E.(2009). *Missionaries, Masculinities and War*. Routledge. Viewed 22 March 2012. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02582470902859476. 1-23

[110] See Cleall, E.(2009). *Missionaries, Masculinities and War*. Routledge. Viewed 22 March 2012. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02582470902859476. 243

[111] See Cleall, E. (2009). *Missionaries, Masculinities and War*. Routledge. Viewed 22 March 2012. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02582470902859476 . 243

up-ended during the revivals. Young women, more than their male counterparts, were expected to be subordinate, holding their tongues and serving the needs of the male-dominated household".[112] Any understanding of manliness within the group of Mabutho in the UCCSA, which is a product of the LMS, but not exclusively[113], will have to take this background into consideration.

To prove the argument that there is a link between being man and being head of the family, the participants made reference to the first letter of Paul to Timothy "women should learn quietly and submissively. Do not let women teach men or have authority over them. Let them listen quietly".[114] According to the findings in the previous chapter, Mabutho members who are civilly married developed ideals of male headship during their early contact with missionaries in preparation to marriage.

Studies done so far indicate that there has been a direct link between the idea of male headship and violence against women. Owino contends that culture and religion are the main dominant instruments of socialization that enhance hegemonic masculinities in deterioration of sound relationships and mutual respect between men and women.[115]

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[112] See Houle, R. J. (2008). "The American Mission Revivals and the Birth of Modern Zulu Evangelism" in Carton, B et al (eds) *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. 222-235.

[113] The UCCSA was formed in 1967 as a result of the amalgamation of three denominations: the American Board Mission, the London Missionary Society and the Congregational Union of South Africa. See de Villiers, P. (1999). "The Formation of the United Congregational church of Southern Africa". In de Gruchy, S. (ed) *Changing Frontiers: The Mission Story of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa*. Gaborone, Pula Press. 151.

[114] See 1Timothy 2:11; Coutenenay, W. H. (2000). *Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: a theory of gender and health.* Journal of Social Science & Medicine. Soma State University. Viewed:25th August < www.elsevier.com/locate/socscimed>.

[115] Owino, K. (2010) '"*Maleness*" *and its Possible Influence on Abuse and Domestic Violence in South Africa: A critique of some Expressions of Evangelical Theology*'. In Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion and Theology in Africa. 16 (2). 146.

4.3 Engaging the ARHAP Concept with Masculinities for Health Promotion

The findings on the question about Mabutho's understanding of manliness suggest that they (Mabutho) have developed and interiorized Hegemonic behaviours of masculinities, which have proven to be critical in the HIV epidemic.[116] However, earlier studies[117] have testified that Faith-Based organizations can mobilize people to adopt principles and beliefs that enhance health.

Since religion can play a role in "shaping individual moral agencies in the face of the social determinants of health and disease"[118], ARHAP concept is of significant importance in engaging Mabutho to champion for health and comprehensive well-being. Religion offers a platform in order for religious groups to come together and share their assets[119], which may play an important role for comprehensive health and well-being.

Rooted in the premise that religion can promote safety and health, the concept of ARHAP does provide a ground for communities and church organizations such as Mabutho to use their religious knowledge and practices (such as prayers and networking) for the transformation of negative masculinities. Previous studies[120] have shown how the concept of ARHAP can be utilized in the fight against structural violence. The church is rich in terms of intangible

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[116] See Haddad, B. (2003). "Choosing to Remain Silent: Links Between Gender Violence, HIV/AIDS and the South African Church". In Phiri et al (Eds) *African Women, HIV/AIDS and Faith Communities*. Cluster Publications.; 149-167.

[117] de Gruchy, S. (2007). "Taking Religion Seriously: Some thoughts on 'Respectful Dialogue' Between Religion and Public Health in Africa." In *ARHAP International Colloquium: Collection of Concept Paper*s. Cape Town. South Africa. viewed: 7th June 2012 <http://www.arhap.uct.ac.za/downloads/ARHAP_colloquium2007>.7-14; See also Lazarus et al. (2009). *Mobilizing Religious Health Assets to Build Safe Communities*. Cape Town. 1-20

[118] de Gruchy, S. (2007). "Taking Religion Seriously: Some thoughts on 'Respectful Dialogue' Between Religion and Public Health in Africa." In *ARHAP International Colloquium: Collection of Concept Paper*s. Cape Town. South Africa. viewed: 7th June 2012 <http://www.arhap.uct.ac.za/downloads/ARHAP_colloquium2007>.7-14

[119] The term 'Assets' derives from the disciplines of economic and its meaning may seem marginal to the religious realm. This word forced its way into development studies to describe the state of the poor as well as to assess what assets do poor people have with which they can create leverage in the struggle for their own survival. In the context of religious health assets, the term is applied to identify what capacities do religious groups have which they can use to promote healthy. See Cochrane, J.(2006). *Conceptualizing Religious Health Asset Redemptively*. Journal of Religion and theology. Unisa Press..107-120; See also de Gruchy, S. (2003). *Of Agency, Assets, and Appreciation: Seeking Some Commonalities Between Theology and Development.* Journal of Theology of South Africa. 20-39.

