Masculinity and Violence against Women in Simenya, Kenya: Engaging Men as Part of the Solution

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Abstract

Violence against women is a prevalent issue that affects many in Kenya. However, most efforts to prevent violence against women focus solely on secondary prevention or survivor support. This study focuses on primary prevention. This study researches perceptions surrounding violence against women and the concepts of masculinity that may contribute to VAW in Simenya Village, a rural village in Kenya. To collect this data, 100 community members, 6 teachers in the area, and a representative from Compassion International were interviewed. Additionally, individuals from programs that work with men and boys to prevent VAW in Nairobi and around the country were interviewed to determine what prevention programs are currently in Kenya and what their approach is. This study found that power and control is the overarching root and concept of masculinity that was found to contribute to violence against women. However, the breaking of gender roles was a very important theme that emerged and often lead to violence. Issues such as poverty and alcoholism were found to cause situations in which individuals broke gender norms, then leading to the enforcement of the power of the man. Programs that work with men work to create ideals of gender equality, and to address concepts included in “flawed masculinity”. These findings are important for studying prevention of violence against women and for enhancing understanding of the contributors to and complexities of violence against women in rural Kenya.
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Introduction

Background

Violence against women is a prevalent and detrimental issue that is widespread around the world. Gender based violence can be against men or women, although it is more common against women. This paper will specifically focus on gender based violence against women and use the term violence against women (VAW). There are a variety of different types of violence against women including intimate partner violence, sexual assault, female genital mutilation, honor killings, child sexual abuse, human trafficking, and sexual harassment. Violence against women is an extreme public health issue in many areas of the world due to the severe health issues that result from the violence, both in the short term physically and long term psychologically. A report by the World Health Organization (WHO) found that globally, violence against women “is a major contributing factor to women’s ill health” (Global and Regional, p. 36, 2013). Women who have experience intimate partner violence for example, are “16% more likely to have a low-birth-weight baby…more than twice as likely to have an abortion, almost twice as likely to experience depression, and, in some regions, are 1.5 times more likely to acquire HIV” (Global and Regional, p. 2, 2013). Additionally, those sexually assaulted by someone other than a partner are over twice as likely to abuse alcohol and to experience depression or anxiety (Global and Regional, 2013). VAW is an extremely complicated issue due to the fact that it is directly rooted into culture. The roots of gender based violence at the societal level include patriarchy and views of masculinity that include toughness or dominance through which power and control over the victim plays a significant role. While there are many different kinds of violence, the aspects of power and control over the victim are constant in all of them.

Globally, violence against women is a rampant public health issue that affects approximately one third of women in the world (Global and Regional, p. 1, 2013). The statistics speak for themselves as approximately 38% of murders of women are committed by an intimate partner, 35% of women have experience partner or non-partner violence, and 7% of women have been sexually assaulted by a non-partner globally (Global and Regional, p. 2, 2013). Africa as a continent is particularly affected by violence against women in comparison to other regions in the world. Approximately “37% of ever-partnered women reported having experienced physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence at some point in their lives” in Africa compared to the
global average of 30% (Global and Regional, p. 16, 2013). Additionally, Africa was found to have one of the highest prevalence rates of non-partner sexual violence and the highest proportion of women reporting intimate partner violence and/or non-partner sexual violence at 45.6% (Global and Regional, p. 19-20, 2013). These statistics illustrate the gravity of this public health and human rights issue.

In Kenya, violence against women continues to be a significant problem in the country. According to a United States Agency for International Development (USAID) study in 2008, around 50% of women in Kenya experience physical violence sometime during their lifetime. Domestic violence is an extensive part of this as in roughly 40% of all violent acts against women, the husband was reported as the perpetuator. Among women who are married or have ever been married, the percent affected increases to 74% (Borwanker, 2008). Furthermore, patterns suggest that poorer women are victims of violence more frequently than wealthier women, although violence against women affected all economic groups significantly (Borwanker, 2008). However, the extent of violence against women varies in different parts of the country. The Nyanza province, where Simenya is located, “has the highest number of women aged 15-49 who have ever experienced physical violence at 56.6%” (Kisumu County, 2013). Furthermore, “sixty percent of ever-married women aged 15–49 in Nyanza report ever having experienced emotional, physical, or sexual violence committed by their husband partner” (Janet, 2013). Despite these facts, there is very limited data on the experiences or prevalence of violence against women in Siaya county or Simenya more specifically.

