THE ROLE OF MEN AND MASCULINITIES IN MITIGATING CHILD MARRIAGE: A CASE OF MASHONALAND CENTRAL PROVINCE, ZIMBABWE

by

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DECLARATION

I, Elizabeth Nkoma, PhD candidate, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Faculty of Humanities, School of Gender and Religion, hereby declare that unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, this thesis is my own original work and shall only be submitted for the purposes of the above-mentioned degree.

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The Supervisor hereby approves this thesis for submission

Signature of Supervisor

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Lilian Cheelo Siwila

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February 2023
DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to White my husband and my two children Wendy and Walter who supported me throughout my research work. I love you. God bless you.

Thank you
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I would like to give special mention to those who have directly and indirectly contributed to the success of this PhD. My sincere gratitude first to my supervisor, Professor Lillian Cheelo Siwila, who worked tirelessly and sparingly towards the accomplishment of this thesis. I would not have made it without your professional guidance, encouragement and support. I only managed to finish my thesis within the shortest period possible. Doctor Linda Tsara, my encourager, you guided me throughout.

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ABSTRACT

Practices like the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage remain an obstacle to the full achievement of better strategies to combat child marriage in Mashonaland Central. The study used redemptive masculinity theory to assess the relevance of the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage. This study was qualitative empirical research where data was generated from both fieldwork and secondary sources in the form of books and journals.

The study found out that low male involvement contributes much towards trapping girls and young women and their families in a cycle of poverty. It also contributes to psychological and emotional consequences of early pregnancy which presents significant health risks for girls including obstetric fistula, higher child deaths and unsafe abortion, violence and poor education made most of the girls powerless and victims of gender-based violence.

The study concluded that the role of men and masculinity is relevant in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central, because women’s concerns are also men’s concerns, so men play a pivotal role in mitigating child marriage, despite some inequalities and many other cultural and religious factors that were noted in the study.
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CHAPTER 1
GENERAL INTRODUCTION OF THE WHOLE THESIS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Studies on the interplay between male involvement and child marriage were carried out in many parts of Africa but to my understanding no study has been carried out in Zimbabwe specifically focusing on investigating the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central province in Zimbabwe (Chitando 2012, United Nations Commission 2004, Green 2015 and Mhloyi 2004). This study used redemptive masculinity as the theoretical framework in analysing how the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage can help combat the gender, religion and cultural perceptions of marriage and sexual exploitation of women and girls in Mashonaland Central. Despite a variety of interventions put in place to mitigate the issue of child marriage this study found out that there is low male involvement in coming up with strategies to mitigate the issue of child marriage. The study presents the role that men play in mitigating issues of child marriage using their gender privilege and position in society. Gender discrimination is a key cause of poverty, which leads to women and girls’ failure to get basic education and to find employment and have control over their lives; hence the need for male involvement (Sibanda 2011). This chapter presents the general introduction to the study. It provides a brief overview of the location of the study. Secondly, the background to the study is given, followed by a motivation to the study. A brief overview of child marriage in Zimbabwe is presented and an explanation of the relevance of mitigating child marriage was provided particularly looking at religion and cultural response to masculinity and child marriage. The issue of men and masculinities is also defined and their justification and relevance are highlighted. The study then provides the key research questions and sub-questions; and the objectives of the study. In the fourth part the study presents the general outline of the study. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

1 The words ‘women and girls’ are used in this study to refer to the females who were married before the age of 18 or have been sexually abused.
2 ‘Gender privilege’ refers to the advantage men have over girls and women because of their sex.
3 ‘Gender mainstreaming’ in this study refers to strategies employed by men in Mashonaland Central to achieve equality between the girl and boy child or grown up women and men.
1.2 Background of the Study

The issue to empower girls and young women remains topical in Zimbabwe, considering the fact that most girls and young women are experiencing sexual, physical, verbal and psychological violence or are involved in unions before they finish essential programs or courses that make them employable (Sayi and Sibanda 2018). Konyana (2016) postulates that male involvement is one of the key topics of concern when mitigating issues of child marriage, which is the highest form of women’s sexual exploitation in Mashonaland Central.

In attempting to assess the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage, the study recognizes that male involvement is very necessary to curb the issue of child marriage because men have power over sexual matters. This is supported by Messer (2004), who notes that the most endangered group of people are married women, because they lack the most in power over their sexual lives and he further explained that getting married is the riskiest behaviour an African woman can engage in so this suggests that men can employ positive ways to protect women and girls from risk and premature marriages if they are empowered to do redemptive behaviour.

Similarly, Phiri and Nadar (2009) highlighted that marriage is a centre of patriarchy. The above scholarship is very much related to the problems faced by girls and women in Mashonaland Central; hence the need for male involvement.

However, despite the laws in place and various efforts by the government, sexual violence against girls and women continue to take place, which has caused a lot of harm to the development of most economies in Mashonaland Central province. According to Konyana (2016), Tsara (2019). and Chitereke and Nduna (2010), sexual violence and other forms of violence fuelled by child marriage perpetuate negative implications on the girl child’s fertility issues, education and health, as well as their participation in economic and productive activities. As such we end up having more girls and young women who are divorced and are also in polygamous unions, involved in sex work and in unproductive and unpaid work, which expose them to various forms of gender-based violence and pandemics like HIV and AIDS (Sayi and Sibanda 2018). Seeing that the problem of girls and women’s sexual violence has persisted, this study sought to find out how male involvement can help to mitigate this practice. The research advocates for the role of men and masculinities in mitigating issues of child marriage, because role of men and masculinities have been sidelined in
gender mainstreaming efforts to mitigate child marriages, while they are very important in promoting the gender equality agenda Greene (2015). It is important to involve men, because they are the ones who marry. They are also the heads of the families, according to Shona society. The achievement of gender equality is not possible without the active inclusion and support of men (UN Commission 2004).

1.3 MOTIVATION FOR UNDERTAKING THE STUDY

This study is influenced by a number of factors, which include the following. I grew up in Mashonaland Central province where there is low male involvement in mitigating issues of child marriage and women’s sexual violence, which are rampant. Young women and girls face a lot of sexual violence before finishing key levels of education, which make them unemployable, and this exposes them to a lot of abuse and disempowerment (Sibanda 2016). According to the Zimbabwe National Gender Based Violence Strategy (2012–2015) Out of the 10 provinces in Zimbabwe, Mashonaland Central province always has the highest cases of child marriage. Furthermore, campaigns and sensitization carried out by governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations show that the prevalent situation of child marriage is increasing instead of decreasing in the province. I can also add that most of the interventions employed to address this issue targeted girls and women leaving the men and boys behind by not involving them in finding solutions to address child marriage in the province. The Gender Toolkit (2014) highlights that, while men are part of the problem, they are equally part of the solution thus this study will further assess the magnitude to which male involvement can help to mitigate marriage and sexual exploitation issues. The Ministry of Women Affairs where I work, carried out a baseline survey on violence against adolescent females, and the highest incidents of marriage and sexual exploitation were recorded in Mashonaland Central province, but the prevalence remains high. The Government of Zimbabwe, through the Ministry of Women Affairs Gender and Community Development and other Organizations, has carried out a lot of campaigns to end sexual violence against women and girls, but the rate is still high SADC, Gender Protocol Barometer Zimbabwe, (2015). Most of these interventions target girls and women who are the victims, leaving out men, who are mostly the custodians of the practice. Most men are in key positions in the society and they are decision-makers at nearly all levels; hence their involvement is key for successful gender transformation.
Greene (2015), supported by the United Nations Commission (2004), has proved that working with men and boys to challenge hegemonic masculinity and gender inequality has a positive impact on improving the health and well-being of women and children, and men themselves. This is also supported by Chitando (2012). Women’s sexual violence block countries’ efforts to improve the health of mothers and children, fight malnutrition and keep children at school. When girls marry early, they cannot help but pass on poverty, low education and poor health to the next generation (Mhloyi, 2014).

1.3.1 Academic Motivation

I was also motivated by my master’s research entitled, Women in Positions of Power: a case of Mashonaland Central by Nkoma (2013). The findings showed that there are few women in positions of power, because men and boys are not taking an active role in mitigating women and girls’ issues so that they can take up positions of power. The most topical issue is child marriage, which contributes a lot to the high dropout of the girls from school, preventing them from assuming positions of power in the province. Women are not in key positions of power because they do not have the relevant qualifications to take up the positions, and the majority experience different forms of abuse and male violence this is evidenced by a total of 1 woman who holds a provincial post out of 29 men who are in the same posts in Government departments in Mashonaland central (Nkoma 2013). It was also noted that men are not interested in addressing the issues of child marriage because they are not involved in most gender programs, but they do have the capacity to mitigate the issues because of their patriarchal position. This motivated me to undertake the study on the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage, because men highlighted that they could help mitigate these issues if they are given the opportunity to do so. This is also supported by Owino (2012), who noted that women or men’s concerns or problems are concerns for everyone. This suggested that the community of Mashonaland Central should work with the men and boys to reduce child marriage.
1.4 BRIEF SUMMARY ON THE NEED FOR MALE INVOLVEMENT IN
MASHONALAND CENTRAL PROVINCE, ZIMBABWE.

Scholars, participants and organizations in this study agree to low engagement of men in sexual
and reproductive health issues like child marriage in Mashonaland Central (Padare Men’s Forum,
Chitando 2012, Owino 2012, Mhloyi 2014 and Green 2015). In support of these findings, Chitando
and Chirongoma (2008) challenged men to provide safer sexual practices; that is, men should
suggest ways to protect girls from child marriages so that they can be economically empowered if
they complete their education. Findings of this study noted the high prevalence of child marriage
in Mashonaland Central hence the need for giving men and masculinities a pivotal role in the fight.
Sexual violence is defined in the study as a form of gender-based violence (GBV), which includes
child marriages and intimate partner violence (Dube, 2017). According to the Zimbabwe National
Gender-Based Violence Strategy (2012–2015:3), sexual abuse against women and girls is one of
the crucial mechanisms by which girls and women are forced into a weak position, compared with
men. The threat of violence often limits the girl child’s ability to negotiate for safer sex, which
contributes to their failure to complete their education the likely path to leadership positions,
whether in business, governance, media, or any other sector. Over 60% of Southern African people
living with HIV are women, and most are between the age 20 to 24 who got married before 18
years of age. More young women and girls use drugs, and offer their bodies for sex, so that they
can earn money to survive, or have luxuries and treats. A Gender Transformation Toolkit (2014)
and the 1948 Universal Human Rights state that marriage should be “entered only with free and
full agreement of the intending spouses”. However, in the majority of marriages in Mashonaland
Central, the study found that there is often an element of force involved from parents, guardians
or families who pressurize or force girls and young women into marriage. It was also found that
in Mashonaland Central girls are socialized to accept these marriages as the norm. Men and boys
are accused of perpetuating the problems women and girls face and their involvement is important.
In, support of the above, Sayi and Sibanda (2015) highlighted the high prevalence of child
marriages in Mashonaland Central, which also included the involvement of men in the
conversation. Mashonaland Central has the highest cases of child marriage in Zimbabwe and this
caused this study to include the role of men and masculinities to come up with strategies⁴ to curb child marriage. Sexual exploitation is one of the most harmful demonstrations of exploitation and power imbalance between women and men UNICEF (2014). In Zimbabwe the practice of child marriage is as a result of a range of factors such as poverty, lack of education, religious beliefs, gender inequality, family status, culture and family ties (Kurebwa and Kurebwa, 2018). For a long time, research focused on girls and women to address Gender-Based Violence issues, such as sexual violence, leaving men and boys out of the equation. Therefore, this study found male involvement⁵ key in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central.

The study also found that in Mashonaland Central province, the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage is relevant, because men have the power. Morell (2011) opines that power gives a person access to the many valued resources as well as positions. These in turn give one the power to remain powerful and in leadership, and also to maintain the status quo. In most societies of the world, those in power are men and those who have the most power are men this is called patriarch. Whilst seventy percent of 1,3 billion people worldwide living in extreme poverty are women and girls (UNICEF 2014). Gender discrimination is a main cause of poverty (United Nations Commission, 2004). In Zimbabwe, women still have great challenges to secure basic education, finding employment and having a fair control over household income. Other scholars who hold the same view include Green et al. (2015), Maluleke (2007), Bellamy (2009), Mwaura (2001) and the Padare/Ekundlen Men's Forum (1995). Green et al. (2015) emphasize the involvement of men and boys to see what can be done more logically in future work to mitigate women’s sexual violence. Added on this, Mwaura highlighted that women’s or men’s concerns are the concerns of everybody that is if one has a problem it will affect the whole society. He further highlighted that men are the ones who marry and also charge lobola instead they should assist in transforming irresponsible sexual and marriage behaviours. Maluleke (2007) and Bellamy (2009) carry the same notion. Similarly, the United Nations Commission (2004) supports the idea of male inclusion in combating women’s sexual violence.

In Mashonaland Central, male involvement in mitigating girls and women’s sexual violence is very important for successful mainstreaming efforts. It is well understood that the success of

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⁴ Strategies in this study refers to different ways to be employed by men to mitigate child marriage.
⁵ Male involvement refers to male inclusion or engagement in coming up with strategies to mitigate child marriage.
mitigating women’s sexual violence is not possible without the active engagement and support of men and boys (Padare Men’s Forum 1995). This agrees with Owino’s (2012) view that women’s concerns are also men’s concerns. Similarly, men must be reached and involved so that interventions for girls and women are not diverted by male resistance (Shoko, 2012). Most men in Zimbabwe are in key positions in judicial courts, including the local courts; therefore, they also have access to the most valued resources. Male involvement is also important, because men are often side-lined in women’s issues, often stagnating the achievement of objectives to mitigate sexual violence (United Nations Commission 2004). However, the study highlighted men’s roles and responsibilities in working towards the address of child marriage in Mashonaland Central province in Zimbabwe. Secondly, as noted earlier, the role of men in mitigating the issue of child marriage and sexual exploitation does not feature prominently in the literature available hence there was need for male involvement in this research.

1.5 THE POWER OF THE ROLE OF MEN AND MASCULINITIES IN MITIGATING CHILD IN MASHONALAND CENTRAL

It is in the above view that the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriages was found key in this study because men are the custodians of religion and cultural aspects of the Shona society in Mashonaland Central. The study found that men have the power to mitigate issues because they are leaders in the society. Biblical scholarship has proved to be a powerful way for communities to talk about male involvement (West, 2004). This is relevant to the study because the study noted that child marriage is high in churches, where the majority of the men are the leaders and they twist the words from the Bible to suit their agenda. Similarly, Shoko (2006) noted that Christian ethical values can be employed to provide effective responses to child marriages. However, Maguranyanga (2011), Sibanda (2011) and Marevesa (2013), postulated that AAICs sacrifice life at the altar because of their conservative religious beliefs and practices that violate human rights, especially by preventing its members from obtaining a western education and western modern medicine which is not traditional (Tsara, 2019). This suggested that men can use the altar to redeem the girls and young women from child marriage. Sibanda (2011) highlighted

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6 Custodians of religion and culture means that men in Mashonaland Central are responsible for the implementation and formulation of religion and cultural norms
the high cases of child marriages in most of the white-garment churches in Zimbabwe, as also supported by Dube (2017). The Bible contains heartfelt wisdom, but it has also been misused throughout history. Church leaders look for rules then force them on others or isolate verses and try to apply them to all situations for all the time and at times they select verses that apply to their opinion (Klinken, 2001). This research noted that there is a gap in how theological and religious masculinities are taught to the congregants, because some pioneer scholars were not trained on theological and religious masculinities. African women theologians like Siwila (2009; 2011), Aduyoye (2001), Akintunde (1999), Kamaara (2005) and Chirongoma (2013) highlighted that African culture diminishes humanity of women and has been a long tale of discrimination and injustice to women, as there has not been equity in the opportunity, dignity and power between men and women. It seems in Mashonaland Central, men use different sources of power to support male supremacy over women such as the Bible (Chiroro et al., 2002). This is further challenged by women theologians who opine that churches should reread the Bible to address patriarchy and promote gender justice (Oduyoye, 1995; Kanyoro, 2004). They also exposed the extent to which men abuse religion and culture to protect their patriarchal privileges (Kambarami, 2006). It can also be noted that men attribute their dominance in families and communities to divine and ancestral oracles (Shoko, 2006).

The perception that emerged from the above ideas highlighted that religion and culture have often been abused by men to justify gender-based violence and to have multiple sexual partners (Kaunda and Kaunda 2012). Religious and cultural ideologies have reinforced violent masculinities. These are masculinities that are widely accepted as the most desirable and as having the most power in a given society (Connell, 1995). Masculinity is viewed as a set of practices, into which individual men are inserted with reference to upbringing, family, location work and subcultural influence. As such, masculinity is not shared, but are those aspects of men’s behaviour that changes over time. Significant to the argument above, male involvement is considered a necessary solution to child marriage in Mashonaland Central in this study, because the negative traits can change. Brittan (1989) opines that men’s behaviour changes over time.

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7 Masculinities in this study refers to the characteristics of the Shona men and boys this includes their sexual behaviours and roles.
Furthermore, Connell (1995), Maseko (2014) and Chitando (2008) also highlighted that there is need to mobilize men in faith communities to become advocates for gender justice. The task lies in setting gender equitable norms and values within the various religions and cultures. Siwila and Settler (2013), Hewitt (2012) and Sibanda (2011) agree with the above notion. Mungoshi (1997), emphasizes the traditional beliefs and expectations that promote child marriage in Mashonaland Central. The Padare/Ekunndlen/Men’s Forum (1995) had a mission to redefine masculinities through male introspection in safe spaces where men can move from domineering and violent masculinities to more egalitarian and nurturing forms of masculinity, using a human-rights framework in Zimbabwe. Although these scholars managed to highlight how men in churches and society perpetrate issues of women’s sexual violence, male involvement is not loudly spelled out on how it will help to combat girls and women’s sexual violence in Zimbabwe; hence, there is scope in investigating how their general recommendations apply with special reference to girls and women’s sexual exploitation. This study found that men contribute towards mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central as protectors of the girls and women, because they are portrayed by society as leaders across various religions and cultures.

The role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central is necessary because it is one of the strategies not fully employed whilst looking at men’s masculine position. Masculinities in gender relate to power or, as put by one of the most eminent theorists on the construction of masculinities studies (Connell 2005), “Masculinities are not equivalent to man they concern the position of men in a gender order so men have to be gender sensitive.” Ratele (2008) observes that manhood is not only produced socially, but psychological as well. Masculinity can be defined as a pattern of practice by which people (both men and women, though predominantly men) engage that position. This study confirmed that men in Mashonaland Central occupy nearly all the positions of power and they confirmed their willingness to join in the fight against child marriage. Chirongoma and Chitando (2008) defined masculinity as possession of qualities traditionally associated with men and roles and duties associated with men. As a social construct, it is distinct from the male biological sex. Masculinity (manhood or manliness) is a set of attributes, behaviours and roles associated with boys and men. It varies across different cultures. A Gender Transformation Toolkit (2014) suggests that power gives a person access to the most valued resources as well as positions. These, in turn, give one the power to remain dominant and
in leadership by maintaining the status quo (Connell 1995). So, men can play a pivotal role in mitigating issues of child marriage in Mashonaland Central by employing transformative or redemptive masculinities and theological resources that are life-giving, taking advantage of their power and position in society (Chitando 2008). It can also be highlighted that by focusing on masculinities, the issue of child marriage may become relevant for men. They will understand the effects of power dynamics which are often not analysed by men. Men need to understand that they are important partners with clear duties in the struggle to address the issue of girls and women’s sexual exploitation, which leads to the eradication of poverty and hunger and the promotion of present and future development. Similarly, Daly (1973) and Kelly (1979) support the above assertion by their Judaic concept of God-the-Father, which emphasizes the protective and caring role of men and boys.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Many contributors to the discourse emphasized male involvement in mitigating the HIV and AIDS pandemic (Chitando 2008, Shoko2006 and Chirongoma2006). This research study aims at revealing the strategies employed by men in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central. The study shall justify the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage which does not feature prominently in the literature available. Thus, the study seeks to contribute to the scholarship the relevance of role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage issues using a redemptive masculinity theology (Ratele, 2001). On the other hand, the study explores the important roles played by men in protecting girls from these premature marriages, because they have the power. On a practical note, the study provides the government with empirical justification of given or proposed policies.

Location of the study – Mashonaland Central

Mashonaland Central is one of the 10 provinces of Zimbabwe. It is a black populace community of Shona-speaking ethnic groups. The Kore Kore people are the majority in the province. The province can be divided into three classes (low, middle and upper) according to the Marxist theory of class division (Haralambos and Holborn 2004). The study area is mainly characterized by agricultural and mining activities. People of different cultures and religions live in this province.
This study investigated the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage using redemptive masculinity theology in eight districts of Mashonaland Central province.

1.7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS, SUB-QUESTION AND OBJECTIVES

1.7.1 Key Question

Based on the above general observation and concern indicated in the background to the study, the key research question to be answered is: How can the Role of Men and Masculinities using Redemptive Masculinity theology Mitigate Child Marriage in Mashonaland Central province?

1.7.2 Sub-questions

The key research question highlighted above can be mitigated using the following sub-questions:

1. How is the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage perceived in Mashonaland Central province?

2. Why is the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage given a low preference in Mashonaland Central province?

3. What are the religio-cultural factors that influence the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central?

4. How can the role of men and masculinities be shaped to mitigate child marriage in Mashonaland Central?

1.7.3 Objectives

Having highlighted the key question and the sub questions stated above, the objectives to be achieved by this study are as follows:

- To show an understanding of the general perception of the role of men and masculinities in Mashonaland Central.
- To analyse the factors that contribute to low male involvement in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central.
• To evaluate the religio-cultural factors that influence the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriages in the province.
• To investigate how the role of men and masculinities can help mitigate to child marriage in Mashonaland Central.

1.8 STUDY ETHICS

This study adhered to the code of conduct for the research ethics as set by the University of KwaZulu Natal. This means that I obtained informed consent from the participants. Participants were guaranteed confidentiality by promising not to reveal their identities in the analysis of the data and that all information in the data regarded as confidential. The researcher did not mislead participants or coerce them into participation. All participants participated voluntarily and were allowed to withdraw from participating when they felt to withdraw. The study got ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu Natal Ethics Clearance Committee to carry out the study.

1.9 THE SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In my investigation on male involvement in addressing child marriage in Mashonaland Central, this study had limitations in a number of ways. Covid-19 or the corona virus disease, an infectious disease caused by a newly discovered corona-virus, is one of the limitations to the study. To curb the spread of this disease, some movement restrictions were put in place and this made it difficult to get information from some men, especially during the first lockdown measures, which restricted people to stay at home. The other lockdown measures put in place by the government of Zimbabwe placed more emphasis on social distancing, masking up, a limited number of people in gatherings and restricted inter-city travel. In order to overcome this, I had to abide by the Covid-19 regulations when I collected my data. It was easy for me because I stay in Mashonaland Central where I did my study. I managed to talk to most participants, since my study relied on information got from interviewing the participants.

Secondly, being a female researcher interviewing men I anticipated to meet resistance from the men because of the societal norms and values of the Shona people. Therefore, I engaged a male research assistant to assist me, especially when I was gathering data from key participants like chiefs and pastors. Taking into consideration that some men are perpetrators of these child
marriages, I asked questions in a clear and motivational manner so that men and women would feel confident to provide the data needed.

Confidentiality was assured to the participants and I used coded names instead of their real names. Men had more questions on the use of the data and others were afraid, but later they provided the data after assuring them of the confidentiality. The other issue is that men are usually preoccupied by many responsibilities in their communities. However, I adjusted my schedule to fit into theirs. Regarding documents, I was aware that some records contain institutional biases and other reports are written to safeguard the interests of the institution. Hence, I considered the perspectives taken by various authors and consulted as many books as possible as evidenced in my literature review in order to test validity. However, the study explores the strategies to be employed by men to mitigate child marriage in Mashonaland Central.

1.10 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter one introduced the research study. It provides a brief overview of the research setting, highlighted the background of research problem and the problem statement. The chapter also presents research objectives, key questions answered and the significance of the study. A brief description on the motivation of the study was also given in this chapter.

Chapter Two: The Role of Men and Masculinities in Mitigating Child Marriage in Mashonaland Central

This chapter discussed the literature review. It is divided under the following sub-themes: child marriage in Mashonaland Central province, male involvement and child marriage, the church and the role of men and masculinities in mitigating marriage and sexual health issues and men and masculinity.

Chapter Three: Study Theory

This chapter explored the theory used for my study. It explores the origin, the aims and relevance of the theory to my study and the critics of the theory.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology
This chapter discussed the research methodology, design, sampling, methods of data collection and its analysis. It basically provides an overview of the study process. The chapter also presents ethical considerations and the way the study was conducted in adherence to standards of confidentiality, reliability and validity. It concludes with a brief discussion on the limitations of the study.

**Chapter Five: Data Presentation and Analysis**

This chapter presented research findings. The empirical outline of research setting, a detailed description of the sample population will be provided in this section. Data is to be presented in tables, pie charts, photographs and in shapes. It provided a critical analysis of how the role of men and masculinities in Mashonaland Central province mitigates child marriage. This chapter critically analysed data collected from participant observation, in-depth interviews, quantitative methods and focus group discussion. Data to be analysed using thematic or content analysis.

**Chapter Six: Male Strategies in Mitigating Marriages**

Chapter six suggests ways in which issues of masculinities and male involvement will be developed and shaped to mitigate the issue of child marriage in Mashonaland Central.

**Chapter Seven: An Analysis of Major Topics that Emerged from the Study and Conclusion of the research.**

This chapter provides a conclusion for the whole thesis. What has come out of the study?

### 1.11 CONCLUSION

The chapter has introduced the background to the study and has highlighted main issues to be dealt with. It gave an overview of the background to the entire study, in which the existing debates within the focus of the study were highlighted. Key terms were defined and issues of masculinity, gender and religion, child marriage were also explained in this study. The chapter explained the statement that the role of men and masculinities can play a pivotal role in combating issues of child marriage. The study has also indicated that the study is informed by both personal and academic motivations. The study has further provided the key research question, research questions and
objectives. The outline of chapters was also provided in the thesis. This chapter is followed by a literature review chapter.
CHAPTER 2:
THE ROLE OF MEN AND MASCULINITIES IN MITIGATING CHILD MARRIAGE
IN MASHONALAND CENTRAL

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The first chapter provided a general introduction for the whole study. It outlined the background to the study, key objectives, motivation for undertaking the study and a summary of chapters in the whole thesis. This study chapter advocates for the role of men and masculinities to deeply participate in mitigating issues of child marriage. The discussion of the chapter is organized under two major themes, which include the rationale for male inclusion, and the reason for male non-participation in mitigating issues of sexual violence. Male involvement and manhood issues have been a gap in gender mainstreaming efforts which is very important in promoting gender equality. The achievement of gender equality is not possible without the active inclusion and support of men. The chapter also explores what men will do to alleviate the issue of child marriage.

This chapter focuses on discussing the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriages in Mashonaland Central, Zimbabwe. The objective is to understand the issue of male involvement in addressing child marriage in Mashonaland Central province. This aims to answer the research sub-questions on why they are many cases of child marriage in Mashonaland Central, the general perception of masculinity, and how male involvement can address child marriage in the province. The study suggested that in order to understand how engaging men in mitigating child marriage, it is critical to evaluate how male involvement can be engaged to mitigate child marriage in Zimbabwe. Types and some causes of child marriage are highlighted and issues of manhood or masculinity are also explained, thereafter a conclusion to the chapter is given.

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9 Male involvement refers to the inclusion or engagement of men and boys to come up with strategies to address the issue of girls who are married before the age of 18 which is rampant in Mashonaland Central province of Zimbabwe.

10 Child marriage is a term that refers to the marriage of young girls before 18 years and this exposes them to abuse of their sexual and reproductive health rights.
2.2. THE CONCEPT OF MEN AND MASCULINITIES

The empowerment of women and girls needs to take their male counterparts on board. Kofi (2005) cites that:

Sixty years have passed since the founders of the United Nations inscribed on the first page of our charter the equal rights of women and men. Since then, study after study has taught us that there is no tool for development more effective than the empowerment of women. No other policy is as likely to raise economic productivity or to reduce infant and maternal mortality. No other policy is as sure to improve nutrition and promote health -including the prevention of HIV/AIDS. No other policy is as powerful in increasing the chances of education for the next generation. And I would venture that no policy is more important in preventing conflict, or in achieving reconciliation after a conflict has ended”. UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, at the Beijing + 10 meeting in New York, March 2005.

This is also supported by Mandovha (2013) and the 48th session of the United Nations Commission on the status of women in March 2004, which highlights that participating governments agreed on important set of conclusions on the role of men and boys in achieving gender equality “and urged all key stakeholders, Governments, including, UN Organizations and Civil society, to promote action at all levels in fields such as education, health services, training, media and the workplace to increase the contribution of men and boys to furthering gender equality. In order to initiate work on gender equality a critical examination of men's power and privilege and current constructs of masculinities are necessary prerequisites”.

Similarly, Mafusire (2013), Chibango (2020) and The Women’s Commission (2015) opine that male involvement is the inclusion of men and making the relevance of men in the concept of gender. It makes men conscious of gender issues and as something that affects their lives and is the first step towards challenging gender inequalities and eliminating violence against women in the form of child marriage. The role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage is not topical in most countries, but its meaning varies from source to source. Rutenburg et al. (2002:29) opine that men’s involvement may mean many things depending on the community that is some men may choose to get involved by assisting their wives economically and help them with their
household chores. Lee (1999) highlighted that male involvement can be viewed from program ideas and may mean supporting choices and rights of their female partners.

Furthermore, Connell (1995) highlighted that masculinities\textsuperscript{11} are perceived notions and ideals about how men should or are expected to behave in a given setting. Masculinities are configurations of practice structured by gender relations. They are historical and their making is a political process affecting the balance of interests in society and the direction of social change. Basing on the definition above, one cannot talk about male involvement without masculinities or manhood. However, following the above explanations of male involvement and masculinities have some positive effects in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central.

Similarly, Sonja Weinreich and Christopher Ben 2004:30-31 note that

> Conventional male-stereotypes relating to sexual violence, many sexual partners as signs of manhood must be corrected. They challenge men to be included in providing care and love to their girl children and sisters.

Thus, the task of this study is to assess the significance of the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central. Concluding from the above argument, male involvement can address child marriage if negative signs of manhood are mitigated. Chitando (2008) advocates redemptive masculinities which are life giving.

### 2.3 MARRIAGE IN ZIMBABWE

#### 2.3.1 The Relevance of Involving men in Mitigating Child Marriage

In attempting to comprehend the relevance of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage, Sibanda (2011) noted that girl children in Mashonaland Central marry at a tender age and this is a development issue; hence the need for male involvement to mitigate the problem. Tsara (2019), Konyana (2016) and Gelfand (1979) defined child marriage as “Any marriage carried out below the age of 18 years, before the girl is physiologically and psychologically ready to shoulder the responsibilities of marriage and childbearing”. Basing on this definition it is vibrant to note that

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\textsuperscript{11} Masculinities refer to manliness or manhood. It further clarifies male roles and identities in the Shona society and its effects on child marriage.
child marriage is affecting negatively the development of the girl child but this study looked at women between 20 and 24 years who were married before attaining the age of 18. Makoni (2016), The Inter-African Committee (IAC) on Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children (2003) and Gender Transformation Toolkit (2014) and Dube (2017) further explain that child marriage is marriage of girls and young women before they complete their tertiary education. Completion of tertiary education is the likely path to leadership positions, whether in business, governance, media or any other sector education is key. Kurebwa (2018) and IAC (2003) add that marriage is a formalized, binding partnership between agreeing adults, which sanctions sexual relations and gives legitimacy to any offspring. It is a valued social institution throughout the world, and may take different forms in different cultures. However, child marriage involves either one or both spouses being children or may take place with or without formal registration and under civil, religious or customary law. In many societies’ child marriage is used to strengthen relationships between families of the concerned couple (Konyana, 2016). The definitions above are emphasising much on the benefits of marriage to the society and families whilst silent on negative effects of child marriage and hence the need for male engagement to employ some mitigatory measures to the problem.

2.3.2 Men and Marriage

Basing on the above background, this study cannot hesitate to highlight that men of Zimbabwe, like most men in Africa, are the ones who marry the girls and women (Owino, 2012). They are the ones who propose for love and charge and pay lobola. The Shona men are characterized by power over women and girls. This is also supported by Kaunda and Kaunda (2012) in their analysis of the Bemba men. The Inter-Africa Committee (IAC) (2003) defines marriage as a formalized binding relationship between consenting adults, which sanctions sexual relations and gives legitimacy to any offspring. Contrary to this, Mashonaland Central has the highest rate of child marriage, with men and boys, but mostly men, marrying or are impregnating girls before their eighteenth birthday.

2.3.3 Male involvement and Child marriage

12 Lobola is a Ndebele word that refers to bride prize or Roora in Shona.
Kaundas (2012) and the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights state that marriage should be “entered only with the free and full consent of the intending spouse”. But, in the majority of child marriages, there is often an element of coercion involved: parents, guardians or families pressurize or force child marriage as the norm. The United Nations Convention on The Rights of the child (CRC) (1992) defines a child as “every human being below the age of eighteen years, unless, under the law applicable to the child majority is attained earlier.” The body that monitors the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in its General Recommendation 21 (1979), which clearly deals with equality in marriage and family relations, outlaws child marriage and stipulates 18 years as the minimum age for marriage for females and males (Sibanda, 2011). This is the minimum age when young people attain “full maturity and capacity to act” (UN, 2000). This acknowledges that from a child’s rights and equity perspective, marriage should not be permissible before 18 years of age. That is, child brides are pressured to initiate sexual activity and become mothers too early (Dube 2017).

Furthermore, Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) (2014) opines that teenage marriages of between 15 - 19 years are disproportionately skewed towards female teenagers twenty five percent compared to male teenagers (less than two percent). Nineteen percent of female teenagers are mothers, compared to less than one percent of male teenagers who are fathers. From this survey in Zimbabwe, therefore, teenage parenthood is predominantly a female phenomenon. So, the question is who mothered all these female adolescences if one percent of male teenagers are fathers. Masculinities need to be questioned in this scenario Ratele (2001). It also indicates that teenage marriage is affected by other cultural factors in addition to deprivation Dube (2017). Only eight percent of female teenagers in the richest quintile were married, possibly showing how wealth quintile, interacts with socio-economic opportunities and values that militate against marriages. This was also supported by Sibanda (2011). But, the poorest province in Zimbabwe in terms of deprivation and poverty, Matabeleland North, had one of the lowest teenage marriage rates, possibly due to cultural dynamics that do not necessarily “force” female teenagers into marriage, even if they fall pregnant.

In addition to the above, MICS (2014) data show that one in three women married before age of 18. The data also depict huge differences between urban (18 percent) and rural (43 percent) areas. The differences in child marriage between the two age categories of women aged 20–24 married
before the age of 18 and those aged 20–49 who marry after 18 differ by location (urban and rural areas), province, education and wealth quintiles. The data point to relative declines in percentage points when the two groups are compared. Mashonaland Central province had the highest percentage (50%) of women aged 20 to 24 who married before the age of 18. These gender inequalities in secondary and higher educational attainment among males and females expose the girl child to child marriage Tom Tom and Maxwell Musingafi, (2013). Sibanda (2011) further argues that females are highly disempowered because of their poor educational levels, poor school attendance and poor use of contraception. The survey also indicated that those households whose heads were apostolic (30%), traditional (34%) and no religion had the highest proportion of child marriage. MICS also assessed the attitude of men under these child marriages towards wife beating and noted that they are justified and usually beat them when they go out without telling them, when they neglect children, burn food, refuse to have sex, and when they are unfaithful (Dove, 2001). Dube (2017) also opines that child marriages have a higher prevalence of violence.

This is also supported by Hindin (2003), who states,

Younger women were more likely to believe that wife beating is justified and subsequent generation of women are just as likely to believe that wife beating is acceptable behaviour. It is not clear whether these more accepting attitudes of wife beating will persist as this young cohort of women ages.

He further expresses that despite the progress, Zimbabwe still has a long way to go in changing the attitude of men towards wife beating particularly because the younger generation of women believe that wife beating is justified. But it is important to find means to negotiate rather than settle conflict through violence Chiroro (2002). In support of this the survey in Mashonaland Central has the highest number of married or in union women out of the 10 provinces in the country.

The perceptions that emerged from the scholars above are also supported by the UN Secretary General UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (2005),

Sixty years have passed since the founders of the United Nations inscribe to equal rights of women and men. Since then, study has taught us that there is no tool for development more effective than empowerment of women. No other policy is as likely to raise economic
productivity or to reduce infant mortality. No other policy is as sure to improve nutrition and promote health including the prevention of HIV/AIDS. No other policy is as powerful in increasing the chances of education for the next generation. And I would venture that no policy is more important in preventing conflict, or in achieving reconciliation after a conflict has ended.

In support of the above, the United Nations Commission (2004), highlighted that, at the 48th session of its Commission on the Status of Women in March 2004, participating governments agreed an important set of conclusions on the role of men and boys in achieving gender equality and urged all key stakeholders, including governments, United Nations Organizations and Civil Society, to promote action at all levels in fields such as education, health services, training, media and the workplace to increase the contribution of men and boys to furthering gender equality and male involvement therein, critical examination of men’s power and privilege and current constructs of masculinities are necessary prerequisites.

Therefore, the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage is key in Mashonaland Central, Zimbabwe. A guide for global policy Action (2007) appeals to all relevant players, including men and boys to improve the quality of millions of girls and young women forced into child marriages. All over the world, vulnerable, marginalized rural girls and women continue to bear the health risks and social and economic costs of child marriage, non-consensual sex and early pregnancies. There is now greater urgency for men in Mashonaland Central to take, action to mitigate child marriage, since it is increasingly more vulnerable for the females to contract HIV infection (Sigade 2005).

Sibanda (2011) proposed that the continuous neglect of child marriage in parts of Africa and other parts of the world is a direct weakness of our collective duty to protect the human rights of vulnerable young people. The silent voices of the many millions of young women and girls forced into marriage before their eighteenth birthday signify reluctance and discrimination (Chigidi 2009). Nearly all countries have laws on the minimum age of marriage, but they are largely not enforced or they operate alongside customary and religious laws. Konyana (2016) added that traditions and cultural norms that rule the social lives of many practising communities in the developing world should not be used as an excuse to neglect the duty to protect, respect and fulfill
the rights of young girls and women. Ending child marriage is indeed a compulsory task if men are to achieve progress in Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). However, this will require men who support grassroots advocacy to address many of the cultural practices and behaviours that place young women and girls at increased multiple health risk, including HIV (UNICEF 2005).

Furthermore, male involvement is very important because of the shocking impact of teenage marriage which is continued to be ignored in Mashonaland Central. Many child marriages take place; some only just past puberty, are not given access to health, education and economic opportunities Dube (2017). The majority of them are burdened with the roles and responsibilities of wives and mothers without adequate support, resources and even capabilities Sibanda (2001). It seems that national and international human rights instruments relating to child marriage remain not fully implemented and enforced. There is now an urgent need to engage men to help address the problem Chitando and Chirongoma (2008). Government is often either unable to enforce existing laws on marriage and entrenched customary and religious laws. This is because of the “official acceptance of cultural, societal and customary norms that shape and govern the institution of marriage and life” Centre for Reproductive Rights (2000). Generally, there is no political will to act when it comes to females’ rights. In addition to that, international development community has largely failed to target assistance to mitigate this great violation of rights.

Gelfand (1979) pointed out that child marriage is culturally packaged as a social necessity, but in many cases, this amounts to “socially permit sexual abuse and exploitation of a child” this is also supported by the Forum of Rights of Women and Girls (2001). The fact that the arrangement is “socially accepted does not diminish the reality that a girl is deliberately exposed to sexual abuse and exploitation, usually by her parents and family”. Makoni (2016) opines that male involvement has to reduce the issue of silence on the plight of child brides to come to an end, particularly because of the increasing evidence that child marriage is a risk factor for HIV infection. The young age of child brides, their limited power in sexual decision making, and reduced economic opportunities compounds their vulnerability to multiple health risks (Sibanda 2011).

2.3.4 Entity of Men and Masculinities to Child Marriage
Following the above argument, it is noted that in Zimbabwe and in particular Mashonaland Central, parents and guardians give valid reasons to justify the increase in child marriage (Sibanda 2011). Economic reasons often underpin these decisions which are directly linked to poverty and lack of economic chances in rural areas (Sibanda 2011). Similarly, Mashonaland Central province is largely rural. These girls are either seen as economic burdens, or are given a capital value in terms of good money or livestock which is a form of lobola Ontoo-Oyertey (2003); that’s, a combination of cultural, traditional and religious arguments also justifies child marriage. Families also take these actions in fear and stigma attached to premarital sex and bearing children outside marriage, and the associated family honor are seen as valid reasons for promoting child marriage due to the fear of the high level of sexual violence and abuse encountered when going or coming from school.

The role of men and masculinities is one of the themes in this study to be used to handle child marriage, which is a challenging but possible task, requiring of men to be willing and employ strategies to address the issue in Zimbabwe (Chitando 2008). Men are in decision-making positions; they are the traditional and cultural leaders at community level and they can stimulate decision-makers like government policy makers, donors and international development agencies to take all necessary measures to end this violation of rights in the form of child marriage (Konyana 2016).

### 2.3.5 Consequences of Child Marriage

Furthermore, Tsara (2019) noted that Zimbabwe, like other countries, suffer health costs of resulting from child marriage and early pregnancy. Furthermore Sibanda (2011) highlighted that for every woman who dies in child birth, some 15 to 30 survive, but suffer chronic disabilities, the most devastating of which is obstetric fistula. It is an injury to a women’s birth canal that lives her leaking urine and/or faeces. Young women below 20 years are prone to developing fistulas if they cannot get a caesarean during prolonged, obstructed labor. Prevalence is the highest in impoverished communities in Africa and Asia (Dzimiri 2017 and UNFPA 2003).

That is marriage is often associated with many health risks. Young brides have limited access to contraception and reproductive health services and information. Many young brides are exposed
to early and frequent sexual relations and to repeated pregnancies and child birth before they are physically mature and physiologically ready. This can lead to fistulas and pregnant-related deaths.

Similarly, Njovana and Watts (1996) added that child marriage or sexual violence can have a substantial impact on an adolescent’s future that is in a number of studies with sexual abuse linked to a range of risk-taking behavior, including having many sexual partners, and excessive alcohol and drug abuse. Musasa project as a women organisation in Zimbabwe found similar patterns of behaviour among its clients. Most of the times, young girls and women are gang raped or forced into these child marriages. This traumatic condition has a deep and long-lasting impact on a girl child. Shona people had traditional solutions to rape of an adolescent girl is often seek to keep family honor. For example, in some cases, a rapist can either pay compensation to the girl’s father or pay lobola (bride price) and marry the young woman, thus avoiding prosecution. It is likely that many child marriages start as rape cases and are settled out of court in this manner in an attempt to quicken up the event and ensure that the girl avoid public attention and stigma. All this exposes the girl child to a worrisome and a difficult future (Sibanda 2011).

Following the above, Sayi and Sibanda (2018) added that child marriage increases vulnerability to HIV. These data call into question the often deeply ingrained belief that marriage protects young women from HIV. For many adolescents, particularly the youngest brides, marriage greatly increases their potential exposure to the virus, because marriage results in a transition from virginity to frequent unprotected sex (Clark 2006). Though they are efforts to expand access to the prevention and treatment of HIV, the pandemic is worsening among young women because of the belief that marriage protects girls from HIV. Infection effectively promotes the practice of child marriage. Child wives are more vulnerable to contracting HIV because of their young age at marriage, the wide spousal age difference, frequency of unprotected sexual activity, limited access to information, and negotiating powers. Marriage often increases sexual activity and exposure to the risk, because brides cannot decide for safe sex and are under pressure to demonstrate their fertility (Kioski 2018).

Furthermore, Chitakure (2016) postulated that in Mashonaland Central, child marriage also affects education and development levels. Limited access to education exposes a child to marriage, especially if the girl is from a poor community. Low levels of education affect the girls’ use of
reproductive health services such as family planning tablets and other contraceptives. Secondary education particularly improves women’s status, delays the age of marriage, and enhances reproductive decision making. Conversely, women who are poor and have little education “tend to start childbearing at young ages, have more children too close together and prolong childbearing” (Omman 2003). Children of young, uneducated mothers are also less likely to attain high levels of education, continuing cycles of low literacy and limited livelihood opportunities. Child marriages prevent the young brides to associate with groups of intellectual and they have poor financial livelihood contributions for the girls and their children. Human rights findings show that the greatest obstacles to girl child education as identified with many governments reports to human rights monitoring bodies, are child marriage, pregnancy and domestic chores Tomasevski (2005). This affects national and international efforts to achieve targets of education. Reduced literacy levels ultimately lead to a decrease in employment or income generation options, and impair the ability of child wives to absorb and use information (Sibanda 2011).

Dube (2017) argues that education is a fundamental human right highlighted in the Constitution of Zimbabwe as it is an essential tool for achieving sustainable development. Section 27(2) of the Constitution provides that the state must take measures to ensure that girls are afforded the same opportunities as boys to obtain education at all levels (Bengesai 2021). The United Nations asserts that education is an investment in human capital that gives benefits to both individuals and societies allowing them to reach their fullest potential. Education is indispensable for closing the gap between men and women in terms of social and economic opportunities to empower women, and allow them to become agents of change in the economic, social and political spheres Mavhinga (2015). It also improves the chances of women leading a healthy life, passing on the benefits to future generations (UNESCO 2014).