[120] Lazarus et al. (2009). *Mobilizing Religious Health Assets to Build Safe Communities*. Paper presented at the ARHAP conference, Cape Town. 1-20; see also De Gruchy, S. (2003). *Of Agency, Asset, and Appreciation: Seeking Some Commonalities Between Theology and Development.* Journal of Theology for Southern Africa. 21-39.

resources, often perceived as spiritual assets[121] which can be used to mobilize and engage individuals whose behaviour denies life.

4.4 Life Denying Masculinities-Heroism

My findings do concur with previous researchers which have lamented that unhealthy belief and behaviors can be cultivated by structures which prescribe a gendered behavior to one group of society.[122] Unhealthy practices and beliefs which result from hegemonic ideals of masculinities have proven to be at the centre of men's disinterest for health. Courtenay, for instance, has noted that some expressions of hegemonic masculinities include,

> "The denial of weakness or vulnerability, emotional and physical control, the appearance of being strong and robust, dismissal of any need for help, a ceaseless interest in sex, the display of aggressive behaviour and physical dominance".[123]

Dominant expressions of masculinities can have severe implications for health. The implication of Mabutho's understanding of masculinities (heroism) or fearlessness as they put it, "…a man should be fearless. He should be strong and self-confident", may suggest that Mabutho see themselves as self-reliant, who can take care of themselves and thus excusing any need for health services.

When Mabutho portray men as a strong and self-confident entity, who may excuse any need for health services they confirm what previous research has documented, that "sociologists, medical researchers and other health professionals have all contributed to cultural portrayals of men as

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[121] Lazarus et al. (2009). *Mobilizing Religious Health Assets to Build Safe Communities*. Cape Town. 1-20.

[122] Connell, R. W. (2005). *Masculinities*. 2nd Ed. Cambridge: Polity Press. See also Courtenay, W. H. (2000). *Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: a theory of gender and health.* Journal of Social Science & Medicine. Soma State University.Viewed:25th August< www.elsevier.com/locate/socscimed>. 1385-1401.

[123] Coutenenay, W. H. (2000). *Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: a theory of gender and health.* Journal of Social Science & Medicine. Soma State University.Viewed:25th August 2012<www.elsevier.com/locate/socscimed>; 1389.

healthy and women as the "sick" gender…that men's bodies are structurally more efficient than and superior to women's bodies"[124]

In light of the findings, what Mabutho need is to pay attention and invest on what enhances life in church and society. There is need for special attention to be paid in the deconstruction of negative ideals of masculinities. Mabutho can adopt two of the eight values representing intangible religious health assets for public health that Lazarus et al[125] have mentioned in their study. The two intangible religious health assets which Mabutho can adopt in order to transform unhealthy behaviours and champion for public health are pluralism and inclusion. While the principle of pluralism encourages gender differences as a gift of God, the principle of inclusion postulates that relationships between men and women be sustained by love and mutual respect.

4.5 Redemptive Masculinity-A Loving and Providing Father

In Mozambique as elsewhere, there are cultural and societal expectations about what a man should do as *raru or papai wa va tsonguani* (daddy or pappy). Failure to fulfil one's role as a father may result in cultural or societal disappointment. As a father one is expected to be a breadwinner, which means that one should have a job. In addition, one should have a wife and children.[126] In a town setting, and depending on one's educational qualifications a man is expected to wake up early in the morning and become part of the 7:00 am peak hour traffic heading to work. In a rural setting, one is expected either to work in the garden or to be a mine worker in the neighbouring South African gold or coal mines. Failure to have a job in order to provide and protect for one's family is culturally sanctioned with words like *loyi ahi wa nuna loyi* (he is not man enough).

Men and women in Mozambique, and elsewhere, I think, have used the word *loyi a hi wa nuna loyi* to humiliate men who do nothing to support their families. Among women it is an added privilege for them to have a husband who can provide them with food and security. In most

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[124] Coutenenay, W. H. (2000). *Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: a theory of gender and health.* Journal of Social Science & Medicine. Soma State University.Viewed:25th August 2012www.elsevier.com/locate/socscimed; 1395.

[125] The eight values, which fall under the umbrella of intangible religious health assets are :pluralism,inclusion, peace-making, justice, forgiveness, healing, sovereignity and atonement. For more explanation see Lazarus et al. (2009)*. Mobilizing Religious Health Assets to Build Safe Communities*. Cape Town. 7

[126] Lazarus et al. (2009)*. Mobilizing Religious Health Assets to Build Safe Communities*. Cape Town. 1-20.

families a woman who is married to a man who holds a regular job is respected. Being able to provide and protect one's family is a key ingredient for achieving manhood in most African societies.

As mentioned earlier in the study findings a man is "he who loves all of his children and provides for their needs". This perception of manliness is redemptive in that it assigns responsibility to men not only to be providers of food, but also as provider of health and well-being, or as a protector. A protector who loves his family will ensure that his family and the wider community are protected from diseases (including STIs and HIV). A providing and protecting father, who caters for one's family is a role model imagery to be emulated. Providence and support, be it material (tangible assets) or moral (intangible assets) are important components of religious assets which can be utilized in the development of pro-health programs in church and society. The imagery of man as a protector and health provider challenges Mabutho to start adopting health related behaviours and attitudes in the family, church and the wider community. A protecting father would not rape his own children and wife. The ARHAP concept suggests that religious organizations embrace health- seeking behaviour as a legacy of their faith.