Many efforts to curb violence against women focus on services to help survivors, or measures to prevent VAW from reoccurring to women who have already experienced violence such as intimate partner violence or sexual assault. These initiatives are essential to provide the necessary support to survivors. However, as these initiatives only address secondary prevention or treatment and support following violence, they do not provide primary prevention of VAW. Primary prevention can be defined as the prevention of disease or injury before it ever occurs through efforts such as changing behaviors or habits or banning hazards or unsafe behaviors. This differs from secondary prevention which focuses on reducing the harm or continuation of an illness or injury that has already occurred through measures such as screening for early diagnoses (What Researchers Mean, 2015)
Furthermore, the involvement of men in VAW responses has largely been isolated to disciplinary and legal action for perpetrators of violence. However, now many in fields regarding VAW are beginning to recognize the importance of including men and especially boys in the solution to this issue. This is especially important as most perpetrators of VAW and violence in general are men, although most men are not perpetrators. Additionally “constructions of masculinity play a crucial role in shaping violence against women” (Flood, p. 359, 2011). Beyond this, it is essential to recognize that VAW and the health consequences for women and children that result from it negatively impact everyone in the community and the world, and therefore men are also stakeholders and can play an important role in the solution to VAW. Because of this, educational programs that works towards teaching men different views about masculinity and about the importance of gender equality will be essential in the fight to end VAW.

Problem Statement

Violence against women is widespread in the Nyanza province and in Kenya as a whole (Kisumu County, 2013). This violence comes in a variety of forms, from intimate partner violence to child sexual assault. Many of the risk factors that are associated with violence against women, such as “poverty, women’s economic dependence on men, low education, and inequitable norms for male and female behavior” (Ellsberg, 2014) are common in Siaya as the poverty rate is 40% (Siaya, 2013) and 20% have had no formal education (Ngugi, 2013). Despite the prevalence of these risk factors, there is currently very minimal data on VAW in Simenya.

The violence against women in Kenya causes severe health issues and is a human rights violation. Both the direct and indirect health issues associated with violence against women affect the whole community including both men and women. The physical consequences cause immediate harm to the women and can lead to death when severe. Pregnant women may be at an even greater risk of this (Hatcher, 2013). Additionally, psychological trauma resulting from VAW can have a lasting impact that is detrimental to the woman’s health (Global and Regional, 2013). Furthermore, there are very few initiatives focusing on primary prevention of VAW. Without primary prevention, VAW will inevitably continue to be an issue and affect the community for years to come.

Primary prevention initiatives for VAW in Kenya are mainly focused on legislative initiatives, and male-inclusive initiatives are just beginning to be recognized as important steps to
help end VAW in the world (Casey, 2013). Significantly more research needs to be done in order to assess initiatives focused on the primary prevention of violence against women, as well as to assess the specific assumptions educational programs that work on prevention are trying to change, such as unhealthy concepts of masculinity. As there is little research on effectiveness of primary prevention initiatives in Kenya, expanding research in this area will be essential as these programs are spreading to both rural and urban areas in Kenya and around the world. Additionally, there is very little data on VAW in the area of Simenya specifically, thus this research will be beneficial to any future initiatives in Simenya.