On a different note, the International Centre for Research on Women (2005) argues that child marriage makes it harder for families, communities and countries to address poverty Sibanda (2011). It erodes the health and well-being of girls and the overall welfare of people. It also reduces international efforts to fight poverty and HIV/AIDS, improve child health and survival and support other international development ideas, making billions of development assistance dollars less effective.
2.3.6 Shona Manhood and Typology of Marriage

Various studies have shown that African men are key decision makers in families and societies (Kambarami, 2006). Traditionally, the Shona people’s understanding of manhood or masculinity is tied to marriage (Chigidi, 2009). So, in order to understand the condition of child marriage of Shona people in Zimbabwe, it is important to revisit the status of the marriage institution in Zimbabwe in general. The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1999) and the Constitution of Zimbabwe section 81(1) Zimbabwe (2013) define a child as any person who is below the age of 18 years. The Marriage Act Chapter (5:11) states that marriage of girls between 16 and 18 years requires the consent of parent or guardian and that the marriage of a girl below 16 years of age requires the authority of the responsible minister (Sibanda, 2011). The legal status of the marriage institution in Zimbabwe allows for the existence and practice of various traditional beliefs and cultural practices among the Shona people in Mashonaland Central, who take advantage of the dual legal system in the country Konyana (2016). Mutandwa (2012;18) opines that Zimbabwe has a dual legal system consisting of the general law, Roman-Dutch Common Law and statutes, and African Customary Law, which exist simultaneously, but operate differently for the same group of people.

Furthermore, Konyana (2016) also highlighted that the legal system in Zimbabwe allow for two major types of marriage to co-exist. That is the civil marriage which is monogamous and customary marriage which allows polygamy. Dube (2013:3) outlined that the Marriage Act (1994), Chapter (5:11) formally known as Chapter 37 in Zimbabwe, which is the first type of marriage. Civil marriage restricts any man or woman to have one spouse at a given time of his or her married life. Dube (2013) further explained that if a man married under Chapter (5.11) went on to marry a second wife he commits bigamy, which is an offence punishable by a jail term or a fine or both. Chapter 5:11 marriage ceremonies and processes can be presided over by a legally mandated officer such as a minister of Religion or a marriage officer at the Magistrates Court.

It is important to highlight that under the Civil Marriage Act, the payment of bride wealth (roora) is not a pre-requisite for a couple that wants to enter into this type of marriage to be able to marry Muyambo (2018). However, Zimbabweans continue to respect the practice of paying bride price.
before they enter into a civil marriage as a way of soliciting the full blessings of their parents, relatives and community (Mangena and Ndlovu 2013).

The Customary Marriage Act Chapter (5.07) has two types of marriages available in Zimbabwe. Mutandwa (2012). They are also referred to as potentially polygamous marriages, because they permit a man to marry as many wives as he can take care of. The first type of a potentially polygamous marriage is the registered customary marriage approved under Chapter (5.07) of the Customary Marriage Act. This type of marriage is entered into by a couple who can register their union at the Magistrates Court. According to Sibanda (2011), the registered customary marriage allows a man to choose to stay married to one woman, but if he decides to have a second wife, third, fourth and so on, the law permits him to do so. However, Rukuni (2007) argued that, in order to maintain peace between his wives, a man who wishes to bring another woman as a second wife is supposed to seek the permission of the first wife. In all instances of this type of marriage, the man is also required to pay bride wealth for his wife or wives before he can register the marriage.

Konyana (2016) highlighted the second type of polygamous marriage known as the unregistered customary marriage. According to the Zimbabwe Lawyers Association’s report (2011), unregistered customary marriages are prevalent in Zimbabwe, particularly in rural areas, where about 70% of the population lives. For all customary marriages to be authentic, payment of bride price is mandatory. Once the man pays the bride wealth, he is allowed to live with his wife and start a family. However, Dube (2012:8) opines that the unregistered customary marriage has no pronounced legal acknowledgement as it is “only legally recognized under limited circumstances such as when a court has to decide on the protection or maintenance of children in the event of a divorce or death” of either partner. However, this has often disadvantaged many women. Dube (2012) maintains that in the event of a divorce, there is no court that presides over the issue, as the women just gets a token of divorce from the man to express that the marriage has been dissolved. This kind of divorce is often presided over by relatives of the married parties. Since most women married under the unregistered customary marriage live in the rural areas as housewives, they stand to lose, whether they are divorced or widowed Konyana (2016). This is the case, because the courts cannot change the woman’s non-monetary contribution towards the purchase of matrimonial property into cash value for purposes of determining the value of her contribution Sibanda, 2011).
The Customary Marriage Act Chapter (5.07) does not specify a minimum age of marriage. It is important to note that most of the marriages happening in Mashonaland Central follow the customary way and are therefore unregistered unions. These challenges with the marriage law regime cause problems when it comes to monitoring and preventing child marriages. In January 2016, the constitutional court formally outlawed child marriages as being unconstitutional (Mudzuru 2015). What remains is for the various pieces of legislation to be realigned with the Constitution.

However, Mashiri and Mawire (2013) added that a human rights framework is critical for stopping child marriage “By ratifying or acceding to international convention, state parties accept legal duty to abide by the conventions and thereby become obliged to take steps to protect the exercise and enjoyment of human rights to investigate violations, and to provide effective remedies to victims.” (Sagade 2005.113). That is, the benefits of being a citizen of any country is that one is entitled to a level of protection of one’s rights either through the national constitution or the laws of the country. In relation to this all girls and women expect their government to protect their rights, because they are citizens by law. Human rights of particularly vulnerable groups should be respected, protected and fulfilled for the women and children to realise their freedom. Governments therefore have the duty to translate and implement national legislation to address discrimination and gender inequality (Konyana 2016).

Given this information about the dual law system in Zimbabwe, The Shona people have the privilege of practising different types of marriage that allow them to practise their cultural practices without actually breaking the law. As Dube (2013) indicated, it is important to point out that most people who live in rural areas marry under customary marriage laws that allow polygamy. With reference to Mashonaland Central, some of the most established customary marriages that they practise are highlighted below. But, traditionally, a woman is viewed in a negative sense. A woman is regarded as ‘sold’ Bourdillon (1967.68), because of the bride price paid to the in-laws. A husband can ill-treat and abuse her, and she has no right to complain. The woman is expected to be docile. A man may be charged huge sums of money to pay as bride price. Most of the men do not pay the full charged amounts. However, the question is the measure which would have been used to determine the value of the girl child (Shoko 2006). Chirongoma (2006) also adds that after
lobola has been paid, a woman must stick to her marriage: no matter how hot the iron is, she must bear it. Upon marriage she leaves her own people, home and join the husband’s.

The largest party of Mashonaland Central is rural and less developed, compared to other provinces in Zimbabwe. For this reason, most of the Shona people believe in traditional African culture where marriage is celebrated and cherished (Mwandayi 1994). Most of the Shona people in the province observe some cultural practices which have a strong influence in their lives. Marriage and religion are some of the institutions in which Shona culture expresses different forms of inequalities (Konyana 2011). Mwandayi (1994) further expresses that

marriage is a cog around which an African society revolves, the absence of which there is no society to talk about, no reason to live for and no future to talk about. It is this most valued institution traditional African society is using to marginalize the girl child mostly.

Most of the traditional forms of marriage of the Shona people in Zimbabwe usually portray the use of hegemonic masculinities. Mortgage marriage is one of the oldest marriage practices that the Shona people practise. The man will toil in labour in exchange for marriage, but the man will have agreed with the in-laws on the type of work to do without the consent of the girl child (Dube, 2017). Konyana (2011) added that Kutema ugariri, where a man stays and works at his in-laws for a wife, is a marriage not only confined to the Shona people, but occurs in the whole of Zimbabwe. Tatira (2010) gives an example of the Jewish culture as cited in the Bible (Genesis 29:15-21) to support what mortgage kutema ugariri type of marriage is like. Konyana (2011) adds that this type of marriage can be understood as one of the encouragers for young men to be industrious and self-reliant, and ultimately, it discourages the dependency syndrome. It offers poor young men opportunities to prove that they can achieve their goals through hard work.

The other form of traditional marriage is ‘Ambushing Home a Loved Woman’ Musenga Bere, in this practice, a man takes by force the girl he wants to be his wife. All the other formalities of paying bride price will be done whilst the young girl is with the husband Mwandayi (1994). The girl will not question it, but she has to submit, because there will be no-one to tolerate her refusal.

Girl child pledging is a type of marriage which takes place when a poor family gives away (pledges) a girl child to a family which will provide wealth to enable the girl’s family to survive.
Holleman (1952) calls this a ‘credit marriage’ and Bourdillon (1987) refers it to ‘child marriage’. The main player of this type of marriage is the young girl child who is not consulted when she is married off. This is usually done by poor families who pledge their baby girl to an older wealthy man to get food. The father of the girl child controls the sexuality of his wife and the girl child or his daughter employing his hegemonic masculinity. If the man to whom the girl has been pledged is too old, the girl will be given to one of his sons or his nephew (Mawere 2010). While this type of marriage still exists, it has been forbidden by state laws and is treated as a form of child abuse. However, it continues to persist in Zimbabwe.

The girl child is used as compensation for an avenging spirit. This form is called ‘Reparatory marriage’ (Kuripa Ngozi). That is, if the deceased was an unmarried man, the family suspected of killing him has to offer a girl-child as compensation to the family whose member was killed. Pfukwa (2001:78) points out that the girl-child is married off into the deceased man’s family and become the wife of the angry spirit. She is given to a male relative of the deceased to bear children for the deceased man.

Elopement _kutizira_ is where the girl child runs away from her parents’ home, usually upon realizing that she is pregnant. This is a very common type of marriage in Zimbabwe. Shoko (2012) explains that this is usually practised when a man impregnated a girl before marriage. This type of marriage is associated with a lot of gender-based violence issues, because most of the time the man is not prepared to be responsible for the wife and the expected child.

The Shona people in Mashonaland Central believe that when a man has married, he should remain married for all the days of his life until his death. That is, if his wife dies, the man should not go through the process of looking for another woman to marry. Instead, the man is given his late wife’s young sister or his late wife’s brother’s girl child to inherit the deceased woman’s fireplace. It means that the deceased woman’s property, which includes all kitchen utensils and stove or fireplace, are to be inherited by her relative. Holleman (1952) referred to this type of marriage as “substitution marriage”. In Shona they call this type of marriage _Chimutsamapfihwa_, meaning that the young girl will have to keep the fire burning both in the kitchen and the bedroom. This implies

13 _Kuripa Ngozi_ is where a girl child is pledged to pay as compensation for an avenging spirit because older members of her family will have killed someone.
that cooking for the husband and children should not stop because the wife has died. She also has to play the wife’s role that is ‘Inheriting the fireplace’ Chigadzamapfihwa. The deceased can give it as a will that upon her death, her children should be looked after by her sister or niece, instead of another woman or one of the husband’s wives. However, in this kind of marriage, some young girls are imposed on older men and they are subject to gender-based violence, HIV and AIDS (Konyana 2011).

Besides some traditional marriages outlined above, Shona people also marry by means of religious or civil marriages. This marriage is a union between a man and a woman that is governed by statutes of the general law as derived from the country’s constitution. Dube (2013) adds that most of the traditional marriages described above are governed by customary law as prescribed by tradition and customs, while the civil marriage is directly administered by the general or civil law of the country. Dube (2013) also states that, unlike the other marriages, the civil marriage (also called matrimony or wedlock) is defined as a legal union if, and only if, it occurs between two consenting adults of the opposite sex. In other words, the civil marriage only recognizes and respects the wishes of the marrying adult individuals of the opposite sex. This dimension of the civil marriage is enshrined in the Constitution of Zimbabwe under the Legal Age of Majority Act, which stipulates that anyone who is 18 years old or above is an adult and can take their own decision to marry or to be married without interference.

On Civil marriage, age is one of the differences, compared to traditional marriage described above. The traditional marriages prescribe no age or age restrictions; hence the accusations that some of the marriages suffer as cases of girl child abuse (Sibanda 2011). The other difference is that a religious or civil marriage is monogamous and a marriage license or certificate is issued to that effect. The civil marriage can be solemnized either at the Magistrate’s Court by a magistrate or in a church by a member of the clergy or a minister of Religion May (1987). Some of the Shona people in Zimbabwe have embraced the civil marriage as an additional type of marriage available to them Kambarami (2006). Due to economic challenges, most couples in the province avoid this type of marriage. Usually, poor people avoid it and some will just stay together or cohabite.

Konyana (2016) added that cohabitation (kuchaya mapoto) is an arrangement where a man and woman mutually agree to stay together and share home facilities in common. Okereke (2015)
defines cohabitation as “a relationship where persons of the opposite sex live together without going through the formalities of customary, religious or civil marriage”. This means that partners who cohabitate simply agree to live together as husband and wife and share their lives without bothering themselves with any way of the processes required by the various types of marriage described above. It can be understood as an intimate, non-marital relationship between two adults of the opposite sex. Depending on the interests the partners have in each other, the union can be for a short or long period of time and may even have children. This type of marriage is not traditional. It is a new type of ‘marriage’ arrangement that has emerged from the modern society that affects most African societies. In Zimbabwe, cohabiting or ‘kubika mapoto’ is not regarded as a marriage, but as a problem, which is even fuelling the issue of child marriage in other ways (Tatira 2020). The main reason for traditional disregard for this type of marriage is that no bride wealth will be paid to the in-laws. This type of marriage is also associated with a lot of violence. Cohabiting is precarious, because it is not even recognized by law and parties to it have no legal protection.

In fact, research shows that tradition and religion are some of the strongest of all the major causes of child-marriage which include poverty, gender inequality, limited education and economic options and insecurity in the face of conflict (Siwila 2012). However, when a girl delays her marriage, everyone benefits. Investing in girls, developing their social and economic assets, making sure they have access to education and health services, and ensuring that they can postpone marriage until they are ready – all this means greater dignity for women, healthier families and higher levels of gender equality (Sibanda 2011). This, in turn, makes for stronger societies and vibrant economies (AU October 2015). This is also supported by Chenge (2017) and UNFPA (2012) which highlighted that gender equality, poverty, exclusion, marginalization and insecurity are some of the factors that contribute to the practice of child marriage (Sibanda 2011). The consequences of child marriage in Mashonaland Central seriously affect girls and women’s empowerment; hence the need for men and masculinities to mitigate the pandemic.

2.4 RELIGIO-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

In Zimbabwe there are a lot of cultural and traditional practices that directly and indirectly affect women’s development. Marrying girls and pledging them off at a tender age is still practiced in
Mashonaland Central by many communities mainly religious and in some cases as a customary practice (Konyana 2016) and Women’s Commission 2005). This tends to disadvantage the girl child's rights to education, health and proper marriage in their life (Sibanda, 2011). The customary law places women on an inferior position to men. The Shona culture also give families the opportunity to minimize the advancement of women and girls (Konyana 2016). Advancement of men and boys in politics, education, healthcare and inheritance of property is given particular attention in the province, because they are regarded as permanent and important members of families, especially in male headed families. This reduces women’s performance and make them remain in unpaid domestic labour, subsistence agriculture and lowly paid work Women’s Commission (2005).

Therefore, the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage will help to transform custom and traditional norms which impose norms and values about the expected behaviours of men and women, which makes the task of improving women’s position difficult (Morrell 2001). In Shona custom women are expected to be docile, retiring, hardworking, long-suffering and obedient to men. Women are expected to be humble and not to talk a lot when in public. The payment of dowry is still a common practice among the Shona people, also having a bearing on the role of women in the Shona society (Mwandayi, 1995). When men pay lobola or dowry to the in laws in respect of their wives, many men and their families and in some cases even the women’s families, expect subservient, loyal and obedient service from their wives (Dube, 2017). In Zimbabwe many women are ill-treated by their husbands or husband’s family, because lobola was paid for them and that therefore they should be obedient and respectful to their husbands and their in-laws. In some cases, their children are taken away from them by the husband’s parents or relatives and if the husband is late the wife is expected to marry one of her deceased husband’s family members or relatives (Zimbabwe’s First Report on CEDAW 1995).

Similarly, Mapuranga (2010) referred to the Ndau society as “androcentric” which means that it is highly male centred. Like the Ndau, the Shona people of Mashonaland Central support men’s and boy’s interests and behaviors as being more important than those of women and girls and they regard this as a normal way of life. Most of the discriminatory tendencies displayed in the everyday actions of men and women are not questioned. The Shona men are the owners of the family property and children whilst their women do not have anything registered in their names. In the
Shona society females are not usually consulted on how family projects should be carried on (Chiroro 2002). Generally, patriarchy creates a dependency syndrome for women and girls, which makes women more vulnerable to different forms of Gender-Based violence (Konyana 2016). The Shona women in some marginalized communities are even prohibited from going to work because it is some men’s responsibility to work and provide necessities for the family.

The 1992 Census in Zimbabwe has proven that men still dominate as household heads. Though some campaigns were carried out in Zimbabwe, there is not much departure from the sexual division of labour and violence. Bourdillon (1993) noted that male children are given first priority in education and economic development over girls in African societies because of the desire to grow. He pointed out that ‘patrikin’ refers to a father’s male relatives as the basis of a family’s growth. Thus, when a young girl is married and gives birth to only girl children she will be exposed to a lot of abuse and accusations for not being productive to the patrikin.14 This sexual differentiation of tasks overloads the young girls with gender roles. Men have a pivotal role to eliminate social and cultural practices that perpetuate inferiority or superiority of either sex (Owino 2012).

To add on to this, Greene et al. (2015) opine that these informal intergenerational relationships share many common characteristics of child marriage. Girls’ labor and virginity are things valued and purchased by men in Shona society. These intergenerational sexual relationships are influenced by older men’s access to resources and control, including the terms of sex. Though many girls get material gain from these relationships, the inequitable terms place the control in the hands of men and contribute to adolescent girls’ rates of unintended pregnancy and HIV infection (Luke and Kurz 2002). Greene Works and Promundo (2015) further explained that older men are also able to take young women and girls as sexual partners because they possess the income, and they are employed and have resources necessary to establish relationship or marry the young brides, but younger men often do not have the resources. Young brides leave school during this time and often do not benefit from the empowerment and confidence that education could instil in them. In Mashonaland Central older men often marry young brides and young women, sometimes the men are ten years older or more. Marriage of girls below the age of eighteen is a violation of

14 Patrikin refers to the father’s male relatives as the basis of the family’s growth Bourdillon (1993).
the girl child and is one of the factors that continue to contribute to women’s low social and economic empowerment.

Sibanda (2011) further explains that child marriage increases the dropout rate at schools. Men should help in coming up with measures to address and eventually to eliminate the dropout rate in primary and secondary education especially with regards to the girl child. The obligations created by both general and customary law on marriage has consequences for the rights of women and girls (Dube 2017). Because it is entirely up to spouses to determine the spacing and the number of children they will have, but with regard to the Shona people or Africans, the husbands tend to have much more say and his family may also intervene. Information and access to means of child spacing and birth control might be difficult to access when in child marriages (Konyana 2016). So it will be up to the men to be obliged to take steps to protect the exercise and enjoyment of human rights, to provide necessary remedies to child marriage (Sagade 2005).

The laws and the national constitution of Zimbabwe are clear on how it will protect girls and women’s rights. By law, marriage can only be dissolved through by death or divorce (Mashiri and Mawire 2013). The Act is clear, but women suffer more because they are the ones to abide by the law, whilst men have extra-marital affairs. They can even abandon their wives and stick to the extra-marital affairs especially in these child marriages. Inheritance rights in Zimbabwe are guided by both general and customary law. But the customary law of inheritance disadvantages the girls and women because it does not recognize a woman’s right to inherit from her fathers except in situations where there is no surviving son but only a daughter or daughter(s) (Konyana 2016). The Legal Age of Majority Act (1982) does not put men and women on the same footing when it comes to inheritance in terms of customary law (Zimbabwe First Report on CEDAW 1995). This put men in a better position, compared to women.

Furthermore, Dube (2017) opines that the betrothal and marriage of a child did not have legal effect. The Marriage Act (1994) specifies the minimum age for marriage as 16 years for girls and 18 years for boys. Marriage by any party under these ages must be with the approval with the Minister of justice. The African Marriages Act prohibits the pledging of young brides and women generally. However, in the case of unregistered customary marriages young girls are still pledged and married off and the law enforcement agencies do not detect this. In addition to this Connell
(1995) highlighted that men too can make political choices for a new world with good gender relations. Generally, this positions men on the positive side of the law as compared to women (Konyana 2016).

Among the Shona people, the issue of domestic violence, especially child marriage, did not receive much attention as a human rights issue or as an illegal act and the law enforcing agency treated domestic violence as merely a “domestic affair” to be resolved privately by the parties themselves and their relatives and friends (Tom and Musingafi 2013). This leaves the girls and women more subjected to abuse with no-one helping or protecting them. A lot has been done to promote equality and the development of women to remove discrimination against them by way of accession to human rights instruments specifically addressing women’s rights and addressing their issues (Sibanda, 2011). However, these measures are not enough to bring about equality for women. In Mashonaland Central, quite a lot of discriminatory attitudes towards women and girls still persist and many women remain ignorant of their rights. Therefore, male involvement may help address this issue because very few people in Zimbabwe have an idea of what the convention is about and no one translated it to the marginalized girls and women. Similar views were highlighted by Kurebwa and Kurebwa (2018), when they note that the legal framework to protect the girl child from child marriages in Zimbabwe exists, but the problem lies in the Customary Marriages Act which does not provide for a minimum age for marriage and has therefore been abused.

**Patriarchal factors**

The Shona society is male dominated. It is the men who make most decisions when it comes to marriage issues. As highlighted above, women and girls will have to respect the given instructions and ideas. This is supported by Chitando and Chirongoma (2012) who describe patriarchy as displaying features of “hegemonic masculinities which invaluably proffer men as authoritative and dominant members of the society”. This is the general picture of patriarchal societies display. Chitando and Chirongoma (2012) further argued that in most cases religion and culture support the portrayal of men as powerful leaders whom society must treat as more important persons than women and children. In this case, the Shona male dominance was very visible in the family environment and it also found unfettered expression through a number of traditional marriage
practices upon which men demonstrate violent behavior that are unfortunately supported by the Shona norms (Kambarami 2006) and Hespers 1980).

2.5 THE RATIONALE FOR MALE ENGAGEMENT

Another significant aspect that needs a comment is the relevance of role of men and masculinities. According to the IPPF (2003), male involvement is critical in mitigating child marriage because men hold key positions in society, which gives them power to push the implementation of empowerment framework, which can guide both men and boys to protect vulnerable and at-risk girls from child marriage (Conwell, 1995). Children have a right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, especially in the context of sexual and reproductive health that child brides and their children face the greatest risks (Sibanda 2011). The Zimbabwean government also agreed to develop and accelerate the implementation of national strategies of women’s full enjoyment of all human rights and reduction of their vulnerability to child marriage by curbing all forms of discrimination by ensuring the effectiveness and enjoyment of human rights (Sagade 2005).

To support the above notion, Mashiri and Mawire (2013) and the 48th session of the United Nations Commission on the status of women in March (2004) highlighted that participating governments agreed on important set of conclusions on “the role of boys and men in achieving gender equality” and aged key stakeholders to promote action at all levels in fields such as education, health services, training media and the workplace to increase the contribution of male involvement to furthering gender equality. So, men have a lot to do to empower the girl child (Machacha 2018 and UN Commission 2004). For people in Mashonaland Central to start work on male involvement there is a need for the critical examination of men’s power and privilege and current constructs of “masculinity” (Chitando 2008).

In Zimbabwe most of the women and girls live in extreme poverty. Most of the girls and young women are into buying and selling which expose them to issues of child marriages (Konyana 2016). Child brides still have great difficulties securing basic education, finding employment and having fair control over household income (SADC Gender Protocol Barometer Zimbabwe 2015). There is need to address gender discrimination, because patterns of male domination, which are deeply rooted in cultures and institutions need to employ redemptive masculinities to address the
issue of child marriage in Zimbabwe and understand the positive impact of masculinities to child marriage (Chitando 2008).

In support of the above, Kurebwa and Kurebwa (2018) highlighted that male inclusion, in mitigating child marriage is key to the success of mainstreaming issues of male engagement in mitigating child marriage and that the success of gender equality is not possible without the active involvement and support of men. Men must be reached and engaged so that interventions to address child marriage are not derailed by male resistance (Maluleke 2002). Furthermore, male involvement is important, because men and boys are often side-lined in women’s issues and this often stagnates the achievement of objectives to address child marriage (Padare 2010). It is important to understand men’s duties and responsibilities in working towards the address of child marriage in Mashonaland Central province.

The role of men and masculinities helped to deepen an understanding of the reason why there is resistance of men in mitigating the issue of child marriage and employment of redemptive approaches to mitigate child marriages. It is important to engage men and boys in all strategies that is at the beginning or the middle of every intervention which seeks to mitigate child marriage in Zimbabwe (Chitando and Chirongoma 2008). There is need to stress that mitigating child marriage is not about granting privileges to women while disempowering men. It is about creating integrated approaches that benefit both men and women. It is about making a socially more just world with gender roles that do not limit what both males and females can do (Sibanda, 2011). In fact, these sex roles enslave females, forcing them to be what men want them to be (Women’s Commission 2015).

Chibango (2020) argued that male involvement makes manhood visible and thereby making men more conscious of child marriages as it also affects their lives and those of women and girls. By focusing on masculinities, the issue of child marriage may become relevant for men; they will understand the effects of power dynamics which are often not seen and unanalysed by men (Ratele 2001). Men’s roles and responsibilities in mitigating child marriage need to be highlighted and promoted. Men need to understand that they are necessary partners with clear duties in the struggle to address the issue of child marriage Chitando (2008). Men must also understand the need for addressing child marriage, which leads to the reduction of poverty and hunger and the promotion
of sustainable development among Shona people. Furthermore, the Women’s Commission (2015) explains that unbalanced power relations affects both men and women negatively. Connell (1995) opines that gender inequality is a form of structural violence and is apparent in laws that treat women as not important citizens in social norms and in customs that deprive them of knowledge about their bodies, which takes away their authority to make independent decisions. Imbalances are also apparent in endemic patterns of violence and abuse in the inappropriate burden women often bear as the caregivers of families, which is further worsened when families split (Chiroro et al. 2002). Women and men’s power relations have left a legacy whereby women are more likely to be disadvantaged than men to have less access, and to have limited rights in the household and in public life (Konyana 2016).

To engage men in Mashonaland Central will help to address the issue of old age men who often marry adolescent girls and young women, sometimes men 10 years older or more Kurebwa (2018). Child marriage and early childbearing go hand in hand, with an estimate of 22.4% of young women aged 20–24 reporting having had at least one child before attaining 18 years of age (MICS 2014). Sibanda (2011) added that tradition, what people believe and poverty rank among the factors that influence marriage of girls before 18 years, even though child marriage is associated with serious reproductive outcomes and the disturbance of or, end to education for girls. Meanwhile, Zimbabwean law is not clear on this issue. The Criminal Codification Act section 70 criminalizes sexual activity with a young person (less than 16) and the minor (less than 12) is deemed “incapable of agreeing to sexual intercourse or a sex act”. The percentage of women married before 15 is 5% (MICS, 2014) and UNICEF, 2015 and ZimStat 2014). Looking at maturity and age power dynamics, it is unlikely most adolescent girls aged 12–16 can be able of, or consent to, sexual intercourse within and outside of marriage.

In Zimbabwe, men and boys play a pivotal role in helping to address child marriage, because it violets the Constitution and all international and regional gender equality, women’s rights and children’s conventions signed and ratified by Zimbabwe (Muchemwa and Muponde 2007). It is important for men in Zimbabwe to scale up their efforts to eliminate this practice, which widens gender disparities and promote gender discrimination. In an effort to address child marriage, there is a need to engage men and boys, because they are the custodians of male headship, societal norms and unequal power relations which perpetuate Gender-Based violence in the form of child
marriage (Chitando 2008). Patriarchal norms of wife ownership, sexual entitlement following marriage, and the legitimacy of violence as a means of controlling young wives drive the child bride in Mashonaland Central. Men can help to address negative patriarchal mindsets, because men in Mashonaland Central hold the traditional and religious positions, which give them the power to address child marriage, as the society views them as custodians of culture and religion (Shoko 2006). Shona people use some traditional practices to justify some of these discriminatory practices (Women’s Commission 2015). Negatively, gender inequality is pervasive in that it cuts across all issues; hence, affects everything done. Male and female’s inequality has an impact on access to resources like property, loans and inheritance. Men’s predominant control of economic assets, political power, cultural authority and military power means that men control most of the resources required to implement women’s need for equal rights (Konyana 2016).

Similarly, Mwandayi (2017) highlighted that most of the traditional forms of the Korekore people in Mashonaland Central usually portray the use of hegemonic masculinities. That’s men take by force the girls he wants to marry because of the power and respect which is given to them by the society. All the formalities of paying bride price will be done whilst the young girl will be with the husband. A man may be charged large amounts of money to pay as bride price. Most of the men do not pay the charged amounts in full. However, the question is the measure that would have been used to determine the value of the woman or girl child (Shoko 2006). To add on to this, Chitando and Chirongoma (2006) highlighted that after lobola has been paid, a woman must stay in her marriage; no matter how difficult the situation in the marriage is, she must bear it. Upon marriage, she leaves her own home and join the husband’s, no matter how young the girl is (Mwandayi 1995). In the Shona culture, women and girls are the main victims of bareness and witchcraft and this culture restricts women to freely express her feelings verbally, but men’s marital rights cannot be questioned. More to this, rigid cultures of male dominance lead to female subordination and even exclusion (Connell 1995). Females are unable to share their thoughts and ideas fully and, hence, they are unable to participate on an equal basis. They may be excluded from decision making processes, intimidated to join discussions or too busy with household and childcare responsibilities which prevent them from meaningful participation (Women’s Commission 2015).
Furthermore, Sayi (2018), supported by UNAIDS (2008) opine that result informed programs which empower men and boys with skills and ideas to forge norms of gender equity should be brought to scale, so that they will be able to address child marriages in the province. In Zimbabwe, the Padare men’s forum on gender is an association of men advocating for Gender Justice in Zimbabwe formed in 1995 as a platform to support men and boys who believe in gender equality and to mobilize and influence other men. The main purpose of Padare men’s forum is to redefine masculinities through male introspection in safe spaces, where men can move from domineering and violent masculinities to egalitarian and nurturing forms of masculinity, using a human rights framework. From 1995, Padare managed to mobilize men and boys to address issues related to gender justice, gender-based violence, positive masculinities, culture and other key drivers of violence against girls and women (Morrell 2001).

Padare (1995) added that domestic violence occurs in different forms. It is not just physical, but can take different forms. Physical violence involves punching, slapping, hitting, kicking, pulling hair, rape, burning and strangling, which often lead to permanent injuries and sometimes death. Physical violence also includes keeping someone locked in up, denying food, warmth, sleep or keeping someone locked out of the house and refusing to help when one is sick, pregnant or injured. Sexual violence uses force to make someone perform sexual acts such as having sex with someone not willing, forcing sex when someone is sick or if it is dangerous to their health, or in front of others (Bengesai 2018).

Some may be abused emotionally by putting the young girls down by calling them ugly, fat, stupid, or worthless; that is, constantly criticising, which disempowers or belittles a person; that is, one is discouraged and humiliated in front of others (Chiroro 2002). Some men will mock, shout at women or be excessively jealous and deciding on what a person wears, not listening when someone is talking, refusing to accept one’s decision, not saying the truth to friends and relatives, and humiliating a person in public (Mashiri and Mawire 2002). All this has serious psychological effects. Because this study aims at male engagement, there is a need to involve the men to come up with life-giving comments. Similarly, the Women’s Commission (2015) added that men and women’s inequality can also impact women and girls through the internalization of negative role descriptions applied to them like incompetent, weak and powerless. Women and girls are socialized to believe that they really possess those negative attributes and act according to the
behaviours they deem society prescribes. These are some of the harmful cultural practices, which Siwila (2012) argues that they must be interrogated. Among the Shona people adolescents are also abused economically. Their husbands might keep them from working controlling their money and even spending it on him or with other women (Ratele 2001). The Padare Men’s Forum also works on the socialization process, which is a process instilled in children that defines their roles and separates them as boys and girls. It is an attribute that defines what one is, simply through roles and duties they perform (Kambarami 2006). These roles are shaped by the communities according to their norms and values. Culture, patriarchy and spirituality play a key role as socializing agents like parents, teachers and religious leaders (Shoko 2006). Similarly, Mwaura (2001:178) writes that gender concerns should also be a task of both men and women and not women alone. Women’s concerns or men’s concerns are the concerns of everybody so there is need for society to work together and address the pandemic of child marriage.

Chibango (2020) opines that the Shona men like other men in Zimbabwe behave in ways that contribute to a variety of public health problems that fuel gender inequalities which have serious effects on women’s health. Furthermore, Makoni (2016) highlighted that when women are not allowed to understand and control their bodies they are unable to control their reproductive health. As such they are at serious risk for sexual abuse and exploitation and exposure to child marriage and HIV. Serious gender inequality and the violations of the rights of women that accompany it are some of the most significant forces fuelling the increase of child marriage (Kura 2013). Defeating child marriage promotes attacking the inequality between men and women (Women’s Commission, 2015).

2.5.1 *Murume Chaiye*¹⁵ (Real Man)

The role of men and masculinities in Mashonaland Central will also help the men to understand the risk of some of their practices (Connell 1995). Like present gender roles compromise men’s health by encouraging them to equate risky sexual behaviors with being “manly”. Women and men’s roles associate manhood with sexual prowess, multiple sexual partners, physical violence and dominance over women, a positive attitude to engage in high-risk behaviour and an

¹⁵ *Murume chaiye* refers to a real man who insists in control, subordination and undervaluing of women and girls which perpetuate issues of child marriage.
unwillingness to access health services or seek emotional support or impose a terrible burden on men, a burden that due to trying to live up masculine constructs, puts them, their spouses, partners and children at risk (Dunkle 2003). Further attachment to limited and harnessed definitions of masculinity can lead to disengaged fatherhood, poor health, aggression, overwork and lack of emotional responsiveness, as well as risk-taking behaviour (Ruxton 2004). Unclear social definitions of manhood and fatherhood, constrain men’s own development and this will also affect the women and children, since the man is the head of the family in the Shona society (Kaundas 2012).

2.6 MALE NON-PARTICIPATION IN MITIGATING MARRIAGE ISSUES

Mafusire (2013) argued that there are a lot of reasons for male non-participation in Mashonaland Central which are related to the inclusion of men and women’s concerns in development and gender equality efforts. Gender equality is still seen as a women’s issue. Tom and Musingafi (2013) further highlighted that men consider gender justice and meaningful gender integration as a barrier to their status and privileges. Men feel that they have little to gain or lose if the situation remain as it is. They work hard to maintain their position and privilege. Many men resort to violence or threats to maintain their privileges (Connell, 1995 and Women’s Commission, 2015). Similarly, the SADC Gender Protocol Barometer Zimbabwe (2015) cited that gender equality and women’s rights activists indicated the rise of conservative religious and cultural importance as a backlash in the wake of increasing levels of poverty and other areas of economic decline. Some religious sects in Mashonaland Central promote polygamy, widow inheritance and child marriage and discourage women and children access to health. These conservative men’s groups that advocate men’s rights and reinforcement of traditional gender-unequal power have become more vocal in the public space and this highly promotes low male participation in reducing child bride unions.

Following the above background, male socialization in Mashonaland Central leads men to think that women are second class citizens, unequal, less strong, less able and defined by their roles as caretakers, mothers, homemakers and wives Shoko (2006). Men are decision makers at community level Dover (2001). Women’s subordinate roles are supported by cultural norms and beliefs, depriving them of the power to make decisions regarding sexual matters and the power to negotiate
safe sex practices. Women are also exposed to the risk of sexual violence outside their homes while fetching water and firewood and when going to school especially in remote rural communities Tsara (2019). Some schoolgirls also involve themselves with sexual advances of older men to pay for their school books and to meet their needs. In Shona culture men believe that having sex with virgins keeps men young and cures HIV infection (Inter-linkage between Culture and GBV 2008). Therefore, men see addressing women and girls’ issues as a sheer waste of time. Girls and women are usually blamed for being raped and when it comes to marriage, they have to respect their fathers or brothers’ final decision (Konyana 2016). It is not easy to change the socialization process to unlearn what has been viewed as innate (Women’s Commission 2015). This has promoted the tradition of encouraging child marriage among the Shona people in Zimbabwe.

2.7 STEREOTYPIC VIEWS ON MALENESS

However, there are many things that accord preference and privilege to men in Shona society that are not true. Njovana and Watts (1996) further elaborated that as in many other countries, Shona women are often blamed for being sexually assaulted. It is believed that men are not in control of their sexual behavior and that some women by their own actions are asking to be abused or raped leading to child marriage. In Mashonaland Central such situations include, when a girl or woman will be drinking alcohol or is drunk, or wears revealing clothing like short skirts or sleeveless blouses. This behaviour is seen as going against set norms of what is appropriate for ‘good’ girls and women. By inference, rape and sexual abuse only happen to ‘bad’ women (Morrell 2001). The idea of shifting the blame on women removes the man’s responsibility for his action and sometimes leads to unsympathetic and even rough treatment of women and girls who have been married as children or sexually assaulted. Thus, men are comfortable, because the blame is shifted to women and girls.

In attempting to comprehend stereotypic views of men and women’s roles and widespread indifference between men and women, Dunkle (2003) notes that this affects male engagement in child marriage and activities that promote gender justice. This is evidenced by poor or low participation of men in issues of women and girl’s empowerment. As a result of believing in the inherent rightness of the current social order men feel dismayed at the increasing emphasis on girls and women’s issues. Dove (2001) argues that men view women’s concerns as peripheral and less
important than their own. Men are, after all, the breadwinners, the ones who have historically provided for the families, at least emotionally at times. Women’s work has been less valued; hence, there is reluctance on the part of men to get involved (Konyana 2016).

The Women’s Commission (2015) adds that, in the same way that men often miss the phrase, “violence against women and girls”, men have also been missing from many dialogues about gender and child marriage (Tom and Musingafı 2013). This non-recognition of men’s roles and position is part of the privilege men gain as dividend of patriarchy. As those who, in general benefit from gender inequalities, it is to men’s ‘perceived’ benefit to keep the means of their privilege hidden from critical examination. Privilege that includes men’s largely unchallenged role as decision-makers in affairs related to tradition, law and custom (Connell 1995).

Mafusire (2013) further argued that the other barrier to male involvement, include a lack of experience in discussing child marriage issues, a lack of opportunities for men and boys about how they will be perceived by their peers. Men fear being derived and ridiculed by other men; they feel pressured by other men to conform to masculine stereotypes. Chabal (2014) also added that fear of criticism silences many men. Therefore, the lack of involvement of both formal and informal male leaders has a great impact on the involvement of other men.

It is in this view that Gelfand (1973) noted that the other issue is the resistance of women to men entering into gender discussions. Women may feel this has been one arena where they have been the leaders, which male inclusion could be diluted or dominated (Connell 1995). Men also fear being seen as illegitimate voices or unwelcome by the women’s movement. Some women were also sending wrong information about gender equality which made it difficult for the men to address women’s sexuality issues.

However, perceptions emerging from these scholars revealed that including men to fight against sexual violence involves challenging male power and privilege, and the dividend of male privilege can be very difficult for men to see the benefits of working towards the realization of gender equality (Gelfand 1973). Some men may fear that others will think that they do not live up to the demands of manhood and others will resist changing their ideas and beliefs as men as we all resist change (Women’s Commission 2015). Njovana and Watts (1996) go on to say that in Zimbabwe there is widespread acceptance of violence against women, particularly within marriage. It is
widely accepted by Shona man and has given him the right to hit his wife as a correctional measure, in the same way that he can chastise a child (Bourdillon 1976). Women are often taught that violence is an inevitable part of marriage. They are usually told *ndizvo zvinoita dzimba* if they seek help and may be encouraged to suffer in silence *usafikure hapwa* for the sake of their family and children (Konyana 2016). This attitude of sacrifice and subservience is also reinforced by some religious groups, who encourage endurance and highlight the benefits of suffering to the young brides.

2.8 MEN AND MASCULINITY

2.8.1 Understanding who a Man is in Mashonaland Central

The other perception that also emerged from these scholars is that Shona men are characterized by their power over women, girls and children, which are often associated with dominance (Connell 1995). Men are expected to carry out a leading position in nearly every aspect of life in Zimbabwe Chitando and Chirongoma (2008). Murume\(^\text{16}\) must be a hard worker and must be able to provide for his family and children. Shoko (2016) noted that the Shona men are the ones who marry and are believed to be always sexually active. Manhood among the Shona is also determined by the number of virgins slept with before marriage (Gelfand, 1979). This shows that Shona women’s sexuality is controlled by men and it also exposes the girl child to sexual exploitation in the form of child marriage in Mashonaland Central. Similarly, Klinken (2000) highlighted that women, girls and children are often allocated an inferior status, that is males or men and boys overload women and girls to prove their manhood. Most of Shona men are socialised to marry whoever they want to marry. This exposes the girls to premature marriages, since their sexuality is controlled by men (Sibanda 2011).

The concept of men and masculinity has influenced this study to find out how it affects the girl child and young women in marriage. In Shona family’s children are treated differently depending on whether they are female or male (Bourdillon 1973) noted that the male children are given first priority because of the will to grow the patrikin. Furthermore, Chitando and Chirongoma (2008) relate this type of patriarchy to hegemonic masculinity which invariably sees men as forceful and

\(^{16}\) *Murume* is a Shona word referring to a man or a husband.
dominant members of the society. In Zimbabwe, women and girls should respect the men and boys at family level and other spheres of life (Konyana 2016). Similarly, Connell (1995) noted that true masculinity believe that the males cannot change, so it is dangerous to try it. Culture generally assumes that there is a fixed true masculinity beneath the ebb and flow of daily life. In Mashonaland Central we hear of ‘real men’ varume chaivo, that is one of the characteristics of deep masculine. True traits of masculinity are thought to proceed from men’s bodies. The Shona women believe that men behave violently because they are men ndozvinoita varume. Njovana and Watts (1996) also noted that women are vulnerable to violence because of their low status and lack of power within the family. Economic discrimination limits women’s chances for financial independence, and social norms condone violence by men as a means of resolving disputes and exercising control within the family.

Connell (1995) went on to say that ‘hegemony’ refers to a cultural dynamic by which a group claims and keep a leading position in social life. In Shona culture the culture of respecting men is topical than other cultures. Therefore, hegemonic masculinity is the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of male headship which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (Connell 1995). Njovana and Watts (1996) added that a man’s headship in the family is often misinterpreted as licence to do anything to the girl child, wife and children. A study of homicides of women by men conducted by Musasa, an NGO in Zimbabwe found that a higher number of women were killed by their intimate partners, relatives and husbands or men known to them. Commonly, these murders were justified in court on the grounds that the women’s actions provoked the husband or partner and made him lose control in a fit of anger or passion. Some of the reasons for the loss of control included the woman taking too long to cook dinner, arriving home too late from the saloon, going to visit her family without his permission, questioning his infidelity, and suspected witchcraft. In other cases, women were raped and then beaten to death by men (Konyana 2016).

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) opined that any strategies men use for keeping their power is to involve dehumanization of girls and women and a corresponding withering of empathy and emotional relatedness within the self. There is a need to address the wide spread dominance of men over women (Connell 1987). There is need to employ better ways of understanding the gender hierarchy. The idea of manhood as an assemblage of traits opens the path to that treatment of
hegemonic maleness as a character that has caused so much trouble among the Shona in Mashonaland Central. The concept of masculinity influenced criminology (Morrell 2001). All information reflecting that men and boys commit more common crimes than women and girls do, this is used in studies on specific crimes of men and boys such as rape in Switzerland, murder in Australia, football hooliganism and risk-taking behaviour (Sabo and Gordon 1995). Similarly, Njovana and Watts (1996) highlighted that rape is the most dramatic violation of a woman’s entitlements and autonomy, and one of the most devastating forms of abuse experienced by women. In Zimbabwe young girls are much exposed to rape or sexual assault (Dube 2017). One study found that half of reported rape cases at two referral hospitals in a city in Zimbabwe involved girls under 15 years of age. Masculinities have been entrenched, but they are becoming problematic Barrett (1996). Maleness is not simply different, but are subject to change. Challenges to hegemony is common, and so is the same in the face of men (Morrel 1998).

The findings established by most previous studies showed that the behavior of men is influenced by cultural norms regarding manhood, some of which are very negative in the context of marriage. Shoko (2006) further highlighted that traditions, values and attitudes in the Karanga and Shona culture, such as patriarchy, polygamy and inheritance, affect men and boys’ sexual behaviour. Men in Zimbabwe are often in the stronger position in their relationship with women, in social, cultural and economic reasons (Shoko 2006). This makes a basic contradiction between men and women’s contribution to production and the gendered appropriation of the products of social labour. Patriarchal control of wealth is sustained by inheritance mechanisms which insert some women into the property system as owners (Connell 1995).

In Mashonaland Central men are more privileged than women and girls. Cases of violence of related people often find the abused women physically able to look after themselves, but who have accepted the abuser’s definitions of themselves as incompetent and helpless (Connell, 1995). Intimate partner violence is part of a system of domination, but at the same time it is a measure of imperfection. Furthermore, Njovana and Watts (1996) added that in marriage, it is commonly believed that a wife should please her husband sexually. This attitude derives from traditional norms, which specify that when men pay lobola, a man assumes rights over his wife’s sexuality and fertility. In Zimbabwe, rape within marriage, which is against the law in many countries in the world, is not legally recognized. So, in Zimbabwe a woman or girl cannot refuse her husband’s
demand for sexual inter-course regardless of her own inclination. This leaves married women exposed to violence if they refuse sex in even extreme assault being endured. Similarly, Bourdillon (1976) opined that traditionally, a woman is viewed in a negative sense. A woman is regarded “sold”, because of the bride price, paid to the in laws. A husband can ill-treat and abuse her, and the Shona culture does not give her rights to complain. The woman is expected to be docile she has no choice or power to question. In Mashonaland Central men and boys may not pay the lobola but still he can abuse girls and women because of the Shona culture which privileges men. Chinganga (2008) highlighted a similar opinion that, in marriages, a woman is objectified as the origin of sexual therapy and not as conjugal partner observing respect. Patriarchy denies the possibility of sexual negotiations in such relationships. Sex is viewed as a duty of a women, to physically satisfy her husband’s sexual needs. She should not enjoy sex because it is an entitlement for the men.