In contexts where women are denied rights to inherit property, the imagery of a "father as he who loves all of his children" would imply that men change their approach towards female children and start equipping them so in future they will have where to start from. This means that men are challenged to start to invest in female children as well. A Report of a fieldwork on Women and Property Inheritance in Mozambique states that,

> Women in Mozambique generally face a situation of tenuous property rights. Typically land, buildings, and vehicles and other major assets belonging to married couples are either registered in the husband's name or assumed to be under his control…Upon a husband's death, the larger family asserts its claims over the household's property, which is interpreted as the *husband's* property and is typically

taken back from the widow. The expropriation of the widow is often total, including land, home, productive assets (such as livestock), and personal property.[127]

The church and society at large need a type of masculinity which is redemptive.[128] It is important that role models in church and society who can boost redemptive masculinities be created.

4.6 Poor Teachings on Marriage and Sexuality fuel risk-behaviours

The focus group discussions reiterated the view that marriage has been one of the most deadly institutions in Africa.[129] The findings have shown that in spite of rigid teachings and vows they make on faithfulness to oneself, to their spouses, and to God, Mabutho do not practice what they preach. Some members still adopt unhealthy behaviours like spousal infidelity.

The findings have also revealed that the church has not done much in terms of preparing people who are about to get married to become familiar with marriage and family life. The discussions lead to suggest that the poor pre- and post-marital teachings on marriage and sexuality have probably been fuelling negative masculinities in the church. Since the church is apparently weak in regard to teaching marriage and family life, church members have no choice other than living according to cultural prescriptions of masculinities. Just as Langdon Gilkey has observed, if the church keeps silent and does not teach its members theologically, the membership's voice simply reflect the voice of the culture where they come from.[130] Culture and the gospel continue to be a big challenge in large parts of Africa, if not in the entire world. The discussions in chapter three

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[127] Hendricks, L. and Meagher, P. s. a: *Women's Property Rights and Inheritance in Mozambique: Report of Research and Fieldwork*. Economic Development Unit Learning Series. # 1. Viewed 25th September 2012 http://edu.care.org/Documents/Property%20Rights%20in%20Mozambique.pdf 1-11

[128] Lazarus et al. (2009). *Mobilizing Religious Health Assets to Build Safe Communities*. Paper presented at the ARHAP conference, Cape Town. 1-21

[129] See Moyo, Fulata. (2005). "Sex, Gender, Power and HIV/AIDS in Malawi: Threats and challenges to women being Church". In Phiri, .I and Nadar, S. (Eds). *On Being Church: African women's voices and visions*. Geneva: WCC Publications. 127-137; Haddad, B .(2003). "Choosing to Remain silent: Links between Gender Violence, HIV/AIDS and the South South African Church". In Phiri, I. et al. (Eds). *African Women, HIV/AIDS and Faith Communities*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications. 151.

[130] Gilkey, L. (1964). *How the church can Minister to the world without losing itself*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964. 84

suggest that most of the pre- and even post-marital teachings and counselling on marriage and sexuality have contributed to the subjugation of women.[131]

The participants who got married in the church further added that the teachings and counselling which they had from both the pastors and the pastors' wives were all about how women should do to please their husbands. Sometimes pastors' wives requested to meet the bride in private, and still the teachings were all about what the wife should do in bed in order to keep her husband's attention. There is no similar teaching about what the man should do to keep his wife's attention in Mabutho. Women are regarded as objects of pleasure, who are meant to satisfy their husbands. According to this worldview, during sexual intercourse men are believed to play a passive role, all they want is to be satisfied and do not care about their partners. The church needs to be open in order to sensitize men about their role in the household as opposed to the cultural expectations of masculinities.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed Mabutho's understanding of manliness. One of the arguments raised in this chapter was that Mabutho's understanding of manliness has been coloured by the LMS missionaries who shaped gender identities of their converters on Westernized life-style. The church is complicit for negative masculinities which are translated in risk-behaviours, because it has not done much to teach its members on themes of sex and sexuality. The theme of sex and sexuality in the church has been regard as a female "business". The rigor of Mabuthos' teachings within the church has a theoretical validity. Mabutho have failed to live according to their doctrine. Mabutho could employ the concept of ARHAP to appeal men to promote life in place of death.

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[131] See Moyo, F. (2005)."Sex, Gender, Power and HIV/AIDS in Malawi: Threats and challenges to women being Church". In Phiri, I and Nadar,S (eds). *On Being Church: African women's voices and visions*. Geneva: WCC Publications. 127-137.

Analysis II-Mabutho's Teachings on Masculinities and HIV Prevention

5.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the question "how can Mabutho's teachings on masculinities mediate HIV prevention?" The fact that Mabutho emerged in a time when HIV and AIDS was still not a problem has made it impossible for Mabutho to forge a theology or teachings appropriate to deal with the pandemic. As we shall see, Mabutho are rich in terms of metaphors and other teachings on masculinities that can be used as assets in health promotion, and in HIV prevention in particular. The main points raised at the focus group discussions which Mabutho thought could be fruitful in the HIV prevention include Mabutho as guardians of public health, Mabutho as guardians of peace and justice. The findings made it clear that Mabutho have enough potential to play an active role in HIV prevention.