Objectives

A. Determine the concepts of masculinity that may contribute to VAW in Simenya
B. Assess perceptions of VAW in Simenya
C. Determine what is currently being done in Kenya in terms of primary prevention of VAW

Setting

This study took place over a four week period. Two weeks were spent in Simenya and the other two weeks were spent in Nairobi. Simenya is a rural village in the Ugunja Sub-County of Siaya County (Map 3), in the Nyanza Province in Western Kenya (Map 1, Map 2). Simenya generally does not show up on any maps, so the location of Simenya Secondary School in Simenya is illustrated in the map. The main source of livelihood in the area is agriculture through small scale farming, and many in the community spend the mornings working in their fields. The poverty level in Siaya County as a whole is 40%, which is slightly lower than the national average of
45.9% according to UNICEF (2013). Furthermore, education levels in Siaya County are relatively low as “16% of Siaya County residents have a secondary level of education or above” and 20% have had no formal education (Ngugi, 2013). The biggest ethnic group in the area is the Luo tribe. Dholuo is the most common language in the area, with Swahili and English being secondary and tertiary languages used less frequently. The majority of houses are organized into compounds with several houses together organized in a traditional manner. There are often small farms and fields surrounding each homestead area, with dirt paths between the homesteads and fields. There is a small village center area with several small shops and restaurants. Compassion International and an initiative by the CDC are virtually the only international organizations working in the area.

In contrast, Nairobi is the capital city of Kenya. Nairobi is a bustling and vibrant city in which traffic jams occur daily, especially during the rainy season when the downpours cause flooding in the roads. Nairobi hosts hundreds of NGOs and international organizations that work in a wide variety of sectors. Swahili and English are widely spoken along with several other tribal languages.

**Literature Review**

In her dissertation “Strategies for Coping with Gender-Based Violence: A Study of Young Women in Kibera, Kenya,” Elizabeth Swart studied the coping mechanisms for women in Kibera, Kenya as well as elsewhere in the country who were survivors of intimate partner violence (2011). The author conducted research through a “diary project,” in which 20 women ages 18-27 in Kibera from a youth group were given journals to write in for a three year period (2007-2010). Additionally, a survey was administered to 200 women in Kibera ages 18-36. This survey collected information about the demographic details of the participant, their attitudes towards VAW, reasons why women may take action/ resist violence or not, the type and prevalence of the violence they experienced, and coping strategies. The author concluded that women often endure VAW, although they do not approve of it or think it is justified. Furthermore, the main coping strategies included endurance and faith, escape, and limited partnership. This researcher used both qualitative and quantitative research, and this is
something I would also like to include in my research. Additionally, the methods she used to identify attitudes towards VAW will be helpful in this research.

Abigail M. Hatcher et al. from the school of medicine at the University of California wrote “Social context and drivers of intimate partner violence in rural Kenya: implications for the health of pregnant women,” in which they discussed many of the social factors that may influence intimate partner violence (IPV) (2013). They conducted their research through in-depth interviews and through focus groups with pregnant women, male partners, and relatives. Additionally, they conducted in-depth interviews with individuals from non-governmental organizations, police and legal organizations, and public health organizations. In this study, the researchers identified several cultural understandings that contributed to IPV, and discovered two additional forms of IPV that affect rural women in Kenya including financial neglect or being exiled from the home. Additionally, they looked at gender roles and the role this plays in IPV. While this study will not focus on pregnant women, the results from Hatcher’s study will be beneficial to compare to the findings of this study, especially in terms of perceptions of gender roles.

Mary Ellsberg, along with several other researchers, wrote “Prevention of violence against women and girls: what does the evidence say?” in which they analyze many different methods of preventing violence against women in both developed and developing countries (2014). In this study, they reviewed evidence from a wide variety of countries and included many different forms of violence in their study, such as intimate partner violence and FGM. They then analyzed what methods are the most effective in prevention of VAW. They found that in low and middle income countries, there are large gaps in research about effectiveness in most areas of prevention. However, there was evidence that economic empowerment and income supplements along with gender equality training was “promising” and that training personnel such as teachers, police, and health workers, was ineffective. This will be helpful in looking at the current prevention initiatives in Kenya as well as making recommendations to the Simenya community.