However, while men accept most of the applications and modifications of the hegemonic masculinity contributions to the understanding of gender dynamics, we critique those that imply a fixed character like the persistence of violence or consequences of domination Connell (2005). History has shown that construction and reconstruction of masculinity change over time. These changes call for new strategies in men and women’s relations like compassionate marriage and redefinitions of socially positive masculinities because the incapacity of the Shona society to solve this tension provokes the application of redemptive masculinities by men (Chitando 2008).

2.9 CONCLUSION

The role of men and masculinities ii mitigating the subject of child marriage from contemporary experiences within the Zimbabwean context is very important. The effects of child marriage were highlighted and different scholars’ views on role of men and masculinities, men and masculinity and types of marriages practiced in Mashonaland Central were also explained. The chapter further elaborated the relevance of male inclusion and the causes of their low participation in mitigating women and girl issues.

The chapter argued that the burden of marrying too early affects both mothers and children and deprived them of fundamental rights. The girl child needs her right to decide, when and whom to marry. A number of factors contributed to the practice of child marriage in Mashonaland Central
and this included the state of the country’s civil registration system, lack of legislative framework and enforcement mechanisms, poverty and the existence of traditional and religious laws that support child marriage. However, the main focus of this chapter is the relevance of male involvement in addressing child marriage because power relations have a negative effect to both men and women and it cuts across all issues and affects the whole community. Male engagement is necessary because men are the custodians of male headship, societal norms and unequal power relations which drive gender-based violence in the form of child marriage. Cultural norms of wife ownership, sexual entitlement following marriage and the legitimacy of violence as a means of controlling the young wives needs to be mitigated by employing redemptive masculinity. The next chapter proceeds to explore the theoretical framework upon which the research is constructed.
CHAPTER 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 2, the literature of this study was reviewed. It was divided in two main themes: male involvement and marriage in Zimbabwe and the role of men and masculinities in addressing child marriage. The chapter also explained why child marriage is an issue of concern in Mashonaland Central. The consequences of child marriage and marriage institutions in Zimbabwe were also explained. The key argument in the chapter is male involvement in mitigating child marriage. The reasons for male involvement and their non-participation in women’s issues were also explored.

This study was done using the lenses of masculinity as a way of interpreting the framework. This has to make use of masculinity as an important component to nearly all marriages or unions in the society, because masculinity and femininity are relevant components to most sexual unions. The aim of this chapter is to highlight the relevance of the theory to the study and to define masculinity and patriarchy.

The study was constructed along the theory of redemptive masculinity. The key proponents for this theory include Connell (2005), Morell (2011) and Chitando (2008). Chitando and Chirongoma (2012) state that redemptive masculinity are masculinities that are life giving. In Mashonaland Central men have been socialised to associate the state of manhood with competence in sexual matters. Nearly all men in the province are “Under social pressure to behave in a domineering and sexually aggressive way, this is done as a way to maintain their manhood traits (Walker, Reid and Connell 2004). The ‘becoming’ moment or for a man to be called a real man is characterized in terms of their first sexual encounter with a woman. Unfortunately, this promotes violence, rape and sexual coercion and this tended to characterise many marriage relationships in Zimbabwe. This study conceived redemptive masculinity as the arena through which women’s sexual violence can be mitigated. Consequently, the notion of redemptive masculinities might conjure an image of supermen who intervene swiftly and decisively to save girls and young women from sexual exploitation (Chitando 2008).

17 Femininity, also known as womanliness or womanhood, is a set of attributes, behaviours and roles generally associated with girls and women.
The redemptive masculinity lens was more effective because the issues of body theology and indecent theology were factored in. Chitando (2014), Nelson (1992), Matikiti (2013) and Shambare (2018) highlighted that body theology will help in the analysis of women’s sexuality. Chitando (2014) and West (2016) stated that indecent theology explains the relationship between theology and sexuality. Since this study was about marriage and the sexual exploitation of women, body theology and indecent theology lenses contributed a lot to male involvement in addressing women’s sexual violence. Bringing all these together, Phiri (2012), in his feminist theology of praxis, supports the above ideas, because his emphasis is on women’s experiences that are hidden, not clearly explained and denied by male culture, which this study addressed, using the concept of redemptive masculinity.

It is noted that men in Mashonaland central province can challenge the issue of marriage and sexual exploitation if redemptive masculinities are employed effectively, which is the aim of this scholarship. Chitando (2008) recognizes that masculinity has generally played an important role within faith communities and other religious structures and he interrogates religious and cultural ideologies that reinforce hegemonic masculinities, which is the aim of this scholarship. Furthermore, Chitando’s idea of redemptive masculinities is supported by Matikiti (2013) and Shambare (2018) with their body theology and Phiri (2012) with the feminist theology of praxis that highlighted the importance of religio-cultural resources in the emergence of liberating “more peaceful and harmonious masculinities” Morrell (2001). This framework is harmonising and allows a deeper and more dynamic understanding of masculinity and will help to analyse theological resources that can be employed by men to mitigate the issue of women’s sexual abuse in the form of young bride marriage. It will also help to expose hegemonic masculinities perpetrating early marriages, and in the end suggest redemptive and transformative resources that minimise or eradicate marriage and sexual exploitation issues. Women’s sexual violence is high in Mashonaland central province and is one of the most destructive demonstrations of inequality and power imbalance among women and men (UNICEF 2014). In Mashonaland central, child marriage is regarded as a way of safeguarding the girl child from losing their virginity and to avoid unwanted sexual advances as a way of safeguarding their economic well-being. Early marriage generally results in a life of sexual and economic servitude for the girl (UNICEF 2015).
In line with the above, Bassett and Mhloyi (1991) add that sexual abuse of women and girls is a result of traditional and belief systems of their parents and communities mostly in poor economic circumstances. If families are very poor or if they lack opportunities this may push some families to marry off teenage daughters as a solution to reduce economic burdens such as school fees. Some adolescent girls may also decide on their own to marry in order to get the status associated with marriage and motherhood (Sibanda 2011).

The redemptive masculinity theory is used in this scholarship as a lens to analyse the role of men and masculinities in curbing child marriage in Mashonaland Central province, which clearly discriminates against the women and girls who are the victims affected by the practice and bear the greater health, social and development burdens (Chitando 2008).

The study was constructed along the theory of redemptive masculinity. The key proponents for this theory include Connell (2005), Morell (2011) and Chitando (2008). Redemptive masculinities are masculinities that are life-giving. This study conceived redemptive masculinity as the arena through which child marriages can be mitigated by men. So, the notion of redemptive masculinities conjured an image of supermen who intervene swiftly and decisively to save the girls and young women from underage marriages.

It was important to note that men in Mashonaland Central province could challenge the issue of child marriages if redemptive masculinities are employed to address the practice. Chitando (2008) realized that masculinity generally played an important role within faith communities and other religious structures and he interrogated faith and cultural ideologies that promote hegemonic masculinities, which is the aim of this scholarship (Connell, 1995).

The study used this theory because of Chitando's idea of redemptive masculinities which highlighted the importance of religio-cultural resources in the emergence of liberating "more peaceful and harmonious masculinities” (Morrell 2001). This framework is harmonizing and allows deeper and a more dynamic understanding of masculinity. It helped to analyse theological resources which can be used by men to address the issue of young bride marriages. It also helped in exposing hegemonic masculinities that perpetrate child marriages and at the end suggested redemptive and transformative resources that minimise or eradicate child marriages Morrell (2001). In order to address the concerns of high prevalence of child marriages in Mashonaland
Central province by employing redemptive masculinity, this chapter started by defining masculinity and its different forms. This is very crucial in the formulation of strategies to mitigate child marriage in Mashonaland Central province. It is also within this chapter that the issue of patriarchy was discussed as it relates to the theory. The chapter also presented the criticism of redemptive masculinity and explain the importance of the theory to the study.

Furthermore, this theory is used in this study because it promotes the use of power in relevant scenarios where men will be encouraged to direct their power to productive issues like coming up with strategies to address child marriage. There will be disorder when they will be no-one with power to lead in every set up so, men and boys should remain in headship positions for there to be order in the society, but they do not have to misuse the power to violate women’s rights. The redemptive masculinity theory encourages the buy-in of positive masculinity to end child marriage. Key proponents of this theory such as Connell (1995), Morrell (2001) and Chitando (2008) argued that men can employ liberating or life-giving masculinities instead of genders that involve oppression and domination to curb the pandemic of child marriage in Mashonaland Central. This theory is very concerned with the promotion of men and women’s equality. In Chapters 2, 3, 6 and 7, issues of male dominance and their effects are analysed, and masculinity and the perception of marriage, male involvement and the strategies to be employed by men to mitigate child marriage are also highlighted. Redemptive masculinity theory helps to review other forms of masculinity and how they influence the perpetuation of issues of child marriage, because hegemonic masculinities have serious effects for the rights and well-being of women and children (Ratele 2008). The theory was therefore relevant for this study to use this theory to enquire how the role of men and masculinities can help to mitigate child marriage.

3.2 MASCULINITY IN GENERAL

Chitando (2008) defines masculinity as a possession of qualities traditionally associated with males. This is socially constructed and it is distinct from the male biological sex. Masculinity is not the same as men, it is concerned with the position of men in a gender order. Manhood or manliness is a set of attributes, behaviours and roles associated with boys and men. It varies across different cultures.
There is a fixed maleness between the ebb and flow of daily life. Real manhood is always thought to proceed from men's bodies or be inherent from a male body or to express something about a male body. At times the body drives and directs action for example men are naturally aggressive than women; men rape and naturally do not take care of babies (infants) Connell (1995). Hamber (2009) further explained that manhood means more or less the same as masculinity or “Being a man”. However, in society, some ways of being a man are seen as more acceptable than others. So, a man may choose to act in a certain way or risk being accused of being weak, unmanly, or feminine. What is the best way to be a man in today's world (if not violent)?

The Korekore men have been socialized to associate the state of manhood with competence in sexual matters. This contributes to the abuse of girls and women, because they will be in- need of proving their manhood. Many men in Mashonaland Central are under social pressure to behave in a domineering and sexually aggressive way (Walker, 2004). The ‘becoming’ or when boys will be introduced to manhood stage this is defined in terms of the first sexual encounter with a woman. Unfortunately, this is associated with violence, rape and sexual coercion tend to characterize many relationships in Africa (Morrell 2019).

Morrell and Ouzgane identify two fundamental principles in African masculinities: That, definitions of African masculinities are not uniform and monolithic, not generalisable to all men in Africa, and that masculine behaviours in Africa are not natural or unchanging – suggesting the possible emergency of new and less violent and oppressive ways of being male.

Hegemonic masculinities project men as having power over women and children but not all men have power and some men have more power than others, but it remains true that men tend to be socially constructed as more powerful than women (Chitando 2008). Other scholars like Kimmel, Connell and Hearn (2005) further highlighted that men's physiology defines most sports, their needs define auto and health insurance coverage; their socially defined biographies define workplace expectations and a successful career path; their ideas and concerns define quality in scholarship, their military service defines citizenship, their presence defines family; their inability to get along with one another defines history; their image defines God, and their genitals define sex (MacKinnon 1989).
This indicates that most of the qualities that distinguish men are affirmed by society. It is not merely the case that men make their behaviour the norm for all people but that these norms are harmful. Pornography impels male bodies to act, creating a total mind-body split that apparently constitutes masculinity, but not femininity. For MacKinnon, the masculine has always defined humanity, but the masculine is inhumane. She suggested that the most important solution of this grim paradox is to abolish both masculinity and femininity that is the abolition of gender.

To address MacKinnon's suggestion, Moraga (2002) highlighted that the only true hope of the feminism liberation lies with a vision of social change that takes into consideration the ways interlocking systems of classism, racism and sexism work to keep women exploited and oppressed, and the idea of male headship that enslaves and subordinate masses of third world women. In his article, Hewitt's method draws heavily on the retrieval of memory to reconstruct life experiences that can facilitate renewal and transformation of hegemonic masculinities.

This is also supported by Morrell (2001), who emphasized on more peaceful and harmonious masculinities that is liberate maleness characters that set men and others free. This all supports the main idea of this scholarship with the emphasis on Chitando's (2012) article on redemptive or liberating masculinity, which will help to reduce child marriage and other sexual violence issues that violate women and girl’s empowerment.

From the scholars above the issue of social change is very important for men to be able to reduce the issue of child marriage in Mashonaland Central province. Men from the Shona community are patriarchal and their emphasis is on looking down upon their wives and other sexual partners. The majority of the young girls and women are sexually abused and it is the aim of this scholarship to involve men to come up with good ideas from this patriarchal society to mitigate child marriage in the province. There are different forms of masculinity in Mashonaland Central, but redemptive masculinity is proposed for this study.

### 3.3 REDEMPTIVE OR LIBERATING MASCULINITY

These masculinities are embraced and employed to characterise and identify masculinities that are life-giving in a world reeling from the effects of gender-based violence and AIDS pandemic. There is a need to raise masculinities with liberating religio-cultural resources; that is, "more peaceful
and harmonious masculinities” (Morrell 2001). Modern masculinities both in Africa and globally, remain trapped in negative ideas of being men. Chitando (2008) opines that redemptive masculinities create masculinities that transform the world into a gender equitable community. That is bad religious and cultural practices should be worked on so as to shape positive masculine attitude for men to be ready to employ redemptive masculinities to address child marriages. Similarly, men in Mashonaland Central need to change and work hard to liberate young girls and women from child marriage.

The Women's Commission (2005) highlighted that the main social problems we see are man - made: high levels of violence in general, violence against women and children, and the rapid spread of the HIV pandemic. This is why addressing sexual and reproductive rights is crucial. World over, a number of international agreements have entered into between nations to address gender inequality and violence. SADC country governments have responded to these by changing legislation. But it seems that the more our governments and other organizations try to address these violations, the more the situation is getting worse for ordinary women and children. Hence the idea to mobilize men in Shona society to become advocates of gender justice. The task lies in setting “gender-equitable” norms and values within the various religions and cultures. So, men need to be actively involved in ending sexual violence and in protecting women and girls Chitando (2005). Therefore, positive ideas of being a man or redemptive masculinities may help in reducing the issue of child marriage.

A masculine person will behave differently; that is, being peaceable rather than violent, conciliatory rather than dominating, hardly able to kick a football and uninterested in sexual conquests (Connell 1995). Similarly, Morrell (2011) identified these as men who accept change that support gender equality in all areas of their lives. They are not afraid to care or express their feelings, and are committed to work with women in a fair and democratic society. Responsive men try to put into consideration how gender, race, economic and social status and ethnicity influence the way men live. He gave an example of unemployed men who feels bad about being unable to provide for his family may be more likely to take out his frustrations by beating his wife as his father uses to beat his mother when he was a child and this gives him a high chance of being abusive himself (Konyana 2016).
About this form of masculinity, men in Mashonaland Central have not all reacted in the same way to the challenges brought by the gender equality agenda that most Southern African governments have accepted as a result of international and SADC level programmes and agreements. This also applied to the men of Mashonaland Central province who fall in different categories (Toolkit 4 2014). Morrell (2001) identified three forms of reactions to the changing gender expectations of men in Southern Africa today: Defensive men try to keep their traditional power through forceful or even violent means. They may refer to conservative traditions or specific verses of scripture to re-establish their power. They tend to blame women for the problems they face, and see themselves as victims. Some may call on men to be responsible so that they can fulfil their traditional roles as patriarchal men better. Secondly, accommodating men do not react against changes they just go on with business as usual. They still believe in traditional ideas of masculinity. They continue to teach individual men to transform risk behaviours, or speak out against sexual violence but they do not question inequalities that give men the power to abuse women and block them from making negotiations to have safe sex. Responsive men fully accept the changes and promote gender equality (Chitando 2008). Responsive men are not afraid to care or express their feelings, and are committed to work with women and find alternative ways of being men and women in a fair and democratic way. These different categories are clearly explained by other scholars below.

As was explained above hegemony is similar to cultural dominance in society as a whole (Bourdillon 1993). This form of masculinity is common in Mashonaland Central province. This was also revealed in the study and it is the major reason for most of the abuse in the province. That is, men benefit from the overall subordination of women. Demeaning is always relative to the authorization of the hegemonic masculinity of the dominant group Morrell (2002). Similarly, Connell (1995) opined that ‘hegemony’ or predominance refers to a cultural dynamic where a group of people claim and sustain a leading position in social life. In Shona society one form of masculinity is promoted with more emphasis on women respecting men. Connell (1995) further highlighted that hegemonic masculinity are a composition of gender practice that embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy which supports the domination of men and the subordination of women. Connell (1995) added that religion and culture have often been abused by men to perpetrate sexual violence and to have multiple sexual partners. Religious and cultural ideologies have reinforced authoritative masculinities. These are
masculinities that are widely perceived as the most desirable and as having the most power in a given society. Chitando (2008) postulated that interventions to curb men and women’s gender issues, often fail to address men's gender role. Hence the concern to involve men as partners in social change particularly in terms of challenging gender stereotypes that disempower women, (Dunkle 2003). Therefore, there is a need to engage men to be actively involved in order to end sexual violence.

In most societies, men are expected to be free, demanding and aggressive. Aggressive behaviour, for example, is glorified by violence in movies, sports and the military (Connell 1995). The study noted that this aggressive behaviour contributed a lot to the issue of child marriage in Mashonaland Central, because men have a final say on marriage issues and they use force to achieve their goals. The male heroes or ‘real men’ are generally strong, tough, often superhuman and ultra-macho Connell (1995). Most of the traditional marriage forms of the Shona people in Zimbabwe usually portray the use of Hegemonic masculinities. Against these dangerous masculinities, UNAIDS (2008) suggested that well-recorded programmes to forge norms of gender equity should be brought to scale, with particular attention to interventions focused on men and boys. It is not merely the case that men make their behaviour the norm for all people, but that these norms themselves are harmful (Kimmel 2005).

Other scholars like Walker, Reid and Connell (2004) opine that the Shona men have been socialised to associate the state of manhood with competence in sexual matters. Many men are under social pressure to behave in a domineering and sexually aggressive way. The becoming moment of most men or for one to be called a man is defined in terms of the first sexual encounter with a woman. Unfortunately, violence, rape and sexual coercion tend to characterise many relationships in Africa.

In attempting to comprehend hegemonic masculinities, Morrell opined that men in this category are defensive, they work hard to maintain their traditional power, through forceful or even violent means. They may refer to existing traditions or specific verses in the scriptures to re-establish their authority. They tend to blame women for the problems they have, and see themselves as victims. Even failure and weaknesses of children in the family, the blame is given to the wife because men and boys think it’s the duty of women to take care of the children. Young brides are also to be
examined in public to see if their hymens are still intact, and a boy becomes a real man by sleeping around with girls and taking away their virginity (Dunkle, 2003). But, men have to be responsible, so that they can fulfil their traditional roles as patriarchal men (Chitando, 2008). Surprisingly, most of the men are not concerned about inequality in their relationships, but their power over women is a foundation of their masculinity (Ratele 2001). Men have ways to acquire masculinities, such as being in love with a girl or becoming married and have children are important markers of having achieved adulthood. Dover (2001) added that, as a boy matures physically, he will increasingly be expected to help his father and other kinsmen with male tasks. He also takes on differential roles and tasks that older males do. At the same time, male superiority is assumed even towards his mother; he sits on the stool while she sits on the floor (Dover 2001).

The perception that emerged from these scholars is also supported by Zimbabwe's First Report on CEDAW (1995), which highlighted that in Zimbabwe most of the traditional and cultural practices directly and indirectly hamper women's advancement. Girl pledging and marrying at a tender age when they are below 18 years which is practised by some communities mainly as religious and customary practices, tend to work against their rights as human beings and to deprive them of care, education, proper marriage and other relevant issues. Advancement of women is also minimised by the customary law position of women as perpetual minors and being inferior to men also militates the advancement of women, especially the Shona and other ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. Promotion in such areas as politics, education, healthcare and inheritance of property is focused to men and boys who are regarded as permanent and major members of families, especially in patriarchal cultures. In this regard, male superiority is assumed and women are treated as second-class citizens (Bourdillon 1993).

Muyambo (2016) and Konyana (2011) supported the findings of the above report, which highlights that the Shona customs and tradition also impose norms and values about the expected behaviors of men and boys, makes it difficult to upgrade the status of women. Women are expected to accept everything from men without questioning, to be hard-working and obedient to men. When in public, women are customarily not expected to draw attention to themselves. Men have all the power over their wives because they pay lobola (dowry) to their in-laws. This has a strong bearing on women's role in a traditional society. Since men pay lobola to their in-laws for their wives, many men and their families, and in some cases even the women's family, expect a submissive,
loyal and obedient service from their wives. Many married women are ill-treated by their husbands or husband’s family on the grounds that lobola was paid for them, so they should be obedient and respectful to their husbands and in-laws. In an attempt to comprehend masculinities, the Zimbabwe 1992 Population Census also proved that men still dominate as household heads. The Zimbabwe's First Report on CEDAW (2012) opined that the betrothal and the marriage of young brides below 18 years does not have legal effect. The Marriage Act (1965) highlighted the minimum age of marriage as 16 years for girls and 18 years for boys. So, marriage by any party under these ages must be with the approval of the Minister of Legal and Parliamentary Affairs in Zimbabwe.

If the Bible is looked at in a liberating way, it will give the church ability to speak and act more effectively in reaction to the questions of gender and power in society (Chitando 2008). Globally, a number of international agreements have been signed between nations to address gender inequality and violence and all SADC country agreements responded by changing legislation; (Toolkit, 2014). Violence against women in the form of child marriage is on the increase. Church teachings and practices are blamed for reinforcing hegemonic masculinities.

Like in African culture, the Bible allows men to have extra-marital affairs. Exodus 20:14 sees adultery in a different way which sees women as men's property they can use for their sexual gratification adultery was seen as stealing another men's wife. For single women, adultery was not seen as such, even if the man was married, because men in ancient Hebrew culture could marry more than one wife, and could even own sex slaves. Women who sinned against their husbands were often referred to as prostitutes. Looking at Genesis 38:13-19, Leviticus 21:14 and Judges 16:1, this same culture considers prostitution very proper and necessary to protect the virginity of young unmarried women as the property rights of men, that is virginity is a husband's right in the Hebrew culture. In later Jewish texts, a man was guilty of sin when visiting a prostitute, though the prostitute was regarded as a sinner. When linked to temple prostitution, it was rejected, because it was part of idol worship. This was treating women as second-class citizens and Paul in 1 Corinthians 6:12-20 is opposed to this.

Some bible verses also perpetuated male dominance in sexual decision-making. In the Old Testament, sex is always described from the idea of men of men Genesis 38:16-18. Like “he lay with her”, or “he knew her”. The man has the power to decide when to have sex and how. Women
remained silent even on the issue of widow inheritance. According to the Law of Levirate Marriage, if brothers live together and one of them dies and has no son, the wife of the deceased shall not be married outside the family to a strange man. Her husband's brother shall go into her and take her as his wife and perform the duty of a husband's brother to her. It shall be that the first born whom she bears shall assume the name of his dead brother, so that his name will not be blotted out of Israel. The law of Levice marriage promoted a serious form of sexual violence, which does not give young women a chance of self-development academically and professionally.

In Old Testament times, sexual violence was also common in the form of rape and bride abduction. According to the Mosaic Law in Deuteronomy 22:23-27, if a woman was raped, she was guilty of adultery if she did not scream, but not if she did. This is supported by the bible on the story of Tamar's rape by her brother in the book of 2 Samuel 13:1-22, which shows how such an act can be minimized in a culture in which the needs of men far outweigh the needs of women. Tamar ended up living as a “desolate women”. She was on her own after the rape. No-one gave her adequate psychological support and a male-dominated society shifted the blame to her (West 2004). Deuteronomy 22:28-29 proposes that

“When a man meets a virgin who is not engaged, and seizes her and lies with her, and they are caught in the act, the man who lay with her shall give 50 shekels of silver to the young women's father, and she shall become possibly his wife. Because he violated her, he shall not be permitted to divorce her as long as he lives”.

From the bible it seems women have so little value that Lot in Genesis 19:7-8 and a Levite and his host (in Judges 19:23-26) offered their daughters and sex slaves to a huge crowd of men who intended to rape his male guests, because hospitality between men was deemed to be more important than the women closest to them. These are dangerous masculinities for young women. Lot valued strangers instead of his daughters. This might mean that the culture of male power silenced the girl child and she was made a sex object with all her rights violated. Judges 19 also has the story of young virgins abducted as spoils of war (UN Commission 2004). Implemented-informed programmes to forge norms of gender equity should be brought to scale, with particular attention to interventions focused on men and boys (UNAIDS 2008). In Mashonaland Central and traditional African culture, marriage has remained one of the most celebrated and cherished stages.
It is the cog around which life in an African society revolves, in the absence of which there is no society in existence, no reason to live and no future to talk about. It is this most cherished marriage institution of traditional African society that unfortunately is having a lot of instances of sexual violations (Mwandayi 2008).

The study noted that most of the traditional forms of the Shona people usually portray the use of hegemonic masculinities. One of the traditional forms of marriage is that the man toils in labour in exchange for marriage but the men will have agreed with the in-laws on the type of work to do without the consent of the girl (Dube 2017). Ambushing home a loved woman, That’s, the man took by force the girl he wants to be his wife. All the marriage formalities of paying bride price will be done whilst the young girl will be with the husband. The pledging of an unborn female child in marriage is a traditional form of the Shona people. This was usually done by poor families who pledge their baby girl children to older wealthy men so as to get food. The father of the girl child controls the sexuality of his wife and the girl child or his daughters employing his hegemonic masculinity. Some scholars with the likes of Bourdillon (1967), Gudhlanga (2017) and Makaudze (2017) exonerate and appreciate this traditional system of marriage when they argue that the girl child wants to gain the respect from the starring members of the society that’s why she accepted the marriage. This is not true, because some girls were pledged whilst they were babies to compensate for an avenging spirit in the family. Some girls will elope and impose themselves upon a boy and such types of marriage will push the man to marry a second wife of his choice because the one who eloped will have imposed herself on him. Most of the traditional forms of marriage in Zimbabwe are to the advantage of men and this promotes child marriage.

Chikunda (2017) adds that patriarchy perpetuates sexual violence because violence against women is tolerated and accepted, which makes its removal more difficult. All forms of masculinities are from the patriarchal component because men authorize the practices in their societies and they will be usually in favour of them. Domestic violence is not reported, because Shona society accepted it as natural, that men are free to do any harm to women. The Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS 2014) noted that the attitudes of men and women towards wife beating, justified husbands hit or beat their wives in given circumstances and generally acceptance attitudes for wives were higher among women than in most cases. This means that it is difficult for behaviour to change within a short space of time (Mwandayi 2008).
Men act faster than women. It is believed that men's feelings are different because they accomplish what they desire, but women often fail. This is related to all areas of activity, but specifically in respect of women. Men are seen as not being satisfied with what they have; women, by contrast, are held to be satisfied easily. But, both Chenjerai Shire (1994) and Dover (2001) pointed out that, women are appreciated for their capacities and play a major role in the development of masculinity. Although they might not have power, this does not mean that they are powerless. Men should therefore change and be more responsive towards women's development in areas of production and social reproduction.

This form of masculinity is the one practised by most men in Mashonaland Central and it is the source of all the child marriages in the province (Sayi and Sibanda 2018). The study revealed that men are ready to help in addressing child marriage though some were not comfortable with these equality issues.

To add to the above, Chenjerai (1994) added that, in Mashonaland Central some men have subordinate masculinity, which is a trait of being a man who does not live up to the ‘Ideal man’. Subordinate men generally do not make it in business, sports and politics, and may even be disadvantaged in religious or cultural institutions for example, those marginalized men who are not formally educated and cannot get work, they are marginalized from mainstream, economic activity and are seen as lesser men. That is, homosexual men who do not fit into a heterosexual stereotype are often excluded because of their sexual orientation. These men usually want to show their manhood by abusing girls and women.

Chitando (2008) supported the idea that redemptive masculinity is relevant in mitigating complicit masculinity, which is a one-sided type of manhood, it favours men’s interests than women’s interests. They are lived out by men who accept the rewards of dominant masculinities and behave in dominating ways, but do not defend the patriarchal system as a whole. They often accept oppressive beliefs and structures as a given, but they do not force their dominance on women. These men enjoy the benefits of doing business, but they choose to pay women workers lower wages than men.

However, studies show that men in Mashonaland central have different forms of masculinities. Some have marginal masculinity, which often shows many of the features of dominant
masculinities in extreme forms. They live in exploited groups, such as the poor, unemployed, or immigrants. They feel inadequate because they are discriminated against because of their race, class or status. However, young men who are seen not to have what it takes in a men's world can end up involving themselves in crimes or gangs, they often take great risks to prove their manhood to themselves and others hence the need for redemptive or liberating masculinities.

3.4 PATRIARCHY

In a bid to comprehend the relevance of redemptive masculinity framework in this study, it is important to discuss patriarchy, which is an ideology that privilege men. This is a global phenomenon (Messer 2004). The biological fact of being male places men in privileged positions, this has been termed the “patriarchal dividend” which is the benefits that all men enjoy simply as a result of an accident of biology (Connell 1995). Through social engineering, men have been portrayed as leaders across various cultures. In other words, patriarchy is a social system that gives men power over women (children and the environment), and gives them status, power and privilege just because they are men (Masengwe 2008). It is less about individuals, such as whole social systems and structures that define men's and women's roles, rights and responsibilities and privileges (Chitando 2008). These gender inequalities are often linked to patriarchy. Patriarchy is a hierarchical system in which cultural, political and economic structures are male dominated (Zimbabwe Open University 2011).

Gender ideologies rooted in culture and religion are often used to justify women's exclusion in development (Sibanda 2011). These barriers to women's engagement in the development process are not specific to one region or religion, their form and effect vary among region and religions. The conflict between culture or religion and gender equality entitlements has become a major issue globally (Ratele 2001). Both cultural practices and religious norms are used in different contexts to oppose gender equality terms (Raday 2003).

Dunkle (2003) argued that while culture is a key component of gender power relationships, patriarchal structures and systems are the vehicles through which gender inequalities, discrimination and subordination of women are perpetuated and justified; and from which men reap unfair benefits and dominate women.
He also highlighted that, the predominant male headed society insists on control, subordination and undervaluing of females, stereotyping males as stronger, better, of higher value, and as leaders of women and society. That attitude therefore creates major problems for females and males of all ages, and nowhere has this been as evident as in the current situation in which child marriages and HIV and AIDS are destroying lives in Africa.

Dube (2017) argued that male dominated system seems to be the main cause of poverty for women, unfortunately, poverty and underage marriages and HIV are deeply intertwined. It forces most of the women to be in very poor and directs their energy and self-esteem because of the burden of childcare and caring for the infected, this increases the chances to resort to high-risk behaviours such as sex in exchange for money or goods or sex and unplanned marriages with older men who offer the illusion of material security and many young women resort to prostitution as their only means of survival, the need to overcome gender inequalities becomes unavoidable (Albertyn 2002).

On a different note, as can be observed in most African patriarchal societies, these socially constructed traits of masculinity encourage high-risk behaviour such as violence, sexual risk taking, excessive drinking or drug abuse. These attitudes, which are encouraged in many cultures, make young women get exposed to unplanned marriages because of the imbalance in power to make decisions. Chitando and Chirongoma (2018) opined that men resort to religion because it is a double-edged sword when looking at masculinities and gender-based violence. Religion and culture reinforce harmful masculinities, while on the other hand it has great potential to transform masculinities to be redemptive. In Mashonaland Central, men use the Bible to promote male dominance and supremacy over women (Chiroro, 2002). This was challenged by women theologians who challenged the church to reread the bible to curb patriarchal issues and promote gender justice. Oduyoye (1995) and Kanyoro (2004) argued that the bible must be divested of its patriarchal bias in order for women to enjoy abundant life.

Furthermore, the perceptions that emerged from these scholars are also supported by Siwila (2012), who observes that there is a need to find out why harmful cultural practices persist. She argues that it is not enough to talk and condemn harmful cultural practices without interrogating the practices, and statistics, laws and policies are ratified, but child marriage does not end. Konyana (2011)
highlighted that the Ndau women in Zimbabwe endure some negative effects of patriarchy such as sexual violence for the sake of a child's needs or a child's development. He also highlighted that a combination of patriarchy and familial principles not only presupposed high recognition of men, but also considers women and children as weak and subordinate and thereby to be treated differently because they are weak and unable to physically defend themselves than men. These African women theologians have exposed the degree to which men have abused religion and culture to protect their patriarchal benefits. Shoko (2006) added that men have attributed their dominance in families and society to divine and ancestral oracles. Therefore, culture and religion play a pivotal role in promoting male dominance in the society (Owino, 2012). Some African communities and traditions allow space and ideas for women's leadership but patriarchy is the dominant ideology. Mashonaland Central religious traditions are built on patriarchal foundations. In turn, they promote predominant masculinities (Chitando 2018).

Maluleke (2002) argues that men must give respect to women if communities are to advance. He critiques patriarchy showing that it is not consistent with the values of the gospel. Maluleke (2002) maintains that masculinity is in crisis. He highlighted that men are socialized into believing in force and power. He suggested that men must be taught different and new ways of being men in order to address child marriage issues in Mashonaland Central province. He proposes more affirming and life-giving masculinities and encourages communities to embrace life-giving masculinities, which seek to break the covenant of sexual violence against women and to initiate the use of liberating masculinity. Zimbabwe's First Report on CEDAW (1995) emphasised domestic violence as a great cause of concern that needs to be resolved, because it is very prevalent in most households in Mashonaland Central. Usually, the victim is the woman and as a result, domestic violence is a much more serious problem for women than for men, but they are cases of men being victims. Domestic violence includes physical and verbal harassment of a spouse, threats of beating and sexual harassment (Tom and Musingafi 2013). The issue of domestic violence did not receive as much attention as a human entitlement. On a sad note, even the courts and the police tended to treat domestic violence as merely a “domestic affair” to be solved privately by the parties themselves and their relatives or friends (Konyana 2016).

Mashiri and Mawire (2013) argued that a patriarchal society discourages people to talk about sex. It is a taboo, especially to women, but freedom is given more to men than to women to express
their views on sexual matters. In some societies young men are encouraged to experiment sexually before marriage, and it also acceptable for single men, married men included too, to engage in sex with sex workers (Sibanda 2011). The justification is that men mostly live apart, with couples seeking employment or work places, hence the need for extra-marital affairs. When husbands come from their workplaces, women are encouraged to have sex with them without questioning issues of extra-marital affairs (Mwandayi 1995).

In support of the above, Chinganga (2008) highlighted that the Zimbabwe legislative institution is clearly an appendage of patriarchal society. The men outnumber women, in legislative chambers to deliberate, design and endorse the implementation of national policies. The precolonial Zimbabwean society subscribed to customary law that privileged men in terms of access to resources and decision-making in terms of access to resources in both family and society in general. The advent of the colonial master, with a patriarchal driven agenda, condoned the existing legislative status quo in the country, adding legislation, the Roman Dutch Law, the interests of the Europeans only. This marginalized people of Zimbabwe, especially women.

Similarly, in Mashonaland Central, in marital relationship, a woman is objected as a source of sexual therapy and not as a conjugal partner deserving respect (Sibanda 2011). Patriarchy denies women the ability of sexual negotiations. In such marital or partner relationships sex is viewed as the duty of the woman to gratify her husband's sexual needs physically. She should not enjoy sex which is an entitlement for the man (Walker, Raid and Connell 2002). So, the women and young girls can be raped even in situations with high risk of being made pregnant and contracting HIV (Bourdillon 1976). If a female suggested otherwise, she is accused of infidelity deserving discipline. To a general understanding, man should be considered guilt of condoning the egoistic longings of patriarchy by revisiting legislation and policies which continue to dehumanize women. There are many socio-political injustices perpetrated against, women making them victims of gender-based violence (Morrell and Ouzgane 2005). Padare/Enkundlen a Men’s forum on gender has made inroads into creating and facilitating opportunities for men in engaging openly on issues of gender with the core objective of questioning and rejecting cultural institutionalized gender stereotypes and roles that privilege men and oppress women. Muchemwa and Muponde (2007) highlighted that Shona men who have been socialized to control women and dominate them
sexually face the challenge of positive social construction. However, progressive male masculinity must be cultivated by exposing hegemonic masculinities.

The Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (2016) opines that patriarchy creates a positive attitude towards sexual violence because violence against women is tolerated and accepted and this makes eradication more difficult. Domestic violence is not reported, because the society accepts it as natural that men are free to do harm to women counterparts. The Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS 2014) evaluates the attitudes of women and men towards wife beating by asking the respondents whether they thought that husbands are justified to beat their wives in given circumstances and generally acceptance for wife beating were higher among women than men in most cases. This means that it is difficult for behaviors to change and that both women and men still view violence as acceptable (Konyana 2016).

3.5 CRITICISM OF THE THEORY

Redemptive masculinity is not without its share of problems. Connell (1995:77) postulates that masculinity is the shape of gender practice that embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. It’s not clear what they will defend when trying to erode particular dominant masculinities to address child marriage. One of the issues with masculinities, as Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) observed, is that masculinities change over time, but it’s not clear how and when. These changes call for new strategies in gender relations. The structure of gender changes and transform over time. The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (2004) added that there is limited information that examines men’s power and privilege and current constructs of masculinity so as to come up with necessary strategies for men to curb child marriage. The pattern of male dominance, though may be deeply rooted in culture and institutions that are not easy to recognize there is need to understand gender roles and masculinities and their impact on child marriage in Mashonaland Central.

The UN Commission (2004) further highlighted that child marriage is too often side lined as a women’s issue. Gender mainstreaming remains lip service, with little tangible movement in addressing it. It’s also difficult to understand men’s reluctance to solve child marriage whilst they head the families. We also did not manage to analyse how masculinity limits and inhibits male
participation in addressing child marriage. The theory may also have problems because of a failure to understand the negative effects on men to perpetuate a gender-unequal province and the potential positive ramifications for men and of gender equality.

Kurebwa and Kurebwa (2018) postulated that while it appears that the legal framework to protect the girl child from child marriages in Zimbabwe exists, a problem lies in the Customary Marriage Act, which does not provide a minimum age for marriage and therefore continues to be misused when some try to transform it. Furthermore, Konyana (2016) added that one of the ethical challenges is that discriminatory and gender intensive laws instituted during the colonial period need to be revised to accommodate changes on strategies to address child marriages. Mutandwa (2012) added that the criminal justice system, which is also referred to as the formal justice system in Zimbabwe responsible for handling criminal offenses, does not have the monopoly to deal with domestic violence cases. Matavire (2012) further argued that the criminal justice approach has not been fully taken on board in most traditional communities in Zimbabwe as most men are reluctant to use it. So, this may have an effect on the application of redemptive masculinities to mitigate child marriage in Mashonaland Central.

The reluctance of men in using civil laws in Shona society to solve family conflict is also highlighted by Gwaravanda (2011). He claims that several anthropological studies done in Zimbabwe so far have revealed that the traditional family court (dare remusha) is the first court of appeal in the traditional Shona justice system. The family court or traditional justice system does not occupy substantial space in the modern justice system, and is therefore regarded as an informal justice system. For this reason, some of these redemptive masculinity strategies to mitigate child marriage may be ignored, because it will be from an informal justice set up.

3.6 RELEVANCE OF THE THEORY TO STUDY

Redemptive masculinity theory was relevant to this study, because manhood contributed a key role in mitigating the issue of low male involvement in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central province. Connell (1995) opined that promoting the address of sexual violence is not about granting privileges to women and girls while disempowering men and boys but it is about creating a violent free society that benefits all. It is about creating a more socially just community. This theory enabled me to analyse the extent to which male involvement addresses child marriage and
how masculinity and patriarchal systems continue to influence unequal power relations in the province and why. Chapter 2 clearly stated the importance of male involvement in addressing child marriage. This study agrees with the above argument that hegemonic masculinities can change to redemptive or life-giving masculinities, because their constructions are not static, they change over time (Chitando, 2008).

A girl child needs the right to decide, when and whom to marry. But, a number of factors contribute to the increase of the incidence of child marriage, which includes the state of the country’s civil registration system, lack of legislative framework and enforcement mechanisms, and the existence of tradition and religious laws that support the practice (UNICEF 2005). It is therefore productive in this study to employ redemptive masculinities to help some of the ill practices like child marriage. In Zimbabwe, men are in most key positions; they have power. Connell (1995) adds that men are more armed than women. The redemptive masculinity will help to expose some of the violent practices among Shona marriages. Both Connell (1995) and Chitando (2008) postulated that masculinities involve the contest of male power and certain masculinities are more socially central and associated with authority and social power and this is necessary in male engagement mitigating child marriage.

3.7 CONCLUSION

In reviewing this theoretical framework on redemptive masculinity, I have highlighted the relevance of this theory to the study, that is, it allows deeper and more dynamic understanding of masculinity and will help to analyse cultural resources to be employed by men and masculinities to mitigate the issues of child marriage. The term masculinity was generally defined as negative ideas of being men. The term relates to perceived Ideas about how men should or are expected to behave in a given setting. Masculinity and feminism are relational concepts, which have meaning in relation to each other Connell (1995). Two main types of masculinity are redemptive or liberating and hegemonic. Redemptive or liberating masculinities are masculinities that are life giving Chitando (2008). They emphasise transforming negative ways of being men, whereas hegemonic masculinity relates to cultural dominance and the use of force in society as a whole. This type of masculinity subordinate women to men; it perpetrates violence to women and girls. These masculinities are formulated in a patriarchal society; that is, a male dominated society, that
is men with the power to drive gender equitable norms that will protect the women and girls. Masculinities are configurations of practice formulated by gender relations. They are historical and change from time to time and from place to place. The chapter also gave a critique and relevance of the theory. Having given the theoretical background, the next chapter proceeds to explore on methodology.
CHAPTER 4
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The methodology chapter starts by introducing the research design, data collection procedures, instruments for data collection and research analysis. Next, the study reviews the preliminaries of research approach. The methodologies employed in undertaking this study shall be discussed. Since this study involves investigating information of a particular group of people, a qualitative approach was more suitable for this study. Qualitative research was clearly recordable and is not fractured, and this makes it possible to fully capture. Depending on where a researcher stands, there was something different but qualitative researchers do their best to present important outcomes of the scene (Tracy 2013). Babbie and Mouton (2002) noted that qualitative research methods are the most suitable research methods when one wants to gain a deeper understanding of a society. It is an imperial study which used various data collection instruments which included focus-group discussions, in-depth interviews and participant interviews, along with secondary sources from both published and unpublished sources. The tools used shall be discussed fully in this chapter on how they contribute to the study. Finally, the chapter discussed the methodological limitations and then conclude the chapter.

The research study is located in Redemptive Masculinity theories of African men's theology. This study is qualitative, empirical research, based on existing literature. Doley (1995) defines qualitative research as research based on field observation analysed without statistics. Qualitative design relies on words to convey what exists in the natural environment (Creswell 2009). The key emphasis of this research is to understand how the role of men and masculinities help to combat child marriage in Mashonaland Central province. Through this method, I compiled information using primary and secondary data to achieve objectives of my research. I was able to understand the general perception of patriarchy and masculinity and the causes of women’s sexual violence and how male involvement develops redemptive masculinity theologies to address marriage and reproductive health issues. All these phenomena were examined in their natural setting; that is, the construction of meaning was from real-life situations. A qualitative research
method enables the participants to give their views and ideas to address the objectives and research questions. Tools to be used for data collection include unstructured in-depth one-on-one interviews with 20 participants consisting of 10 men and 10 women. These interviews were done to get views about the research questions from both men and women. This enabled me to get more information by probing further, since I used open-ended questions. Social distance was attained, with the use of masks, due to the Covid 19 pandemic. The age of the participants was 18 years and above. For the 5 key informants semi-structured and in-depth interviews were conducted. Focus-group discussions were carried out with the two groups, one with men and boys only, and the other with women and girls only, with the last one with 5 men and five women. These focus-group discussions produced insightful disclosure that may remain hidden in one-on-one interviews. Permission was obtained from the Provincial Administrator of Mashonaland Central province who is the gatekeeper. This research took a flexible approach, moving from one methodology to the other because it was a woman interviewing men, an approach deemed to meet challenges, due to gender dimensions. Thus, the use of a male research assistant and multiple methods assisted to motivate the men to provide data confidently.

4.2 METHODOLOGICAL DEFINITION

Tracy (2013:198) defines a methodology as a philosophical approach towards inquiry that explaining the value of an interpretive approach to inquiry and methods are particular techniques used to collect, organise and collect data. It also includes how field notes are recorded. Tracy further highlighted that a focused study of research methods takes everyday actions one step further to a systematic analysis that may lead to better understanding for us and others. Similarly, Polit and Hungler (2004) highlighted that the term methodology refers to a way of gathering, arranging and scrutinizing information. Methodology is an idea of coming up with right scientific judgement. This study uses the term ‘methodology’ to describe how the study was undertaken and its order. The key purpose of this research is to understand how the deep male involvement in mitigating child marriage help to curb the practice of young bridal marriage in Mashonaland Central. Methodology helped me to meet the purpose of the study where hegemony dominated. That is hegemony occurs where people see hierarchical relationships as normal, natural and unchangeable and therefore the men accept, consent and are complicit in reproducing norms that
are not in their best interest. Grave and Burns (2003) added that a methodology comprises of plan, location, operational limitations, model and data gathering, and scrutiny methods in the research. It’s a comprehensive collection of approaches that match each other and that have the capacity to bring data outcomes that will reflect the main question of study and meet purpose of the study (Hewning 2004).