5.1 Repentance

The participants expressed their heartfelt apologies for their deadly silence in the HIV pandemic. From the words "we are very sorry and we will have to apologize" as uttered by the participants, one is tempted to suggest that Mabutho are aware of the existing potential (often referred to as agency and assets) at their disposal with which they could promote health, and prevent HIV in particular for HIV prevention and that they have agency[132] in the fight against the HIV pandemic.

The discussions reiterated that until recently Mabutho have not been using their religious knowledge adequately to respond to the HIV pandemic. Mabutho are remorseful, and for that reason they wish "God forgive them". According to Lazarus et al (2009), 'forgiveness' is one of the spiritual capitals,[133] which can be used as an asset in public health promotion. Forgiveness

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[132] The term 'Agency' is used in development studies to describe human capabilities, for it is believed that that human beings have the ability to master their own destiny and those of others. See de Gruchy, S. (2003). *Of Agency, Assets, and Appreciation: Seeking Some Commonalities Between Theology and Development.* Journal of Theology of South Africa. 20-39.

[133] In this study, the term spiritual capital is used to refer to those aspects of human and social capital that relate to organized religion, emanating from what people know as a result of their social networks within their organization.

takes into consideration the elements of pain and restitution. It means that Mabutho will have to recognize that their silence in issues of HIV and AIDS has caused enough damage to people. But more than simply saying "May God forgive us" Mabutho are challenged to change the way they have been doing things. This requires of Mabutho as a whole to start acting as health assets in the context of HIV prevention.

5.2 Mabutho as Guardians of Public Health[134]

The participants also felt that as soldiers of Christ they have a huge responsibility in protecting the church and its people as well as to promote public health. The view that Mabutho are "soldiers of Christ", not ordinary "secular soldiers", can be redemptive since it leaves less room for Mabutho to emulate ordinary secular imageries of the arm. While one cannot ignore the important role played by arm in defending nations, previous research has shown that the army is likely to adopt risk-behaviours which may lead into HIV infections[135].

The participants testified that the imagery of soldier is inspiring for public health promotion. It became clear from the discussions that women and men could appropriate the model of Christian soldiers to prevent HIV and promote health. On an earthly plane, where Satan moves freely between the physical and the Spiritual world, Mabutho are at war against the powers of this dark world, and against the Spiritual forces of evil. Therefore what Mabutho need is to use their military inspirations when dealing with a complex enemy. Perhaps Dube is more explicit when she contends that:

For a more conceptual definition see Lazarus et al. (2009). *Mobilizing Religious Health Assets to Build Safe Communities*. Cape Town. 1-20.

[134] Public Health is defined by Winslow in Noland et al as "the science and art of preventing diseases, prolong life, and promote physical health and efficiency through organized community efforts for the sanitation of the environment, the control of community infections, the education of the individual in principles of personal hygiene, the organization of medical and nursing services for the early diagnosis and preventive treatment of diseases, and the development of the social machinery which will ensure to every individual in the community a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health. See Noland, V. J. (2004). *School Health is Public health*. Florida Public Health Review. .24

[135] See Bujra, J. (2000). *Targeting men for a change: AIDS discourse and activism in Africa*. Agenda44. 18

Soldiers are trained to understand the techniques of the enemy and how the enemy operates. They must know the enemy's strategies-how it camouflages itself, how it strikes, how strong it is. They are concerned to know how they can protect themselves and their people from the enemy, defeat the enemy, or negotiate co-existence (that is, make peace). They know they cannot afford to be ignorant about their enemy, for ignorance can be deadly.[136]

The findings also pointed to the need of Mabutho having to act as guardians of health in their families and communities, in a word, they are expected to utilize the soldier imagery to advocate health at individual and community levels. This goes in line with the servitude and discipleship of their commander, Jesus Christ, who is both the healer and saviour of human kind. In fact it is believed that,

Jesus, as Christ, is the 'Sine'. *Jesus*' healing is total; encompassing body/spirit, family/community and earth/heaven… those who, through their life and activity, are his disciples partake in Jesus' medi-sine, the mediation of health to human beings, to other creatures and to the earth itself. Because this is the mediation of life as such it is also the overcoming of death.[137]

There was unanimity in the discussions that as soldiers of Christ Mabutho's responsibility is to defend God's people from what divert them from the gospel of their commander, Jesus Christ. This principle is found elsewhere when it was pointed out that "Mabutho's responsibility is to wage war against Satan and his forces of evil in the world as well as to warn people of Satan's manoeuvres so that no soul is lost" (see chapter 1). Emulating the imagery of a "soldier" of Christ calls Mabutho to opt for life enhancing practices in place of violence, because just as Boring has observed, the image of Christ as a military commander can never and must not be used as an excuse to promote violence. In his own words:

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[136] Dube. M. W. (2003). "Culture, Gender and HIV/AIDS: Understanding and Acting on the Issues". In Dube, M. W. (Ed) *HIV/AIDS and the Curriculum: Methods of Integrating HIV/AIDS in Theological Programmes*. Geneva: WCC Publications. 84.