Erin A. Casey, along with several other researchers, wrote “Context, Challenges, and Tensions in Global Efforts to Engage Men in the Prevention of Violence against Women: An Ecological Analysis” (2013) in which they discussed the challenges associated with engaging men in preventing violence against women. Their main methodology was in depth interviews
with individuals from organizations around the world that work to involve men in addressing violence against women. 29 organizations participated in the interviews, and the interviews were held over phone or skype. The study concluded that the main challenges in this area included negotiating issues of gender, intersectionality, sustainability, legitimacy, and ideological inclusivity. This study will be helpful in analyzing programs that work with men and boys in Nairobi.

**Methodology**

The methodology entailed primary information gathering through in-depth interviews, survey-type interviews, and observations, and secondary information gathering through reviewing literature and reading reports. To address my first two objectives, which were to assess the perceptions surrounding violence against women and determine concepts of masculinity that may contribute to violence against women in Simenya, I conducted 100 interviews with members of the community as well as six interviews with teachers at the primary and secondary schools in Simenya. All of those interviewed were above 18 years old, and both males and females were interviewed. Additionally, 3 teachers from Simenya Primary school and 3 teachers from Simenya Secondary School were interviewed to determine the level of education on violence against women in the schools. The Project Director of Compassion was also interviewed.

To find participants for the interviews, I went door to door around the community in Simenya and covered a different area every day in the areas surrounding the main road through Simenya and the village center. Interviews were also conducted in the village center in small businesses and shops. I asked questions surrounding the prevalence of violence against women, the acceptability of violence against women, current state of education about violence against women provided in the area, and perceptions on masculinity and gender roles. The interview questions asked can be found in Appendix 2. The data from the interviews were then grouped into categories. The teachers were interviewed either in their homes or at the Primary or Secondary School in Simenya. These teachers were asked questions about the education on violence against women provided in each school, and how they integrated concepts about violence against women into their classes if they did so at all. Interviews were mostly conducted
in Dhuluo with the help of a translator, with the minority of interviews conducted in either Kiswahili or English.

Following this, to address the objective of determining current prevention initiatives in Kenya, both educational programs and legislation were looked into. For educational programs that attempt to alter perspectives on masculinity, in-depth interviews were conducted with 4 individuals who run different programs who work with men. The programs from which representatives were interviewed included Men for Equality of Men and Women, the Coexist Initiative, Men for Gender Equality Now and the MenEngage Kenya Network. Additionally, a survey was distributed to several men who are currently participating in these programs, and 14 surveys were received back. Following this, each of the programs were looked at to determine how they work to prevent VAW and how they address the concepts of masculinity that were determined to be potential contributors to attitudes that accept VAW. Teresa Njore, a psychologist, social worker and trauma counsellor at Kenyatta National Hospital (KNH) was also interviewed for background on violence against women. Additionally, the in-depth interviews were used to further understand the roots of violence against women, the ways in which changes in perceptions can help to prevent violence against women, and the ways in which this change can come about. These same individuals were asked about the legislation and the ways in which legislation was or was not working as prevention of VAW. This information combined with research on the specific laws that are in place was used to address the legislation section of this objective.

My study sites were in both Simenya and Nairobi. Data for the first two objectives were gathered in Simenya, while data for the third objective will be gathered in Nairobi. The study population will be adults in both locations of varying socioeconomic statuses and both male and female. The sample size will be approximately 130 people total for all sections. The data was managed in an excel sheet for all of the surveys, and qualitative data from the in-depth interviews was transcribed and kept in documents and through notes. Excel was used for data analysis to sort answers from the surveys into categories for further analysis. Either verbal consent or written consent was obtained by all participants, and signed consent forms were kept by the researcher in paper form until the conclusion of the project.
Results

Participants in Simenya

The 100 participants interviewed in Simenya included 65 women and 35 men. The average age of the participants was 45.81 years old, and the ages ranged from 18-84 years old (See Figure 1). The occupations of these participants included 36 small scale farmers, 17 small scale business owners, 27 unemployed, and 20 who had miscellaneous occupations. The education levels ranged from no education to university education. Out of the 100 participants, 17 had no education, 45 participants have had some or completed primary education, 25 had some or completed secondary education, and 9 had completed or had some university, college, or polytechnic education.