4.3 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design is a grand plan for enhancing the researches internal and external validity. It entails essentially the manner in which to handle extraneous variables in such a way that they do not interfere with the internal and external invalidity. The purpose of the design was therefore to handle these extraneous variables in such a way that they did not interfere with the internal and external validity of the research study (marimba and moyo, 1995:17). This research used the descriptive research design, which focused on the systematic description or exposure or salient aspects of the phenomenon, object or situation, with a focus on the patterns that emerge. In other words, to describe is also an attribute of qualitative research, because there is an effort to use descriptive language to point out a phenomenon. In this study data on how the role of men and masculinities mitigate child marriage in mashonaland central province were described in words to point out the strategies and other contributions and this moulded the study.

4.4 THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Creswell (2009) defined qualitative research as an approach for understanding and explaining the meaning of a social problem. The research process involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participants’ settings, data analysis inductively building from particular to general themes and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure and the form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning and the importance of providing the complexity of the situation. Furthermore, Tracy (2013) added that qualitative inquiry is not clearly recordable but it is fractured and impossible to fully capture depending from where the researcher stands, they will see something different, but qualitative researchers do their best to present important representation of the scene. Qualitative approaches tend to be contextual and
generally use inductive, emic approaches to understand local meanings and rules for behaviour. In qualitative research, the one carrying out the study is the instrument registering observation through the researcher’s body and mind. It is an umbrella phrase that refers to the collection, analysis and interpretation of interview participant observation and document data in order to understand and describe meanings, relationships and patterns.

Similarly, Marimba and Moyo (1995) highlighted that the type of research is based on the interpretive pattern in social science. Its main purpose is the clarification of the world taken for not seriously including objective facts that quantitative research claims to produce. In summation, qualitative research examines phenomena in their natural setting; hence the use of the term naturalistic inquiry. Here the researcher is the main instrument of data collection. The researcher’s main aim is to describe, not to conclude. It emphasises on the construction of meanings from the real-life situation. These meanings could be individual ideas, assumptions and beliefs formed of the reality of individuals. Qualitative research also analyses data inductively. The overriding aim of data analysis is not to prove or disprove through the production of evidence but to construct a reality as its various pieces occur to the researcher this type of research is mainly interested in the process not the end product. It is concerned with the how and why aspects of phenomena. It implies that this study involves studying or exploring the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage which is rampant in Mashonaland Central province.

Qualitative research therefore seeks to create an understanding of the phenomena based on the information brought by people when I was in Mashonaland Central doing my fieldwork. I managed to interview the men, women and the key informants on the strategies to be employed by men to reduce the issue of child marriage in this study. I managed to obtain information from them through their explanation on why the issue was rampant and how it can be addressed. They managed to explain the role of the men in society and how they perceived child marriage. Some religious and cultural perspectives were also drawn from the interviews and all my research questions were fully addressed.

In this study the qualitative research method helped the participants to give their views and some experiences were also shared. Musengi and Mukopanday (2012) highlighted that qualitative method is important because it enabled the participants to share their lived experiences. In this
study qualitative research method gives room for the men to share their views on how they would use redemptive masculinities to mitigate the issue of child marriages in Mashonaland Central. More so, it gave the key informants room to give their perspective on factors causing child marriage and how male involvement might help address the pandemic.

Qualitative research methodology was pivotal in this study, because it gave room for the creation of good data that were based on the understanding of participants’ attitudes, opinions, and skills as they happened in their real-life situation. It was a flexible method for the researcher because it enabled me to make variations whenever necessary.

However, this design has its weaknesses. Cohen (2007) pointed out that the subjective nature of the design makes data to be so diverse and difficult to measure. It can also violate individual’s rights to privacy due to public access to information (Cohen 2007). This weakness was overcome by the researcher by assuring the participants of confidentiality and the use of pseudonyms. This design also demands different ways of researcher induced bias (Tsara 2019). Qualitative research usually rely on the know-how of the researcher so as to meet the objective of the research. Tracy (2019:21-350) reflects that whenever one attempts to use qualitative research methods one is supposed to be a good listener, take note of all conversations, accurately examine all the data fairly and try to accomplish a sense of balance, despite his or her preconceived ideas. Relating to this weakness, I managed to overcome it by focusing on achieving on my broad aim and the objectives of this research. However, this design is discoverable through a focus of qualitative characteristics of research, which is asking for opinions on how male involvement can help to address child marriage a perception of marriage in the province. Such attributes are difficult to observe and access objectively because they are constitutive of the human mind (Murimba and Moyo 1995).

On strengths of qualitative research, Tracy (2007) opines that quantitative information can be organized, interpreted, analysed and communicated to address real-world concerns. Qualitative design has a number of advantages as a research method. Firstly, it gives room to venture into the field and carry out naturalist research. Secondly, qualitative research is excellent in studying context. I am personally curious and interested in the research topic of male engagement in addressing sexual violence issues like child marriage. Qualitative research also provides insight into cultural activities that might otherwise be missed in structural surveys. In this research I
managed to interview a traditional chief who managed to talk about some cultural issues related to this research.

The fourth strength is that qualitative research can uncover salient issues (Lindermans 2007). Qualitative research also provides an opportunity to see and hear what people actually do. The more researchers become immersed in the scene, the more they can make second order interpretations on the researcher’s construct and explanations for the participants’ explanation. Most importantly, good qualitative research helps people to understand the world, their society and institutions. Qualitative methodology provides knowledge that focus societal issues and questions on problems and therefore serves human kind.

4.5 PRELIMINARIES OF THE RESEARCH

These are important formalities that were undertaken before starting the research project so that they helped me to design the methodology, since it was regarded as research on course. To contact potential participants whom I wanted to interview, I had to face the gatekeeper who controls and gives access to those people. In this case I had to consult some participants like traditional leaders and the provincial administrator who chairs all activities carried out in Mashonaland Central province, and some participants like traditional leaders are authorised. In this it is important to seek access through an authority so that the participants will be confident and comfortable to work with the researcher.

Similarly, Kennedy Macfoy and Cowhest (2013:459) state that gate keeping is integral to the whole process of conducting research; therefore, it deserves both methodological and theoretical attention and reflection. Meaning to say gatekeeper’s permission becomes the access door for the researcher to conduct research. Other scholars like Kawulich (2011) indicated that gatekeeping is the procedure by which researchers obtain the right to enter the site of investigating where the study takes place and to interact with those who take part on that site. This is in line with the general guidelines for the ethics review process, which also regards gatekeeper permission as gaining access to the society.

I visited the provincial administrator’s office on 5 April 2018 requesting permission to do interviews within Mashonaland Central. I was issued with a permission letter on 19 of April 2018.
This is procedural, because relevant institutions have the right to be alerted of and be given the indulgence to grant or decline permission to a researcher. This brings order in the province.

After doing all the documentation, I submitted the documentation for ethical clearance on 6 May 2020. Full ethical approval was granted on 19 May 2020. Crowhurst and Macfoy (2013) opined that the researcher must be prepared to follow rigorous upheld ethical procedures that are meant to protect participants during the research process. It also protects the researcher because he or she will have followed the required process to carry out research. Heath (2007) added that the ethical relationship between researcher and informant is the same whether he/she conducts research with adults or children.

4.6 THE SITE OF THE RESEARCH

The site of this research was Mashonaland Central province of Zimbabwe. The province has the greatest percentage of girls who were married before attaining 18 years and it is at (56%) in the country (Zimbabwe National Gender Based Violence 2012:153). This is the major reason that qualified this site and the need to engage men in the address of the problem. Strydom (2005) highlighted that the choice is linked to the particular field in which the research is to be undertaken. Out of 10 provinces in Zimbabwe, Mashonaland’s greater part is rural, with farming as the major source of income. The province has only two universities and a lot of artisanal mining activities take place in the province, which fuels child marriages in the province. People in the rural areas value their culture and religion and this usually exposes a girl child to a lot of sexual violence. In Mashonaland Central, men are the heads of the families, that it is a patriarchal society. Most women interviewed were married before attaining the age of 18. This site was very relevant to the research question.

My growing up in the province makes it easier for me to get clearance to carry out the research in the area. Men hold key positions in the area. They also have power even at household level, which qualifies them to come up with redemptive masculinities to address child marriage in Mashonaland province. Being an employee of this province gave me an opportunity to obtain all the information.

The sample and sampling procedure will be discussed.


4.7 DATA COLLECTION PLAN

4.7.1 Sampling and sampling procedure

Chiromo (2006), states that a sample is a fraction of the population or a slice of it, or part of it. It is the selected element. In quantitative research it is generally impractical and undesirable to collect data from the whole population of a province (Murimba and Moyo 1985). In this study a population of 25% comprised the population. A way of selection was based on age and sex and that the person had been in Mashonaland Central for the last five years. Among the chosen 25 persons I found it necessary to search five key informants – 10 men and boys and 10 women – who were married before 18 and girls above 18 years. I targeted men, boys, women and girls aged 18 and above because the Constitution of Zimbabwe states that the legal age of majority in Zimbabwe is 18 and even consent for her marriage is also at 18 years.

Furthermore, Chiromo (2006) explained a sample as a proportion of the population or a slice of it, or part of it. It is the selected element (people or objects) chosen for participation in a study or simply put a subject of 25 males and females 18 years and above. The women were 20–24 years old who were married when they were children or below 18. The study targeted those who were likely to give the required information so as to achieve the objectives set for the study. In this study, 25 people comprised the population. The criteria of selection were based on age, gender and also that a person had been living in Mashonaland Central for the previous five years. Among the chosen 25 participants, I selected five key informants and purposive sampling was used because they are able to provide significant data in the study (Oliver 2010 and Saunders 2009). 10 men and boys and 10 women and girls were targeted as well to give information required to achieve the study objectives. Out of eight districts in the province, the 20 participants shall be from 4 districts, namely Bindura, Shamva, Rushinga and Mbire. 5 key informants included the Women Action Group (WAG) who are working hard to address girls and women’s issues of sexual and reproductive health rights and physical violence and Padare/Ekundleni (1995), a men’s forum that empowers men and boys to combat women’s sexual and reproductive health issues and promote male involvement in addressing gender-based violence issues. The Senator Chief was one of the key informants to give his cultural and religious perspectives on male involvement in addressing child marriage in the province. A representative from the provincial pastors and the Ministry of
Women Affairs were among the five key informants. The Ministry is a government machinery to curb gender-based violence. The five key informants gave their general perceptions on the role of men and masculinities in mitigating women’s sexual violence in the province.

Eslam (2003) shows that the study targeted those who were the most likely to give information required to meet the study objectives. From the seven districts of the province the participants were drawn from the three hotspot districts, Bindura, Shamva and Mbire. In these districts there is a high prevalence of women’s sexual violence, so it was imperative to draw participants from the districts to give their views on the relevance of the men in combating the issue of child marriage.

4.7.2 Selective procedure

I carried out these interviews with the help of one male research assistant especially when talking to the chief and the pastor representing the province. He assisted me in making appointments for the interviews and also clarified some sexual and reproductive health issues which the researcher sought to address by employing men in the fight against child marriage. The participants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling procedures. All interviews were done in English and Shona. This enabled me as researcher to handle both the spoken and written information from the interactions with participants.

4.7.3 Purposive sampling

Is the one which the researcher identifies certain respondents as being potentially able to provide significant data in the study Oliver and Saunders (2019). The five key informants were key in providing significant information from the study and from the 20 participants, which includes the District Administrator, for the 3 selected districts in the province were also able to provide relevant information, because they chair all development and traditional issues in the district. This helped me as the researcher to select cases and answers that were relevant in achieving the objectives and answer the research questions and the purpose for choosing purposive sampling method was because the researcher wanted information from the people in the province where male involvement in addressing child marriage was to be employed. The researcher purposely selected men and women from the province and selected districts to give relevant information for this study.
Freeman (2007) highlighted that this sampling approach selects members in relationship to their understanding and knowledge concerning the research topic.

### 4.7.4 Snowball sampling

This is the other method that was used to reach communities that were difficult to reach because of their cultural and religious afflictions. I began by identifying several participants who fitted in the study using this method. In the three districts I started by interviewing the District Administrators and then I asked them to suggest other men and women to be interviewed in the district. Just like a snowball running downhill snowball sampling plans expand quickly. Tracy (2007) opine that snowball sampling is often poised for investigating marginalized communities like the Mbire District of Mashonaland Central.

However, on the downside to snowball, sample quickly tend to suggest others who are similar to themselves and those they know. To overcome this, the researcher guided the first participant to avoid this bias. So, snowball samples can quickly get out of control. To overcome this, I used small groups or a number of people like choosing Mbire District only in the province.

### 4.8 RESEARCH PROCESS

Research process used open-ended, semi-structured questions that were designed before collection of information from the participants, these are attached on Appendix 1-3. I used the questions to cater for interviews of all participants from different categories. I made appointments in the form of letters and phone calls to obtain the participant’s availability. I explained the nature and scope of the study so that they could understand the purpose of the interview and they gave responsive answers. Interviews were conducted in May and June 2020. The interviews took place in Mashonaland Central province. I interviewed the key informants and the men and women in the province. The interviews took 30–60 minutes. I had to get the recorder ready before the interview and the participants signed consent forms. Recording of interviews was relevant for data analyses purposes. Participants were free to ask during the interviews where they needed clarity. In other words, the interviews flowed well and the participants were cooperative and respectful.
4.9 RESEARCH ETHICS

The research followed the ethics code of conduct set by the University of KwaZulu-Natal in relation to guidelines from Mouton (2006), which were also highlighted by Seidmen (2006), who noted that an informed consent form should state clearly that the participant is being invited to take part in a research study. The second part highlights the purpose of the study, how it will be conducted and for how long. Participants signed a brief consent form to show that they have accepted to participate in the research and I highlighted that their participation was voluntary and they were free live it at any point and for any reason if they felt it necessary. After having highlighted the risks, rights, possible benefits and assuring them confidentiality, all participants agreed to participate.

I promised to be responsible to the people whom I interviewed. I also promised to use the pseudonyms for various groups of people I interviewed. I gave the group code FMW and the women and boys I used MB1, MB2, MB3... For the key informants I had to use KIN1, KIN2, KIN3... This research benefited the participants and society at large, because it would create an awareness on how male involvement can help in combating child marriages in the Mashonaland Central province of Zimbabwe. This would also enlighten the society of some religious and cultural beliefs that affect the women and girls in the society. This is a way of empowering policy makers to come up with policies that fully address child marriages which are a form of sexual violence in the province. It would benefit the whole society as mentioned above.

4.10. THE TOOLS OF DATA COLLECTION

The data collection procedures describe and justify sequential steps taken in the collection of data. Tools are instruments used to collect data because research is measurement. Therefore, any measurement uses some tools or instruments to measure (Marimba and Moyo 1995). Any instrument or tool used to measure must be reliable. Similarly, Parahoo (1997) defined an instrument as tools used to collect information. A tool is an instrument used for measuring knowledge, attitudes and skills. This research used two types of data sources namely, primary and secondary data. Primary data is data collected from interviews and focus-group discussions as it formed the main focus of the analysis.
4.10.1. Secondary data

Tracy (2013) defined secondary data as data that are already there, that is, data already published by some other scholars. This research used literature from other books like, academic journals, magazines, newspapers, articles and unpublished sources such as university thesis on the relevant subject studied and the purpose of this was to see how other scholars have done on the issue of male involvement in addressing women’s sexual violence. This was done to supplement the data that was collected during field-work. The data was collected in Mashonaland Central province in Zimbabwe from May to June 2020. I live in one of the districts in Mashonaland central which gave me adequate time to collect data.

4.10.2 Interviews

Tracy (2013) opines that interviews are guided question and answer conversations between the researcher and the participant. Similarly, Kvale (2009) and Brinkmann (2009) defined interviews as guided question and answer discussions or interchange of views between persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest. Tracy (2013) further highlighted that the interviews have a clear structure and purpose. Unlike other conversations, interviews are common practice in different ways. This can be in form of dyadic or face-to-face conversations. Their purpose is to find out what is in someone’s mind in relation to research question (Patton 1990).

Patton states the importance of interviews clearly and highlighted the major aim of the interview is to enable the researcher understand participants’ world interview method covers gaps left by other methods like observation and other secondary sources, because there is room for clarification of some issues during interviews. This method gathered information that was necessary to the key research questions of the study, which asks how male involvement can address women’s sexual violence in Mashonaland central. Interview method is very useful, because it closes gaps left by secondary sources. Personal interviews took the form of interactional conversation narratives where open-ended questions were asked some follow-up questions were asked where there was need for clarification and probing further for quality findings. Sample for participants was drawn from the Mashonaland Central province using purposive and snowball sampling. Participants above 18 years were chosen to participate in these interviews.
Interviews are very effective in qualitative research approaches, because they give a human face to research questions. This approach is beneficiary to both researcher and participant, because they all gain experience from the research. Greef (2022) defined interviewing as an important mode of gathering information in a study using a qualitative approach. It involves hearing other people’s issues and then understanding world views from the participant’s side. Participant’s answers form the raw information for research, which will be transcribed and analysed in research.

Interviews can bring out issues that were not unveiled by secondary data, because oral reviews tend to unfold hidden information, as most of the issues are not written (Dennis 1995). The interview conversations were recorded, where possible by a phone or audio recorder and transcribed. The interview schedule is attached in Appendix 5.

4.10.3 Unstructured in-depth interviews with senior members in key departments

This study also used semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 20 participants, comprising 10 men and boys and 10 women and girls who are 18 years and above. These interviews were done to get the different views from both males and females. The issue of masculinity needs to come from both men and women. It was important to hear the role of men in Mashonaland Central from both males and females, and general perceptions on male engagement in the issue of child marriage. It enabled me as a researcher to get more information that I was not aware of, because the open-ended questions helped me to probe further to get all the relevant data and new insights and provided me with the opportunity to explore the topic in depth. The participants consented like any other person in the study.

4.10.4 Semi-structured, in-depth interviews with senior members in key departments

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were used with 5 key departments promoting issues of gender equality, positive redemptive masculinity, sexual violence and religio-cultural issues. The age of participants ranged from 30 years and above. The members were drawn from key departments in Mashonaland central. These includes Padare/Enkundlen Men’s forum and Women’s Action Group (WAG) which sensitize communities on sexual violence issues, the Ministry of Women Affairs, which is the government’s machinery to mitigate women’s and gender-based violence issues in
the country, the Senate Chief who will provide information on religious and cultural issues concerning manliness and mitigation of child marriage in Mashonaland Central province.

Finally, a pastor from the Provincial Pastors fraternity also gave views on behalf of religious sectors in the province.

These key informants were asked to give information on (a) their general perception of male involvement in mitigating child marriage; (b) the religio-cultural teaching of patriarchy and masculinity to in the province; (c) what they have done as organizations to engage men in address child marriage; (d) give possible influencing factors; and (e) suggest what men can do to address the issue of child marriage.

4.10.5 Informal interviews

After doing formal interviews and focus group discussions, I also engaged in informal interviews with the Senate Chief of Mashonaland Central to help me understand the issues of maleness and their low involvement in mitigating child marriages in the province. The pastor helped to clarify on religious issues. Informal interviews were successful, because I was able to interview the two leaders from Mashonaland Central.

4.10.6 The focus-group discussion

This was a group interview with eight participants marked by guided discussions, questions and answers (Tracy 2013). It is less expensive and time consuming, because I reached a larger number of participants at once. These participants were drawn from men in Mashonaland Central with the purpose of allowing them to express their views and opinions regarding the issue of male engagement in addressing women’s sexual violence. Mouton (2001) opined that focus group discussions allow participants to contribute in a more meaningful way on the subject under discussion. The discussion was conducted in a natural and unstructured way and participants were free to express their views and opinions about the issue of how men can be involved in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central. The researcher prepared questions that encompassed broad themes in advance, which I used to guide the discussions. These focus-group discussions were undertaken in Musana and Masembura communal lands in the province. Firstly, it provided
the perception of male involvement; that is, the role of men in this society and their contribution towards mitigating women’s sexual violence in this province. It also presented how culture and religion contributed to the formulation of strategies to be employed by men in addressing child marriage in the province. Issues of sexual and reproductive health were also discussed by the focus group. Clarifying how men could redeem women and girls from other harmful practices. Focus-group discussions were conducted in Bindura, one of Mashonaland Central province districts.

Focus-group discussions produce ideas that are known to result from group interaction in a phenomenon known as the ‘group effect’ (Carey 1984) and the therapeutic effect Lederman (1990). The group effect produces insightful self-disclosure that may remain hidden in one-on-one interviews. As such, focus groups can effectively explore emotional experiences. Patton (1990) highlighted that focus-group sessions should be treated as an interview; not as a discussion or problem-solving session. At the same time, focus groups take advantage on group dynamics. Similarly, Patton highlights the capacity of focus-group discussion to come out with data and insights that would be unlikely to emerge without the interaction found in a group.

Furthermore, Tracy (2013), states that focus-group discussions can explore experiences and cultural and religious beliefs that were discussed in one-on-one interviews effectively, especially with the traditional chief and the pastor who were key informants on religio-cultural practices on masculinity and sexual and reproductive health.

The other advantage of focus group discussions is that they are valuable for generating a wealth of vernacular language and also serve as a basically mini-interaction laboratory, allowing the researcher to observe how ideas are exchanged and cascaded from one person to another. It allowed me understand issues of patriarchy and masculinity in Mashonaland central and key strategies of girls and women sexual violence were clearly stated by the group participants. Men also expressed their fears to empower young women and girls. Generally, the focus group discussions allowed me to have evidence of the feelings and opinions that are shared and experienced by people in the province.

4.10.7 Recording and transcribing interviews
In qualitative research methods, a voice recorder is usually used as an indispensable instrument, which does not change what has been said. Voice recording increases the accuracy of information collection and allows the researcher to be flexible. The style used should enable the interviewer to capture the actual words of the person being interviewed.

This is critical in the process of conducting interviews, thus, after the researcher explains they always need to have a voice recorder and a phone as a back-up in case the recorder fails in the middle of the interview. Jacob and Furgerson (2012) also support this notion when they comment that it is important to use a recording device rather than handwritten notes, meaning that you should make sure that your equipment is in good working order, and makes back-up plans to counter hitch-ups if the equipment fails.

In qualitative research methods, a voice recorder is usually used as a reliable tool that does not change what has been said. It is important to note that a voice recorder increases the accuracy of data collection and allows flexibility for the researcher to pay particular attention to the participant’s expressions. Patton also weighs in by saying “the interactive nature of in-depth interviewing can be seriously affected by the attempt to take verbatim notes during the interview”. Recording validates and removes bias to the study being carried out as concluded by Tuckett (2005), when he outlines that a recorded “in-depth interview facilitates credibility and dependability of the data collection procedure”. All the participants accepted to their interviews being recorded using the voice recorder and the phone as a back-up. The recording process was made successful by explaining to the participants the purpose of the study and asking for permission to allow the researcher to record the interview by signing the consent form as a requirement of qualitative research. As has already been stated that,

… the anonymity of the interviewee in relation to the information shared must be maintained during interviews as the interviewee may share information that could jeopardize his or her position in a system. Information gathered must remain anonymous and protected from those whose interest conflict with those of the interviewee. (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006)

Wengraf (2001) defines transcribing as, “an instrumentation practice of examining sound data from audio tape to create visual data to become printable on paper”. This is taxing and tiresome process that needs higher concentration in terms of listening skills. Hence, the researcher
transcribed verbatim, except where interviewees said such things as, “Uuuu Uuuu, yaaaah.” This is also supported by other scholars like Hill (2012), who states that, “data collected through interviews are transcribed verbatim except for minimal utterances”. Hence, in the process of transcribing data, the researcher discovered that sometimes the participant did not complete the sentence and rush to give another view, or goes back to what he or she said at the beginning.

However, when transcribing, it is not the responsibility of the transcribers to correct the conversational sequence, as demonstrated by Patton when he postulates that “the grammar in natural conversations is atrocious, sentences begin and then are interrupted by new sentences before the first sentences are completed” Patton (1990:380). Thus, during the process of transcribing, challenges such as background noises in some recordings were encountered, especially those that were conducted in a Hall at shopping centres, but the researcher was able to use a smartphone, which eliminates noises in the process of recording. Crabtree (2006:318) confirms that,

Transcribers often have difficulties in capturing the spoken word in text form because of sentence structure, use of quotations, omissions and mistaking words or phrases for others. This is because people often speak in run-on sentences; transcribers are forced to judge. The insertion of a period or a comma can change the meaning of an entire sentence. When working with audio data, most experienced researchers listen to the audiotape while reading the transcriptions to ensure accuracy during interpretation of data.

The above assertion is true, since these were some of the challenges encountered during transcribing, but the researcher constantly had to refer back to the audio recording during the process of analysis to verify the originality of the quoted data. The method of analysis explained later in this chapter.

Focus groups capitalize on group dynamics. The importance of a focus group is the clear use of the group interaction to gather data and insights that would be unlikely to emerge without the interaction found in a group. This skill enabled the observation of group dynamics, discussions and first-hand insights into the participants’ behavior, attitudes and language among other factors. Patton (1990) elucidates that focus groups involve a gathering of eight to twelve people who share some characteristics important to the study. In this study, each focus group consisted of ten
participants. The participants of the group discussions were taken from the four selected districts of the province, because they share similar religion and cultural beliefs in their norms and values on manhood and marriage. The participants highlighted common factors on why there is low male involvement in addressing women’s sexual violence using the redemptive masculinity ideology. Furthermore, what influences child marriage seems to be similar, as the participants shed light on how the role of men and masculinities can help to mitigate the pandemic in Mashonaland Central.

Focus group discussions provided the following advantages during data collection for my research: Firstly, debates generated during discussions provided me with a deeper understanding of the different viewpoints of the participants concerning how male involvement can address child marriage, and the religio-cultural factors which influenced the practice. Secondly, participants were interacting with each other learning from each other, which in turn helped to resolve certain issues experienced in the group.

The third idea is that, it was a very useful data collection method in action where participants helped me to answer the primary objective and address the key research question which asks, “How male involvement can help combat girls and other females sexual and reproductive health issues?” The general perception of patriarchy and masculinity was also highlighted, as well as factors that influence child marriage and the reason why child marriage is high in Mashonaland central. One of the focus groups consisted of women and girls who were 18 years and above, with the majority of them married before the age 18. Their experiences assisted me to understand the religious and cultural factors more and they even highlighted other contributing factors which led to their experiences and this helped me to generate relevant information. Lastly, it allowed me to have evidence of the feelings and opinions that are shared and experienced by people who are in similar situations.

4.10.7 Recording and transcribing Interviews

Patton (1990:347) explains that,

No matter what style of interviewing is used, and no matter how carefully one words interview questions, it all comes to naught if the interviewer fails to capture the actual words
of the person being interviewed. The raw data of interviews are the actual quotations spoken by interviewees.

This is critical in the process of conducting interviews; thus, the researcher explained they always needed to have a voice recorder and a phone as a back-up in case the recorder failed in the middle of the interview. Jacob and Furgerson (2012:7) also support this notion when they comment that:

> It is important to note that by choosing to rely on a recording device rather than handwritten notes, means that you should make sure that your equipment is in good working order and make sure you have back up plans to counter hitch-ups if the equipment fails.

In qualitative research methods, a voice recorder is usually used as an indispensable tool that does not change what has been said. It is important to note that a voice recorder increases the accuracy of data collection and allows flexibility for the researcher to pay special attention to the participants. All the participants agreed to their interviews being recorded using the voice recorder and the phone as a back-up. The recording process was achieved by explaining to the participants the purpose of the study and permission to allow the researcher to record the interview was asked by signing the consent form as a requirement of research ethics.

The researcher did not encounter any challenges related to the audio recorder during the interview processes. Data in the voice recorder were then transferred to a laptop and a USB flash drive for storage as a back-up in case the recorder malfunctioned. The interviews were transcribed into readable manuscripts.

Wengraf (2001:221) defines transcribing as, “an instrumentation practice of examining sound data from audio tape to create visual data to become printable on paper”. This is a demanding and tiresome process that needs higher concentration in terms of listening skills. Hence, the researcher transcribed verbatim, except where interviewees said such things as, “Mmmm, ummm, aaaaah.” This is also supported by other scholars like Hill (2012:12), who states that “data collected through interviews are transcribed verbatim except for minimal utterances”. Hence, in the process of transcribing data, the researcher discovered that sometimes the interviewee did not complete the sentence and rushed to give another view, or went back to what he or she said at the beginning.
However, when transcribing it is not the responsibility of the transcribers to correct the conversational sequence, as demonstrated by Patton (1990:380) when he postulates that “the grammar in natural conversations is atrocious, sentences begin and then are interrupted by new sentences before the first sentences are completed”. Thus, during the process of transcribing, challenges such as background noises in some recordings were encountered, especially those that were conducted on a Sunday at church. The researcher was able to use a smartphone, which eliminates noises in the process of recording. The above assertion is true, since these were some challenges encountered during transcribing, but I constantly referred back to the audio recording during the process of analysis to verify the authenticity of the quoted data. The method of analysis is explained later in this chapter.

4.11. FIELD EXPERIENCES

The people were very hospitable and very eager to give information, but a few were not willing to entertain a visitor, because they were afraid of the Covid-19 pandemic. However, as the restrictions relaxed, I had no problems in data collection. During interviews some men had many feelings and were very hostile when I first approached them. They were afraid of being interviewed as they were concerned about the dissemination of the findings they were also afraid of what would happen to them, because the majority of their wives had married before the age 18. Men asked questions like: “What are you going to do if you find out that we married young girls?” “What do you want this information for?” I answered these questions by assuring them of confidentiality and anonymity, no information from these interviews will be given to anyone, my data will be kept locked away for the sake of publication.

I had to explain to them research ethics on section 5.9 above that were previously mentioned in the research. Besides the above questions, other participants were suspicious of me as female researcher and were reluctant to provide information, because men usually want to talk to their male counterparts, especially when discussing key issues which include marital issues. Participants thought I wanted to use the information to implicate them in committing a crime, as the government set out to charge those members of the society who were marrying or pledging their girl children for marriage before they are ready or mature for the unions. So, I was very careful
with my questioning techniques and I had to make use of my male research assistant so that the men were relaxed to give their different views about the research questions.

I had to ask to hear more about a subject when it was necessary. I had to explore not to probe, because probing conveys a sense of the powerful interviewer treating the participants as objects (Lincoln and Guba 1995). Influential leaders like traditional and religious leaders, District Administrators and other men need to be respected and to be given space and have a well-timed exploration so that they will not shift the meaning. So, I had to be very sensitive about the culture and how women are to behave in the province. The researcher had to show the ethical clearance letter attached in the appendices from the University which granted me permission to do research. They also gained confidence in me as a researcher when I showed them another letter I got from the Provincial Administrator who chairs all development activities in the province.

A number of male participants asked if I was married, because they stated that most of the women who question types of marriages do not value and respect men. A number of male participants highlighted that those interventions target women and girls, excluding the men, especially on these sexual and reproductive issues. Some even said the NGOs were diluting our culture and religion. As I grew up within the same community of Mashonaland Central, most of the issues I observed from the field were not new. I was very conversant with beliefs and the behaviors of the society in this research. I also work in the province and I was even aware of the programs implemented in the province. The researcher is a fluent Shona language speaker, the language which is predominantly spoken in the area; thus, there was no linguistic barrier during the gathering of data. I was well equipped with the information of the participants since I grew up in the same province; hence it was easier to find participants for the interviews and focus-group discussions. Due to these advantages, the data collection process was easier and less tiresome.

However, Aguilar (1981) and Messerschmitt (1981) argue that since culture is not homogenous, a society is differentiated and a professional identity that involves problematizing lived reality inevitably creates distance. They conclude that the extent to which anyone is an authentic insider is questionable. The fact that I came from the area with similar views of their cultural practices made my research easier, because some conservative people did not understand why people from the area like me would be so inquisitive about manhood and marriage their community, traditions
and theologies. Transport barriers because of the Covid-19 pandemic failed me to reach the furthest district where people are strongly rooted in these religio-cultural practices and have the highest prevalence of child marriage and maternal deaths. I needed the contributions of the men, but the key informants were able to supply the information.

I attended two workshops about child marriage and sexual and reproductive health rights by two organizations who were key informants in this study. I was one of the participants and I noted low male inclusion, especially in the group of women and girls. The only men were police officers from the Victim Friendly Unity (VFU). The issues that were raised by the women and girls were going to be addressed if men were involved. The other session I attended was for the District Anti-Gender Based Violence Committee. It was male dominated; a few women are in this key committee and critical issues on how men should address child marriage in the province were discussed. As a member of the committee, I also contributed and asked the men how they could help in addressing the issue of child marriage in the province. The determination behind the observation and participation was based on obtaining facts concerning male involvement in mitigating issues of women’s sexual violence or sexual exploitation in Mashonaland Central. I also wanted to perceive the issue of manhood and the factors fuelling this practice since this study uses redemptive masculinity theory as a lens to analyse what men can do to address the issues of sexual exploitation in the form of child marriage.

4.12 DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

Wolcott (1994) defines data analysis and presentation as description analysis and interpretation of data. It is tempting to let the profiles and categorized, thematic excerpts speak for themselves (Serdman, 2006). Furthermore, Swinton and Mowat (2006:57) explain that “data analysis is the process of bringing structure, meaning, and order to the complex mass of qualitative information that the researcher generates during the research processes.” Thematic analysis was used with the aim of analysing data and this was used whenever the transcribed interviews from the informants were categorized and grouped into themes according to the study emphasis: How male involvement can help combat child marriage as a form of sexual exploitation in Mashonaland Central. Boyatis (1998) also observes that, “thematic analysis is a process of encoding qualitative data.” The researcher is aware of different methods used for qualitative research data analysis, for
instance generation of theory by Glaser and Strauss (1967), which gave a systematic and rigorous framework for inductive and emic approach to data analysis and “content analysis, serious discussion of the subject, comparative analysis and thematic analysis” Dawson (2002:155). As such, thematic analysis has been chosen because of its flexibility when analysing information and was useful on the subject of male involvement in addressing women’s sexual violence in Mashonaland central, particularly looking at the strategies which can be employed by men and masculinities to mitigate the issue of child marriage which is rampant in Mashonaland central.

Saldanas (2009) highlighted that initial coding begins with an examination of information and assigning words or phrases that capture their essence, focusing on what is present in the data, first capturing critical or interesting data and finally choosing codes that present data available. Similarly, Braun and Clarke (2006:27) claim that “thematic analysis is a method designed at identifying, grouping and recording material within the interview transcripts into major summary statements that are common among participants”. Boyatis (1998:72) adds that thematic analysis is a type of qualitative analysis used to analyze classifications and present themes that relate to data collected.

Rubin and Rubin (2012:194) explain, “Themes are summary statements, casual explanations or conclusions that offer explanations of why something happened, what something means or how the participant feels about the subject matter.”

According to Braun and Clarke (2006:98), thematic analysis gives emphasis to identifying, analysing and taking note of patterns or themes within data. In this study, findings were based on the collected data. In other words, the researcher allowed the results to emerge from the information without imposing ideas about the participants’ views. In this way, researchers “remain open to learning new and unexpected things rather than setting out to prove what they had anticipated.” (Hill 2012:8). Before moving on to the interpretation of different aspects of the topic under study, the information was analysed and described in detail.

Having given the above information, a presentation of the findings from the data was developed or constructed to tell a story of the participants’ understanding the general perception of patriarchy and masculinity, how culture and religion influence women’s sexual violence, identifying causes
and effects of child marriage and finally determining how the role of men and masculinities could mitigate the issue of sexual exploitation in Mashonaland central.

The research analysed the general perception of patriarchy and masculinity and identified the reason why girls are married prematurely, as well as the effects of such a practice like religion and culture, finally engaging men to address the issue. Thematic analysis was used in this research because of its ability to detect and identify factors or variables that influence any issue generated by the participants. Therefore, the participant’s interpretations were significant in terms of giving the most relevant explanations for behaviours, actions and thoughts (Creswell 2009). The study involved identification and highlighting where major themes were identified for analysis. It was guided by a thematic framework where the themes were determined not only by its relation with the research questions but also by other critical questions and the theoretical framework that guided this study.

In the process of information analysis, four categories of responses were identified. The first category is the response from men and women and key informants regarding the general perception of patriarchy and masculinity regarding women’s sexual exploitation. The second was the identification of the causes and effects of women’s sexual violence. The third category looked at the factors influencing child marriage which includes culture and religion and this addressed question 3 of the research. The responses came from all the participants, including religious and traditional leaders. The final theme was in line with addressing the key research question because it is on how male involvement can employ strategies to address girls and women’s sexual exploitation. The responses would come mainly from the men themselves and all the other participants added information to this key question.

My guiding themes motivating the analysis are (1) the general perception of patriarchy and masculinity in Mashonaland Central; (2) causes and effects of girls and women’s sexual exploitation in the province; (3) factors influencing sexual exploitation (child marriage); and (4) male involvement in addressing child marriage. For this particular project, I was more interested on the last theme on male inclusion in addressing women’s sexual and reproductive issues. Responses from the males and females, leaders and key informants were used to get ideas and codes to address these questions.
The analysis of the above themes is described and interpreted in detail in Chapter 5 where the active process of identifying, labelling and systemizing data as belonging to or representing some type of phenomenon in the research will be given in detail. Responses were from girls who are now 18, or young women who were above 18, but were married before attaining their 18th birthday.

4.13 VALIDITY, RELIABILITY AND RIGOR OF THE STUDY

This study is valid and reliable because this study used both primary and secondary data for the findings of my research. Moreover, I interviewed religious and cultural leaders who are custodians of norms and values and religion of the Shona people in Mashonaland Central. Five key stakeholders who work towards addressing the issue were also interviewed and they were able to supply this scholarship with relevant information to address the key question. So, I asked the same questions twice to the same group on two different occasions and the consistence was guaranteed by comparing the two responses. I also gave similar questions to different focus groups to test the accuracy of the information from the participants. Lastly, this study is valid and reliable because I audio recorded the interviews, which minimized any bias in my interpretation of the information.

4.14 METHODOLOGICAL STUDY LIMITATION

Due to Covid-19 pandemic restrictions, it was not easy to move from point A to point B, which made it difficult to access some key participants like KIN1 in Mt Darwin. Since he is the Head of all the Chiefs and traditional leaders in the province, he had to give important information on the strategies to be employed by men to address the issue of child marriage in Mashonaland central. To solve the problem, I had to interview another Chief who was easy to reach and his contributions managed to provide relevant answers to the research questions. The use of face masks and social distance was also another limitation, because it was not easy to hear some of the contributions. To mitigate this, I had to ask for clarity, where necessary. Some participants did not want their names written in the thesis, so the researcher assured them of their anonymity by using pseudonyms instead of their real names. Another challenge was that some male participants were not comfortable with a female interviewer, but after explaining the purpose of the interview they agreed.
4.15 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the methodology upon which the entire study was done. Methodology in this study was presented by giving details of procedures used to collect information from focus-group discussions and one on one interviews. Chapter four demonstrated why a qualitative methodology was selected to guide this study. It also highlighted the need for interviews and other relevant instruments for data collection. Other sections further discussed the methodology processes of organizing the data into thematic areas to be analysed and discussed in Chapters five and six.

Chapter four managed to explain the research and recruitment process of the participants as well as the field experiences which are all situated in qualitative research. The researcher as an insider was discussed and mitigated any bias through the use of reflexivity and a phenomenological approach to the study where the phenomenon was allowed to speak for itself. I, as the researcher had to suspend any preconceived ideas and without bias. This chapter further discussed the interviews and the observational process used to collect data from thirty-five participants. The observations made during the workshops and dialogue I attended before my field research further increased the validity and reliability of the study. This study was enhanced by the use of multiple sources to collect data through interviews, observations, published or unpublished books with relevant material to the research, and journals and articles. Limitations to this methodological study were presented at the end of this chapter to show the fact that the study was not free of challenges but gave a convincing interpretation of an analysis that can be reached, even in face of challenges that inevitably arise in a study.

The following chapter presents how the role of men and masculinities mitigate child marriage in Mashonaland Central.
CHAPTER 5:  
THE PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF MEN AND MASCULINITIES IN MITIGATING CHILD MARRIAGE IN MASHONALAND CENTRAL

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter four, the methodology used in achieving the objectives of this study was presented. The methodology chapter presented sampling processes, information gathering and analysis, the ethical considerations, research design, limitations to the study, validity and reliability. This chapter is presenting and analysing data from the field. The aim of this chapter is to explore how the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage is perceived in Mashonaland Central and strategies men can employ to combat child marriage. Questions and sub-questions were explored and the data discussed in this chapter are from men, women, traditional leaders and some key informants. Findings from different participants were discussed. Themes and sub-themes which came from the study will be discussed in this chapter. The themes included masculinity/manhood, men and child marriage, manhood and religio-cultural perspectives and lastly masculinity and the law.

5.2 MASCULINITY IN MASHONALAND CENTRAL

Most men accepted that they commit violence in one way or the other. In Zimbabwe about a quarter (26%) of women and girls experience some form of violence, which includes sexual exploitation in child marriage. The Violence Against Women (VAW) Indicator Research Project in Zimbabwe in the period 2011–2012 indicated that thirteen percent of men in the country agreed that they perpetrate violence against their intimate partners. Nearly all women experienced some form of sexual exploitation and they were married before 18, but during the interview, they were all above 18 years. Fifty percent of men agreed to perpetrating women’s sexual violence in the community whilst trying to help girls and women understand their role. This is supported by mb one who is one of the male respondents, who noted that:

It is our duty as men to decide and instil order in the family. Good women and girls are obedient and submissive to their husbands and partners especially when it comes to sexual issues. We
are not goats where both the he goat and the she goat have beard. “Murume ndebvu Mukadzi Ndebu.” In the Shona society women and children must obey men’s decisions for there to be order in the family and society. Men and boys are placed in this decision-making position by God and I do not know why NGOs and government want to disturb this order. Women and girls must know their position. Murume chaiye\textsuperscript{19} ‘real men’ must be able to control his family.

From most of the participants in this research it was clearly stated that men are heads of the families and they have got power over women and children. Males in Mashonaland central province are socialized to show the state of maleness with competence in sexual matters (Connell 2004). The participants also highlighted that a real man must marry a virgin, even if he had multiple sexual partners before marriage. The biological fact that they are men places them in privileged positions. This ideology which privileges men is called patriarchy (Messer 2004). Generally, Mashonaland Central is a male headed society. That is, the roles and responsibility of males in this province is to make decisions and to control women and children. Men are the ones that propose love and marriage. A woman will join the men’s family when married and the men will pay lobola or bride prize (pfuma).\textsuperscript{20} There is no standard prize for lobola and it’s the girl’s father and his male relatives who decide on how much the girl should be married for. To support this notion, Greene (2015) added that, socially and culturally defined ideas of masculinity control relationship and marriage practices everywhere in the province. In Mashonaland Central males are socialized to play the role of breadwinner, to be powerful and to take most, if not all decisions. Similarly, Chitando (2015), Connell (1987) and Morrell (2011) added the idea that men are socialized to believe in force and power. Nyanungo (2015) elaborated that in Malawi and Tanzania, poverty-stricken fathers force their daughters into marriage at the ages of 11 and 13, respectively, to men above the age of 60 at a low cost of $16 or a cow. Most of the female participants in the study agreed to all these ideas highlighted by different scholars and they said it was real in their Shona society.

To add on to the above findings on what is expected of ‘a real man’ in Mashonaland Central, the study noted that real men are aware of the power that is in women and girls and this contributed to

\textsuperscript{18} Murume ndebvu Mukadzi ndebvu refers to a claim of equality which does not bear any fruit in the society. The Shona people compare such families with the goats where it is difficult to differentiate between the father and the mother because they all have beards.

\textsuperscript{19} Murume chaiye means real men who hold the qualities of men are expected by the Shona society.

\textsuperscript{20} Pfuma means bride prize in Shona or Lobola in Ndebele.
the construction of masculinities which yield light risk behaviour on men and boys. Chitando (2008) added that men and boys should be prepared to work together with women and girls in curbing the issue of child marriage to promote development in Mashonaland central. It was also noted that male involvement in addressing child marriage can help men to capitalize on power in women to curb child marriage in Mashonaland Central. The study also noted that women and girls are powerful enough to come up with effective solutions to curb child marriage especially if males support them. Chodorow (2001) opines that women over the world have the power to control children, boys and girls, from a tender age. This can be used as an opportunity to mitigate child marriage in Mashonaland Central. Males accepted giving women and girls the opportunity to freely raise the children without fear of control from the male figures. There is a need for balancing the commitment of both fathers and mothers to children. Therefore, men and boys should initiate and support all these ideas to mitigate child marriage.

In attempting to comprehend people’s understanding of manhood in Mashonaland Central, 85% of the participants pointed out that masculinity is defined in terms of man’s sexual encounter and his ability to impregnate a woman. This is supported by Sayi and Sibanda (2018). The unfortunate part is that most of these marriages encounter violence, rape and sexual coercion, with men justifying this with women’s resistance to men’s demands. Most women and girls highlight that they experience a lot of sexual exploitation in their marriages and relationships. It is the men who decide how they should go about in their sex and marriage relationships. This study also pointed out that women are not allowed to pass negative comments about their male partner’s sexual performance, because the community is socialized that men always do their best when it comes to sexual matters (Bourdillon 1993).