[137] See Cochrane, J. (2006). *Conceptualizing Religious Health Asset Redemptively*. Journal of Religion and theology. Unisa Press.111. italics mine.

The image of "the Christ" was originally the powerful military figure who would bring about God's righteous reign by violence… Both Jesus and Paul...used military imagery, as the vehicle for the non-violent gospel. Thus the military imagery here is not a call for Christians to support militaristic politics. The paradox is that the gospel of peace makes one ready for 'war', that is, the struggle against evil.[138]

Some expressions of the army such as braveness and strength can be utilized to mobilize other men to adopt safer practices and beliefs (e.g. mobilize men to know their status; teach them the ABC prevention approach). That prayer is one's weapon for engaging in this difficult task, since Mabutho are also vulnerable to temptations for as long as they live in this world is captured in the following stanza:

2. Loku nzi hambuka (If I happen to deviate from you),
Nzi alakanye (You remember me)!
Loku nzi xaniswa, (When I struggle),
Wena nzi vune. (You help me).
Nzi kombela lezo, (That is all I want),
Ka Hosi ya mina: (From my Lord);
 Nzi ta ka wena.[139] (I am coming to you).

This stanza does not only portray Christ as the protector and saviour it also invites Mabutho to be like Jesus, who is a model of protection. One can see that this hymn transcends all cultural and social prejudices. One's gender does not count in public health promotion. For one to be like Jesus, one should champion for life on earth. It is this that will make Mabutho true guardians of public health. Oduyoye claims that,

"The images of the warrior and of the liberator *or protector* are companion images; they give us hope for space in which to be truly human. The liberator will set us free

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[138] Boring, M. E. and Craddock, F. B. (2004). *The People's New Testament Commentary.* London: Westminster John Knox Press. 610 ff.
[139] A Tisimu Ta Ivangely (Tswa Hymn book) (1996). Braamfontein: Sasavona Publisherss & Booksellers. 69.

through the process of redemption. The imagery of God in Christ as redeemer is one that speaks clearly to Africa".[140]

5.3 Using Metaphors for HIV Prevention

That indigenous knowledge can be utilized as an asset for public health promotion is apparent in the study findings as elucidated by Mabutho's core teachings *boha a bandi gi tya kasi u ta vikela a Mababwe* (buckle up in order to prevent sexually transmitted infections). This is one among many other existing metaphors and folklore in Chitswa that can be used to make ethical exhortations on issues of sex and sexuality.

In their 2011 study *Metaphors we think with: the role of metaphor in reasoning,* Thibodeau PH and Boroditsky L, *have* shown that metaphorical expressions can be used in a variety of ways to promote well-being. They assert that "the way we talk about complex and abstract ideas is suffused with metaphor…We find that even the subtlest instantiation of a metaphor (via a single word) can have a powerful influence over how people attempt to solve social problems like crime and how they gather information to make ''well-informed'' decisions".[141] However, they lament that,

> "The influence of the metaphorical framing effect is covert: people do not recognize metaphors as influential in their decisions; instead they point to more ''substantive'' (often numerical) information as the motivation for their problem-solving decision…Far from being mere rhetorical flourishes, metaphors have profound influences on how we conceptualize and act with respect to important societal issues".[142]

The participants testified that the metaphor above alongside with other well-known metaphors like *lhayisa a zipi wa buluku ga wena* (take care of your trousers); *lhayisa a*

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[140] Oduyoye, M. A. (2004). *Beads and Strands: Reflections of An African Woman on Christianity in Africa*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books. 21. My italics

[141] Thibodeau PH, Boroditsky L (2011). *Metaphors We Think With: The Role of Metaphor in Reasoning*. PLoS ONE 6(2)1-12. Viewed 25th November 2012. http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer>

142 Thibodeau PH, Boroditsky L (2011). *Metaphors We Think With: The Role of Metaphor in Reasoning*. PLoS ONE 6(2)1-12. Viewed 25th November 2012. http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer>

saia ya wena (take care of your skirt) or *lhayisa a chi wuno cha wena* (take care of one's waist), are inspiring and easy to use when talking about sex and sexuality. One participant added that such metaphors allow older people to feel comfortable when addressing young people on matters of sex and sexuality. She said *za wulawuleka, a zy tchele a ti ngana kambe azi karati a ku wula hambu loko ku hi ni va tsonguani* (one can use these terms when addressing young people, for crude language can be embarrassing!).[143]

This seems to concur with the view that,

"The significant role played by clothing in ancient society is *still* apparent in *some cultures as well as in* the biblical writers who use dress metaphorically to make ethical exhortations or take theological positions and to show the status and character of significant figures (my italics)".[144]

There is room to argue that though uniform can become a "symbol of oppression"[145], it can also be redemptive when used with the purpose of promoting health and peace. What Mabutho need to do is to claim such liberating aspects of their uniform in order to campaign for health at church and society at large.

5.4 Peace, justice and hope on earth

The respondents suggested that Mabutho take their uniform seriously because there are certain symbols and values expressed on the uniform which can be utilized as assets for health promotion. Peace and justice as portrayed by Mabutho's uniform also embrace the physical world, that is, the community shared by non-human beings. This resonates with the claims which previous studies have made that the concept of health is holistic. For instance, a field work research conducted from the ARHAP perspective has come to realized that,

Well-being is perceived to be an intertwined and holistic thing, which relate to all human relations, such as the family, the village, land, the world and one's

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[143] Focus group discussion, Inhambane, 15th September 2012. add
[144] Freedman, D. N. et al. (1992). *The Anchor Bible Dictionary.* NY: Doubleday Dell Publishing Group. 232.
[145] Macule, S. and Nadar, S. (2012). *'Women Oppressing Women'-The Cultivation of Esprit de Corps in Xirilo (Women's Association) of the UCCSA in Mozambique*. Ecumenical Review, 64 (33). 357-365.

spirituality. The total of this is what defines well-being and health-it relates to the rest of the human activities and entities. Therefore…it is impossible to dismantle the wholeness of the human being, when it comes to well-being and health matters…the person is closely linked to his or her family and the family is linked to a village of a given community[146].

Taking cognizance that Mabutho have a responsibility in keeping peace and justice as well as hope in the world is a very good starting point in the fight against violence and discrimination against women, and for HIV prevention. Peace making and justice are regarded as assets which can be used to strengthen relationships at family and community levels.

One cannot dream of a peaceful and just world when HIV and violence against women persist on earth. Peace and justice will never be effective unless an attitudinal change of behaviour takes place.[147] One participant of the Maputo focus group discussion confided,

> Peace and justice should begin with us, but if we simply want to act peace and yet we do not live up to it, is it helpful? The problem with us is that we like acting good Christians when we come to church, but there are several problems affecting our relationships at family level. Who cause such problems… we are the same people who cause them![148]

Gender inequalities as a result of poor relationships between men and women have serious implications for health, because just as Dube reiterates "HIV is not just a medical issue, but a social justice issue that affects all aspects of life".[149] The negative effects of patriarchy are visible in every one's eyes. Women are more vulnerable to HIV due to cultural prejudices they encounter in their respective cultures and society at large.

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[146] Kabwe, k. (2008). *Local Churches and Health: An Examination of Four Local Churches's Contribution to Direct Health Outcomes on the Copperbelt Province of Zambia*. Masters Thesis, Pietermaritzburg, University of Kwazulu-Natal.78

[147] Clark, M. W. (2003). *Becoming More Human.* The Expository Time. SAGE Publications. Viewed: 16th June 2012, <http://web.ebschost.com>. 76-81.

[148] Focus group discussions, Maputo, 29th September 2012.

[149] Dube, M. W. (2006)."Adinkra! Four Hearts Joined Together: On Becoming Healing-Teachers of African Indigenous Religion/s in HIV & AIDS Prevention". In Phiri, I. A. and Nadar, S. (Eds*) African Women, Religion, and Health: Essays in Honor of Mercy Amba Ewudziwa Oduyoye*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications. 132.

Any successful HIV preventive measures need first of all to address unfair relationships that contribute to gender-based violence. For Mabutho to seek peace and justice in the world they need to resist dominant views of masculinities as prescribed by culture and society. This implies that the current structures of injustice which have been put in place by our cultures be transformed. Once structures of injustices are challenged and transformed, a dominion-free society based on mutual respect will be possible. In the transformed society men, women and children will be respected and valued as integral part of God's community.

Lazarus et al has given a more exhausting description of what justice entails in the context of ARHAP. Here he goes,

> Justice is viewed as a moral absolute that informs human relationships and structures. Truth involves acting in accordance with religious teachings, empirical facts and divine revelation. These faith based ideas of peace-making and conflict resolution resonate with secular based peace and safety promotion approaches in that both value the sanctity of human life, non–violence and mutuality in social relationships.[150]

For Mabutho to promote peace and justice they need to set a good example of manhood in their families, church and society at large. They need to be role models of liberating masculinities. Above all, they need to "promote gender equality, health-seeking or health-protective behaviours and non-violence".[151]

Mabutho stand a good chance to become role models of masculinities provided that they "promote gender equality, health-seeking or health-protective behaviours and non-violence"[152] in their families, church and society.

Parallel to the concepts of peace and justice is the idea of hope. The discussions in chapter three have shown that Mabutho have agency in introducing hope in the world. Using all their spiritual capital can enable them to promote health. The concept of hope not only teaches solidarity with

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[150] Lazarus et al. (2009). *Mobilizing Religious Health Assets to Build Safe Communities*. Cape Town. 1-20.
[151] Lazarus et al. (2009)*. Mobilizing Religious Health Assets to Build Safe Communities*. Cape Town. 1-20.
[152] Lazarus et al. (2009)*. Mobilizing Religious Health Assets to Build Safe Communities*. Cape Town. 1-20.

those who are facing health crisis, but also teaches of the importance of fighting stigma and discrimination, for in Christ the whole of humanity is supposed to suffer together.[153]   There is need for capacity building that is to "equip people living with the virus to adopt positive lifestyles",[154] so they can be able to face life with dignity and hope.