Another perception that can be deduced from the above is that in Mashonaland Central, at family level, men dominate and this leaves women and girls with weak bargaining power, which makes them fear to discuss and agree on sexual and reproduction issues. Due to stigma and taboos, women and girls in this province cannot openly discuss information on sex and reproductive health. Most of the female participants agreed with the notion highlighted that they cannot turn down their fathers or husbands’ proposals, because they are the ones to give final decisions at family level. Usually, these child marriage issues are the ones deliberated at family level, with the men in the lead. If women and girls resist, there will be violence in the families, which will even worsen the
situation. Violence will also decrease women and girls’ power to negotiate for safe sex, and this increases their vulnerability and exposure, as they may also be victims of sexual abuse by older family members, close relatives and neighbours.

The study also highlighted that even in Mashonaland central, decision-makers are predominantly male. In the Shona society, women and girls’ subordinate role is underpinned by cultural norms and beliefs, depriving them of the ability to make decisions regarding sexual matters and to negotiate for safe sex practices. Child marriage is a sexual exploitation activity which is commonly done in Mashonaland central. Girls and women marry at tender ages and the men who are the decision makers do not provide solutions to the problem. Child marriage exposes women and girls to the danger of sexual violence outside their homes whilst fetching water and firewood and doing farm work, especially in rural areas. School girls are forced to give in to the sexual advances of older men to pay for their school books and to meet their personal expenses in the form of lunch and sanitary pads for the adolescents.

Another issue which came out is that even at national level, greater percentage of decision makers are men. Ideas and policies to combat child marriage, are crafted by men and to date women have little impact on mitigating child marriage issues. In Zimbabwe, child marriage affects women and children more negatively than men. The Shona society tolerate men and boys’ behaviour on child marriage. The issue of child marriage is a complex societal challenge which needs men and other members of the society to join hands and combat the pandemic. The participants highlighted that women’s sexual violence is a serious developmental issue. Therefore, men should take a serious position to combat child marriage because of their position in the Shona society, because age at first marriage cripple’s one’s future, especially if happening at a tender age.

5.2.1 Murume ndebvu Mukadzi ndebvu (Equality)

The study has also revealed that in Mashonaland Central, male resistance against gender equality is widespread, as shown in Chapter 4. The findings of the study argued that the current gender equality intervention blames men for the violation of the female rights, instead of using a holistic
approach. Men blame the introduction of equal rights to Shona society because they say it is the source of violence. One of the men mb3 highlighted that,

*Before the introduction of these rights our women used to respect the men but nowadays the women and girls are not giving the due respect to the men as is expected by the Shona men. Most of them have lost their positions in most families and it causing a lot of disorder. We need to come up with our own solutions to the problems not having foreigners teaching us how to solve our problems. Our ancestors gave headship to the men for a good reason.*

This generally implies that the Shona manhood dominates. Both, women, girls and children must respect the males in the family and society, as indicated by Konyana in Chapter 4 on the issues of partrikin. But, the majority of the men misuse the power by violating the rights of others. The thesis therefore suggests that sometimes custom is abused by people, especially men, who exploit it for purposes of controlling women and abusing them sexually. The above information also shows that Shona men need a lot of sensitization on equality issues, because equality generally refers to recognition of women and men’s similarities and differences and value them equally. Looking at the issue of *Murume ndebvu mukadzi ndebvu* the male participants referred to the point that women want to be men. This points out that a lot is still needed to sensitize the community on women and girl’s rights so that sexual violation in the form of child marriage will be curbed. Much needs to be done by the government and NGOs to sensitize communities on the relevance of equality and human rights.

In conjunction with the above, Chitando (2007) offers ideas on the need to change these masculinities or manhood so that they are life giving. Men can protect the girl child and advance her so that she will not die in poverty and abuse due to child marriage. Mwaura (2001) posits that women and men’s concerns should be a task for both men and women. He further highlighted that women or men’s issues are the issues of everybody. It is very relevant to engage men in the address of child marriage in Mashonaland central. In support of the above, Maluleke (2007) opine that he is working towards sensitizing men and boys to be more gender sensitive. He further highlighted that men have to give up their bad patriarchal dividend and work with women and girls to transform the world.
5.2.2 Real Man (*Murume chaiye*)

Another perception to note is the issue of real men in relation to marriage and sexuality. The study found that the issue of *murume chaiye* perpetrates women’s sexual violence in the form of child marriage, because a real man is perceived as one who is sexually active and with all the effective skills to propose and make love. From this thesis it is noted that most men engage in sexual activities that are dangerous to their lives and others because the majority use force and power to prove that they are real men. Some are involved in rape cases and others contract HIV and Aids. Girls and young women are forced into marriages and some of which are for convenience without real love. These marriages are highlighted in Chapter 4. These marriages are formed to facilitate a fertile ground for men to get women and girls for sex to prove their manhood.

because he does not have the privilege or power society has taught him” real men” should possess alienated, frustrated, pissed off, he may attack, abuse woman or women but he is not reaping positive benefits from his support and perpetuation of sexist, ideology not exercising privileges (Hooks 1994).

The above scholarship is very much in support of the results of the study. Males are socialized to adopt some abusive behaviour for them to gain the title of a real man. This contributes a lot to sexual abuse of females in the form of child marriages which this study seeks to curb by engaging men and boys in the fight. This is further supported by Chodorow (1998) who noted that the perception that emerge from Hooks supports the findings of this study, because the issue of social change was highlighted by most participants in the study. It was noted that, if the Shona society does not revisit its societal norms and values, it will be difficult for men and boys to curb child marriage in Mashonaland Central. Men and boys should also change their negative patriarchal traits that perpetuate child marriages and support those traits that are liberating, instead of enslaving women and girls.

This empirical research also noted that the real-men concept reinforces the perception that men are the providers. This has accorded men the opportunity and privilege to go to school and get employment opportunities, whilst women and girls wait for marriage. In a way this leads to the feminization of poverty because women and girls are restricted in their choices and lack the access to economic opportunities and resources, becoming men’s sex objects most of the times. However,
the Kaundas (2012) clearly stated that addressing child marriage issues requires a clear understanding of the complex and gendered nature of power relations. This is so because the Shona society socialized men to be always in the lead. So, in order to maintain this position, men use a lot of violence and power to manipulate the girl child.

To add on to the above, this study also shows that real men of Mashonaland Central must have access to agricultural land, job opportunities in all sectors and other resources such as technology and other economically empowering activities. On a positive note, this gives men and boys the opportunity to empower the women and girls, because they own the means of production economically and this will give the men an opportunity to address issues of child marriage because they have the resources and they own the means of production. Murume chaiye (real man) has power over women and girls and this is often shown through sexual potency and fertility. This also implies that a woman or girl has no right to refuse sex, especially when married Klinken (2011). This study also noted that men in Mashonaland Central play a key role in providing and fending for food for the family, but when he fails, he resorts to violent means to maintain his position in society, while the women always have to be submissive. Another participant mb6 stated that,

_For me to be content that I am a real man my first sexual encounter should be with a virgin. Failure to do that I will continue looking for one until it’s done._

In Mashonaland central, masculinity or manhood is for the men’s gratification. This exposes the girl child to a lot of sexual abuse, because men need to prove their manhood having sex with virgins in the society. Another male participant, mb9, testified that he could have sex with as many schoolgirls as he can from the nearby secondary school and he said if he failed to have sex with them they would undermine his manhood. He further blamed the parents for failing to provide for their children, so he used material things to lure the young girls into these child marriages. In relation to this it was also highlighted that some men take some medication and drugs so that they become sexually active so as to prove their manhood. This contributes to a number of girls forced to marry the men they had their first sexual encounter with, even if they are still of school-going age, because the Shona men value virginity. They will be free to pay lobola to the girl’s parents. From this thesis the majority of the participants indicated that men need to prove to the society that they are superior to the women and girls and they are in control. In addition to this Morrell
(2001) emphasized the need for men to care and love the women and children. Another participant supported Morrell’s notion by saying,

_Real men should be loving and caring. When society gave men the decision-making role, the aim was not to hurt and abuse the girls but to install order in both family and society. But the majority of the men are abusing the power and authority given to them. It is the duty of the men to protect the girls and women from sexual exploitation in the form of child marriage. It is important to have someone leading in society or at family level, but it has to be done with love and care. But some of the men are cruel to the girls and women because they force them into marriage and later abuse them and even divorce them._

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that some men misuse their power on women and the girl child, especially in marriages. The participant also highlighted that there is high prevalence of sexual abuse taking place in the province and a lot of incidents are not reported. This is supported by Njovana and Watts (1996:48), who opine that many child marriages start as rape cases and are settled out of court to avoid jail sentences. This study has also revealed that most women were married whilst they were children. It was also noted that most of the girls who were married as children are in polygamous marriages which are abusive and life threatening. Furthermore Chodorow (1978) explained that some poor or working-class men who have been hurt sometimes hurt others being unable to live up to dominant definitions of a real men. Men and boys will use power to force the girls into marriage because they need to prove that they are real men. Manhood is to the men’s advantage but as emphasized by Morell (2011) and Chitando (2013), men need to take up a caring and loving role to mitigate child marriages in Mashonaland Central.

To curb child marriages, Padare Men’s Forum in Zimbabwe is advocating for men who love and care as real men. Some men who were reached by Padare programs were able to share the advantages of a society with men who care and protect young girls and advocate for curbing child marriage and practise safe sexual and reproductive health actions. From this study it was also noted that some men are against the increase of child marriages in Mashonaland Central. They emphasized the issue of caring and supporting women and children. The findings of the study also
emphasized men-to-men engagement in addressing child marriage. The participants noted that men-to-men engagement plays a pivotal role in addressing child marriage. The real-men concept points out the issue of male dominance in Mashonaland Central and from this thesis it was noted that some of the behaviours can change; they are not fixed. However, it is important to discuss the findings on how masculinity and marriage are perceived in Mashonaland Central.

5.3 MASCULINITY AND MARRIAGE IN MASHONALAND CENTRAL

It is men duty to love and protect the women and girls in marriage. Men in the Shona society make all decisions in the family. Masculinity places men and boys in key positions which give them the power to protect the girls and women. Men are prepared to work towards the mitigation of child marriage.

Results from this study show that men are ready to work towards mitigating child marriage if women and children give them their due respect, since they are the heads at all levels. They agreed that they are prepared to take a leading role not a supporting role, in addressing child marriage if they are involved from the onset in planning and strategizing women and girls’ issues. The findings also show that men, being in key positions and because of their good education levels, understand the causes and consequences of young brides better than the women and girls, especially those in remote rural areas, mining and farming areas, who are deeply rooted in culture and religion that encourage child marriage. The shared way of living of the Shona society emphasized on marriage than other developmental activities like education and going to productive work. Female participants in this study also emphasized the significance of marriage in Shona society. The female participants explained that marriage added value and dignity to a greater extent. Men highlighted that most of the young girls pushed them into such marriages. However, 72% of the male participants agreed to take a leading role in child marriage. The remaining percentage of the men was still bitter about being left out from the programs that include young female brides and girls and they emphasized that women and girls’ issues would not be resolved if men were left out. Five young female respondents highlighted that marriage was their highest good and they were married before 18 during the time of the interview, they were 24 and above. Their daily fight for survival in marriage kills their educational imagination and leaves no dreams for the future but to marry (Sibanda 2013). From the findings it was also highlighted that some young women in
Mashonaland Central embark on cohabiting. The male respondents said that young women and girls who were out of school start relationships with men of all ages to earn a living. Men also emphasized that women claim to be aware of their rights, but the truth is that they do not understand it. Some are involved in alcohol and drug abuse, which exposes them to child marriage and HIV.

Chitando (2008) and Connell’s (1987) writings seem to constitute that masculinities put men under community pressure to behave in a domineering and sexually aggressive way. The socially constructed roles also put men’s health at risk in Mashonaland Central by encouraging them to equate into marriage risky sexual behaviour, because they need to prove their manhood. Gender roles associates maleness with sexual problems like having many sexual partners, physical violence and dominance over women. In this study, some men stated they had a terrible burden to achieve the manhood targets set by society, which contributes a lot to the issue of women sexual violence which is rampant in Mashonaland central. Shona men believe in getting due respect in marriage from their wives. It is not proper for the women and girls to argue with the men. The study has also indicated that it is the men who have the final say when it comes to marital issues. Masculinity puts some men under unnecessary pressure, because they need to prove their manhood to the society. In Mashonaland Central the period from marriage to first child has to be very fast. Newly married couples have to conceive within the first year of their marriage to demonstrate their men’s manhood, as highlighted by Chitereka and Nduna (2010). Men are applauded for managing to have a child so fast. It proves to society his ability to be a father. Siwila (2011) laments that a caring and loving man is concerned about giving life and not destroying it. This was also shown in this study. Some of the findings highlight that most of the married families in the Shona society, which are meant to be haven of security, are turned into prison houses for both women and the girl child. Men claim to be protective of their marriages but it seems that masculinities in the Shona society have done little in addressing the issue of child marriage. Domineering masculinities place both males and females at risk of contracting HIV and AIDS. Masculinities of the Shona society like the Ndau in ‘androcentric’, as indicated by Mapuranga (2010). The study has shown that the Shona support manhood interests and sexual actions as being more important than those of women and girls and both societies regard this as a normal way of life. Most of the marginalizing tendencies displayed in the everyday relations between men and women are not questioned
because men are men. As highlighted in the literature review, the research also noted that Shona men are the owners of the family property and children whilst their women do not have anything registered in their names. Women and children are not asked on how family projects and other critical issues should be carried on. Generally, male dominance creates a dependency syndrome for women and girls, which makes them more vulnerable to all forms of abuse. This is also supported by Kanyoro (2016). Masculinities in the Shona culture even prohibits women from going to work, because men are supposed to provide for them; the place of a woman is in the kitchen. It was also found that in most cases, religion, norms and values support the portrayal of men as more powerful persons than women and children. Chitando and Chirongoma (2008) also highlighted this point.

This study found out from some respondents that in Mashonaland Central, girls’ preparedness or maturity for marriage is usually determined by the girl’s physical appearance and if they already have their periods. The community will just check on the indicated issues and the man will be granted permission to marry the girl. The respondents highlighted that one can marry a girl of his choice after getting approval from the parents or guardian; they are not worried about age. But, UNCEF defines child marriage as a formal or informal relationship where one or both parties are under the age of 18. In Mashonaland Central, young bridal marriage affects more women than men. Child marriage is a violation of human entitlements, as well as a hinderance to economic and social development. It is harmful to girls’ lives throughout their lifetime in Shona society. The thesis also indicates that women and girls are praised if they comply to their social duties and punishment is given for unacceptable behavior (Connell 1987). The words below justify the above:

*Women and children are protected by men in this province and I don’t know why they doubt men’s responsibility in addressing different marital issues. In our society it’s the men who approves or disapproves the marriages and they are the ones who marry.*

From the above statement it is clear that, men in Mashonaland Central take nearly all decisions and to maintain this position the majority use force for the girl child to comply with the marriage request. Study has also shown that girls marry older men. Connell (1987) also cites the power in men. He further explained how power is abused by the majority of men against the girl child and women. The study emphasizing the power that men have over women in Mashonaland central, but
the core business of this thesis is to explore how men can use this power to mitigate child marriage. Women and girls in this community are docile, because marriage is their highest good as in this study some women highlighted out that the Shona community respects marriage, so “we marry to get respect”. They are prepared to marry anyone in order to get respect from the community. Hilary Clinton (1995) shows that Women’s Entitlements are Human Rights, but this is not enough to put to an end the issue of patriarchy. There is need to dismantle these toxic patriarchal practices in order to support women’s rights and gender justice (Sonke Gender Justice 2006). From the above statement, it can be said that men have the capacity to employ positive masculinities to address this sexual and reproductive health issue affecting their sisters and children in the society. Connell further highlighted that not all masculinity practices are negative; therefore, one needs to buy into the positive masculine to mitigate the issue of child marriage.

The study also shows that men are prepared to apply their home-grown solutions to the problem. Connell (1995) noted that change comes from the society at large. So, the Shona men want to provide solutions to their marital problems. They have the power and the majority of them are leaders, so they take the responsibility to address child marriage in their province. This is also supported by the statement from the study saying (Connell 1995)

We are trying to change, and stop the issue of child marriage in our community but we are facing a lot of resistance from the men particularly in mining and farming communities of the province. Most of the girl children in this community are not going to school.

The above comment is in support of the idea that child marriage is rampant in Mashonaland Central. Men marry the young girls because they do not attend school. Some of the girls are in polygamous marriages and some become mothers at tender ages. The issue of artisanal minors contributes a lot to child marriage because the girls will need money to take care of themselves and their families. Men in Mashonaland Central are economically empowered and they own most means of production, which cause the majority of them to sexually abuse the girl. Furthermore, men in farming communities are more involved in child marriage. It was also highlighted in this study that men can marry as many wives as they want and they usually go for young girls below the age 18. Most married women, who are 24 years and above, were married as children. This
justifies the need for male intervention to address child marriage, because they are the ones that marry and take all decisions on marriage.

A bull takes care of itself

In Shona it is *Bhuru rinozvionera*. This concept is so typical in Mashonaland Central. Men and boys here are treated as bulls who are supposed to take care of themselves and no-one cares or guides them on what to do even in marital terms, because a bull is believed to be powerful and able to take its responsibility without fail. The bull has to take care of itself in hardship or goodness and it is also expected to protect others. That is how men and boys are viewed in Mashonaland Central. I see this idea putting a lot of men and boys in danger or at a disadvantage. Someone in the province initiated the practice of young bridal marriage and this included both men and women. There seems to be no one listening to the needs and attend to the various needs of males. Men are expected to be problem solvers of both themselves and women and children, but the society is not active in grooming them to do good in terms of marriage and courtship in order to curb these child marriages in Mashonaland Central. This needs to be revisited if the problem of women sexual violence is to be addressed, because it is a serious factor, contributing to these child marriages in the province. Girls and women are taken care of, but men and boys are left to do whatever they want. This needs the attention of both civil society and the government if child marriage is to be curbed.

From the comment above, men and boys in Mashonaland Central need to be guided and sensitized on these child marriage issues like what is done to the females so that they also enjoy their entitlements and freedoms the people of Zimbabwe are entitled to by virtue of being human beings. Men and boys need to be taken care of women and girls, they also need the same attention and support that is given to women and girls against gender-based violence, because some are also abused in the society.

In support of the above, Mashiri and Mwashita (2020) opine that child marriage interventions in Zimbabwe are fragmented and data collection is uncoordinated. This gives room to the concentration of programs that aim at empowering the females leaving the males behind. From the above respondent there is need to involve both men and women in mitigating child marriage issues in Mashonaland Central. From the comment above, men and boys complain of being left alone as
bulls and unattended, thereby forcing them to behave like they want (Sonke Gender Justice 2006). Sometimes its attention seeking, the study revealed. The comment above also highlighted that men and boys need the same care and attention that are given to girls and women by society, because they also face some challenges and abuse. It is not healthy to leave the men and boys behind, because the problem of child marriages needs everyone to join hands and resolve it.

Given the fact that women often depend emotionally and economically on men has many implications for the abuse of women and children (Chimhowa 2013). This affects both the dynamics of abuse and the strategies to deal with it. Men and boys as husbands and boyfriends need the same attention as that given to women when dealing with it issues of young bridal marriages. Konyana (2018) argues that the society concentrates much on assisting women and girls, leaving men and boys behind, which makes it difficult for them to come up with effective strategies to address child marriage. Men and boys need to be sensitized on issues of redemptive masculinities from the onset if the issue of child marriage is to be reduced in Mashonaland central. Programs should target the men and boys from the onset so that such issues are addressed at an early stage. The issue of leaving men and boys behind will affect legislation to criminalize issues of women sexual violence, protect, prevent violence and adequately deal with perpetrators of child marriage in Mashonaland central.

When men and boys are left as bulls, this affects the law to fulfil global, regional and national commitments to combat child marriages and deal with the root causes of women and men’s inequalities. If men and boys are left doing whatever they want, it makes policy implementation difficult and the issue of child marriage will remain on the increase in Mashonaland Central. Maguranyanga and Sibanda (2013) postulates that men and boys are the leaders in churches with conservative beliefs and practices that violate human rights, especially by shunning girls and women from obtaining western education and modern medicines that can empower them. This points out that men and boys need the same attention as females, especially when dealing with marital issues. They need to be empowered with information and knowledge about the consequences of women sexual violence. The study also revealed that most men and boys in the province are not fully aware of child marriage and what laws say about the practice. They also testified that being a man or boy does not mean you know everything society expects, but the blame is put on the men, whilst they know nothing, because society never bothered to give them
information on good courtship and marital practices. Therefore, men and boys need to be taught liberating masculinities, which are less violent and less oppressive ways of being masculine (Morrell and Ouzgane 2005). In Mashonaland Central, masculinities of being bulls, fighters or powerful have projected men as having power over women.

From comment above the participants pointed out that not all males have power over others but it remains true that men tend to be socially constructed as more hegemonic than women Chitando (2008). So, men and boys need to be attended to and be advised instead of labelling them perpetrators always. There is need to address the cultural and religious issues in such a way that empowers men and boys so that they will be able to come up with informed strategies to address issues in their province. The study also noted that men and boys also need to be taken care of just like the females and young girls. They need to be taught peaceful and harmonious masculinities (Morrell 2001). These are masculinities that set both men and others free. These issues need to be addressed in Mashonaland Central so that men and boys will freely and effectively follow behind the address of women sexual violence. Most of the traditional forms of marriage in Mashonaland Central portray the use of hegemonic masculinities (Mwandayi 2002). So, men and boys in Mashonaland Central need to be assisted to come up with good and mature marital and spousal relationships in the province when they are involved in mitigating child marriages.

Similarly, Shoko (2006) supports the above notion when he notes that men and boys’ behaviour is influenced by cultural norms regarding maleness, some of which are very negative in the context of marriage. That’s some traditions values and attitudes promote patriarchy, polygamy and inheritance that affect men and boys’ sexual behaviour. This is also observed by Siwila (2012) when she observes the need to find out why harmful, cultural practices persist in some societies.

5.3.1 Virginity

*I cannot pay lobola for someone who is not a virgin because the majority of the girls who are not virgins in this community are prostitutes. They are also responsible for the spread of various sexually transmitted diseases. For a man to enjoy his manhood there is need to have sex with a virgin. So, it is better to marry off your daughter while young before anyone temper with her virginity. This will also give parents the opportunity to*
The above explanation from the study clearly states that in Mashonaland Central men want to marry virgin girls for the reasons stated above. Most male respondents from this study highlighted the notion that sex with virgins is good and it even encourages men to pay lobola on time and to educate their young wives. The study also unveils that elder women also play a role in the maintenance of virginity teaching the young girls the advantages of virginity and good behaviour to both the husband and the in laws. The girls’ parents will be very happy if lobola is fully paid, but on the contrary, this puts the young brides at risk of sexual violence, because men and boys will be competing for these virgins.

5.3.2 Bride prize/Pfuma/Lobola

The payment of bride prize is valued the most in the Shona society and men are the ones who pay lobola in Mashonaland Central province. Lobola has no standard measure, so each family will have his own lobola measure (Mwandayi 2008). It varies with families and societies and most of these girls will be married for a very low price, while others go with no payment (Shoko 2006). The girls and the women have no contribution to the charge; these are determined by men of the family. Chitando (2018) emphasized redemptive masculinities, because a number of these young married girls will be prone to abuse or will be commoditized because of bride prize. ‘Mombe yehumai’ is also paid to the mother if a girl is a virgin and if she is not, the mother will not get a beast for her married daughter. Most women in the Shona society encourage the girl child to maintain her dignity so that she gets married whilst still a virgin.

The study noted that male involvement will help a lot in addressing child marriages in Mashonaland central, because it is perceived that men pay lobola and get the greatest percentage of it. Therefore, if they join hands with women and girls, the problem will be curbed, because women and girls are often emotionally abused and economically dependent on those who victimize them Chimhowa (2013). Males are so close to the females and instead of raping them and abuse them in different ways they can protect them and provide solutions to child marriage. The study
also found that not all men are violent and even those that can change and review some of the practices like lobola and others, which promote the abuse of girls and women.

5.3.3 The need for employing redemptive masculinities

*It is very important for the men in this province to help in mitigating women’s sexual and reproductive issues. I lost one of my daughters because she was married at a tender age and she could not make it that is when I started to campaign against these child marriages in my village. I wish I could get more men and boys to help in addressing this problem. Our community is so backward with a lot of men embarking in beer drinking and marrying these young girls they are them not supporting to be economically empowered.* (Participant MB6)

From what the respondent said above it is true that male involvement is very key in the address of marriage of girls below the age of 18, which is confirmed to be rampant in Mashonaland Central. Men start to see the importance of protecting and empowering women and the girl child when it is their relatives involved in these sexual and reproductive issues, according to some participants. To elaborate on the issue of economically empowering the girl child, this research indicated issues of poverty, poor education for the girls and women, and religion and cultural factors as key drivers of child marriage in the province. The findings opine that men can be of great importance in addressing these issues since the majority of them are in key positions and they are the custodians of culture (Wodon 2018). Mashonaland Central province is largely rural and has some remote communities, which are on the borders with Zambia and Mozambique, where there are poor buildings to support even education system and this affects the women and young girls.

Men in Mashonaland Central, like elsewhere, need to mitigate the complicated situation of cultural and religious norms and practices and other individual and household factors and broadly political and economic factors (Machacha 2018). The study indicated that the girl child enters into early marital union as a result of traditional and religious beliefs of their parents and communities. These communities are male dominated since Zimbabweans are a patriarchal society. Economic circumstances also drive men to marry the young girls in the society. The economic status of most households in Mashonaland central as was indicated by this research are in extreme poverty and they lack opportunities which push families to marry their teenage daughters. Some female
respondents opine that men can address this by not authorizing such marriages and even stopping marrying the premature girls (Chenge 2017). Men and other participants in the study points out that women sexual violence makes it harder for families, communities and countries to eradicate poverty because it sweeps away the health and well-being of the girls and the overall welfare of the Shona community. This also disrupts international and national efforts to fight poverty and HIV/AIDS because this will divert funds for other developmental programs.

From this study, redemptive masculinities be employed in addressing the health costs of child marriage and early pregnancy, because the respondents testified that due to child marriage, most of the young women dies in childbirth and some will survive but chronic disability like an injury to the women’s birth canal that leaves her leaking urine or faeces (Kanyongo 2017). The research also indicated that sexual violence is associated with multiple health risks, because most of these young brides have little access to family planning, contraception and reproductive health services, and information, which exposes many of them to early and frequently sexual relations and repeated child births before they are physically mature. This may lead to deaths and many problems. Men need to employ redemptive masculinities to address child marriage because child marriage increases the vulnerability of young women and girls to contract HIV. Scholars like Sayi and Sibanda (2018) support these findings. Research also indicated that the Shona people believe that marriage can protect the young brides and women from contracting HIV. Men in this study highlighted that youngest brides have increased chances to contract the virus, because marriage results in a transition from virginity to frequent unprotected sex. Though they are efforts to prevent and protect HIV which is worsening among women, because of the belief that marriage protects young brides and women from HIV infection and fuels the practice of child marriage in the province. Child wives are more vulnerable to contract HIV because of the young age of marriage, the wide spousal gap, frequency of unprotected sex and limited access to information and negotiation powers. Marriage increases sexual activity and exposure to the risk, because married women cannot negotiate for safe sex and are under pressure to show their fertility (Njovana 1996).

The findings also show that male engagement is important, because women and girls in our province have low education levels, which expose them to early marriages, especially if the girl is from a poor family. These low levels of education affect the girl’s use of reproductive health services (Mwandayi 2008). Usually, the girls marry when they drop out of school and they do not
finish secondary education, because it improves women’s status and this is delay’s the age of marriage and improves reproductive decision making. Poor and uneducated women start making children at a tender age, which makes them unemployable. It was also added that low levels of education affect the girls of reproductive health services. In other words, secondary education improves women’s position by delaying the age of marriage and enhancing reproductive decision making. Conversely, women who are poor and have low education usually start child bearing at a tender age and will have more children not spaced and their childbearing will be prolonged. The study noted that this will make their children less likely to attain higher levels of education, continuing cycles of low literacy and poverty. Some male participants noted that child marriage prevents societies of the knowledge and financial livelihood contributions of girls and their children. Child pregnancy and domestic chores affect the girl child’s education mostly because low literacy levels usually lead to reduction in employment and income generation chances and disable the ability of the girl child to attain and make use of information.

Sayi and Sibanda (2018) similarly found that in one of the districts in Mashonaland central, men are the owners and gatekeepers of cultural practices. Customs and traditions are still playing an important role in fostering child marriage and poor economic conditions also playing a key role in pushing young girls into child marriage.

The Mashonaland community is dominated by the white-garment churches. They have their own doctrines which promote child marriages (Kurebwa 2018). Respondents in this study indicated that most of these marriages are guided by the Holy Spirit. If a man is instructed by the Holy Spirit to marry a certain girl he will obey and marry, no matter how young the girl is. Some female respondents also supported this notion. They testified that they were married the same way and they respected their church doctrine. The girls will not question it, but only respond positively to the instruction, because they have no choice. However, for the majority it is not from deep down their hearts. Religion is often strategically used to defend women sexual violence but this thesis found that religious leaders have a pivotal role in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland central province. All religious leaders in the Shona community are men. These men are often the gatekeepers of religious communities and they are often holders of power and authority and influence their congregant beliefs and behaviours. The leaders also play a key role in formalizing marriages and other events like births and deaths in the community, so they are of great influence.
to employ redemptive masculinities; these are masculinities that empower and give life to the girl child and women. This can also help in the reduction of Gender Based violence which is so rampant in the province. Chitando (2008) also acknowledges good aim of the Pentecostal movement in Zimbabwe in constructing new, more constructive reforms of masculinities among men, but his evaluation pointed out that it was still negative, because it continues to promote patriarchal views such as male headship and leadership (Connell 1995).

Findings of this study are also, in support the above where one of the respondents confirmed that even if we give leadership positions to women and girls in this province, they cannot take final decisions or authorize key issues without consulting the men for approval first so that men will lead in all cases. In Mashonaland central, most churches, which are male dominated, support patriarchal reforms of masculinity and most of the times they are abusive and disempowering the girls and women. The focus of these masculinities is defined in terms of headship and leadership as mentioned above, which is sometimes informed by reading patriarchal biblical texts. The focus is on the fixed structure of male dominance, which makes it important to get men on board to strategize and help in mitigating women’s reproductive health issues. Chitando (2008) supports the idea of getting men on board to assist in addressing irresponsible marriage behaviour:

We have our own way of living and of doing things as Shona people so most of the things we do in our society we are guided by our culture. Marriage is one of the most important aspects guided by culture in our province and men usually support their marriage styles because they are good. As Shona people we respect our culture and we guard against it.

From this study it was noted that Shona people in Mashonaland Central Province are deeply rooted in their cultural values and beliefs. Marriage is considered as an important norm in the Shona society of Zimbabwe (Mwandayi 2008). Women are regarded as very important assets for marriage. Pressure is very high for women and girls to stay in marriage for economic security and to avoid the shame or disrespect that accompanies separation and divorce. Similar stigma and pressure are not applied to the men in the Shona community and they can marry anyone they want and they can have extra marital affairs or wives. Girls will be given nicknames for getting married late and they are not considered as permanent members of the family, so they have to get someone to marry them and little is invested in them. Courtship can be violent like, abduction – and this is
regarded as an introduction of the wife to the concept of male dominance and that she should submit to them. The community leaders in the study highlighted that most of the families engaging in child marriages consider it as a way of protecting their children’s future, and a way of reducing the financial responsibility of the family. The findings also indicated that in some remote areas of the province some medium spirits may request virgin girls to marry as payment for assisting the girl’s family. Culture values virginity and it has to be maintained for a bride price to be paid in full. Some female respondents testified that they were married as virgins, but their husbands never paid lobola. Instead, they have extra-marital affairs. This is related to findings of scholars like Connell (1995), Konyana (2016) and Shoko (2006).

Culture is associated with family dignity and gender discrimination in Mashonaland central. It favours men the most. Some female respondents in the study highlighted that they get a lot of pressure from these marriages in the name of culture. Issues of infidelity and polygamy are also high in the province. The findings highlighted that culturally a man can marry as many wives as he can and this gives the Shona people power to support some traditional practices like female child pledging for purposes of appeasing the avenging spirits, forced marriage, forced virginity testing and forced wife inheritance. The study opines that norms and values plays a significant part in people lives in Mashonaland Central, with men being the custodians. Women are forced to stick to abusive relationships or marriages, regardless of what happens.

In support of the above findings the research by the division of policy and practice of UNICEF titled Child Marriage and the Law (2007) states that:

Lack of adequate resources is one of the main determinants of child marriage. “In many countries in the Middle East, south Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, poverty drives families to give their daughters in marriage in the hope that this will address the family poverty and secure the families honour when it is at stake. Although child marriage is seen as a way to escape the cycle of poverty, child marriage in fact worsens the cycle of inter-generational poverty. Although poverty is one of the underlying causes of child marriage parents see this as an opportunity to receive money or save money, child marriage is not restricted to poor families only but it is one of the ways to preserve wealth in families of higher socioeconomic class.”
This is very much related to the findings of Mashonaland Central province in Zimbabwe.

From the above findings redemptive masculinities needs to be employed to address the causes of sexual violence in Mashonaland Central province. Men should address this issue because it is a development issue. UNDP (2006) defines development as “a process of expanding choices and opportunities so that each person leads a life of value and respect”. So, women and girls should be involved in all developmental issues for there to be positive results. The findings of the theme on manhood and the effects of child marriage are discussed below.

5.3.4 Manhood and the Consequences of child marriage

Child marriage has caused a lot of under-developments in our province. A lot of maternal deaths and violation of sexual and reproductive health rights of the young women and girls in the community of the Shona people. Child marriage has a lot of negative consequences to the girls in the province and the men are even aware of the effects.

The majority of the participants in the study opine that Mashonaland Central has the highest prevalence of child marriage in Zimbabwe. Participants also noted that manhood has some effects. Child marriage stems from poverty and male dominance, which makes the women and girls powerless and vulnerable to different forms of abuse. It was also noted that child marriage is a tool of oppression which enslaves women and their children. It subordinated the nature of communities that culturally serve the men by giving a girl child in marriage to an old man and thus exposes the girl child to the following effects from the study;

(a) Legal

Men in this province do not fear the laws in place. They marry young girls and they go unpunished. Some even encourage the survivors to go and report knowing that nothing will happen to them.

From this study it was noted that legal issues have an effect on addressing child marriage. Male involvement will help in coming up with strategies to curb child marriage, because understanding how the laws are related to the problem is one of the important ways in mitigating child marriage.
in Mashonaland central. The study found that many legal systems combine statutory, traditional and religious edicts that create weaknesses in dealing with child marriage. The study also revealed that girls and women lack access to legal services. Justice and protection of victims in their service at their properties is a major factor in denying women their rights and perpetrators of sexual violence often go unpunished (Chimhowa 2013). Outdated laws, a negative attitude of prosecutors, magistrates, judges, court clerks and others in the law enforcement sector leave victims of sexual violence traumatized even further. Some key informants highlighted lack of commitment by the government, to implement commitments and instruments, key factors leading to the unfair treatment of women and girls and the perpetuation of violence in Mashonaland Central. The study also pointed out that women and girls in Mashonaland central society are ignorant of their rights and responsibilities of governments and society in combating sexual violence.

(b) **Domestic violence**

Domestic violence is one of the key effects of child marriage in Mashonaland central. It was noted in the study that men are the perpetrators. In these child marriages men partner with young girls so that they can manipulate them. Konyana (2016) supports this notion. This is so because girls find themselves in new places with a lot of responsibilities, with no authority to make decisions and negotiate for safe sex in the marriage. Men are usually economically empowered and the girl’s economic dependency and lack of social support also expose the young married girl to violence and trauma (Dzimiri 2017). She will be manipulated in the name of teaching and is considered to be quiet and this exposes them to greater risk of domestic violence and sexual abuse and usually men are the perpetrators (Dube 2017). Mashonaland Central has the highest cases of domestic violence (Sibanda 2018). The map of Zimbabwe below shows percentages of women who experienced physical and/or sexual violence committed by their husband or partner by province;
Findings of this study are related to what is on the map above. The Zimbabwe National Gender Based Violence Strategy (2012–2015) highlighted that prevalence ranges from 17 percent in Matebeleland North Province to 56 percent in Mashonaland Central Province where this study was carried out. Similarly, the findings show that the perpetrators of sexual violence in the Mashonaland Central Province are men. Zimbabwe National Gender Based Strategy also indicated that 42 percent of women in Zimbabwe experienced sexual, physical or emotional violence or both at some point in their lives. The figure below indicates these findings: The study aims at male involvement in addressing child marriage, which is the highest form of sexual violence in Mashonaland Central Province. Similarly, the findings of the study revealed that violence against women is a result of historically unequal power relations between men and women or patriarchy, which have led to domination and discrimination against women by men. In support of the statement above, the strategy further indicates that violence against women is one of the key mechanisms by which women are forced into a docile position, compared to men and it is the highest form of violence in Zimbabwe and Mashonaland Central in particular.
Men take advantage of different factors to perpetrate sexual violence (Dzimiri 2017). The Zimbabwe National Gender Based Violence Strategy (2012–2015), supported by Chenge (2017) and Sayi (2018) highlighted the following factors which fuel the practice of child marriage which violates females sexual and reproductive entitlements. The issue of societal norms on sexual entitlements, including the denial of conjugal rights, is one of the factors indicated. The issue of societal norms on manhood or masculinity is one of the factors that is key in this study and this led to the commercialization of bride prizes, because men have room to do what they want in Shona society. Most of the time, fathers marry their daughters off to get money to manage their family problems and needs. The other key factor is socialization, because in most societies in Zimbabwe their socialization process does not condone abuse (Chitakure 2016). Economic factors such as poverty, exploitation and control over resources, harmful cultural practices like child pledging for purposes of appeasing avenging spirits, forced marriage, child marriage and wife inheritance are some of the key factors perpetuating child marriage. Participants in this study opine that all these factors affect people of Mashonaland Central. Infidelity of men and polygamy were also highlighted in this strategy and the problem of limited participation of women in decision making is other factors promoting child marriage.

Scholars like Shoko (2006) and Chitando (2008) also supports the notion that male involvement is very important in addressing child marriage because of the similar consequences indicated in the 2012–2015 Strategy. The study found that the impact of women’s sexual violence or the violation of girls and women’s sexual and reproductive entitlements goes beyond short-term injury and disability to the gross domestic product.

At personal level, sexual violence leads to the isolation and even expulsion of the survivors, and; to a greater extent, to health, social and economic effects. Health consequences include physical injuries, sexually transmitted illness, HIV infection, unwanted pregnancies that may lead to abortion and a variety of mental disorders. The study also took note of the threat of sexual violence that often limits women and girl’s power to negotiate for safe sex. The study also agrees with the findings of the Zimbabwe National Gender Based Violence Strategy on the fact that survivors are often traumatized, which hinders them from looking for reproductive health services, because they will be afraid of intimidation from family members and perpetrators. If the women and girls fail
to get the support from their male husbands or partners, they find themselves suffering from anxiety and depression due to deactivation, disempowerment and demoralization.

The study also noted that economic effects show that survivors experience a high financial burden through direct costs incurred by survivors to deal with effects of violence, which include medical fees, transport costs, payment to access legal and support services provided by the government and NGOs. All these calls for men to employ redemptive strategies to address the highlighted factors and consequences of child marriage or all types of sexual abuse for the females to be empowered and to enjoy their sexual and reproductive rights (Chitando 2008).

(c) **Health implication**

*Polygamy or having multiple sexual partners is a way of male supremacy in Mashonaland Central province of Zimbabwe ...*

The key informant noted that usually men will have multiple partners, which exposes the girl child to infectious diseases or high child mortality rates, life of women will be cut short, and a cycle of girl child abuse will be promoted from generation to generation (Bourdillon 1995). Pregnancy-related deaths in this province are common among girls between 15 and 19 years of age. Child marriage also affects the unborn baby and men will blame the women for the disability of the children and this may also lead to divorce.

Some premature births may also occur, while low growth rate and poor mental and physical growth are some of the characteristics of babies born to young mothers below the age of 18. The study noted a lot of negative effects associated with women’s health associated with child marriage. Sexual and reproductive health of girls, such as maternal mortality and morbidity, and contracting sexually transmitted diseases, particularly HIV/AIDS, because the girls will be married to older men who are more likely than young and single men to be HIV positive, poses a problem. Young girls and women, particularly those below 15 years of age, face a lot of reproductive health problems sometimes lose their lives as a result of early pregnancies. They are also likely to die in their twenties due to haemorrhaging, sepsis, eclampsia and obstructed labour. They can also have obstetric fistula; that is, leaking of urine and faeces, which occur when a mothers’ vagina, rectum or bladder tears.
It was also noted that lack of power in relation to their husbands or in-laws, girls and young women are further exposed to sexual and reproductive problems because of their lack of knowledge, information and access to reproductive health services like family planning, antenatal and postnatal care. This has a strong relationship with education, which is also another consequence of child marriage (Bhabha 2017).

(d) Low levels of education

The study has also proven that men in Mashonaland Central hold better education qualifications compared to their female counterparts. Men marry off their daughters before completion of education. Connell (1995), Bourdillon (1993) and UNICEF (2013) similarly opine that, many studies have proven that child marriage is associated with low levels of schooling. Men go for such girls because they have poor negotiating skills. After marriage these young girls and women will have limited opportunity to formal and even non-formal education because of restrictions placed on their movement by domestic burdens, childbearing and social norms that view marriage and schooling as incompatible. Women and girls will be restricted to their husbands’ homes and they cannot move even to their parents’ homes without their husbands’ approval. It is the man who is in control of everything in marriage, so he is the one to promote women and girls’ education. Parents tend not to invest in their girl child’s education because they will leave their homes and get married and the advantage of their investment will be lost. The girl child’s denial of education will result in the denial of other entitlements such as work, the right to life and many other rights.

From the findings of this research, nearly all the participants agreed to the consequences of masculinity and child marriage as highlighted above and this leads to a discussion on the findings on masculinity and the law.

5.4 MASCULINITY AND THE LAW

The study also noted that Zimbabwe recognizes two types of union namely civil marriages and registered customary marriages. Unregistered customary marriages are also common in Mashonaland Central. Marriage laws have not been harmonized in Zimbabwe since 2013 to ensure that women are given the same marriage rights and legal rights as men. Kurebwa (2013) further elaborates that Zimbabwe was still using the post-war Lancaster House Constitution as the
country’s supreme law since 1980 when Zimbabwe gained its independence and it defined the minimum age at marriage for girls at 16 years and the new Constitution increased the age to 18 years for both boys and girls. The customary law functions under the direction of local chiefs and in matters relating to aspects of family life does not set a minimum age of marriage for either boys or girls. The key informant (kin3) highlighted that the system as noted above disadvantaged females when it comes to issues like marriage, decision-making, divorce, inheritance and family rights (Mhloyi 1991). This often brings tension between traditional law and the new Constitution in relation to certain cultural and religious norms and practices. Findings from this study are similar with the notion that there is a need to close the gaps between customary and statutory laws that permit child marriage, the findings of this study show that the majority of the women in Mashonaland central province are not aware of the laws that prohibit the practice of women sexual violence. The findings of the study also indicated that girls and women’s limited education bars them from getting relevant information about the laws.

When taking the cases of child marriage and rape to court young women and girls usually lose because relevant information will have been tampered with by older women who will be telling a child what to say in court. This affects the evidence and at times the child will tell the court the one who will have forced her to report. So, most of the cases are lost in court because the young women and girls fail to give evidence required in court and the perpetrators will be free. Most of the times women and girls will cry when in court but the law deals with facts not emotions.

From the above statement, men win most of the child marriage and rape cases, because they are able to give a statement or provide relevant information required by the court without fear (MacCleary 2015). This leaves the courts with no option but to let the men go free, because there will be no evidence for the law to convict the men. The other finding is that the victim, in this case the girl child, is usually harassed by both family members and the community for being sexually abused, because the Shona people usually blame the girls and women for not behaving well, leading to the men raping them. This was highlighted in this study as well. The key informant also indicated that women and girls lose most of the cases because the majority of them fail to give relevant and consistent information on what really transpired and men usually walk away
untouched. From the above statement, men usually blame the law enforcing agents for not apprehending the men who violate the sexual and reproductive health rights of the girl child.

Following the above information, men are well informed about the laws of Zimbabwe and they are even aware that women and girls are not empowered regarding the laws and how to present facts when in court. Women and girls are not courageous to stand on the witness stand. The victim must be able to tell the story consistently, but because of the age difference, the girl child will not provide the evidence consistently. The key informants further highlighted that there is a gap, especially in prosecuting the perpetrators, and its painful to leave the girl child going without getting assistance and it is sad when justice does not prevail.

The findings also indicated that the medical report does not reveal the perpetrators and consistency of the witness during cross examination will confuse the girl child when on trial (Njovana 1996). Men are usually represented by a lawyer, because they are economically empowered, but most of the time, women and girls are not represented by a lawyer and they will be subjected. The police report and the state papers should have matching information, because these make up the record of proceedings and if this is not consistent, it becomes difficult to prove and prosecute. The findings also indicated that in court it will be a tag of war, because the court wants to convict, while the perpetrator wants to go out and he will be innocent until proven guilty. Men are usually brave enough to go onto the witness stand because of the points highlighted above.

"Child marriage is an offense. It kills the future of women and girls and the community at large. It has to be controlled."