Peace, justice and hope can only prevail provided that men become critical of their socio-cultural prescriptions of manliness.

5.5 Activism

In light of their deadly silence and the damage caused by HIV and AIDS in church and society, the responses during the focus group discussions have shown that it is never late to start tackling the HIV pandemic. The participants recognize that they have the agency to make a change in church and society in the face of the HIV pandemic.

They can use their religious capital[155] as an asset to empower each other in order to start acting for a common good. Iannaccone asserts that "because faith has such power to transform lives, faith based programs can enjoy success wherever secular programs have failed".[156] The participants stated that there is enough space within the organization that could be used in the training of men who can intervene in different situations which make people vulnerable to HIV and AIDS. Such a space could actually be used as a correctional unity where men are taught to adopt a new life style based on respect for oneself and for others. One participant added that there is a well-known chorus within the group which calls men to responsibility. This chorus invites men to critically evaluate the meaning of being man. The idea behind the chorus is to remind men that manhood is demanding, it is about accountability not status, and thus manhood is not to be taken for granted,

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[153] van Klinken, A. (2010). *When the Body of Christ has AIDS: A Theological Metaphor for Global Solidarity in Light of HIV and AIDS*. International Journal of Public Theology (4) .446-465.

[154] Chitando, E. (2009). *Troubled But Not Destroyed*. Geneva: WCC Publications. 106.

[155] Religious capital is the investment a person makes as a result of one's faith. Religious capital includes knowledge of the scripture, time, activities, networks and activities one can invest within the group for a common good. For further reading see IAnnaccone, L. (1990). *Religious Practice: A human Capital Approach*. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion. 29 (3) 297-314.

[156] IAnnaccone, L. (1990). *Religious Practice: A human Capital Approach*. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion. 29 (3) 297-314.

A wu dadani gi kala ngovu unga lhakane hi gona x3

Suka, suka unyima!

A wu dadani gi kala ngovu u nga lhakani hi gonax3

Suka, suka unyima!

Literally, in English, the sayings of this chorus would sound this way,

To be a father is not a joke, it is a huge responsibility x3

Stand up, stand up!

To be a father is not a joke, it is a huge responsibilityx3

Stand up for it, stand up for it!

Anne Coles has observed that men stand a good chance to be trained as activists by other men. She succinctly put it "men's influence on men should not be underestimated: men listen to men more readily than they listen to women".[157] Men's organization like Mabutho can be transformed into a space where men are trained to become critical of their own socialization. The fact that Mabutho have opened space for female membership is already advancement. They can use this example to show that both men and women have the same rights in the household of God. They are challenged to start searching for alternative masculinities that are life-affirming.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the question "how can Mabutho's teachings on masculinities mediate HIV prevention". While we cannot deny that Mabutho emerged in a time when HIV and AIDS was still not a problem, Mabutho cannot remain immune in the HIV prevention, for they have an agency and assets for HIV prevention. Mabutho can use a variety of indigenous knowledge (metaphors and symbols) to promote peace, and mediate HIV prevention. Mabutho cannot champion for peace and health unless they critically engage in a process of transforming patriarchal structures which have been put in place by both culture and the church. Since religion and culture have negatively contributed in the relationships between men and women, Mabutho

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[157] Coles, A. (2001). "Men, Women, and Organizational Culture: Perspectives from Donors" in Sweetman, C. (Ed), *Men's Involvement in Gender and Development Policy and Practice.* Oxford: Oxfam Great Britain.. 4-10.

need to claim their space to make change in church and society. The space of Mabutho can be used as a liberating one. Mabutho can use their space to teach other men about good behavior in the era of the HIVpademic in church and society.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

6.0 Introduction

Through summarizing and suggesting further areas of research with regard to men's organizations such as Mabutho in the UCCSA-Mozambique, this chapter marks the end of this study.

6.1 Summary of the study

In chapter one I gave a general introduction of the study, which included the description of the study, study background, research rationale, definition of the key terms, preliminary literature review, research question and objectives, research limitations. The introduction further comprises the theoretical framework, research methodologies, a summary of the key study findings, and finally the structure of the study.

In chapter two I have described the importance of Mabutho in church and society. This chapter started by giving a brief background of the emergence of Mabutho in the UCCSA in general and in Mozambique in particular. It was noted that Mabutho is an organization inspired and grounded on the Bible. With regard to Mabutho's importance in church and society, it was stated that Mabutho play a crucial role for the spiritual and social edification of people within and out of the church. Mabutho's activities are not confined to the four corners of the church and to spiritual issues only; their teachings are instructive and inspiring for the wider society. Mabutho have set a good example on how religious organizations can take a stand against what is harmful to people's wellbeing in church and society.

In Chapter three I have presented the key study findings. With regard to Mabutho's understanding of masculinities the findings have suggested that the organization is informed by hegemonic ideals of manhood, which are probably a heritage of the missionary teachings. It was stated that the poor pre- and post-marital church teachings on sex, sexuality and marriage have been fuelling negative masculinities in church, which later on are expressed at community and

societal levels. The findings in chapter three have shown that although there are enough resources within the organization to tackle the HIV pandemic, Mabutho have not done much in terms of their intervention in the HIV pandemic.

In chapter four I have analyzed Mabutho's understanding of masculinity. It was noted that Mabutho's understanding of manliness has been blurred by the London Missionary Society missionaries' ideologies. It was also pointed out that Mabutho's understanding of manliness poses a threat in the context of the HIV pandemic. The main argument of this chapter was that since there is a link between hegemonic masculinities and unhealthy behaviours, Mabutho are unlikely to become assets for HIV prevention if they do not change the ways they view the world. This chapter has also shown how the concept of the African Religious Health Assets can be utilized in the transformation of hegemonic masculinities.

In chapter five I analysed Mabutho's teachings in order to establish whether and how they can mediate HIV prevention in the UCCSA-Mozambique. The main argument of this chapter was that although Mabutho did not emerge with the mandate to prevent the HIV pandemic, there is no excuse for the organization not to coin a theology of redemption with which they could use to address the HIV pandemic. It was also noted that it is time for Mabutho to emulate redemptive models of the army with which they can prevent HIV. It was also noted that indigenous values and beliefs can actually play a crucial role in the HIV prevention. Mabutho can use their space to mobilize men and promote dialogue on issues of masculinities and health.

6.2 Recommendation

The poor pre-and post-marital teachings on marriage and sexuality have been a drive in the HIV pandemic, for such teachings are meant to reinforce hegemonic ideals of masculinities. In light of the findings presented and discussed in the previous chapters I recommend that the UCCSA in Mozambique improve in its pre- and post-marital teachings on marriage and sexuality.

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Appendix A

Questions for the Focus Group Discussions

1. Name ………………………………. (Optional) Age…….. (Optional) gender …….. (Optional)

2. Education (optional): Primary………….Secondary……………..Tertiary…………….

3. Income (Optional): {1000, 00Mt-5000, 00 Mt}…. {5000, 00Mt-10 000,00Mt} ………10000, 00Mt <…

4. What is your understanding of manliness as Mabutho?

5. According to your teachings what does it mean to be Mabutho in the era of the HIV pandemic?

6. In what aspects do you think that the teachings of Mabutho can mediate HIV prevention?

7. What do you think could be the role of Mabutho in the HIV pandemic?

8. What else do you think Mabutho as an organization could do in order to prevent HIV pandemic?

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Consent form for interviews

Study Title: *Transforming Masculinities into an asset for HIV Prevention: A case Study of How Mabutho's (The UCCSA men's organization) teachings on masculinity can mediate HIV prevention in Mozambique.*

Researcher: Salvador A. Macule (MTh candidate), School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics, University of KwaZulu-Natal

Description of Procedures

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in focus group discussions which will be conducted by the researcher. During the focus group discussions, you will be asked to provide answers to the following questions: (i)What is your understanding of manliness as Mabutho? (ii) According to your teachings what does it mean to be Mabutho in the era of the HIV pandemic? (iii) In what aspects do you think that the teachings of Mabutho can mediate HIV prevention? (iv)What do you think could be the role of Mabutho in the HIV pandemic? And lastly you will be asked to tell (v) What else you think Mabutho as an organization could do in order to prevent HIV pandemic. The answers you will provide will be available to you in case you may wish to make any clarification. You will be free to use the language you are comfortable with that is either Portuguese or Chitwsa. The focus group discussion will take about 90 min.

Voluntary participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. It is completely up to you whether to participate. You may withdraw at any time.

Benefits

By participating in this study and sharing your experience, you will be contributing in a small way to the body of the scarce literature on masculinities and HIV in Mozambique.

Confidentiality

I will try my best to keep your responses confidential. No names will appear on any research forms. When the results of the research are published no information will be included that would reveal your identity. Participants are expected to maintain strict confidentiality about the information you encounter during the discussions.

Questions

Questions of any nature concerning my research must be addressed to:

Salvador Macule

School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics, University of KwaZulu-Natal

Private Bag X01, Scottsville,

3201, Pietermaritzburg,

E-mail: armandomacule@gmail.com

Cell phone (0027) 0783319642

Agreement to Participate:

I have read the above information, have had the opportunity to have any questions about this study, answered and agree to participate in this study.

_____   _____

(Printed name)   (Date)

Appendix C

The United Congregational Church of Southern Africa

Soldiers of Christ (Mabutho) –Mozambique

Bairro 25 de Junho-A

Rua 8, 833

Maputo, Mozambique

September, 2012

Re: **Permission to conduct focus group discussions**

Please note that Mr. Salvador Macule, UKZN post-graduate Student studying towards Master inGender & Religion (Theology), has the permission of the Synodical Mabutho to conduct groupinterviews and focus group for his study *Transforming Masculinities into an asset for HIV Prevention: A case Study of How Mabutho's (The UCCSA men's organization) teachings on masculinity can mediate HIV prevention in Mozambique.*

Mr. Macule will meet Mabutho in two focus group (Maputo and Inhambane), between September and October 2012.

Should there be any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Signed

Samuel Capitine Andela

(Mozambique Mabutho chairperson)

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