Information above points to the fact that men agree that child marriage is an offense and there is a need to protect the girl child for development to be realized. Kurebwa (2013) noted that global, continental, regional and domestic instruments and legislation affirm that child marriage is a violation of human rights. The instruments and legislation lay down the norms to be used to marriage, which includes issues of age, consent, equality within marriages. The statement above shows that men are aware of all these provisions, but implementation is another issue. The remarks above show that child marriage has to be controlled, but they are not interested in stopping it. Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989) defines a child as any person being below 18 years of age. (The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child 1990). According to
article 2 of this charter, any person below the age of 18 is a child. The Charter addresses issues of particular concern to children. From findings of the study participants also mentioned the Supreme law of Zimbabwe (2013) section 81 on the Rights of children which provide that (c) Children should be safeguarded from economic and sexual exploitation from child labor and from maltreatment and neglect or any type of abuse. Findings from this study show that in Mashonaland Central province, men have better knowledge about the laws compared to women. This therefore gives the men the power to protect the girl child if they employ positive masculinities, because they have better knowledge of the laws to apply. Another key informant added the issue of the Marriage Act (1965) in Zimbabwe.

One of the participants said that issues of the Marriage Act (Chapter 5.11) (1965) and the Customary Marriages Act (Chapter 5.07) (2004) play a role in perpetuating child marriage according to the findings of this study. It exposes the girl child more than the boy child. The Marriage Act (1965) clearly states that a boy under the age of 18 and a girl under the age of 16 have no capacity to marry. However, a girl of 16 has the capacity to contract a valid marriage. She only has to get the consent of her parents or legal guardians. This supports the idea that the laws favour the men over the women because more men are in decision-making positions, from national to village level. There are some men who are against child marriage and some who see no problem in engaging into child marriage.

_It seems there are people from outside our community who wants to control most of our affairs because our customary marriage act allows men to marry as many wives as they can and it also allows parents to marry off their children._

A key informant who is a traditional leader, emphasized the use of the Customary Marriages Act (2004), which is one of the oldest pieces of legislation. From the findings, men are more concerned with the advantages of the Act at the expense of the disadvantages. This law has a problem, because it grants women the authority to enter into various contracts, which include marriage and its requirement of paying lobola, and that marriages under this legislation are potentially polygamous. It does not give a minimum age of marriage and the men usually take advantage of this. In a landmark ruling for children and the girl child by the Constitutional Court of Zimbabwe on 20 January 2016, the Deputy Chief Justice (now Chief Justice) Luke Malaba, stated the long enduring
practice of child marriage as unconstitutional. This was so because the 2 young women, one aged 19 and the other one 18, asked the Constitutional Court of Zimbabwe to declare the practice of exposing the girls to early child marriages unacceptable under the New Constitution (2013) of Zimbabwe. They wanted section 22 of the Marriages Act (2014) to be amended for it is failing to give a minimum age for marriage. The court ruled on long-standing clauses on marriages that allowed parents to marry off their children. The study noted that policies and laws in Zimbabwe are gender-biased and in favour of men.

Key informants in this study provided the provisions in the Constitution (2013) in Chapter 4, which give the fundamental human entitlements and freedoms which includes:

“78 Marriage Rights which states that,

(1) Every human being who has attained the age of eighteen years has the right to found a family.

(2) No person may be forced to enter into marriage against their will.

(3) Persons of the same sex are not allowed to marry each other”.

The findings of the study are showing that males in Mashonaland Central marry girl children with the laws and provisions well spelled out in the Constitution (2013). Men as the heads of the families do not even talk about the laws to their children and wives. It was also noted from the findings that most of the women are not aware of the laws and this makes the majority of them more exposed to sexual abuse and all other forms of abuse. It was also noted that the majority of the people hear of the Constitution but some never saw it and some do not know its contents. Participants in the study further highlighted the key contents of:

“81 Rights of children

(1) Every child, that is to say boy or girl under the age of 18 years is entitled-

(a) To equal treatment before the law, including the right to be listened to

(e) To be protected from economic and sexual abuse, from child labor, and from maltreatment, neglect or any form of abuse.

(f) To education, health care provisions, nutrition and shelter
(2) A child’s best interests are important in every matter concerning the child.

(3) Children are entitled to enough protection by the courts, in particular the high Court as their upper guardian”.

Furthermore, the study indicates that men can use these provisions as guidelines to protect their children in the Shona community. They will be guided by these laws if they will to employ positive masculinities. From the findings of this research, men had power economically and physically and they can protect children from economic and sexual abuse, from child labour and from any form of abuse. From the study findings, children are powerless and vulnerable persons in society; they need their parents’ protection and care. Men have the capacity to guide their children when their rights will be violated. Children have no courage to approach a court on their own seeking appropriate relief for the redress of legal injury they would have suffered. Men can empower both the women and children if they are willing, because from this research it was found that they have adequate authority to protect their families. Positive masculinities are relevant for the children because they are minor’s, poor and socially and economically disadvantaged and the law put into consideration the interests of such vulnerable persons in society.

To add to the above findings Zimbabwe is a signatory to the international conventions and treaties where 81(1) is supported by 78(1) of the Constitution which highlights that regards must be given to the contemporary norms and aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe, as written in the Constitution. This means that Zimbabwe is part of the international community, because it is a signatory to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the African Charter on the Entitlement and Welfare of the child (ACRWC). By endorsing these documents Zimbabwe expressed its commitment to take all appropriate measures, including legislative to protect and enforce the rights of the child as enshrined in the important conventions to ensure that they are enjoyed in practice. It is the purpose of this study to find out how men can help children and women to enjoy these laws looking at sexual and reproductive health rights.

The laws are for all people, because in this study, some participants noted that most men in Mashonaland Central think that the laws are only for the women and children. The study agrees to the fact that child marriage is rampant in Mashonaland Central; hence the need to take men on board who will employ the laws in place to combat the violation of women sexual and reproductive
health rights. Child marriage is defined by the United Nations Fund (UNICEF) (2011) as child protection from violence, exploitation and Abuse Report as “a formal or informal union before age 18”. So, the findings show that men say if they have paid a bride price to the parents there is nothing wrong marrying a young girl. UNICEF further explains that the term ‘child marriage’ includes marriages of persons under the age of 18 years. The lowest age of marriage was written by the Committee on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979) to be 18 years. The Marriage Act (1965) was enacted in 1965. It has common weaknesses like many conventions which is that failure to specify minimum age of marriage as a means of protecting children and women.

5.4.1 Obligations of Men and the laws

A participant in the study noted that men can sensitize the community including girls and women about the laws that protect the society against child marriage because men have time and capacity to do it.

The findings opine that laws are critical if men are to reduce the issues of women’s sexual violence in the province.

“By ratifying or acceding to international conventions, state parties accept legal duty to abide by the conventions and thereby become obliged to take steps to protect the exercise and enjoyment of human entitlements, to investigate abuses, and to provide effective solutions to victims”. (Sagade, 2005:113)

This statement supports men to employ effective remedies to address the issue of women sexual violence also guided by the home-grown laws. Children should enjoy the benefit of having a father, because it is like the benefits of being a citizen of a country where one is entitled to a level of protection of one’s rights, either through the national constitution, or the laws of the country. The research noted that these are issues of discrimination and gender inequality that need to be addressed so that all girls and young women should be protected from being forced into child marriage. Men need to understand the laws, its implementation to be effective.

Human rights framework is critical when stopping child marriage, because it provides an empowerment framework which can guide men to protect vulnerable and at-risk girls from sexual
exploitation. As mentioned above in this thesis, women have a right to the enjoyment of the best attainable standard of physical and mental health. It was noted that marriage break the right of girls to enjoy the highest attainable level of physical and mental health in the context of sexual and reproductive health that child brides and their children face the greatest risk. This means that child brides and their children face the greatest risks, because they will have entered into these marriages prematurely and economically disempowered. The Zimbabwean government also agreed to develop and accelerate implementation of national ways of assisting women to experience the full enjoyment of all human entitlements, and reduction of their exposure to HIV/AIDS by eliminating all forms of discrimination.

5.5 STEREOTYPES21 ABOUT MASCULINITY

Certain behaviors are taught to men and boys which perpetuate child marriages in Mashonaland central province. These are often not correct, because they promote abusive violent behaviour towards women and girls. CEDAW Article one (1979) defines stereotypes as a set of characteristics that a particular society assigns to women or men. Chimhowa (2005) further explains gender stereotypes as one of the outcomes of the socialization process, which is socially constructed beliefs about men and boys and women and they occur when men and boys or women and girls are persistently attributed certain characteristics or duties, thereby creating the belief that these are linked to their sex. These are often incorrect, because they do not reflect individual actual capacity and they usually limit others in the society on what a person is permitted to do. From the findings of this study, stereotypes favour men because in Mashonaland Central, men control and undervalue women and girls, because males are perceived as hegemonic, of higher value and leaders of women and girls in the society. They give the final decisions at all levels in society and they endorse all marriages taking place at family and community level (Dunkle 2003). Dube (2017) also supported the findings that most of the traditional forms of Shona people in Zimbabwe usually portray use of hegemonic masculinity.

Sonja Weinreich (2004:30-31) noted that male-role stereotypes relating to women sexual violence, multiple sexual partners as signs of maleness must be corrected. They challenge men to be involved

21 Stereotypes refer to things that a society believe in, but are not true.
in giving care and love to their girl children and sisters. Similarly, Chitando (2008) is in support of Sonja’s idea of involving men to care and love their children and sisters by advocating redemptive masculinity or life giving and empowering masculinities. But, the findings from this study note that the Shona men believe violence is part of their culture and participants noted that muremu chaiye (a real man) must be aggressive and must not be overpowered by women. The power of men over women is the root of their masculinity (Ratele 2001). Violence is taken as a disciplinary measure for women and children, but in Zimbabwe sexual violence is a crime and it is culturally condoned, but is punishable by law. Another myth that transpired from this study is that men are provoked to rape, beat or abuse the girls and women because of their own behaviour. Contrary to this, another participant in the study added that men must take control of their violent behaviour so that they do not blame women and girls for bad sexual behaviour.

In support of the study’s findings Dunkle (2003) further notes that while culture is a key determinant of the women and men’s power relationships, “patriarchal structures and systems are the vehicles through which gender inequalities, discrimination of women and girls are perpetuated and justified, and from which men gain unfair benefits and overpower women and girls”. The key informants in the study emphasized the need for men in Mashonaland Central to do away with these unfair myths and stereotypes if they are to come up with effective strategies to address child marriage and other reproductive health rights issues.

5.6 CONCLUSION

According to the findings of this study, men dominate in Mashonaland central, but Article 1 of CEDAW defines,

“discrimination against women as any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect of impairing the recognition, enjoyment by women, irrespective of their marital status, a basis of equality of men and women of human entitlements and important freedoms in all spheres” (United Nations, 2000).

Similarly, interviews with key informants indicated that young bridal discriminated against girls because they are disproportionally affected by the practices that bear the greater health, social and
development loads. Some participants noted that it is a key requirement of the right to marry and parties are free to enter marriage with their free and full choice.

The chapter has found that most men are not sexually violent, even those that are prepared to help the women. The reason for low male involvement is that they are in full control of the women and girls. They are seen as breadwinners and decision makers in nearly all families and the majority of them tend to misuse the powers. This study agrees with Chitando (2018), who advocated that men can change, but the study highlighted that a lot needs to be done in sensitizing men to understand the issues of gender equality. They want to protect their manhood, because equality to the majority of them means taking power from men. Responses from the interviews indicated that equality was not well communicated to all members of the society, especially in relation to marriage, because real men think that their decisions are final. Masculinity in Mashonaland Central is perceived in terms of power and control of men over women and girls another participant highlighted these factors.

The chapter further looked at the consequences of child marriage, which includes legal, domestic violence, health, low levels of education and religion and culture. Issues of virginity and bride prize were also noted in the chapter. Having noted the perception of masculinities and marriage in Mashonaland Central, men agreed to work towards mitigating child marriage, but some had fear of the unknown. Male strategies in mitigating child marriages will be discussed in the next chapter below.
CHAPTER 6
MEN AND MASCULINITY STRATEGIES IN MITIGATING CHILD MARRIAGE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The study noted that there is need to engage men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage. The previous chapter started by noting the findings of how masculinity is perceived in Mashonaland Central. The relationship between masculinity and marriage was also reviewed. Chapter 5 went on to review the relationship of masculinity traits and stereotypes about masculinities in Mashonaland Central province. Chapter 6 looked at the findings on the following thematic areas: male reaction to changing gender expectations; the role of men and masculinities in Mashonaland Central; importance of the role of men and masculinity; factors influencing the role of men and masculinities; and male strategies to mitigate child marriage.

6.2 THE ROLE OF MEN AND MASCULINITIES AS A STRATEGY

6.2.1 Definition of Male Involvement

Yes, it is important to involve all players when there is a problem. Children in this community are getting married to sekurus,22 that is, the men will be almost the age of the girls’ grandfather, or some of the men will be in polygamous marriages and they continue to marry girls at a tender age. It’s difficult to understand the goals of such unions or marriages which are life threatening. So, men and boys need to come up with solutions or ways to address the issue of child marriage. Men are in control of nearly all day-to-day activities in the family or community so to take them on board is very essential and they understand better the source of this problem. (Participant KIN2)

From the above statements it can be concluded that male involvement is the inclusion of men and masculinities in finding ways of combating the issue of women sexual violence which is rampant in Mashonaland Central. Findings of the study highlighted that child marriages and reproductive health rights issues are everyone’s business, because if women are violated, all members of the

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22 Sekuru is a Shona word which refers to a grandfather. In this research, it also refers to older men marrying very young girls.
community will be affected, including men and boys. In relation to the findings, Lee (1999:106) notes that male engagement can be viewed in relationship to other planned activities, or from the program perspectives or ideas and may mean supporting choices of women and girls. At the same time, men will do something about their own reproductive and sexual behaviour as a way of protecting their female counterparts. One of the participants highlighted that the Sekuru and other aged men in society have to respect women and girls’ sexuality issues if communities are to develop. In support of these findings, Maluleke and Nadar (2002) suggest that men must come up with different new ways of being men to address the problem of child marriage. The study proposes that men should have more affirming and life-giving masculinities and encourage communities to embrace life-giving masculinities. Maluleke emphasizes the need for male involvement, because it breaks the covenant of sexual violence against women and girls because the collaboration of men and women to address child marriage is effective. Chitando (2008) explained the issue of male involvement as taking men on board to combat the issue of child marriage. From the participant above, it transpires that the role of men and masculinities is important in mitigating marital issues.

6.2.2 The Essence of the Role of Men and Masculinities

Men usually blame women for their bad relationship with children in the family. Some families teach their girl children not to be too close to the males because they will be abused sexually. But it’s not all men who are abusive so if they involved in coming up with ways of stopping this problem, they will establish a warm and close relationship with children. They can also influence other men and boys to stop the practice because of their power in the society. (Participant FG4)

The female participant above noted that it is important to take men on board to curb the issue of child marriage in the province. It was also found that engaging men is important because men influence women’s access to services through their control of finances, women movement, means of production and health care (Greene 2002). Men are also important because of their ‘gate-keeping’ role (Lee 1999). Man’s attitudes are important in mitigating women and girls’ gender-based violence issues. The study also concluded that most of the times men are the perpetrators of child marriages, and if they are involved in mitigating issues of women sexual violence, they will
take it seriously and it will be implemented effectively, because men are in positions of influence at all levels and their patriarchal position empowers them as well. The participants in the study added that in Mashonaland Central province the majority of the men are in decision making positions. That is out of 28 Provincial Heads of the Government departments, only one is female. Men are on the lead, even in political positions, so they can come up with policies that address women’s sexual and reproductive health rights issues, in the case, young bridal marriages, which affect the girl children in the province (Kurebwa 2013).

6.2.3 Factors influencing the Role of Men and Masculinities

The study noted the following factors which influence the role of men and Masculinities in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central province:

6.2.3.1 Awareness and knowledge

Truly speaking the majority of the men and boys are not fully aware of the girls and women’s sexual and reproductive rights issues. They think gender issues are for women and that it does not concern them and issues of equality are there to influence women and girls not to respect their husbands. These gender discussions by NGOs and government are causing a lot of disputes and violence in families they are biased toward women and girls leaving the men and boys behind. Awareness and sensitization programs should target all members of the society for it to have an effect on the whole community. For people to have adequate knowledge on these child marriage issues programs must have adequate funding so that will not stop before completion due to financial problems. (Participant KIN3)

From the views of the traditional leader above, awareness and knowledge about gender equality are important for role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriages. From the findings of this study, it transpires that men see gender equality as a woman’s problem. They feel that it is a threat to their status and privilege if it is realized. The study added that lack of knowledge about these gender issues has also been known to effect male involvement in addressing child marriage. The study noted that the adoption of programs by men and boys is influenced by knowledge and awareness. The study also indicated that lack of knowledge by men may be due to inadequate
access to information on child marriage and other gender equality issues. The participants in the study also noted that men prefer to receive information directly from the implementing agents and in gender specific groups for a start and then mix with women and girls because they are socialized that women and girls are second class citizens who are less able. The study concluded that it is clear that providing sexual and reproductive health rights information to men has many benefits, as it is related with mitigating issues of child marriage (Women’s Commission 2011).

6.2.3.2 Programmatic factors

The cited information above, the study noted that programmatic factors can be a barrier to men’s inclusion in mitigating child marriage. The Women’s Commission (2011) added that gender equality is seen as women’s issue, because most of the programmes are directed to the women and girls, leaving out men and boys. Men see gender justice and gender integration as a threat to their status-conferring benefits. Men and boys feel that they have little to gain or lose if they are left out from the programs and they do not really understand these programmes, because they are not involved in much dialogue on child marriage and gender issues. Men and boys lack the opportunity to engage on gender and domestic violence discussions. Most of these programmes are facilitated by women; only two target the boys and men in Mashonaland Central province, namely Padare/Enkudhleni Men’s Forum and Chisungo Men’s Network. Men fear criticism in some of the programs. They will be silent and stick to their manhood behaviour. Furthermore, the study noted that service providers are mostly females who might be biased towards women’s concerns so men fear to join such discussions. Usually most of the programs end prematurely or before reaching many people due to financial challenges. The study concludes that programmes need to include men so that they will be equipped with knowledge and information to mitigate child marriages.

6.2.3.3 Sociocultural factors

From birth, men and boys were taught how to be men and they don’t usually have important discussions with women. Women and girls will do care work and cooking. Women should respect their husbands by not talking too much in public. (Participant MB7)
This study concluded that the Shona people have their norms and values that teach them the difference between what is good and what is bad. It is these norms and values that teach them how to fit into their society. Giddens (2001) supported these findings by saying that all cultures have values and norms that give meaning and give guidance to humans as they interact with the social world. Through social engineering facilitated by religion and culture men have been seen as leaders across various cultures. They have been socialized to associate the state of maleness with competence in sexual matters. Many men are under social pressure to act in a domineering and sexually aggressive way (Connell 2004).

The study noted that in Mashonaland Central the issue of murume chaiye (‘real men’) is defined in a first sexual encounter with a woman to show his manhood and however this fuels issues of violence, rape and sexual coercion in the province. The study also found that cultural norms encourage men to have many wives, because this is associated with being rich and being ‘real men’. Mwaura (2001) supported these findings by highlighting that women and girls are powerless in culture, religion and the economies; hence the need to socialize men and boys in the new redemptive ways of being men. West (2008) noted that the embryonic factors that enable the rape of Tamar need to be addressed. Religion and the way people live have been abused by men to enter into child marriage and all other forms of Gender Based violence. The study noted that socialization occurs throughout one’s life, so men can be socialized to love and care for women and girls, so that abuse will be addressed. Some of the most important socialization occurs in childhood and the research noted that women also play a key role in the socialization process. From findings this study noted that men can be socialized to embark on strategies that protect the women and girls from all forms of abuse.

6.2.3.4 Men’s willingness

I am very much prepared to join other men in the fight against child marriage because I lost my elder daughter who was married at a tender age. I was so touched with the different forms of violence she went through. I learnt of it when it was too late. She died before I offered her any form of help. I understand and support very much the idea of men addressing the issue of child marriage. I think this could have been done yesterday because the solutions are taking too long while the girl child is facing a lot of abuse. The
girl child is facing a lot of violence in this province. Traditionally men must protect the family from all forms of abuse. Mashonaland Central has the highest prevalence of physical and sexual abuse and all this leads to the low development of the province because I believe that if men are willing to support the women and girls the lives of our families will change for the better. (Participant MB10)

These are the sentiments of one of the male participants in the study showing the willingness of men to address child marriages in the province. The study highlighted the need for the men to rally behind the discourse of child marriage. Kangoma (2017) added that that men would like to be involved in the programmes, but face many challenges that hinder them. From the study it transpires that such challenges include a cultural definition of masculinity, unwillingness of women to accept men entering into gender discussions, because women may feel this has been their opportunity to lead, which male involvement could dilute or dominate. Also, men may fear being seen as unwelcome or suspect by women’s groups Women’s Commissions (2004). The study also found that violence prevention challenges men’s power and opportunities (Chitando 2008) and the dividend of male privilege make it very difficult for men to see benefits of working towards gender equality because men’s position in the society already puts them at an advantage. Some men may fear that others will think that they are not living up to the demands of maleness and others will resist changing their ideas, behaviours and beliefs as much as we all resist change. However, from the study it is clear that there is also another group of men who are willing to get on board and mitigate issues of young bridal marriage. The study reveals that awareness makes men and boys more willing to work towards mitigating child marriage and these are the men needed to achieve the objectives of this study.

6.3 STRATEGIES TO MITIGATE CHILD MARRIAGE

From the findings Mashonaland Central province will include the following subthemes in order to formulate strategies to address the child marriage which is rampant in the province. These include education, legal, policies, economic and institutional factors:

6.3.1 Education
It is very important to value the education of the girl child. Men should promote and support the education of their sisters and daughters instead of marrying them at a tender age or leaving them doing whatever they want instead of their schoolwork. It will also be of great importance for the men to encourage sharing of duties in the home so that the girl child is not overloaded with work which will make her not to concentrate on her schoolwork. Another important issue is to give the same value to all children whether boy or girl they should all get the same preference and support from the parents or guardians. Education must empower both males and females in the province.

(Participant KIN2)

The study agrees with the views of the participant above of men providing educational support to the women so as to curb the issue of child marriage in Mashonaland Central province. The study noted that marriage of people below 18 years is associated with low levels of education. From the study, men highlighted that low levels of education expose a lot of young girls to a lot of sexual violence in the province because they will be involved in child labour, which will expose them to sexual abuse. Some men go for these young girls, because they have poor negotiation powers and after marriage these young girls and women will have limited access to formal and informal and even nonformal education, because of restrictions placed on their movement by domestic burdens, child bearing and social norms that view marriage and schooling as irreconcilable. Konyana (2016), Bourdillon (1993) and UNICEF (2004) added that parents tend not to invest in their girl child’s education because they will leave their homes and get married and the benefits of their investment will be lost. This therefore encourages men in Mashonaland Central to employ the idea of educational support as a strategy to mitigate child marriage in Mashonaland Central province.

Both participants in the study agreed on the power of education for everyone. It was pointed out that education empowers one both socially and economically, but the reality is that women are not highly educated in Mashonaland Central, which contributes to the high prevalence of women sexual violence against women (Zimbabwe National Gender Based Violence Strategy 2012-2015). Men also pledged to address early pregnancies and marriages that contribute to girls dropping out of school. More young women (24.5%) aged 15–19 years, compared to 1.7% of young men in the same age group are currently married or in a union (SADC Gender Protocol Barometer (2015).
The study supports the initiative of men in Mashonaland Central to support and promote the education of young girls by agreeing with the relationship between education and the SADC Gender Protocol provisions that highlighted the relevance of education in promoting women’s rights and gender equality. Figure below summarizes the relationship:

![Figure 1]

Source: SADC Gender Protocol Barometer (2015:52)

Suitable and quality education of girls and young women can influence the path to women’s entitlements in terms of provisions linked to gender-based violence, constitutional and legal rights, governance, peace building and conflict resolution, HIV and AIDS, sexual and reproductive health. When education empowers women and girls, societies benefit at all stages. The benefits
expand beyond improvements in economic development to areas such as public health. The SADC Protocol 2015 Barometer adds to the findings of the study that many studies show a strong correlation between educating women and girls and higher maternal and child life expectancy, as well as improvements in child and family health and nutrition. Educating a girl greatly reduces the chances that her children will die before the age of five. Men in this study will support the education of a girl child because having a mother with secondary or higher education more than halves the risk of child death compared to having a mother with no education. The participants further supported the need for educating the girl child because some die when terminating the pregnancy illegally. Educated girls and women are far more likely to immunize their children and their children are less likely to be malnourished (UNESCO (2012). Hence the need for male engagement in mitigating child marriage.

6.3.2 Legal Factors

*There are a lot of inequalities within marriages in Mashonaland Central. Some women constitutional demands the need for equality in marriage and the need to address child marriage. The laws must protect the abused young girls. If men take the lead in advocating for law enforcement the other men will see the seriousness of stopping or reducing the issue of child marriage in Mashonaland Central. Men should empower the girl child with legal information so that they are able to present the facts when in court.*

(Participant KIN3)

From findings of this study, Shona males are prepared to engage in cascading information which discourages marriages entered into without the free and full consent of the girl. The role of men and masculinities will help in coming up with strategies to combat the issue of young girl marriage. Some participants highlighted that men should sensitize the women and girls about legal issues so that they know what to do when abused. Imparting legal knowledge to girls and women is one of the strategies men are going to use in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central province. The reason is that knowledge helps to break the visible and invisible confusion of discriminatory practices that protect women and girls from exercising their entitlements. The SADC Protocol 2015 Barometer supports the findings of the study by adding that there is a need for imparting knowledge, because there is widespread and male tailored information, education and
communication campaigns to move women’s entitlements into the mainstream of human rights in Zimbabwe. The findings also noted that constitutional knowledge is essential for the girl child’s understanding and ownership of the increased range of rights guaranteed to them. Men in Mashonaland Central want to create an awareness of their human rights amongst the women and girls in the province rights (CEDAW 2012).

The problem with most of the girls and women is that they are not aware of the contents of the provisions which strengthen their contributions in the fight against child marriage. It can also fortify their collective voice to bring to public attention the unknown cultural, religious and administrative practices that perpetuate discrimination against women and girls in Mashonaland Central. It was also noted in this study that discrimination perpetuates gender inequalities in the distribution of sexual and reproductive health of women and adolescent girls in the access to resources and opportunities and gender inequalities in decision making positions.

Men embarked on the legal factor as a strategy in this study, because they found that many law systems which combine statutory, traditional and religious laws that create gaps in dealing with child marriage need to be looked into. This strategy will enable women and girls to access legal services, justice and protection from victims in their homes, but this is not usually the case, because women fail to report abuse, as men are usually the breadwinners who provide for the family. The result is that some men who are perpetrators often go unpunished which is a major factor in denying girls rights and perpetrators usually go unpunished (Chimhowa 2013). Men in the study pledged to push members of Parliament to align outdated laws, correct the negative attitude of some prosecutors, magistrates, judges, clerk of court and others in the law enforcement sector who leave the abused girls traumatized even further. To combat the issue of child marriage, the Shona men will work together with government to strengthen the implementation of commitments and instruments in place to address the unfair treatment of victims and the perpetuation of sexual abuse in Mashonaland Central.

Therefore, to curb the issue of child marriage, men should sensitize the whole province about the provisions of the National Legal Framework on Gender Based Violence (GBV). Zimbabwe enacted a number of laws and policies that seek to prevent and protect survivors of gender-based
violence in Mashonaland Central. The Zimbabwe National Gender Based Violence Strategy 2012-2015 includes the following:

1. The constitution of Zimbabwe Section 23 of 2013 prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sex, gender and marital position.

2. The Domestic violence Act of 2007 provides for protection and relief to victims of domestic violence and long-term solutions for prevention of domestic violence.

3. The Sexual Offenses Act of 2002, now part of the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act of 2006 criminalizes marital rape and the wilful spreading of HIV.

4. The Administration of Estates Amendment Act of 1997 seeks to protect the property of the deceased for the welfare of the living spouse and children.

5. The Maintenance Act of 1989 ensures the provision of monetary and material support for the upkeep of the spouse, children and other dependents where there is a role to do so.

6. The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1987 ensures the fair distribution of property upon divorce.

7. The Legal Age of Majority Act of 1982 now part of the General Laws Amendment Act gives women all the entitlements and benefits of full citizenship and changed the practice of inequality based on race and sex, upon reaching the age of 18.

From above National Legal Framework on GBV (Nov 21, 2022), the study noted that the majority of the people in Mashonaland Central province are not knowledgeable of these legal frameworks and that is the reason why men want to take a lead in sensitizing their community on these provisions. The girls and women are not aware of the provisions of the Domestic Violence Act of 2007 which provides protection and relief to victims of domestic violence and long-term strategies for the prevention of domestic violence. One of the male respondents in the study said that the provisions of the Domestic Violence Act of 2007 is meant to protect only the women, living the men and boys out, which is not true, so men came out with a strategy of sensitizing the Shona community on these laws so that they will be able to apply them.

The young women are not aware of the law that protects them against marital rape and even wilful spreading of sexually transmitted disease which includes HIV. They can have
Sexual intercourse with their husbands even if they are aware that they have sexually transmitted disease because culture does not allow them to deny their husbands their conjugal rights and it also mean that they are having extra marital affairs where they will be getting sexual satisfaction. Men in Mashonaland Central do not believe in marital rape. How can I rape my wife?

The study also revealed that the Sexual Offenses Act (2001) is not fully accepted in Mashonaland Central. Both men and women need awareness on this provision so that they understand the meaning of this Act. Child marriage is exposing a lot of the young girls to HIV, because they are not free to negotiate for safe sex due to cultural restrictions. Findings show that a lot of women’s sexual violence issues emanate from these sex negotiations. Men force themselves on their wives if they need their conjugal rights they get their protection from the societal norms that allow men to have sexual intercourse with their wives anytime they feel like it and women are not allowed to deny them, even if they are not interested in it. Generally, the participants in the study discovered that women and girls and the society in general are ignorant of their rights and the duties of the government and society in curbing sexual violence; hence the need for men to come up with strategies to mitigate child marriage.

The study has also offered an analysis of the policies so as to curb the issue of young women sexual violence in Mashonaland Central province. The policies in Zimbabwe provided for equal entitlements of women and men. However, laws and policies have not been amended to conform to the Supreme law (Zimbabwe National Gender-Based Violence Strategy 2012–2015). It further noted that the pace of aligning the laws with the Constitution is slow. The participants in the study also noted that law change processes are slow and dependent on the support of lawmakers. Most of them are men who are not in agreement with gender equality, because our parliament is male dominated and patriarchal in attitude. The key informant from the court noted that men in Mashonaland Central can take advantage of this to take their issue of child marriage to parliaments because it will be men-to-men dialogue. The Domestic Violence Law (2007) mentioned above has agencies which include policy and the judiciary. Males are the key players and owners of customary law and authority as well as government policies and programmes. Women are absent in decision-making positions, which contributes to poor policy implementation and perpetuates sexual violence in the province.
6.3.3 The role of Men and Masculinities and the Domestic Violence Act (of 2007)

One of the key informants noted that the majority of the men do not understand the Domestic violence Act. They think it’s a law to protect the women and girls only but in real sense it is law which protects both men and women. This lack of understanding is a source of domestic violence in the province so there is need to sensitize the community about the contents and relevance of these provisions.

Men and masculinity play a key role in mitigating young bridal marriage because from participant above men are now able to note some of the factors which perpetuate child marriage and they are ready to correct this problem and redeem the women and girls. Chitando (2008) acknowledges the ability of men to change their masculinities to a redemptive form of masculinity. This finding is also supported by Maluleke (2007), who opines that men have to give up the patriarchal dividend and collaborate with women to change the world. The study has also pointed out that the law frameworks on domestic violence in most African countries are influenced by Western perceptions on how men and women relate to one another. However, there is a difference between Western and African strategies to relations between men and women, particularly when it comes to the legislation on domestic violence discourse. The argument is that the contexts in which domestic violence occurs in Africa are different in important respects from those in non-African countries (Konyana 2017).

Findings above show that the Domestic Violence Act more was emphasised to the women than men, and the men had negative attitude about it. Men were not involved from the onset and they continue to abuse women whilst the laws are in place. This also makes men think that it is a law to protect the women. To support the point stated above, Bowman (2003:474) noted that “large numbers of women in Africa live in the rural areas and are subject to African traditional law, much of which reinforces the subordinate position of women within the family”. Shoko (2006) added that culture restricts women and girls and men’s marital rights cannot be questioned. Certainly, families as well as traditional customary courts remain very important informal justice institutions in the Shona rural societies, even today. Thus, for authors such as Bowman (2003), Cusack (2013), Raditloaneng (2013) and Venganai (2015), most of the existing laws on domestic violence cannot be effective without the social settings of the people, especially women, who are intended beneficiaries. The authors mentioned here continue to argue that since customary social settings
continue to exist in most African countries, it is imperious that child marriage laws include locally based remedies which will be employed by men and other members of the community, however unbelievable and unrealistic they may be. However, this does not mean that cultural practices that are discriminatory and subject women and girls to humiliation and suffering should be ignored. The authors cited above argue that even though most African traditional communities have also been affected by economic interruptions, there are some communities where traditional beliefs and cultural practices are still respected. At the same time, modern communities are also affected by the cultural practices of their people, because when males move to urban areas they often move with their culture, because the culture is deeply engrained in their lives. In such communities, legal responses may not be effective, because the local males hold on to their traditional beliefs and cultural practices, which hinder the effective implementation of certain legal provisions. This kind of behaviour is aptly described by Okyere-Manu (2015) as ‘gatekeeping’, where culture is used as an excuse for perpetrating risk practices. In fact, Okyere-Manu (2015:56) went on to suggest that “Gatekeepers must be challenged not to turn a blind eye on issues of domestic violence, marital rape and other social ills found in the binding confinements of customary marriages”. This is a clear indication that there is a need to challenge some cultural practices that disadvantage women and expose them to abuse in the name of observing culture.

Siwila (2012) also supports this notion by emphasizing the transformation of harmful and life-threatening cultural practices. From this observation it can be argued that until customary practices are cross-examined with the view to separate the good about them from the bad male involvement, may not, in practice, achieve the desired goal of protecting the young women from relational violence. From the above observation made by Siwila, it can be summarized that most African countries still have traditional communities that observe traditional practices that need revisiting, especially within the institution of marriage. Cultural practices have often made male involvement and the implementation of laws against gender-based violence difficult. Thus, it can be concluded that men’s Forums like Padare in Zimbabwe will have to engage a lot of men in their programs so that they will understand the laws and implement them effectively to address the issue of child marriage. Some men from the study are prepared to sensitize the Shona community about the effects of women sexual violence and what the law says.
With reference to the participants above, men are prepared to learn and then cascade the information to other men and the community. In Ghana, Nancy Chi Cantalupo (2006) pointed out that Ghanaian women are generally confronted with powerful obstacles in their efforts to report domestic abuse. She argues that most of the obstacle’s originate from cultural beliefs that have maintained that domestic violence is a private family matter that should be mitigated outside of the criminal justice system.

In some situations, this has been worsened by other socio-economic challenges some African countries such as Zimbabwe experience are going through the study. Men noted that current economic problems in Mashonaland Central increase stress on families and eventually prevent the effective implementation of remedial law strategies that they have been made to prevent child marriage as a form of domestic violence. Resources are hardly adequate for families and this often leads to disagreements on how to take children to school and this pushes them to marry the young girl so as to get income to solve their monetary problems.

Besides inadequate resources to help families, there are hardly adequate human and material resources to enable the enforcement of the DVA in most African communities. For example, in Zimbabwe the Zimbabwe Legal Resource Foundation (2014) noted in its manual that some law practitioners observe that effective law enforcement requires adequate funding and accessible, well-resourced medical facilities to handle the physical, sexual and psychological damages that are caused by domestic violence. Thus, it can be concluded that at the moment, the facilities for the effective implementation of provisions of the law against domestic violence are not adequately available in most African societies, including Zimbabwe.

Some of these conventions and rights are not putting into consideration the norms and values of different societies. We had our own structures in the society which were effectively dealing with these issues of child marriage. It was the men who were leading these structures but most of the laws are imposed from outside and this somehow confuses and it weakens the existing structures and abuses are on the increase in our province. Traditionally, there were punishments for sexual abusers and it rarely happened in our Shona community. It’s good to look at our good marriage practices and then capitalize on that. Marriage is for two people so why is the blame always on men.
There is also need to correct the young girls and women not to engage in this type of marriage. (Participant KIN4)

The role of men and masculinities is relevant for the mitigation of child marriage in Mashonaland Central. The participant above noted that the society has good it’s values and norms in place. The Shona society has its own way of dealing with these sexual problems. Not all men want women and girls to be abused. In support of this, Morrell (2001) classify men into three categories, which include responsive men and men with liberating masculinities, who are prepared to protect their families and the community in general from sexual abuse. Therefore, males need to understood that legislation on violence against women requires a thorough consideration of the local people’s ethical considerations. As a way forward on male involvement in fighting child marriage which is a domestic violence issue, Mangena (2009:19) argued that Feminist approaches to ethics are distinguished by an explicit commitment to correcting male biases they perceive in customary ethics, biases that may be manifest in rationalizations of women’s subordination, or in disregard for, or disparagement of, women’s moral experience.

It is clear that, for Mangena (2009), feminist ethics in Africa, particularly Southern Africa, cannot fully be understood outside African context of culture. The people of Mashonaland Central have their way of dealing with their societal problems, which determines both the norms of conduct and criteria for success, and it is characterized by a deep sense of corporate life that expresses itself in an intricate network of community and kinship relationships. From the findings of this study men need to use home-grown solutions to solve their problems, because they cited that they have the capacity to solve their own problems. The research notes that child marriage is the lack or the absence of humaneness on the part of the perpetrator who does not treat the other with respect. Thus, the implication of humaneness on human relationships is that intimate relationships play such an important role in people’s lives and that it is important that they function well. However, all too often, they do not. However, because humaneness is premised on the idea of communal existence, being there for each other in good or bad times, lasting solutions to intimate relationships which are not working should be found from familiar people. Men were not happy with the Domestic Violence Act of 2007 and therefore fail to fit well into the norms and values of the Shona people’s conception of sustaining intimate relationships, leading to more problems than providing answers to child marriage and domestic disputes.
Taking the men to court or to the police seem not to solve the problem of child marriage in Mashonaland Central. The strategy of engaging men to find solutions to solve this problem is a noble idea. Men will be at their original homes and they will return to their homes after trial and the women will be waiting in the husband or perpetrators home. (Participant KIN3)

Male involvement will create lasting solutions to problems of child marriage in Mashonaland Central because the government believes that the survivor will get a chance to decide to leave an abusive union during the time the offender has been arrested and is held by the police. Thus, arresting an abusive partner has always been the first response by the state to ensure that violence stops through the separation of the survivor from the perpetrator (Konyana 2011). Unfortunately, though, the stoppage is not permanent, because the perpetrator does not stay long in police custody. In most cases it is either that the police have no interest in the matter, or the culprit pays bail and goes back home. Magorokosho (2010:24) also opines that in many instances, survivors do not leave the abusive environment or home but continue to leave hoping that the abuser would eventually come back from police custody as a changed person. Unfortunately for many survivors, perpetrators of women’s sexual abuse are not easily changed by the mere experience of arrest or detention by the police. Instead, police intervention through arrests may even intensify the violence by infuriating the abusive man, making him more spiteful than regretful after experiencing forced parting from his partner. This serves to illustrate that, while arresting of men for child marriage brings some form of relief for the survivor, it exposes the survivor to more abuse. In situations where men return from police custody to abuse their partner who decides to stay, Stewart (2001:9) concluded that some abused women and girls disregard the chance to take advantage of state-enforced separation. She further said, “Survivors who choose to stay with their abusive partners make it extremely difficult for the criminal court system to protect them from further abuse.” This implies that the decision to leave or stay in an abusive relationship does not lie with the legislation but with the abused individual. It also means that there is a limit to what the law can do for the survivor who decides to not take or abrogate the provisions of the same law at any point of execution.
A policeman or a protection order is not enough to change men and boys’ behaviour. Male engagement could have been done as early as yesterday. Men are good teachers of other men. (Participant MB5)

Findings of this study noted that men can help change the situation of child marriage in Mashonaland Central. A lot is done to punish the men to stop this form of violence but there is no improvement. Chitando (2008) supports the ideas of the participant above when he opines that the redemptive masculinity theory be engaged so that men will come up with effective strategies to address child marriage. Provision of a police or civil protection order is also believed to be an effective way of separating and protecting the women survivor from the abuser. As explained above in Chapter 5 under 157 Section 5.5.1, a police or civil protection order is a legal document that child marriage survivor or the survivor’s representative applies for and obtains from a court of law.

Connell (1995) highlighted that masculinities are formulated in gender relationships. This means to solve the issue of child marriage in Mashonaland Central men have better solutions because not all men were involved in the rape of Tamar (West 2006). The orders and laws are used but men are not changing. The order once granted, is given to the perpetrator by a police officer. The protection order clearly specifies that the perpetrator should meet certain separation-related conditions or instructions that are meant to protect the survivor from more abuse. Thus, a police or civil protection order is widely believed to make the smooth separation of the survivor from the abuser by helping the survivor from further sexual abuse. However, regarding the potentiality of police or civil protection orders to effectively protect survivors, Magorokosho (2010:25) made a passionate appeal where she said that:

If protection orders were enforced effectively, women, who are the majority of victims of child marriage, will be able to enjoy their fundamental human entitlements such as the right to life, dignity, protection from inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment in the same manner that their male counterparts do.

This calls for the strict application of police or civil protection orders suggests that laws on violence can hardly be successful without the state-enforced protection of survivors. However, this needs
male implementers of gender justice in the face of gender-based violence and child marriage. To add to this, Connell (1995) pointed out that men are expected to behave in a different way, depending on a different set of masculinity. This scenario appears to the police officers and the law enforcing agents and this has an effect on strategies to curb child marriage in Mashonaland Central province. Therefore, it can be noted that Magorokosho’s use of “if” in the above quotation is not an accident, but a deliberate expression of an unfulfilled condition because, indeed, police or civil protection orders are not effectively enforced effect. As with police arrests, protection orders also invite more abusive attacks on women and girls who file or apply for them at the civil courts.

Male involvement is a strategy on its own because it promotes gender equality (Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children 2005). The study highlighted that most effective strategy to mitigate child marriage is for men to cascade information on gender equality. This will help young girls and women to obtain a police or civil protection order, which is difficult to get for many survivors.

*It is very important for Government and other Organizations to accord both men and women knowledge about the provisions of the Domestic Violence Act so that they will understand how it protects both of them and also understand its loopholes. This easy men’s bitterness because they believe it’s a law to protect the women and this notion contributes to their violent and abusive behaviour.* (Participant FG9)

The study noted that male inclusion will help in cascading information about the Domestic Violence Act (of 2007) and this will reduce the prevalence of sexual exploitation in Mashonaland Central. The participant above noted the power of knowledge as a strategy to be employed by men to mitigate child marriage. If men understand these laws and implement them, there will be a positive change in the community. Connell (1995) added that the main social problem we see is man-made. This is also supported by Goodmark (2012:88-93), who noted how sexually abused girls and women are frustrated by court judges and officials who keep on postponing hearing sexual abuse cases for survivors. These delays are caused by shortage of adequate manpower resources to absence of lack of interest in such matters on the part of male prosecutors and law enforcement agents.
Goodmark (2018) further claims that in some countries’ law institutions, protection order hearings are not held and advanced as frequently as applicants may wish to have them granted. In the case of Zimbabwe, although Section 7(6) of the Domestic violence Act (Chapter 5:16) says that consideration of protection orders may be done “outside ordinary court hours or on a day which is not an ordinary court day”. This is not always given honour. The realities on the ground are that many courts have not been able to affect this provision of the Domestic Violence Act due to lack of workforce and material resources. Apart from the inadequacy of both human and material resources to process protection orders some law enforcement officials have attitudinal problems that make it difficult for the girl child to get protection orders. In view of this observation, Chirongoma and Chitando (2008) acknowledged the good intention of constructing new, more liberating masculinities to help females when they experience different forms of abuse which includes child marriage.

The findings of the study also show the inclusion of men as a key strategy in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central. This means that even male police and judiciary officers will have a positive attitude when helping sexually abused girls and women. In instances where a protection order is successfully prepared and granted, it requires that the abuser, usually the husband or male intimate partner, be physically taken away from the home where he perpetrates the sexual abuse. He is also restricted from interfering in any way with the survivor. This means that a protection order, when granted, actually serves to remove the abusive man from the home or house, leaving his intimate partner and children, if there are any, behind. On account of this reality, Goodmark (2012:90) concluded that most of the delays in processing protection orders happen because judges find it difficult to give orders that effectively evict abusive men from their houses. The Shona people of Mashonaland Central believe it is taboo for a married woman to seek to remove her husband from the matrimonial home. Uzondike (2008) pointed out that tradition is not an excuse for neglecting or abusing human entitlements. This is also supported by the World Health Organization (2005). This arises from the conception of marriage among the Shona where a woman actually moves to her husband’s family home at marriage. Even if the married couple moves away to stay in town or elsewhere on their own, the woman is still considered to have joined her husband’s family home. Tatira (2010:43) pointed out that “girls were socialized to remain in marriage and to tolerate insensitive husbands”. This means that in Shona culture no amount of
sexual abuse entitles a married woman or a girl to invite the police and visit the courts, through the application for protection orders, to evict her husband from their matrimonial home (Konyana, 2011). This traditional belief therefore makes it unsustainable for many Shona women to attempt to involve state institutions such as the police and law instruments to protect themselves from sexual abuse. However, Chitando (2008) draws attention to the urgency of social change in terms of gender relations. Chitando argues that change is possible in transforming men and adopting a masculinity that is redemptive and more rewarding and he challenged men to adopt more humane practices and encourage men to lobby for life giving masculinity. This is the core strategy of this study which men of Mashonaland Central are prepared to employ in a bid to combat the issue of child marriage. In Mashonaland Central the prevalence of young bridal marriages is high and men in the study felt there is need to rally behind girls and women to address the issue.

Instead of using protection orders and other modern institutional laws we have our traditional and religious ways of handling such issues. There are many structures in the Shona society which can be used solve issues like child marriage and other domestic violence issues. Traditional leaders and other senior family members used to such problems so well. We need to employ the indigenous knowledge within the Shona society. Reporting the men is causing a lot of tension and violence in the community because some of the girls will be lying. (Participant MB6)

It is noted from the above that the Shona people have their own way of solving the issues of child marriage. The study highlighted that men are comfortable and effective when using their traditional methods of solving the issue of child marriage. In support of this point, Goodmark (2012:93) noted that protection orders can effectively protect “women from further abuse if there is credible reason than men fear the ramifications that will result from their abuse”. The most apparent consequence of disregarding protection order conditions is quick arrest and re-arrest since the instruction is served with a suspended warrant for the arrest of an offender who fails to comply. Regrettably for the Shona girls and women usually lose the cases because the men and boys will refuse or even run away to other towns or countries. So, the problem will remain unsolved, but it would have been better if traditional and religious leaders have been engaged to find a solution to the problem.
The Shona men in this study opt for using their traditional ways of settling domestic violence issues instead of resorting to the Domestic Violence Act and there is also little evidence that Shona men are afraid of the effects of breaching protection orders, as most perpetrators can easily avoid arrest by leaving Zimbabwe and cross into Mozambique or South Africa for some time. Whereas with other criminals such as murderers, rapists, drug and human traffickers who can be continued even beyond national boundaries, there is no evidence that domestic violence perpetrators are ever reported to the international police (Interpol) for arrest, repatriation and prosecution in their countries of origin. This means that most sexually abused girls and women whose sexual partners or husbands have run away to other places find it useless even to turn the legal justice system in Zimbabwe in their efforts to end child marriage.

The role of men and masculinities was used in this thesis as a relief to sexually abused women and girls in Mashonaland Central province. The findings noted that men’s understanding of the Domestic Violence Act is another effective strategy that can be used by men to address child marriage. Men’s lack of knowledge about the Domestic Violence Act is one of the sources of sexual violence in Mashonaland Central. That is why it has been argued by Konyana (2018) that the Domestic Violence Act has not brought relief for sexually abused girls and married Shona women. This makes the women to be resilient in abusive marriages and relationships.

Participants have shown that the problem of the Domestic Violence Act lies in its focus on enforcing the substantial separation of the abused from the perpetrator for the supposed good or benefit of the abused. It has also shown that this strategy creates difficulties for Shona girls and women who find that reporting domestic violence brings more trouble for them. Thus, most girls and women in abusive unions sacrifice their safety and comfort for the sake of their children, especially when the children are still young. This can mean the ability to build or create a life worth living, despite difficult circumstances. It can be stimulated, maintained and constructed by different social actors, and to this end, it is important to know and understand the different aspects that constitute resilience.

Since reporting domestic violence is not an open option for women, many women and girls have developed resilience as a management and survival approach. Chuma (2012) suggested that one of the marriage difficulties that girls expected in marriage is domestic violence or an abusive
husband. The Shona girls are ready to marry, bear children and stay in a marriage no matter how abusive the marriage might turn out to be. In support of this point, Chireshe (2015) found that most of the participants she asked to find out why they remained in abusive relationships because they had children and gave that as reason. She further claimed that most of them made a similar statement that underlined their commitment to remain in the marriage, regardless of the degree of abuse they suffered. Some will also suffer because they will have lost their womanhood. According to Chireshe (2015:265), each of the women she interviewed invariably said, “I cannot imagine getting divorced and leaving my children behind. No one will be able to look after them as I do-Ndinogarira vana vangu\(^{23}\) (Literally translated to ‘I will stay for the sake of my children’).” It is from this determination that many married women remain resolute to stay in abusive unions (Konyana 2018).

The majority of the women in the province were married as children and they did not report and a lot of them are staying in these abusive relationships because they want to look after their children whilst in their husband or partners homes.

The participant above noted that Shona women remain in abusive marriages not on condition that their husbands treat them as equals but for the purpose of their children. Among the Shona, kugarira vana (staying for the children) is common act, and the survival dictum of most married women in Zimbabwe. For the Shona marriage and child-bearing is their highest good. Mapuranga (2010:50-51) notes that Shona woman like the Ndau women attach a lot of relevance to being married and staying in their marriages for the rest of their lives notwithstanding abusive circumstances. If a girl remains single or unmarried beyond what Tatira (2010:23) described as the “expected marriageable age”, she would be interrogated by anxious family and community members questioning why she was not getting a suitor.

Apart from willingness to get married, Shona women also cherish being mothers through childbearing. This is what Musa Dube (2003:88) noted to be the general belief of most African women where she states, “women are good only when they become mothers and even better encouraged when they give birth to sons”. Dube’s point is that once a woman is married that is not

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23 \textit{Ndinogarira vana vangu} this literally mean that the sexually abused women will stay in a relationship, no matter how abusive it is for the sake of her child or children.
adequate achievement until she gives birth. Even then, her life does not become important until she has given birth to children in that marriage. She then feels comfortable that she can stay in that marriage for life because of the child factor in the marriage. This is where the concept of staying in marriage for the sake of children (kugarira vana) comes from. Most women consider childbearing as an investment in their marriages. Therefore, however abusive the husband or intimate partner may become, most married women with children live in the marriage, preferring to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their children. This attitude makes it difficult for abused married women to go to the police to report child marriage by husbands or intimate partners as wanted by the Domestic Violence Act. Most men and boys take advantage of this and abuse the girls sexually. Therefore, this study noted that male involvement can sensitize the community about the loopholes of the Domestic Violence Act and come up with strategies as a province to mitigate child marriage.

Most of the Shona women are not comfortable to disclose sexual abuse because it’s a taboo in the province. They also fear the arrest of their husbands or partners. Relatives of the perpetrators may also blame the girls and women for taking their children to jail. Good wives or partners do not put their spouses in trouble. It’s only those with bad behaviour who always talk bad about their husbands. It’s not good for wife or wife to be to disclose things which happens in private. (Participant KIN2)

This study opines that some girls may never disclose the abuse they suffer in intimate relationships, fearing that their abusive husbands or partners may be jailed. In her research on why some women do not report woman sexual violence as a form of domestic violence, Manzini (2016) noted that women’s dependency on their husbands is the biggest problem. Invariably, dependent women questioned said that they would not report domestic violence by husbands or partners, because if the abusers were arrested and sent to jail, everything would crumble for the women and their children. Culture also does not permit women and girls to report these sexual matters to all people because its lack of respect to their spouses and partners – Usafukure hapwa.24 This is why some experts in the field of domestic violence such as Hyman (1997) noted that the requirement for

24 Usafukure hapwa means that women and girls should not disclose different forms of abuse that happened to them in private spheres; it will be bad for their sexual and marital relationship.
mandated reporting is not in the best interests of child marriage survivors, because it may lead to more violence and increase the survivor’s reluctance to testify against the perpetrator during prosecution in court. Furthermore, concerning the negative consequences of reporting child marriage to law enforcement agents, Hyman (1997:2) said:

Many victims of domestic violence believe that calling the police is not a safe or preferred solution to their situation. If they fear that reporting will place them and their children in greater trouble, survivors may not seek needed medical care or may not tell their providers about the violation.

This means that most abused women may not be comfortable to turn to the Domestic Violence Act for protection. In rural societies, women are far from law institutions and most of them become exposed and more vulnerable to abuse once they report issues of child marriage. Thus, the mandatory reporting may create expectations of help and protection that cannot be met, thereby decreasing survivor trust in the legal system, as it may diminish and compromise survivor safety (Konyana 2011).

6.3.3 Economic Factors

In formulating strategies to curb young child marriages in Mashonaland Central, the findings of the study postulate that men should also employ a strategy of economically empowering women and girls.

One of the participants noted that many young women and girls in Mashonaland Central are poor because when they go to their husband’s home all things are owned by men and they are told to live all their belongings to their family homes. This makes them poor and dependent and it also exposes them to a lot of violence. They are in marriage with nothing they call their own, even their bodies are owned by men which makes them very poor. (Participant FG5)

From the views of the above participant men need to employ a strategy to address economic factors such as poverty, exploitation and access to control over means of production. Economic violence was cited as one of the key factors contributing to girls who are married before 18 years, because

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young girls marry or are married off in order to address their personal or family economic challenges. Men marry many spouses to use them as cheap labour on farms and in their business. This study also noted that men can give or withhold financial support, which makes women and girls suffer. From the findings of this study, it transpired that men in Mashonaland Central deprive the girl child of necessities like school fees, food and basics, like clothing and love. Some may be denied the opportunity to go to work and they can be forced to surrender their incomes to their husbands. The findings also revealed that in the province, some parents push their children into prostitution to bring money home for family consumption. Men are economically empowered and women and girls end up in polygamous marriages, because they need economic assistance and they face violence from both the spouses and the other wives. The study noted that males are prepared to empower the girl child economically so that she is not exposed to rape and sexual violence. This strategy will help to stop men from taking advantage of women and girls because they have no alternative to support themselves and children.

6.3.4 Institutional Factors

Most of the police stations are located far away from the rural people. Police stations and courts are usually in growth points or big cities which is difficult for the poor and remote women and girls to access. The court is in the capital town of the province which makes it very difficult and expensive to access. This in a way contributes to the perpetuation of child marriage and as men we are prepared to push for the address of this problem for the women and girls to be able to get the necessary help. (Participant KIN5)

The above participant noted the need for men to lobby for the institutions that assist the victims of violence to be accessible. The victim support services are not near and also few. The court is in the provincial town, which is in one of the districts and most of the districts are far away and they get their services from this court, such that the girls will end up not reporting the cases. The participants went on to say long distances from the courts, health facilities and police camps are a major problem in the province. Most of the government institutions in Zimbabwe do not have adequate facilities.
6.4 MASCULINITY AND STEREOTYPES

The study also found that the Shona people of Mashonaland Central stereotype men as stronger, better, of higher value and as leaders of women and community. This attitude creates major challenges for females and males of all ages as is evident in this high prevalence of child marriage.

Dunkle (2003) noted that the predominantly male headed society insists on control, subordination and the undervaluing of women, stereotyping males as stronger, better, of higher value, and as leaders of women and society and this attitude therefore creates major challenges for females and males of all ages and this has been evident in the current situation in which child marriage and HIV and AIDS are destroying people, particularly in African communities.

The study noted that stereotypes are often incorrect ideas and usually limit what a person is expected and permitted to do by others in the society. Most of these stereotypes are in favour of boys and men. They make women objects of men and boys and usually make them feel inferior. In addition to this finding, Weinreich (2004) noted,

Conventional role stereotypes relating to sexual violence, multiple sexual partners as signs of manhood must be corrected. They challenge men to be involved in providing care and love to their girl children, wives and sisters.

The study found that in patriarchal societies, women and girls do not to talk about sex. It is a taboo in Mashonaland Central for women and girls to discuss sexual issues in public, but freedom is given to boys and men. They are allowed to have sex before marriage, because they are said to be gaining experience so that they will be perfect in their sexual performance when they are married, but for women and girls it is a taboo. Even if the men perform poorly sexually, women must remain quiet about it. These societal values and views, which are internalized, shaping attitudes, perceptions, behaviour and decisions, are usually in favor of the males. The study noted that females must not say no to sex when in marriage, but at times this puts them in danger of contracting HIV and AIDS and leads to unplanned pregnancies. So, there is need for men and boys carry out campaigns as a strategy to address the negative practices that expose the girl child to these child marriages.
6.5 MEN ARE NOT BORN ABUSIVE

Men are not born abusive or violent. They learn to be violent and abusive from the society. They socialized to behave the way they do especially with regards to marital issues. The majority of the men in the province are against these child marriages but a small group is into this practice (Connell 1995).

The study found that men can help curb child marriage, because men and boys are not born abusive therefore, they can help to mitigate child marriage in Mashonaland Central. Men and boys can also help other men and boys to refrain from these child marriages. The study findings also suggest that since men are not born to be violent, they can discourage the idea of forced marriage whereby young brides will have their marriages arranged against their wish, or they are abducted into these premature marriages (Connell 1995).

The study also noted that if there are men-to-men engagement in curbing child marriages, there will be a positive change in the province. Male engagement is key, because men can work together with the women to socialize the society to say no to child marriages because some girls are even taken whilst they are as young as 12 years, and most of the time to older men who are often HIV positive. Men and boys with the positions they hold in society can help to mitigate some beliefs that sexual intercourse with a virgin cure’s HIV. They can also discourage the issue of people who recruit younger and younger female commercial sex workers, which is also contributing to the rise of young girl marriages in Mashonaland Central.

The study also supported the idea of women’s empowerment, because men and boys in the study highlighted the five components of female empowerment which includes female’s sense of self-worth, because the majority of the women and girls in the province look down upon themselves, the other issue is for young women and girls to observe their entitlements to have and to determine their choices, especially in terms of these marital issues. The study also noted that for women to be empowered they should fight for their right to have opportunities and resources to upgrade themselves and also to have power to be in charge of their lives, because they depend too much on men, which exposes them to a lot of abuse both within and outside of their homes.
Males in this study pledged to empower their female counterparts by helping them to realize their ability to influence the direction of social change in the Shona society. The research also noted that the concept of women empowerment needs everyone on board, because it touches mainly on issues related to gender equality, which is everyone’s business. Men and boys in the study noted that the main idea of empowerment lies in the capacity of women to control their destiny meaning to say that women have a major role to play in the mitigation of child marriage. It was also found that besides all the factors highlighted in the study, young women and girls must also have the agency to use those rights, abilities, resource and chances to make strategic choices to make decisions and live without fear of the men, coercion and abuse. In this study, men pledged to help and support the women and girl child and help fight against marriage of young girls who are below 18 years of age.

6.6 MEN AND THE LAW

The other strategy which can help men and boys to mitigate child marriages in Mashonaland Central is to study the laws and policies and lobby for their alignment and corrections. The study found that the laws and policies in Zimbabwe favors men at the expense of women and this contributes very much to the poor implementation of laws and policies like the Marriage Act Chapter 5:11, which means that a girl may marry at 16 years or younger, and a boy at 18 years or younger, provided that the Minister has consented. The Customary Marriage Act [Chapter 5:07] does not provide for age at marriage and this exposes girls and young women to child marriage. A key informant in this study noted that The Marriage Act Chapter 5.11:

Provides for laws relating to solemnization of civil marriages. Section 20 provides for the circumstances under which a minor may marry and section 21 states that the marriage of a minor without consent is voidable. Section 22 states that no boy under the age of 18 years and no girl under the age of 16 shall be capable of contracting a valid marriage except with the written consent of the Minister. This means that a girl may marry at 16 or less and a boy at 18 or less provided that a Minister has consented. In section 22(2) the Act state that if a girl or boy goes on to contract a marriage without the consent of the minister, such marriage can be considered as desirable and in the interest of the parties and the minister may validate it in writing. In other words, the minister may retroactively validate a marriage of minors. These sections have been fuelling child marriages.
Therefore, this study opines that, there is need for men, the government and other stakeholders to correct or amend the Act not to validate marriage of minors which contributes much to the high increase of marriages of young girls below 18 years and make it hard to sue perpetrators of child marriage.

The Customary Marriage Act Chapter 5.07 does not provide for year of marriage, thereby giving loopholes to child marriage, making it difficult to take the perpetrators to book. The Act further explains in section 5 that if a guardian of a woman withholds consent to marriage, a magistrate maybe be asked for consent. Chapter 5(1)(b) states that the magistrate may fix marriage requirements with the guardian of the woman. However, the study takes the alignment of laws and sensitizing men and women about the laws as a way to curb child marriages.

6.7 MASCULINITY AND RELIGIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES

The participants and literature also identified culture and religion as a tool used by men to perpetrate child marriage: values and customs and forms of behaviour that are learned and internalized by people, rather than genetically transmitted from generation to generation (Marsh 2000:24). Men in Mashonaland Central usually share the same culture and religion as part of culture which is institutionalized. One of the informants opined:

*We have our own way of doing this in this province. When it comes to marriage, we have our culture to follow and we guard against it. There is nothing bad with our forms of marriage in our society but NGOs and other people look down upon the way we do our things. Our culture respects the men and boys and the way we do our things. We have a way of doing our marriages. Men have a final saying nearly all issues and family and society level. There are also different religions which have their way of marriage. It has to be respected.* (Participant MB4)

From the above remarks it can be noted that culture and religion are used by men to perpetrate child marriage. Men stamp their authority on some various aspects of culture that are beneficial to their sexual gratification, which leads to the sexual abuse of most girls in Mashonaland Central province, and men as custodians of culture will leave some of these components unquestioned for them to take advantage of abusing women and girls. The study noted culture and religion as one
of the key causes of child marriage. The Shona culture supports some of the practices which are damaging to the girl child and women, but Siwila (2012) noted that,

There is need to find out why harmful cultural practices still persist. She argued that it is not enough to talk about them, state and condemn harmful cultural practices, statistics, laws and policies ratified but child marriage is not coming to an end.

From the findings of this research some harmful cultural practices still persist in Mashonaland Central because of men’s patriarchal position which expose a lot of women to sexual violence which is perpetrated in the name of culture. Some of the masculinities are formed to favor men’s sexual gratifications which was supported by one of the female participants in the study who noted that,

\textit{At times we blame culture for no reason because most of these values and norms are set by men and are also set in favour of them. Women and children, we just implement some of these conditions even if they are dangerous to our lives. We are not allowed to question or reject the instructions because this will be associated with insubordination and bad behaviour in the community. If we probe further it seems men were supposed to protect their families as their core business but nowadays the majority of them are exposing and abusing their children and neighbours.} (Participant FG8)

In the construction of manhood or traits of masculinity, a lot is done in favour of men. Their emphasis is on satisfying their sexual gratification. From the research, men seem to be very concerned with their own sexual and reproductive rights. Women are treated as sex objects because of these learned and internalized harmful practices. In some religious sects in Mashonaland Central, the rate of young girls’ marriage is high, because of false prophesies and doctrines, which favours men. One of the participants highlighted:

\textit{The church leaders and prophesies can instruct the young girls to marry older men using the name of the lord. The girls and women are not expected to question but to obey. The prophesies are biased towards men choosing the girls they want but for the women and girls they have no choice.} (Participant KIN5)
The participants noted that a lot of sexual violence happen in churches and this contributes to the high rise of marriages of girls below age 18 in Mashonaland Central. Research also noted that men are in key leadership positions in both cultural and religious sects. The participants, especially the females, emphasized that religious and cultural practices are male dominated and men abuse their position to violate women and girls’ sexual rights.

The study also found that most religious sects are perpetrators of sexual violence and they need to employ redemptive masculinities to address this:

> Most of the church leaders in our churches are misusing their positions by marrying young girls below the age of 18 years. At times they will tell the girls that they dreamt of or the lord told them that they are to be married by so and so. Because they want to go to heaven they will accept and that is what they would have grown up to seeing in their communities. Their sisters and relatives in church would have been married using the same strategy or belief system. (Participant FG4)

Klinken (2002) A church leader in Zambia, supported the above findings:

> There is a distortion of manhood in the society which led to many social problems like uncontrolled sexual behaviour and men’s overall irresponsibility in their marriages and families. Dr Joshua Banda considers this as a crisis for masculinity as a key factor in the major socioeconomic problems.

The study opines that in Mashonaland Central, young bridal marriages are rampant in churches, especially the white garment churches. Some leaders quote some Bible verses like Deuteronomy 28 and 29, which provides a remedy for rape:

> ... if a man meets a virgin who is not engaged and seize her and lies with her and they are caught in the act. the man who lay with her shall give so shekels of silver to the young women father and she shall become his wife. Because he violated her, he shall not be permitted to divorce her as long as he lives.’

The study also noted that females are given little value in society because if the men are not caught, it means the rape case will die a natural death. The story of Tarman’s rape by her brother in 2
Samuel 13:1-22 shows how such an act of rape can be minimized in a tradition where men’s need for sex, power and money far outweighs the needs of women. She ended up living as a lonely woman.

It seems that females have so little value. The participants in this study highlighted this and they added that Lot in Genesis 19:7-8 and a Levite and his hosts offered their daughters and concubines to a huge crowd of men who intended to rape his male guests because hospitality among men was deemed more relevant than the women closest to them. The study found that such scenarios also occur in Mashonaland making use of the Bible, but the major aim of this study is for men to empower the women to look at the bible in a redemptive way to enable the church to speak and act more effectively in relation to the questions of gender and in community particularly combating the issue of young girls’ marriage which is rampant in Mashonaland Central. The research advocates redemptive masculinities also supported by Chitando (2008), Connell (1995) and Morell (2001). Shoko (2006) also noted that Christian ethical values can be inculcated to support with effective responses to child marriages. West advocated that bible studies carry a lot of promise for the emerging of progressive manhood in the time of child marriages. As opined by Kaundas (2012), masculinities can be transformed into caring masculinities to liberate them from being used as tools to oppress women and girls. Kaunda and Kaunda (2012) refer to the Bemba men in Zambia, but the same situation can prevail in Mashonaland Central, as the study unveils, as male leaders can introduce self-giving masculinities which are full of love, respect for and honour of their girl child and women. This culture will make marriage, which they call the root and existence of foundation of human existence, meaningful and safe. This was supported by another participant,

*Culture and religion were not set to harm our people but it was a way of creating order line unit and love in our society but some greedy and selfish people are abusing these to create spaces which are favourable to them. Culture unites families it strengthens bonds when it’s applied without selfish motives. Our ancestors did not mean to harm when the emphasized on our cultural and religious values so, let’s take the good aspects of our culture and religion and move forward for it is part of our societal lives. We cannot do without culture and religion but men have to change and lead in the right direction so that it will combat child marriage. Truly speaking if our men agree to end child marriage it will stop.* (Participant MB3)
This finding addresses the objective of this research, which was to understand how men and religio-cultural practices influence child marriages. However, Padare, a men’s forum has made in-roads into creating and facilitating chances for men to engage openly in gender issues with the main objective of questioning and refusing institutionalized gender stereotypes and duties that privilege men and oppress women and girls sexually and face the challenge of social construction or they have challenges with fitting into the society (Chinganga 2008). However, more liberating masculinities must be cultivated through exposing hegemonic masculinities (Muchemwa and Muponda 2007).

The observation by both participants and literature addresses my research question, which asks the religio-cultural factors that cause the prevalence of young girl marriages in Mashonaland Central. From the above participants’ opinions, the study found that culture and religion play a crucial role in influencing masculinities, particularly due to the fact that African tradition emphasizes on patriarchy, which gives men the power to lead their families and community. However, this can change and scholars like (Adoyoye 2001) question these cultural activities that allow the community to denigrate the humanity of women as fully human beings. The findings are in support with Connell’s (1995) finding that maleness is structured by gender relations which are inherently historical. Making and remaking a political process affecting the balance of interest in the community and the direction of social reform. This idea was supported by the reaction of some participants who did not support the idea of engaging men in the movement to address issues of child marriages in Mashonaland Central. Siwila (2012) also emphasized that there is need for deep understanding of Shona men’s embedded knowledge, values and belief systems of a specific tradition that informs their identity and that of the society in general, which this research did.

6.8 THE SHONA PERCEPTION OF MANHOOD

The other strategy is for men to address the negative Shona perception of manhood through men and boys’ dialogues, because the study found that in Mashonaland Central most of the social constructions of gender begins in the home environment through various processes and these contribute to the perpetuation of child marriages in one way or another (Siwila, 2012):
At birth the girl child is not given the same value as the boy child. There is more when a woman gives birth to the boy child and the woman will be promised to stay longer in that marriage because she will have done a great thing to that clan. The elderly women will ululate and even praise the father of the child for giving birth to a boy child. But a girl child is looked down upon because she will marry and join another family.

Chimhowa (2013) noted that birth rituals and naming systems are used in many societies to show the gender, future duty and value of the child. The female child is associated with domestic work and the boy child is associated with power. The community will also promise the boy child permanence of residence in his father’s home, which empowers him more than the girl child. From birth, a female child is accorded less value than the male child and this reinforces the attitude of males seeing women as sex objects. The study opines that some girls’ parents are frustrated with them because they are girls and little care and attention is given to them. The Shona people in Mashonaland Central province value a boy child because that’s the norm.

In Mashonaland Central, women and girls specialise in domestic chores, which include cooking, washing, caring for children and the sick and doing all the community work like cooking at funerals. They are to concentrate on reproductive work which economically disempowers them and exposes them to premature marriages. On the other hand, boys and men go for productive work that empowers them economically and they also take up political roles. This has contributed to the greater number of men are in leadership positions in the province. More legislators in the province are men and when they go to parliament they will make laws on what is beneficial to them and the concerns of girls and women are not seriously tabled to address these concerns. Even at family level, men make decisions for the women. Males take up the responsibility of controlling income and expenditure patterns at home. It is the men who give the go-ahead for using money or other forms of income at home. The women and girls cannot make a final decision on what her income will be used for without consulting the husband or boyfriend;

Men are believed to make informed judgements so a good wife cannot decide on income and expenditure without consulting her husband or brother. we are used to it and it’s a sign of respect and it also help to maintain peace at home (Chimhowa, 2013).
The study revealed that men and boys in the province have a final say on income and expenditure, which gives them the room to abuse or to do whatever they want with money or other forms of wealth at home. The power of family headship is afforded the boys and men, empowers them, and this leaves women and girls poorer. For social and financial reasons, men are often in the more powerful position in their relationship with women. This forces most of the girls and women to be poorer and this directs some of the young girls into prostitution or sex work in exchange for money and other resources, some aged men will have sex with young girls, because they have more money and other material things to offer, and this leaves young women resorting to prostitution as their only way for survival, affecting the means to confront gender inequality (Albertyn 2002).

Some participants noted that men are always given positive verbal instructions at home and in society, compared to the girl child, and when it comes to rewards, a boy will be given a cow, whilst a girl is given plates and cups. Generally, the boys and men own nearly all the valuable property in the home and the father will promise the boy child that he will inherit the things in the home, which will give him power and security. The family name is defined along the men’s line in Shona community and this leaves the women and girls with nothing. The study found that the people of Mashonaland Central respect having a boy child rather than a girl, because *mukomana anokudza rudzi*.

This study noted the general masculine behaviour of men and boys as is perceived in Mashonaland Central. All men are the same, meaning they are to be treated equally by the women and children. And the participants in this research noted that this causes young women not to report sexual abuse or to remain in abusive unions, because they were told that all men are the same, so both the good and the bad men will enjoy the same privileges because of their manhood. The study also noted that men are susceptible to change.

It is also perceived that men are more powerful than women and children. So, men and boys take power from women and use it to dominate and prevent others from gaining it. The researcher noted this as one of the sources of women sexual violences, which include young child marriage in Mashonaland Central.
One of the perceptions found in the study is that men and boys are competent in sexual matters. This contributes to their domineering and sexually aggressive way and leads to the violation of women and teenage girl’s sexual and reproductive health entitlements. But, the research aims to mobilize me to participate in addressing child marriage (Chitando 2008). Therefore, the study aims to engage men and boys to employ the powers they were assigned by society to mitigate the issue of young girls’ marriage in Mashonaland Central positively. The study noted that this engagement is necessary because it is everyone’s responsibility to challenge dangerous gender norms and to increase understanding of the harmful consequences of inequitable relationships like child marriages. This is supported by Connell (1995) when he vividly noted that; change is something that happens to sex roles that impinges on them. He highlighted the need for a shift of male role. He noted that hegemonic masculinity is connected to the institutionalization of men’s dominance over women. Gender involves oppression and dominance. This observation by both participants and literature speaks to one of my research questions, which was about the perception of masculinity in Mashonaland Central. In conclusion, Morell (2001) criticizes this form of masculinity when he says that contemporary masculinity is trapped by negative ideas of being a man. There is a need to develop masculinities that promote health and well-being of all.

The study also found that the authority of men over women is the root of their masculinity. Generally, in Mashonaland Central one acquires masculinity by becoming married to a virgin and having children as important markers of having attained adulthood. Men try to refuse the doubt of ownership by marrying virgins, because it is one of the signs of a good and disciplined wife. They are also expected to help their father to carry out different tasks. Men are also perceived to acquire masculinity by taking on less deferential body styles to older males and by so doing a male superiority is assumed to his sisters and other girls and even to his mother; that is, the boy child sits on the chair whilst the mother sits on the mat. The study also found from the participants that men are expected to act faster and achieve their goals.

However, Chodorow (2002) noted that masculinity is limiting for men’s lives, rather than so enjoyably, that males should take initiatives for change. If fathers take equal duties with mothers for early child care, she argues that gender inequality will come to an end, women would be relived of the problems of care giving, and men would gain satisfying intimacy with their children, women
and be flexible in their choice of sexual objects. Changes in fathers and mothers’ tasks and their commitment to children will play an important role in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central.

6.9 CONCLUSION

Chapter 6 was a continuation of the findings of the study in Chapter 5, which mainly looked at the perception of male involvement and child marriage in Mashonaland Central. This chapter started by providing the meaning of male involvement from the participants in the study. Factors influencing male involvement such as awareness and knowledge, programmatic factors, sociocultural factors and men’s willingness were highlighted. The chapter went on to explain findings on different strategies to be employed by men in Mashonaland Central to mitigate child marriage and the issue of male involvement and legal factors, which included the Domestic Violence Act were also discussed. And the main objective of this chapter was to present the strategies to be employed by men in Mashonaland Central to mitigate child marriage, which is rampant in the province.

The above exploration of the strategies to be employed by men in the address of child marriage in Mashonaland Central provided the necessary information for the achievement of the main target of the study.

The next chapter discusses the themes that came out from the findings of the study and the ideas that which seek to affirm the need for the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central.
CHAPTER 7:
ANALYSIS OF MAIN THEMES THAT EMERGED FROM THE STUDY AND
CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapters 5 and 6 presented information and analysis on the voices of participants surrounding the perception of masculinity and marriage and the strategies to be employed by men to curb child marriage. Chapter 5 looked at the perception of masculinity and how it contributes to sexual exploitation in the form of child marriage. Chapter 6 further explored the strategies to be employed by men to curb child marriage in Mashonaland Central. For this particular project I was interested in the strategies to be employed by men to curb child marriage, which is rampant in Mashonaland Central. The aim and objectives of the study were to understand the general perception of masculinity, determine the hegemonic masculinity related causes and effects of child marriage and understand the contribution of religio-cultural influence on the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage, and finally to determine the strategies to be employed by men to address child marriage. This chapter shall summarize the research findings, emerging themes and put forward recommendations on how men and masculinity roles could be employed to mitigate child marriage in Mashonaland Central.

In the coding process many issues were unveiled in the study and Chapters 5 and 6 noted that masculinities have a great influence on child marriage, and that men can come up with strategies to curb child marriage. Chapters 5 and 6 show that masculinity contributes a lot to child marriage in Mashonaland Central. Participants were not precise on the negative effects of manhood on young girls’ marriage. The patriarchal role is hierarchical, and in most African cultures the husband is perceived as the leader of the family; hence expected to make all family decisions. This also has to do with issues of sexuality. The study noted that even if a man is not sexually active, he cannot be challenged by his wife, and this leads to gender-based violence issues. Generally, men are associated with authority over women and young girls’ sexual and reproductive health and the continued belief that the final destination of girl child is marriage.
The study also noted that the girl child is seen as a source of income for the family, because when she gets married the parents will receive lobola or bride price in return. Most of the male participants confirmed that manhood is proven by getting married to a virgin or a number of virgins a man or a boy will have slept with. If he fails to get a virgin, he will keep on proposing and marrying until he gets married to or sleep with a virgin. This exposes the young girls in the province to premature marriages before they finish their education or they are mature enough for marriage. This was confirmed by the responses from key informants, who included government officials, NGOs and traditional leaders, and the men and women themselves. When asked why they got married at a tender age or married young girls, even though all the participants were over 18 by the time of the study, they continued citing cultural and religious reasons. It was the general understanding of the perception of masculinities in Mashonaland Central and how it relates to child marriage, which led me to conclude that men and boys can come up with strategies to curb the issue of women sexual violence which is rampant in the province. Men hold all power, from family level to national level, and the participants noted that if they wanted great change, men and boys should be engaged to use the power they have to mitigate this issue. On the other hand, factors like religio-cultural stereotypes, natural disasters like Covid-19, gender-based violence and policy implementation were also some of the factors contributing to young girls’ marriage. Other factors include economic challenges and women and girls’ weakness in supporting one another.

This chapter aims to revisit some of the main themes that have emanated from the results of the research and do a further analysis on each of them. This further analysis will play a pivotal role in this study, which tries to determine the strategies to be employed by men in addressing sexual and reproductive health rights like child marriage. This analysis will assist in suggesting strategies to be employed by men to combat child marriage in Mashonaland Central. The main themes which are identified in this were discussed.

7.2 MAJOR THEMES THAT EMERGED FROM THE STUDY FINDINGS

7.2.1 Influence of masculinity to child marriage

In this study one of the factors which emerged is the influence of masculinity on child marriage. This came out when the perception of masculinity in Mashonaland Central was discussed from
both literature and all the responses from the participants of the study which pointed out that the 
perception of masculinity in Mashonaland Central influence child marriage. This was discussed in 
depth in Chapter 5 where the perceptions of masculinity were discussed. This study found that 
men still have negative ideas of being men (Connell, 1995). Findings of this study tally with 
Connell’s idea that masculinities convey many socially constructed meanings for being a man and 
that these can change overtime and from area to area. This study found that manhood relates to 
perceived ideas about how males should or are expected to behave in Mashonaland Central. To 
support this finding, one of the participants in the study noted:

Men were given this responsibility of leading women and children a long time ago by 
our ancestors. This society is patriarchal by nature and for respectful women and 
children they have to listen to what men and boys will be instructing them to do. When 
it comes to marital issues, it’s the men who say it all. Yes, they are some who want to 
argue that it’s not fair for men to make all these decisions but in real sense that is what 
is transpiring in the province. Men are in control of everything and that’s party of being 
a man. Manhood in Mashonaland Central is associated with control and decision 
making. It’s the men who have a final say on marriage of a child and his decision is final. 
Men have to live within the expectations of the society. (Participant KIN1)

The above participant supports the idea that men have the responsibility of leading women and 
children in Mashonaland Central province. The study also noted that well-behaved children and 
wives should not question the authority of boys and men in the province. Like in most African 
societies, the Shona people believe that men are the leaders of families and their decisions are final 
regarding females and children. But when it comes to marital issues there is a tendency of men 
being autocratic in making family decisions which includes marital issues like marrying young 
girls to older men so as to get financial support or as payment to what they will have agreed upon. 
This notion is also supported by scholars like Mwandayi (2007), Shoko (2006) and Sayi (2018).

The study also noted that fathers, other male relatives and societal members play an important role 
in perpetuating child marriage for many reasons most of which start from inequitable gender 
norms. This also has to do with the issues of sexuality, that is even if a man is not sexually active, 
he does not want a woman or his wife to challenge him, because he was socialized to remain strong
when it comes to sexual matters, even if he is weak and this leads to issues like women sexual
violence in the form of wife battering and child marriage. The study came out with the idea that
the main reason for men to dominate women and girls is to have a chance of proving their manhood
sexually. Many participants were in support of this issue of females always submitting to them no
matter how abusive the instruction will be particularly when it is about sex and reproductive health
issues.

This observation from participants in this study answers the research problem which asks the
general perception on the role of men and masculinity in Mashonaland Central and its effect upon
child marriage. From the above participant’s remarks, this research found that masculinity played
an important role in influencing child marriage especially due to the idea that manhood is perceived
as male dominance which gives men power over women and girls’ bodies, especially when
regarding sexual and reproductive health rights. In Mashonaland Central, men and boys constantly
work hard to prove their manhood by controlling their wives and families as they are afraid of not
being accepted as a man. To add on to this, Ratele (2001) notes,

None of the men is concerned about inequality in their relationships. The power of men over
women is the foundation of their masculinities. Even the importance of having a girl is
central to constructions of masculinity.

Thus, Ratele’s statement show that men are forced to violate women and girls’ sexual and
reproductive health rights, because they need to prove that they are men and that is what they are
expected of by the society. The study found that the issue of masculinity contributes a lot to the
high cases of young girls’ marriage in Mashonaland Central province. A man might prove to be
very weak when with other men, but when it comes to sexual matters, he will fight the women and
girls until he wins sexually, one of the participants in the thesis added this idea. Therefore, the
research noted that the issue of masculinity has a greater contribution to the high prevalence of
marriages of young girls below age 18 in Mashonaland Central province.

On the other hand, the study also noted another group of men who are against the abuse of the girl
child and women. They advocated for the immediate address of child marriage in Mashonaland
Central. Some participants want the Government of Zimbabwe to issue a stiffer penalty to
perpetrators of child marriage. This is what the theoretical framework of the study is calling for redemptive masculinities. These are life giving masculinities (Chitando 2008). In support of this one of the participants said,

We are the fathers, brothers and different relatives of these women and girls and this gives us an obligation to support and protect them. It is a bad thing to abuse sexually the young women and girls. There is need to transform masculinities which are not life giving to liberative or to masculinities which empowers everyone in the society because women and girls’ concerns are concerns of everybody. (Participant MB 5)

Chief Musana and Tino a male participant advocated for positive masculinities that are life giving, which empowers women for the society to develop as a whole. Chitando (2008) argues that change is possible in transforming men and adopting a manhood that is redemptive and more rewarding. He challenged men to take more humane practices and encouraged working together with women as something that has to be offered to transform negative masculinities. The study noted that there are men and boys in Mashonaland Central who work hard to protect the girl child from young bridal marriage and many of the men are aware of the advantages of stopping this abusive practice of child marriage. These study findings are also supported by Hewitt (2012), who argues against negative attitudes that influence maleness pride as expressed through disrespectful gender relations and irresponsible parenting skills. This scholar appreciates the role of women and girls and the role played by his mother to empower his sisters to be economically independent by having a skill and a profession and should not therefore be dependent on man to provide for their well-being. He emphasizes that male and female relationships must be built on mutual respect, not on veto power over their bodies.

These findings from the study are supported by Connell (2005) and Morrell (2011), who highlight different forms of masculinity, from hegemonic to liberative. It is also noted that in Mashonaland Central men are expected to be free, demanding and aggressive. Connell highlights that aggressive behaviour is glorified by violence in movies, sports and the military. The male heroes are generally powerful, tough, often superhuman and very forceful Connell (1995). The study also found that in Mashonaland Central there are all kinds of men, ranging from hegemonic to those who are for the
liberation of the society. But the major aim of this thesis is to encourage life giving male traits so that the issue of marriage of girls below 18 years is reduced in Mashonaland Central province.

7.2.2 Masculinity and religio-cultural practices

The participants and literature also identified culture and religion as a tool used by men and boys to perpetuate child marriage in Mashonaland Central. The Shona people of Mashonaland Central have their norms, values and different behaviours they associate themselves with and they guard these, especially when it comes to marital issues. Marsh (2000) identifies culture as the values and customs and types of behaviour that are learned and internalized. Since it is learned and internalized the study aims to mobilize men and boys to employ positive ideas and knowledge to address child marriage in the province, as advocated by Chitando (2008). One of the men in the study stated,

We have our own way of doing things in this province. When it comes to marital issues we are guided by our cultural norms and values as a society. Our women and girls enjoy our way of life. There is nothing wrong with respecting our values and customs as a society but NGO’s and other Government organizations look down upon the way we do our things. Men are the heads of every family and they have a right make decisions in the family and they are supposed to finalize issues. There has to be some order in realizing equality issues that is there has to be a lead on each and every scenario if order and progress is to be realized. Men have a final say on family and societal issues. (Participant MB1)

From the above remarks it can be noted that Shona men and boys guard their culture seriously, because most of its aspects are to their advantage. The study also noted that men stamp their authority on cultural issues that favour them, particularly when looking at sexual and reproductive health issues. Some participants in the study highlighted that men are very much concerned with their sexual gratification, instead of protecting the young girl and this leads to the increase of child marriage issues in Mashonaland Central. The study noted culture and religion as key drivers of child marriage in Mashonaland Central. The Shona culture protects some dangerous cultural practices which mostly disadvantage the women and girls but Siwila (2012) noted that,
There is need to find out why harmful cultural practices persist. She argued that it is not enough to talk about them, state and condemn harmful cultural practices, statistics, laws and policies ratified but child marriage is not coming to an end.

From the findings of this research it transpires that some harmful cultural practices still persist in Mashonaland Central because of men’s patriarchal position that promotes male supremacy. It legitimizes men’s domination over women in all areas of life and this causes a lot of young girls’ sexual violence, which leaves women and girls powerless and subjected to abuse. Some of the masculinity ideologies are created to favour men’s sexual gratification. Siwila opines that it needs condemnation so that the females will enjoy their sexual and reproductive health entitlements. Most of the masculinities are created to favour men’s sexual gratifications. This is supported by one of the female participants,

The society promotes some ills in the name of culture because men were given the opportunity to lead then they created the norms and values in their favour. In this community women and children just implement some of these conditions even if they are dangerous to our lives. We are not allowed to question or reject the instructions because this will be associated with insubordination and bad behaviour in the community. If we probe further, it seems men were supposed to protect their families as their core business but nowadays the majority of them are exposing and abusing their children and neighbours.

This research determined found out that in the construction of manhood traits, a lot is done in favour of men. Their emphasis is on satisfying their sexual needs. From the research, men seem to be very concerned with their sexual and reproductive health rights. Women and children are treated as sex objects because of these learned and internalized harmful practices. It was also found that the women or mothers are the ones who socialize the children and impart these traits in favour of the boy child. Some participants in the study noted that historically, men were given the responsibility to protect and love their families, but these days it is the opposite. Men are more encouraged into believing in force and power when dealing with women sexually; thereafter they must be taught different and new ways of being men (Mwaura 2001).
To add to the above findings, Chitando (2008) notes that religion and tradition have often been abused by men to perpetrate sexual violence and to have multiple sexual partners. That is beliefs and cultural ideologies reinforce forceful masculinities and these male traits are widely perceived as the most desirable and as having the most power in Mashonaland Central Connell (1995). Chitando further opines that there is need to encourage men in faith communities to become advocates for gender justice emphasized that the task relies with setting gender equitable norms and values within the various belief systems and cultures. But the findings also highlighted that the church leaders or prophets can instruct school going girls to marry older men using the name of the Lord.

### 7.3 THE ROLE OF MEN AND MASCULINITIES IN NATURAL DISASTERS

This study found that there was a high increase in child marriages and child pregnancies during natural disasters like the Covid-19 lockdown in the Mashonaland Central province of Zimbabwe. During the Covid-19 lockdown period, people stayed at home and this found most men and boys embarking on sexual activities with young girls and women, as explained by one of the participants,

> Many girls and women were raped and some forced to marry, and the majority of them fell pregnant. Uncles, fathers, neighbours and other close relatives were involved in having sex with the young girls and women. Most of the people asked the reason for this and men cited the reason of staying idle at home and for some parents and young girl’s poverty was the reason. Most men and boys cited the reason of their sexual gratification and also finding joy in sex with virgins. (Participant FG4)

From the above sentiments, the lockdown fuelled the issue of young girls’ marriage in Mashonaland Central, whilst it was meant to curb the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic. The study also found that in Mashonaland Central province of Zimbabwe child marriage is the most challenging problem which tends to disadvantage women and children more negatively than men and boys which is therefore the major aim of this study which led to the idea of engaging men and boys to come up with strategies to curb or mitigate the problem since they are part of the problem but they have to take control of the situation. These marriages start as rape cases or forced
marriages. In most of the cases, the rapist is forced to marry the young girl or woman so that he is not taken to court, or the poor parents will need lobola to solve their financial challenges (Njovana 1996).

Prostitution also increased and this contributed a lot to the abuse of women and girls’ sexual and reproductive health entitlements. Young girls below 18 years have limited powers to negotiate for safer sex because they are economically disempowered and men and boys took advantage of that. The study also found that men and boys are more interested in having sex with young and virgin girls to cure their HIV and this has exacerbated the problem of child marriage in the province. This is also supported by Shoko (2006) who noted that for social, traditional and financial reasons, men and boys are always in the stronger position in their relationship with women and girls. He also adds that religious ethical values can be inculcated in people to provide effective responses to child marriages. This was also supported by Chitando’s (2008) redemptive masculinity theory.

The study also found that men and boys were not patient to give the girls and women time to take protective measures before sexual activity, which can be difficult to get at times and the majority of them were involved in gender-based violence and unwanted pregnancies.

7.4 THE POWER OF MANHOOD

Having discussed the influence of culture and religion to manhood in Mashonaland Central, this section is going to discuss why the prevalence of child marriage is high in Mashonaland Central province. Emphasis will be on the effects of masculinity on each and every factor. The term ‘masculinity’ refers to the learnt notions and ideals about how men should or are expected to behave in a given setting and male traits are configurations of practice structured by gender relations. They affect the balance of interest in society Connell (1995) and Morrell (1998). This research wanted to determine how these masculinities can contribute positively to the address of the perpetuation of child marriage and this understanding will help men to come up with strategies to address child marriage.
7.4.1 Poverty

Mashonaland Central is a rural province and the majority of the people rely on small scale farming and this contributes to a number of men being unemployed. The majority of them stay at home and they cannot afford fees to take their children to school. This will force them to marry off the young girls so that they can get lobola or to get rid of them to reduce the burden of having to take care of them. This finding is supported by the department of policy and practice of UNICEF titled Child Marriage and the Law April (2007:31-32), which states that,

Poverty is one of the main dominants of child marriages. In many countries’ middle east, south Asia and sub-Saharan Africa poverty drives families to give their daughters in marriage in the hope that this will alleviate the family poverty and secure the families honour when it is at stake. Although child marriage is seen as a way to escape the cycle of poverty, it actually worsens cycle of integrational poverty. Although poverty is one of the underlying causes of child marriage as parents see this as an opportunity to receive money or serve money, child marriage is not restricted to poor families. Child marriage is also a way of preserving wealth in families if higher socioeconomic class.

The findings of this research are in-agreement with UNFPA findings, but in Mashonaland Central it happens in most of the poor families or a few well-off families, especially those in white-garment churches. In support of this, one of the participants noted,

*My father married me off to my husband when I was 16 years because he wanted to pay fees for my brothers. It was noted that he also used the money to marry my stepmother since my mother has died. It touched me but I had nothing to do since my father’s decision was final. I never enjoyed my marriage because it wasn’t my choice and I wanted to join my agemates at school. My husband was abusive and his wife abused me as well. My husband died leaving me with two children. I am now back at my father’s house with my brothers who did not complete school. This type of marriage is so painful I hate it.*

(Participant FG6)

This female participant got emotional when she explained this. Poverty got her into all this trouble. The father used his power to marry her off, which even worsened the situation.
7.4.2 Artisanal mining

In another scenario, the young girl is exposed to child marriage. Artisanal mining is one of the economic activities carried out in Mashonaland Central and most of the parents send young girls to go and sell some food and water to the artisanal miners. A lot of them are impregnated by these men and boys who dig for gold. Most of these men are family men who come from other provinces.

7.4.3 School dropouts

The findings also noted that these male decisions will lead to a lot of school dropouts. Most of the girls leave school before completion, because their families are not able to pay for their education and eventually they are forced into child marriages (MacClearly 2016). Poverty has ripple effects, as indicated by the participant above. As she explained, she was struggling to pay fees for her two girl children, and they ended up dropping out of school because she had no means of getting adequate fees for them. This worsened the situation, which could have been curbed by taking the mother to school. The participant blamed her father for her situation.

7.4.4 Health consequences

Another participant stated the following:

*When I got married to my husband, I noted that I was HIV positive during my first pregnancy and after that I had a series of sexually transmitted diseases because my husband had multiple partners. He had a shop at the nearby growth point which was also close to a secondary school I used to attend to. I was sorry for my friends who were falling in love with him. I had nothing to do but to only watch. I got traumatized and my father was not even sympathizing with me. My mother had nothing to do, even though she felt the pain of my situation. My health is bad since I was 15 years old when I got married and now I am 21 years old. I am a mother of one with six miscarriages. My husband is always demanding for babies. I am tired and my health is poor.* (Participant FG9)

The findings of this research show that poverty led to a lot of girls contracting HIV and AIDS. The above participant also noted that a lot of her friends died following the same scenario. Child
marriages exposes the young girl to HIV and AIDS, which hamper development in general. Male dominance is one of the sources for most of these cases, However, another participant noted,

_Sometimes it’s the women who protect the perpetrator of sexual exploitation, which will lead these young girls to health problems. Some women will protect their husbands or male representatives from being reported because they are the breadwinners. This enhances the practice of sexual exploitation and increases child marriages and the spread of HIV and AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases._ (Participant MB 7)

The above participant supported the information about the spreading of HIV and AIDS above and agreeing with the fact that these marriages have health consequences. The above study also reveals that women and girls cannot take decisions against bad practices in Mashonaland Central. Men marry most of the young girls at a tender age because African culture values virginity at marriage at the expense of age (Siwila, 2011:7). This leaves the girls and women powerless over their sexual and reproductive health entitlements especially when they get married to men who are far older than them or they will enter into a polygamous marriage because of poor negotiating skills. This is supported by Machingura (2011:7) who said that,

_Early child marriages are a defilement of human rights and such marriages are a shame to our community, for they interfere with women’s rights and force them into a continuous cycle of poverty._

The redemptive masculinity theory was used in this study to engage men to come up with ways to curb the ill practices of child marriages that hinder the girl child’s enjoyment of her power over her sexual rights. The study emphasizes the need for men and boys to assist with equipping women and girls with information and education so that they enjoy their sexual rights. Knowledge and information can strengthen the females’ voices in the fight against young girls’ marriages. This will also help the public to know the hidden cultural, religious and economic beliefs that discriminate against the girl child and exposes her to child marriages (Dube, 2011). The arrangement is socially accepted in Mashonaland Central; hence the need for male engagement:
The Shona men are not afraid of the laws in place. They can even tell you that there is nothing that will happen to them even if a report is made and the serious impact of child marriage continue to be ignored in Mashonaland Central.

Following the above remarks, it is noted that men continue to force girls and young women who are below 18 years of age into marriages. These poor and vulnerable rural girls and women continue to bear the risks and social and financial cost of child marriages, non-consensual sex and early and unplanned pregnancies continue. In Mashonaland Central, some men continue to ignore the laws in place and marry young girls. The study notes that there are many quiet voices of many women and girls who have been pledged into marriage before 18. This shows the complacency and discrimination of laws and that the minimum age of marriage is ignored and not enforced, or they work together with religious and customary legislations, which give men the chance to abuse women and girls. However, this will require men who support grassroots advocacy to address many of the traditional practices and behaviours that put young women and girls into increased health risks. Morell (2001) highlights that: “There is need to come up with masculinity that develop health and well-being for everyone.” This supports the redemptive masculinity theory by Chitando (2012) which informs this study.

The other disadvantage for Shona masculinity is the valuing of the boy child’s education at the expense of a girl child. Boys are granted the chance to continue with their education and girls are not given the opportunity. The majority are burdened with the roles and responsibilities of wives and mothers without the needed help of resources and capabilities. This points to the idea that national and international human entitlement instruments relating to child marriage remain not fully implemented and enforced. This reflects that there is now an urgent need to engage men to help address the problem, since they are part of the community and they have the power.

7.5 TRAUMAS

The study established that trauma is one of the challenges to be curbed by men in Mashonaland Central. Since child marriages pose a lot of challenges to the girls and young women, men and boys in the study agreed to come up with strategies to mitigate the causes of some of these traumatic issues. They gave examples of their sisters and other female relatives who had married
before the age of 18, and had traumatic situations. It was also noted that nearly all the girls and women involved in child marriage in Mashonaland Central suffer and live in pain, seeing their abusers on a daily basis. In support of the above notion, MacKinnon (1993) opines,

Imagine that for hundreds of years your formative traumas, your daily suffering and pain, the abuse you live through, the terror you live with are unspeakable. You grew up with your father holding you down and covering your mouth so that another man can make a horrible searing pain between your legs. When you are older your husband ties you to the bed and drips hot wax on your nipples and brings in another man to watch and makes you smile through it. Your doctor will not give you drugs he has addicted you to unless you suck his penis. Men are like a father who facilitates the rape of his daughter.

Similarly, West (2006) highlighted the key factors that enable the male characters in the rape of Tamar in the Bible. Tamar was traumatized by the rape, as is indicated above by MacKinnon (1989). West further explains that bible studies hold a lot of good ideas for the emergence of progressive masculinities in the time of rape or child marriage. This is the hope given to the traumatized girls and young women by the men and boys in Mashonaland Central. The majority of the participants in this study agreed on the positive effects of male engagement in addressing child marriage, because men hold the positions of power in the Shona society but this was not highlighted. They promised to work hard to reduce these marriages in Mashonaland Central, because some young women and girls lost their lives because of these traumatic experiences because of child marriage. Some of the participants in the study narrated their traumatic experiences and they agreed that a lot needs to be done to curb child marriage. The study also noted that men and boys should be consistent in word and deed if they are to address or curb the issue of child marriage in the province. The majority of the scholars in the study agreed that masculinities can and do change; thus, the Shona men and boys can help curb this challenge caused by child marriage. Chitando (2008) also argues that it is possible for men to adopt a masculinity that is liberating and more rewarding.

7.6 MARRIAGE

Marriage is one of the major themes in this study. The Shona people of Mashonaland Central regard marriage very much. Marriage is considered as a norm and the Shona society place a higher
value on women’s and girl’s marriage and look down upon who ever does not seem to get married. The participants also noted that the girls and women should stick to their marriages for economic security and to avoid stigma even if the marriage is abusive and not working. That accompanies separation and divorce in unions. However, this same stigma is not attached to men in Mashonaland Central, who are allowed to take on extra wives:

\[
\text{In our community marriage is regarded a highest good in a family. So, parents and other relatives will be respected for marrying off their daughter. It’s a girl’s important union.} \\
\text{It economically empowers the families with a married girl.}
\]

It was noted in this study that in Shona culture a woman is viewed in a negative sense in marriage. A woman is considered as sold (Bourdillon 1967:68), because of the bride price paid to the in-laws. A husband can ill-treat and abuse her and she has no right to voice her concerns. The women are expected to be quiet. The study noted that most of the marriages are abusive. When men are charged huge sums of money for the bride price, most of them do not pay in full. At times no follow-up is done to make sure that the men pay in full. It is said that it is another man who will have to follow up with the man to finish paying his bride price. This means that the father in-law will have to follow up with the son-in-law to pay the lobola. If this does not happen and if not so, eventually it will die a natural death. The issue of male dominance still prevails. Most of the female participants testified that they just stayed in these abusive relationships, whilst no lobola was paid and even respect of the marriage procedure was not observed.

In addition, Chimhowa (2013) notes,

\[
\text{Marriage is norm which society tends to place higher premium on women’s marriage and derides whoever does not seem to be able to get married. The pressure is also very high to stick to a marriage for economic security and also to avoid the stigma that comes with separation and divorce. similar pressure and stigma are not applied to the males who in many communities are allowed to take in extra wives.}
\]

These unions traditionally put men and boys at an advantage because the payment of the bride price will force most of the women to stay in violent and abusive marriages. Because of the
reluctance or the inability of the families to pay back the bride price this will put pressure on young women to stay in the marriage regardless of what happen Mandayi (2008).

Shoko (2006) questioned the measure which would have been used to determine the value of the women or girl child lobola by society because some are married off in exchange for very little lobola in the province. Chrongoma (2008) also added that after lobola has been paid a woman should stay in her marriage, no matter how painful the challenges she has to face. Upon marriage, the women in Mashonaland leave their homesteads and join the husbands. They get a new identity, which includes taking the name of the husband. As a result, she loses her individual identity and this contributes very much to the women and girl’s dilemma because this does not make a woman a full member of the next home which exposes her to Gender Based violence Chamisa (2019). A woman will have challenges if she fails to give birth to boy children or her husband can send her away. The women are not guaranteed automatic inheritance or succession to the marital things, so men and boys need to consider all this to empower women and girls. This is a scenario that hampers women’s economic empowerment.

The Shona men express their male supremacy by involving themselves in polygamy, because the husband is above the wives; he has all this freedom (Connell, 1995, supported by Mandovha, 2013). Women and girls will compete for one husband and this leads to a lot of psychological trauma. In the Shona culture women are the main people accused of infertility and witchcraft. Culture restricts women to express their feelings freely and verbally, since culture restricts women and girl’s freedom so men and boys should be involved in the address of child marriage Chitakure (2016). Eventually, she will have extramarital affairs, but men’s marital rights cannot be questioned (Chenge 2017). Having said all this about marriage men should not marry children but their equals with whom they can together affirm life and mitigate negative masculinities in the society.

**7.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The concluding ideas take us back to Chapter 1 where the main question of the research was stated and the study objectives were highlighted. The aims and study objectives were an endeavour to answer the main question.
7.8 REVISITING KEY STUDY OBJECTIVES, MAIN QUESTION AND SUMMARY OF THE THESIS

The main study objective was to investigate how the role of men and masculinities combats child marriage in Mashonaland Central. The main question asked is: How does the role of men and masculinities using redemptive masculinity theology combat child marriages in Mashonaland Central?

To answer this question and the main key objective, this study first discussed issues of male involvement and child marriage in Mashonaland Central. This was done to establish the general perceptions and issues surrounding male involvement in combating child marriages and to establish the role and the position of men and boys in the Shona society. It was found that there are different forms of manhood, with the hegemonic, violent form of masculinity perceived the most. This therefore contributed a lot to the high incidence of child marriages in Mashonaland Central. It was also noted that most men and boys behave in a hegemonic way, because they want to maintain their patriarchal dividend, which has all the resources in favour of men and boys. Many child marriage and sexual and reproductive health entitlement issues emanate from socialization, which determines manhood and womanhood.

However, findings revealed that masculinities can improve. The problems of men and women’s issues, which includes child marriages and HIV and AIDS, necessitate the emergence of liberating masculinities, which are life giving and developmental. There is a need for Shona men to work towards improving the welfare of women and girls. The findings scrutinized that men should discuss their sexuality openly with women, rather than oppose the female feelings and support how they feel as men.

However, religion and tradition have often been abused by men and boys in Mashonaland Central province to perpetuate child marriages and having multiple sexual partners. The findings agree with Connell (1995), when he notes that belief systems and cultural ideologies reinforce hegemonic masculinities; that is, men use force in marriages. These are masculinities that are widely accepted in Mashonaland Central as the most desirable and as having the most power in the province. Issues of lobola were also found as one of the key factors that lead some parents to
marry off their young girls to get lobola. Traditionally a woman is viewed as a commodity and is regarded as being sold. Bourdillon (1967:68) clearly states that masculinity traits are influenced by cultural and religious norms regarding manhood, which are very negative in the context of marriage. Traditional values and attitudes in the Shona norms and values, such as male headship, polygamy and inheritance that affect men and boys’ sexual behaviour, contributing a lot to child marriages, were also found in this study. The study further noted that males are often in the stranger’s position; that is, they do not accept a loving role in their relationship with women for social, traditional and economic reasons.

After hearing from the women who were married as children, it can be testified that in marital relationships, women and girls are objectified as a sexual object and not as a conjugal partner to be respected. The participants noted that patriarchy stops the possibility of sexual negotiations in relationships and sex is viewed as a duty for women and girls, who are supposed to satisfy their husbands’ sexual needs physically. A real man must not feel hungry for sex while the village is full of women and girls. Women and girls should not enjoy sex, because it is an entitlement for men and boys, so women and girls can be forced to have sex or forced to marry at a tender age. The female participants noted that these child marriages are full of violence and abuse. Most of them have contracted HIV and there is no love in the unions.

The key informants further noted that most men should be considered guilty of a lot of social and political injustices inflicted upon women and girls, making them victims of child marriages and rape. The study also found that women and girls are not allowed to suggest otherwise about child marriage or any challenge in the union or marriage, or she will be accused of infidelity and deserving discipline. The woman is also restricted by culture to express her feelings verbally, but men’s marital rights cannot be questioned. One of the key informants who is a religious leader opine; If all humanity has been formed in the image of God (Genesis 1:28), then there is no reason for men to treat women as second-class citizens, because they are all equal in the face of God.

Furthermore, the findings revealed that unfair treatment of women by men gender in terms of resources and opportunities, poverty, exclusion, marginalization and insecurity are some of the factors that contribute to the practice of child marriage in Mashonaland Central. Padare/Enkundleni, a men’s forum on gender in Zimbabwe, noted that men should be considered
guilty of condoning the egoistic longings of patriarchy by revising legislation and policies that continue to dehumanize women. The study also noted the consequences of child marriages, which include poorer health conditions, lower levels of education attainment, higher risks of violence and abuse, and deaths, together with persistent poverty and missed opportunities for girls and women’s empowerment (UNFPA, 2012). However, Chitando (2008) calls for redemptive masculinities and Morrell (2001) calls for liberating masculinities or masculinities that set men and others free and this is the main aim of this study; that is to come up with masculinities that are life giving to all members of the society. These themes were analysed and presented.

Themes such as masculinities and marriages, patriarchy, masculinities and COVID-19, culture and religion, masculinities and policies, stereotypes and masculinities strategies to address child marriages in male involvement in addressing child marriage were topical in the study. The themes evolved around manhood issues, child marriage and the domination of women by men. The themes were determined when the study looked at the strategies that can be employed by men to reduce the pandemic of marriages of girls who are below the age of 18 which is so rampant in Mashonaland Central.

It was through doing this further analysis that the study managed to come up with suggestions and strategies that men and boys can use to address the issue of child marriages in Mashonaland Central. These strategies are discussed below when revisiting the motivation and the research problem. The study looked at how men in Mashonaland Central province can be involved in addressing child marriage, which is rampant in the province. Chitando (2008), Morrell (2011) and Connell (1995) hold the same view that men can change their perspective on masculinity and address issues of child marriage. The study wanted to find out how men can fight the issue of child marriage.

7.9 REVISITING THE MOTIVATION AND THE STUDY PROBLEM

The issues raised in the motivation for undertaking this study were real and genuine regarding what is really transpiring in Mashonaland Central Province, but the major challenge is that the men should have to live their talk if child marriages which started a long time ago are to be mitigated. The figures are always on the increase and the figures were also fuelled by the COVID-19
pandemic. The study findings supported the idea of engaging men and boys in coming up with strategies and interventions to mitigate child marriages in Mashonaland Central province. The focus was mostly the key positions that most men and boys play as powerful gatekeepers, fathers, legislators, religious and community leaders whose support must be galvanized to intervene on behalf of the girls and women. The study also determined that men responded differently to the expected changing gender expectations. Some men and boys are supportive; others are neither; while some are hegemonic.

The study demonstrated that masculinities are a foundation of the power of men over women. Different ways of acquiring manhood were also noted. One of them involves getting married and having children, while boys are expected to help work with their fathers and assume a male superiority to his mother and sisters because men and boys are also socialized into believing in force and power for everything. However, the study also found that one cannot mitigate child marriage without going to men and boys and also train positive masculinities, which is a journey. Therefore, to mitigate child marriages, there is also a need to challenge constructions of harmful masculinities that exacerbate the marginalization of women and girls.

The country leaders should take serious measures to instil discipline in men and boys who commit violence against women and girls. It has to encourage societies to develop masculinities that promote health and well-being for all and mitigate negative ideas of being a man (Morrell, 2001). The study also found that the Zimbabwean legislative instruction is clearly in support of a patriarchal society. Men are more than women in the legislative chambers to deliberate, design and endorse the implementation of national policies. The precolonial Zimbabwean society subscribed to the customary law that favoured men in terms of access to resources and decision-making in both family and society in general. The law provides a leeway for child marriages. Hence, the government should revisit and realign some of its laws and correct some of the colonial policies that are patriarchally driven, such as the Roman Dutch law that meets the interests of the Europeans only. The male-dominated system seems to be the main cause of poverty for women and girls and unfortunately exposes them to child marriages and abuse.
7.10 CONCLUSION

To sum up the research revealed that while positive and redemptive masculinities are essential in the formulation of strategies to curb child marriage. It is essential to keep on sensitizing the men boys and the community at large on shunning these child marriages that disempowers women and girls in Mashonaland Central. Girls and women should enjoy the same rights as men. It was found that allowing redemptive masculinities will promote gender equality to all people in society. This also gives males the ability to care and support women and girls and be courageous to journey with women and girls in a fair and democratic way in the society. The study also noted that men should assist in transforming irresponsible marriage behaviour. This requires social commitment of men and boys, and all members of society to give respect and support to the females if the society is to advance. Therefore, the male strategies will help in addressing the issue of child marriages that are rampant in Mashonaland Central. It will also give women and girls rights to enter into marriage freely and to choose a spouse with their full consent.

7.11 RECOMMENDATIONS

In its concluding observations on male involvement in addressing child marriages, the study urges men and the government to take the following steps to end child marriages.

- **Put in place comprehensive measures to address and prevent child marriages, and other forms of sexual violence against women and girls.**

There is need for law-enforcing agents in Zimbabwe to improve the legal position of women either by written law and or by practice, because women and girls have less legal status than their male counter parts, which exposes them to a lot of violence in the form of child marriage. There is also a need to revisit laws regarding child marriages, divorce, inheritance, child custody and maintenance so that they are implemented effectively and lessen the burden of the girls and women. There is no effective and legal definitions of child marriage and rape, which leads to the insensitive treatment of girls and women by the police and the judiciary, ending up with having the girl child marrying the perpetrator, instead of taking him to book.
For men and boys to put in place effective measures to address child marriages in Mashonaland Central, there is a need to sensitize the whole community on legal literacy because nearly all members of the society are not literate in terms of laws. The other measure to be taken is to increase the representation and power of females in politics, the media, legal and medical professions so that they will be able to assist other women and girls in the society in general. This will help with the prevention and reduction of child marriage and other forms of violence against females in Zimbabwe and Mashonaland Central in specifically.

Men and boys should also take into consideration issues of culture and religion that fuel child marriages in the province, causing a lot of school dropouts and an increase in domestic violence, because of these premature marriages. This is also fuelled by the idea of a family being a private entity beyond the control of the state. Generally, women and girls have limited organizations as a political force that limit them to be in organized political systems so that they will be able to table their sentiments and views of ending child marriages (Kanyongo 2007).

From the findings of this study, men and boys in Mashonaland Central should read and understand the provisions of the Constitution for them to be able to avoid discrimination on the grounds of being male or females and marital status. This policy is in section 23 of the Zimbabwean Constitution. Men and boys should come up with comprehensive measures to protect the abuse of the girls and women in the province simply because they are women biologically. It was noted from this study that men take advantage of the biological difference and then abuse women and girls sexually or overload them with gender roles, whilst the men and boys do little or no work at all. The study noted that the women and the girls do most of the domestic chores, whilst the men and the boys do not help them. They need to help them so that they excel academically and professionally and then marry at a mature age. Men and boys will do most of the productive work and in the end, they are paid, which empowers them economically. This calls for the engagement of men and boys in the programming and formulation of policies aimed at addressing child marriages in Mashonaland Central, because they are the ones who propose for marriage and pay lobola. They have to come up with comprehensive measures to address child marriage in the province. Participants in the study noted that the measures to address child marriage should start at family level, up to national level.
Participants also noted that the men and boys are in decision-making positions in Mashonaland Central. This gives them the power to come up with comprehensive measures in addressing child marriage, which is rampant in the province. From this recommendation it was also noted that boys should be trained at a tender age to avoid or reduce these child marriages and also be made to understand the effect of child marriage and the advantages of looking after a child until she acquires a higher level of education and get some form of employment. If men and boys take comprehensive measures to address child marriages in Mashonaland Central, violence and abuse in the form of child marriage will be addressed.

One of the key informants also highlighted that men and boys can come up with comprehensive measures to address child marriage, because of the patriarchal system, which gives them the power to control and make decisions. The decisions or measures to curb child marriage in Mashonaland should be life giving or redemptive Chitando (2018). This simply means that the measures should be helpful in mitigating child marriages. Men and boys should take responsibility and implement the measures put in place effectively. That is, men and boys should be involved in the formulation and implementation of the measures put in place because of the positions of power they hold in the society. The Government should also improve its commitment to national and international instruments to help the men and boys to effectively curb the issue of child marriage.

- **Encourage men and boys to protect and not to perpetrate violence in the form of child marriages.**

It is key to motivating men and boys to protect women and girls from all forms of violence, which include child marriage. This can be done by promoting masculinity that sets men free. Males can become advocates of gender justice so that they are always ready to reprimand negative sexual behaviour towards girls and women. Whilst they hold different positions in society, men and boys should shun cultural and religious practices that fuel child marriages in Mashonaland Central. The study also recommends that men and boys take their protective role seriously, because in the Shona society, it is the duty of the men to provide security at home and even countrywide.

*Men and boys should take up their protective role in Mashonaland Central because the majority of the soldiers worldwide are men and most men and boys in Mashonaland*
Central are very much aware of their protective role. Even traditionally it is the responsibility of men and boys to see to it that women and children are well protected.

From the above information, men and boys can be encouraged to take up their protective role so that girls and young women are not married at a tender age before they are ready to assume that responsibility. Men and boys must protect and love women and girls as part of their families. In most partner and intimate relationships, men are perpetrators of violence in the form of child marriage in Mashonaland Central, but the same men have the potential to protect the girls and the women. The main aim of this study is to engage men and boys to help address child marriage, which is rampant in Mashonaland Central. Therefore, this recommendation plays a key role in male engagement in addressing the issue of child marriage.

- **Engage men and boys in the formulation of strategies and interventions to address child marriages.**

This recommendation implies that the formulation of strategies and interventions to challenge child marriages in Mashonaland Central needs men and boys who will work together with women and girls at the formulation stage. The mobilization of men and boys is important to movements and partnerships in social justice. These strategies and interventions should be gender sensitive, by taking into consideration equal power relations between men and women. This will make it easier and more effective to formulate and implement strategies and interventions to address child marriages. Males have more power in making far reaching and concrete ideas, which will facilitate the implementation of the formulated strategies and interventions. If men and boys are engaged to come up with these strategies and interventions, it will give them an opportunity to address some of the causes and effects of child marriage in Mashonaland Central and come up with effective ways of addressing child marriage. Therefore, if Men and boys are engaged, they can also come up with strategies to curb some practices that expose the girls and women to child marriages.

When men and boys are engaged in the formulation of the strategies and interventions to address child marriages in Mashonaland Central, issues of bride prize need to be defined so that its meaning and purpose will be clearly understood by the community and also assist the men and boys to understand its purpose, instead of abusing the initiative. When strategies and interventions are
formulated by the men and boys, they should own it and work towards the achievement of the formulated ideas to address child marriages in Mashonaland Central. Ownership seriously motivates them to work towards the achievement of the set strategies and interventions and by so doing, their mindset will change as well.

The interventions and strategies should also tally with the existing challenges in the province so that it will be able to serve its purpose, because if they are not matched with the existing challenges, it will create more problems instead of providing solutions to the problem. Men and boys should come up with initiatives they are also comfortable with so that it will have a positive effect on all members of the Shona community, despite race or gender. Men and boys should also take into consideration the multiple legal systems that combine statutory, traditional and religious.

- **Putting in place measures to prevent and mitigate hegemonic masculinities which fuels child marriages.**

Men and boys should be engaged in the formulation of ways and interventions to mitigate child marriages. The strategies and interventions should be gender sensitive by taking into consideration unequal power relations between men and women. This will make it easier and more effective to formulate and implement ways to address child marriage. The males have more power in making far reaching and concrete decisions, which will make the implementation of the formulated strategies and interventions easier. If men and boys come up with these strategies and interventions, it will give them an opportunity to address some of the causes and consequences of child marriage in the province and come up with strategies to address some practices which are exposing the girls and women to child marriages.

Issues of bride prize also need to be given meaning and be clearly understood by men and boys, as well as to sensitize the community on the purpose of lobola, instead of abusing the initiative. That is, women are forced to stay in abusive marriages, because they cannot pay back the bride prize, since the majority of them will be from poor backgrounds. Since most men are in positions of power, they have to work hard to achieve the interventions and formulated ideas in order to address child marriage effectively.
These strategies and interventions should also tally with the existing challenges in the province so that it will be able to serve its purpose. It also has to be timeous and objective oriented. Men and boys should own and implement their initiatives and the Government and the whole society should support them so that the men and boys will be involved in providing care and love to their daughters and sisters effectively, instead of exposing them to child marriages (Sonja, 2004).

- **Sensitize men and boys to the effects of child marriages.**

The males can contribute to a more equal society by starting with themselves to say no to child marriages and have a better understanding of the effects of child marriage. Males should have conversations with stakeholders and other members of the society. In that way, they may overcome gender that creates stereotypes that prevent gender equality; stereotypes that bring on violence in marriage relationships and that stand on the way of gender equality. So, men and boys have to start the conversation at home and then create waves in their context.

This sensitization seeks to rally men and boys to create a dialogue to help perpetrators of violence adopt positive conflict resolutions and anger management. The purpose is to mitigate child marriage, which is a form of gender-based violence, before it happens when they are married; and men and boys should sensitize other men to the fact that violence is not a way to demonstrate love and that there are other ways of communicating needs and frustrations. Healthy and mature communication is important.

- **Put in place measures to curb abuses during natural disasters like COVID 19.**

There is need for the Government, men, boys and relevant stakeholders to put in place measures to curb the increase of abuses like child marriage and other forms of violence during natural disasters. The study noted that when all people stayed at home as a measure to reduce the spread of Covid-19, there was an increase in the prevalence of different forms of abuse, which include child marriage. Men and boys should play a protective role during when females spend most of their time at home instead of going to work like during a lockdown. During natural disasters, people face a lot of challenges, which include shortage of food, money and other important livelihoods and females are usually the most affected because of their caring role. Thus, there is a need for men and boys to be sensitized and encouraged to employ redemptive masculinities to
address child marriage in Mashonaland Central and the whole nation. The Government, NGOs and other relevant stakeholders should channel resources in radio programmes and other forms of social media promoting male participation in addressing child marriage during a pandemic and train them how to utilize their time positively with their families and relatives at home. The information could be provided through awareness campaigns, IEC materials and other forms of mass media. During natural disasters men and boys should be respectful towards young women and girls because a lot of young girls are raped and then end up in a child marriage, because marriage is valued more in the Shona community. In order to curb these negative consequences during disasters, the study proposes that men and boys should accept changes and promote gender equality even in marital issues. When natural disasters like this strike, men and women respond differently because of their different gender roles in society; therefore, these gender issues are so important in preparing ways to be employed by men and boys in addressing child marriage.

- **Promote the participation and role of men, patriarchal fathers, religious leaders and community leaders in promoting positive male role models who oppose child marriage and are knowledgeable about its harmful impacts.**

Advocacy and training workshops must be directed at the leaders and all males in Mashonaland Central, because they hold positions of power in the society. The Government, non-governmental organizations and other civic organizations should encourage community leaders to build upon the traditional values of caring and protecting the women and girls in the society. If leaders are convinced first, they will disseminate the information in their communities. It is also important to create more men’s forums or support groups for men to share and discuss how to curb child marriage in Mashonaland Central. To promote the participation and role of men, the same message should be preached by many organizations and many times. This will enable men and boys to protect girls and women against child marriage.

These leaders should also take an opportunity in society to educate the women and girls so that they do not perpetuate gender-based violence in marriages. Mothers in particular should teach their daughters to persevere in order to ensure their social and sexual acceptance in the community. Male involvement should be of great help to the mothers and children, because the women, girls and children always listen to them. Men and boys also need to be encouraged to pass redemptive
norms and values from one generation to another cultivating the culture of curbing child marriage so that women and girls will enjoy the entitlement that every human being has, regardless of sex or any other differences.

- **Inculcate Christian ethical values to provide positive responses to child marriages.**

There is need to empower men and boys in Christian circles to employ positive patriarchal concepts such as negotiation and subtle changes of patriarchal ideas in marriages. Gender is always about power in marriages in Mashonaland Central, with men and boys being the most powerful. Therefore, there is a need to define men headship in terms of responsibility as an important family value. The Padare Men’s Forum and other men’s organizations should sensitize and empower men and boys to provide positive responses to the call for male involvement in addressing child marriage. The idea of spiritual headship at different levels should give men and boys the power to emphasize the idea of having men and boys love and respect girls, their wives and children, and to be involved in their life problems, because culture and religion have often been misused by men and boys to violate girls and women by forcing them into marriages and to have multiple sexual partners without consulting the young brides. Therefore, the Government and other organizations should work hard to mobilize men and boys in faith communities to become advocates for gender justice in addressing child marriage. The task lies in instilling Christian values and norms in the various religions and cultures. There is also need to design programs to address men’s social behaviour for a significant reduction of child marriages in Mashonaland Central.

The Christian ethical values should empower the males in the province to address marriages of girls who are below 18 years and encourage them to empower the women and girls who are powerless in culture, religion and economics. Men and boys should feel free to discuss their sexuality with women and girls and identify with, rather than oppose their female side to reaffirm their masculinity. To motivate males to shun the idea of child marriage and help the females to report and say no to the marriage of girls below 18 years of age, the males will be involved in mobilising communities to say no to child marriage.
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE

How can the role of men and masculinities mitigate child marriage in Mashonaland Central?

For Men

1. Identify the causes of low male involvement in mitigating child marriage in Mashonaland Central?
2. How do men perceive child marriage?
3. How do you see the current situation of child marriage in the province?
4. What are men taught about marriage in your community?
5. What role should men play to address child marriage?
6. In your opinion what do you think are the benefits of male involvement in mitigating child marriage?
7. Which other actors can be engaged to address child marriage and why?

Shona Translation

Mibvunzo Yetsvakurudzo

Ko Varume Vangabatsire Sei Kuderedza Kuroorwa Kwevana Vari Vadiki MuMashonaland Central

Mibvunzo Kuvarume

1. Chii chiri kukonzera kuti varume vave vashoma pakuderedza kuroorwa kwevanasikana vari vadiki?
2. Varume vanoona sei dambudziko rekuroorwa kwevana vari vadiki?
3. Panguva ino muri kuonawo sei dambudziko rekuroorwa kwevana vari vadiki mudunhu rino?
4. Ko varume vanodzidziswa kuti kudii nezve wanano muMashonaland Central?
5. Varume vangaite sei kuderedza dambudziko rekuroorwa kwevana vari vadiki?
6. Pamaonero enyu munofunga kuti zvinobatsirei kuti varume vapindire pakuderedza kuroorwa kwevana vari vadiki?
7. Ndevapi vamwe vamunofunga kuti vangabatsire pakuderedza dambudziko iri ipai zvikonzero?

Key Informants in Mashonaland Central

1. Do you think it is good to engage men in mitigating child marriage and why?
2. Identify the causes and effects of young bridal marriages in Mashonaland Central?
3. Which strategies can men employ to address child marriage?
4. How does the community perceive the role of men and masculinities in mitigating child marriage and how can they be assisted to come up with positive solutions?

Shona Translation

Vanhu Vane Ruzivo Nezve Musoro Wenyaya

1. Munofunga kuti zvakanaka here kuti varume vabatsire kuderedza dambudziko rekuroorwa kwevana vari vadiki uye sei madaro?
2. Chii chikonzero uye mavanga ekuroorwa kwevana vari vadiki?
3. Zvii zvingaitwe nevarume kuderedza dambudziko rekuroorwa kwevanasikana vari vadiki?
4. 4.Ko vemunharaunda vanoona sei kuti varume vapindire poakuderedza kuroorwa kwevana vari vadiki uye kuti vangabatsirwe sei kuti vaderedze dambudziko iri?
APPENDIX II: CONSENT LETTER

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
(HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Date: 05-08-21

Dear Participant

My name is Elizabeth Nkoma student number 217053683. I am currently registered for PHD in Gender and Religion at the University of KwaZulu Natal. My contact details are cell: +263772855253: email address; nkomazanza@gmail.com: Postal Address: P. Bag 994 Bindura. My supervisor is Professor L.C. Siwila and her contact details are: Mobile number +2779458 and her Email address is Siwila@ukzn.ac.za. Please feel free to contact her if need arise based on your participation in this study from (Provide information about the researcher (name, department/institution and various contact numbers and email addresses)

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research Male Involvement in addressing child marriage in Mashonaland Central. The aim and purpose of this research is to Investigate how Male Involvement can help Address child marriage. The study is expected to enrol 25 participants 20 men from the 3 Districts in Mashonaland Central and 5 key informants who includes 1 traditional leader, 1 religious leader and 3 from government and non-governmental organizations in Mashonaland Central province in Zimbabwe. The interviews shall involve face to face and focus group discussions but observing Covid -19 restrictions which includes masking up, observing social distance and discussing in small groups and being tested and vaccinated. The duration of your participation if you choose to remain in the study is expected to be 30 minutes.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the research at any time or point of the interview or focus group discussion without any negative consequences. Your responses will be treated in a confidential manner. In writing the thesis I will use codes or disguise
names to protect your anonymity. There are no monetary or material benefits from participating in this study. I promise to give you a copy of my thesis as a token of appreciation for your participation. I hope that the study will create the following that the study will provide no direct benefits to participants. A copy of the thesis will be given as a token of appreciation.

If the research could potentially involve risk, you are free to withdraw because there is no compensation.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee approval number140520.

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at +263772855253 or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Participation in this research is voluntary, and in the event of refusal/withdrawal of participation the participants will not incur penalty. You are free to withdraw any time and where possible inform the researcher for orderly withdrawal. Under what circumstances will the researcher terminate the participant from the study when he is violent or not adhering to the rules of the interviews?
No costs are incurred for undertaking this study in case of data usage one will foot his own bill because there are no incentives or reimbursements for participation in the study.

Your responses will be treated in confidential manner. In writing the thesis I will use codes or disguise names to protect your anonymity. Any instruments such as interview and focus group tools will be shredded while videos or audio-visual tools will be incinerated beyond recognition after a period of 5 years of storage.

CONSENT

I ----------- have been informed about the study entitled Male Involvement in Addressing Child marriage in Mashonaland Central by Elizabeth Nkoma.

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I may contact the researcher at +263773855253.

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

____________________  __________________
Signature of Participant     Date

____________________  __________________
Signature of Witness     Date
(Where applicable)

____________________  __________________
Signature of Translator     Date
(where applicable)
APPENDIX III: LETTER GRANTING PERMISSION

MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

OFFICE OF THE PROVINCIAL DEVELOPMENT COORDINATOR
Mashonaland Central Province
Ministry of Local Government and Public Works
STAND NOS. 92 & 93 SECOND STREET
P.O. BOX 10
BINDURA

ZIMBABWE

19 April 2019

Nkoma Elizabeth
P. Box 994
BINDURA
Zimbabwe

PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN MASHONALAND CENTRAL

Reference is made to the above subject

Permission is hereby granted by the Provincial Development Coordinator of Mashonaland Central Province to Mrs. Nkoma Elizabeth who is currently studying with the University of KwaZulu Natal to carry out a research on Male Involvement in Addressing Child Marriage A Case of Mashonaland Central, Zimbabwe.

However, the researcher is required to negotiate with key government departments and other relevant organization and men to the research. A copy of the final report will therefore be submitted to the Provincial Director upon completion of the course in December 2021.

L. Katambarare
FOR: THE PROVINCIAL DEVELOPMENT COORDINATOR
MASHONALAND CENTRAL PROVINCE
DATE OF ORAL PRESENTATION: 14 May 2020

NAMES OF CHAIRPERSON AND PANEL MEMBERS PRESENT:

Chair: Prof H Moyo

Members: Prof P. Denis, Prof C van der Walt, Dr B Okyere-Manu, Dr W Meyer

STUDENT NAME: Elizabeth Nkoma

STUDENT NUMBER: 217053683

DEGREE: PhD

DISCIPLINE: Gender and Religion

SHORT DESCRIPTIVE TITLE:
Male Involvement in Addressing Child Marriage in Mashonaland Central Province, Zimbabwe.
1. **General impression of the study**

The Panel is concerned that the title and the project does not reflect the religion and theological angle that this project is taking. In terms of the proposal itself, there needs to be general editing of the spacing and punctuation.

2. **Potential as an original contribution to the field:**

The Panel agrees that this is clearly an important study but there are some questions whether this project is possible when it is not clearly engaging with men and women. The nuancing of the detail of what the candidate actually wants to do needs to be clarified.

3. **Findings of the panel:**

3.1. **Review of Literature**

3.2. The Panel is satisfied that literature review seems comprehensive, but it should be shortened and focused on clearly arguing for the gap in the literature that the candidate is arguing i.e. that men should be deeply involved in programs for combatting child marriage. The focus on theology and religion needs to be emphasized and fully linked into the gap that has been discovered.

3.3. **Theoretical Framework**

The Panel agrees that Redemptive Masculinity seems to be an appropriate framework for this work but since it is about marriage and the sexual exploitation of women perhaps body theology and indecent theology should be added? There also needs to be a feminist theology of praxis in the framework to bring all of these together.

3.4. **Research Problems and Objectives**

The last sub question is substantially the same as the main question, which in turn does not tell us very much about the aims of the project theologically for instance about developing a redemptive masculine theology of marriage and sexual and reproductive health which seems more in line with a Ph study. The sub questions must locate the study into patriarchy, masculinity and then into sexual and reproductive health.
3.5. Research Methods/Approach to Study

The Panel believes there must be less of the theory of Methodology and more of the actual practice. There is the beginning of a good plan for research in lockdown and social distancing. But, there are pitfalls and dangers of collecting data via social media so there should be extensive reading on how others have done this successfully. The candidate should also immediately try to obtain qualitative data analysis software that will carefully store and catalogue this e-data and provide search and analysis tools. NVIVO is one such tool.

A plan needs to be made for soliciting the best responses from men such as employing a male research assistant. In fact the candidate will need to think of a number of scenarios which will be plausible in order to make sure the aims of the project can be achieved.

There must be a very careful focus on ethics since this is classified as a red study which simply will not pass in this format.

3.5. Proposed work plan

The work plan is hopelessly out of date this will have to be revised and updated.

3.6. Language and presentation

There needs to be general editing of the spacing and punctuation.

**Decision** - The proposal is:

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<td><strong>Accepted, without any corrections or revisions.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Accepted, provided corrections and revisions/extensions</strong> are carried out to the satisfaction of the supervisor.</td>
<td>Should not be accepted, but should be returned to the candidate for substantive revision/extension. The student will complete a schedule of revisions indicating the changes made. The revised proposal must then be resubmitted to be read by the review panel.</td>
<td>Should be rejected outright.</td>
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Additional Comments:

• The Panel agrees that this is clearly an important study but the nuancing of the detail of what the candidate actually wants to do needs to be clarified.
• The literature review should be shortened and focused on clearly arguing for the gap in the literature that the candidate is arguing.
• Body theology and indecent theology should be added to the framework.
• There also needs to be a feminist theology of praxis in the framework to bring it together.
• The main question does not tell us about developing a redemptive masculine theology of marriage and sexual and reproductive health.
• There are pitfalls and dangers of collecting data via social media so there should be extensive reading on how others have done this successfully.
• A plan needs to be made for soliciting the best responses from men such as employing a male research assistant.
• There must be a very careful focus on ethics since this is classified as a red study which simply will not pass in this format.
• There needs to be general editing of the spacing and punctuation.

Name of Chairperson: Prof H Moyo
Signature: 
Date: 14 May 2020

Name of Secretary:
Signature: 
Date: 14 May 2020
Protocol reference number : HSSREC/0003566/2021)

Project title : Male involvement in addressing child marriages. A case of Mashonaland Central Province Zimbabwe

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:
BREACH OF ETHICAL PROCESSES AT UKZN

I, the undersigned, Nkoma Elizabeth

Staff/Student name (number) : 217053683

School : School of Rel Phil & Classics

Campus :

as the Principal Investigator (“the Applicant”) in the above stated project, do hereby acknowledge that:

1. The University of KwaZulu-Natal’s (hereinafter “UKZN”) Research Ethics Policy (V) does not make provision for Retrospective Ethics Approval;
2. All researchers (both students and staff) at UKZN are obliged to be familiar with this policy;
3. I have been informed that research cannot be done without obtaining full ethical clearance as per the policy and guidelines of the University;
4. Research for the above project was undertaken by myself without final ethical clearance being obtained;
5. The University reserves its right to, at any stage and time, withdraw the relevant degree obtained by myself if:
   5.1 It becomes known to UKZN that there was an additional ethical breach during any field work or whilst collection data for the above stated project, and / or
   5.2 I fail to apply for ethical clearance for any future research projects.
6. In addition to point 5 above, the appropriate disciplinary processes will follow should this occur again.

I further acknowledge that should there be any legal implications/actions emanating from the research in terms of any ethical violations, I will be personally liable and hereby indemnify UKZN against any legal action that may arise from my failure to adhere to the University Research Ethics Policy (V).

Signed at Bindura, Zimbabwe on the 22nd day of August 2022

Signature of applicant: __________________________

Signed at __________________________ on the ______ day of 2022

Signature of Chair (HSSREC): __________________________ Date: __________________________
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:
BREACH OF ETHICAL PROCESSES AT UKZN

I, the undersigned,

Supervisor name : Siwila, Cheelo Lilian
School : School of Rel Phil & Classics
Staff / student number : 3512142

acting as supervisor in the above stated project, do hereby acknowledge that:

1. The University of KwaZulu-Natal's (hereinafter "UKZN") Research Ethics Policy (V) does not make provision for Retrospective Ethics Approval;
2. All researchers (both students and staff) at UKZN are obliged to be familiar with this policy;
3. I have been informed that research cannot be done without prospective full ethical clearance as per the policy and guidelines of the University;
4. I have failed to verify whether the Applicant obtained Final Ethical Clearance in accordance with the UKZN Research Ethics Policy (V) for the above stated Project;
5. The appropriate disciplinary processes will follow, should this occur again.

I further acknowledge that should there be any legal implications/actions emanating from research in terms of ethical violations, I will be personally liable, jointly and severally with the Applicant and hereby indemnify UKZN against any legal action that may arise from my failure to adhere to the University Research Ethics Policy (V).

Signed at pietermaritzburg on the 5th day of June 2022

Signature of supervisor (where applicable): ____________________

Signed at ____ on the __ day of 2022

Signature of Chair (HSSREC): _______________________________ Date: ________________

Cc: College Dean of Research:
Cc: Academic Leader Research: Denis, Philippe Marie Berthe Raoul
Cc: School Administrator: Hlopo, Nonhlanhla Faith
APPENDIX IV: LETTER BY EDITOR

CORNELIA GELDENHUYS
083 2877088
corrieg@mweb.co.za
26 January 2023

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Herewith I, Cornelia Geldenhuys (ID 521114 0083 088) declare that I am a qualified, accredited language practitioner and that I have edited the following doctoral thesis:

MALE INVOLVEMENT IN ADDRESSING CHILD MARRIAGE: A CASE OF MASHONALAND CENTRAL, ZIMBABWE

by

Elizabeth Nkoma
217053683

All changes were indicated by track changes and comments for the author to verify, clarify aspects that are unclear, make the necessary adjustments and finalise. The editor takes no responsibility in the instance of this not being done. The editor also takes no responsibility for referencing not included or not referenced correctly. The document remains the final responsibility of the student to finalise before submission.

C GELDENHUYS
MA (Lin) cum laude, MA (Mus), HOD, HDL, UOLM
APPENDIX V: TURNITIN