Perceptions of Violence against Women in Simenya

Prevalence of Violence Against Women: Is it considered an issue?

The majority of individuals reported either that violence against women was common in the area or that they have heard of many cases of intimate partner violence or violence against women. Out of 100 participants, 36 responded that violence against women was not common in the community and they had heard of few or no cases of intimate partner violence or violence against women. Fifty-seven individuals responded either that violence against women was common, they had heard of many cases IPV or violence against women, or both (Figure 2). Furthermore, 85 out of 100 respondents believed that a program that worked to educate people on violence against women would be beneficial to the community. This indicates that the majority of community members believed that violence against women was at least to some extent an issue that could be improved upon in the area. Furthermore, Rachel Onyango, the Project Director of a Compassion
International assisted program in Simenya, an organization working with vulnerable children such as partial orphans, total orphans, or children living with guardians with low income, reported that out of 350 children since 2013, they had had 10 cases of the mother in the home being beaten. Their Child Survival Program, the program that works with children ages 0-3, had 5 out of 37 families where the mother was being beaten. Additionally, she noted that many cases remain unreported (Onyango).

Acceptability

Physical violence against women was generally not accepted in the community. Ninety-six out of 100 respondents answered that it was not accepted for a husband to beat his wife, and 95 answered that it was not accepted for a husband to force his wife to have sex with him under any circumstances. Additionally, it was generally not accepted for any man to be beating a woman and the majority of interviewees responded that they would try to interfere if they saw such an occurrence happening. Thirty-four said they would try to separate them if possible, 31 would try to advise them and solve the conflict peacefully, 16 would take legal action against the man, four would pray for them, and 15 would not interfere or had no answer. Additionally, three of the respondents who said they wouldn’t interfere said so because of fear of being injured in the process, but the remainder would not interfere as they believed it was none of their business or because they did not know how the conflict started. Furthermore, the majority of respondents thought that a man who sexually abused a woman or girl should be reported to the police and arrested, while 15% recommended peaceful solutions such as consoling and 5% said that nothing should be done or they had no answer. The remaining 5% had answers such as praying or the woman running away (Figure 3). All of this indicates that physical violence against women is considered unacceptable in the community.

However, some respondents did think that it was ok to beat the wife, or even if they responded that was not ok, some believed it was ok for a husband to hit his wife a little for the purpose of
disciplining her. In comparison, 100% of respondents reported that it was never acceptable for a wife to hit her husband.

Fifty-seven of the respondents reported that if violence was occurring in a home in the area, those affected would not share but would keep it secret, while 27 believed most or all would share and try to get help, 6 believed about half share and half keep it secret, and 10 didn’t know or the answers were not available. Some who believed most people don’t share thought that they should share, and some believed people should not share as violence in the home should be a private matter and as they believed it was not in their culture to share.

**Perceptions of Causes of Violence against Women**

There were a wide variety of reasons why respondents in Simenya believed violence against women occurred. The number of respondents who mentioned each reason is depicted in Figure 4 below. The most common reason was poverty. Many described poverty in terms of the following situation: the husband comes home with no money, and the wife then questions him as to why he doesn’t have money and why he hasn’t brought food home. This questioning then leads to arguments and an escalation of the situation which leads to the husband beating the wife. The next most common perceived cause of violence against women was the use of drugs and alcohol, especially by the husband. In multiple cases, respondents described the issues of finance and alcohol interacting, as a husband may come home drunk and without any money after a friend had “paid” him in alcohol or given him alcohol. The wife then believes that the man has spent all of his money on alcohol, and violence breaks out after the wife accuses him of this and an argument begins. Additionally, according to Rachel Onyango, the Project Director of Compassion, alcoholism was often a factor in the cases of parents of children in Compassion in domestic violence cases that they receive (Onyango).

Following these reasons, disagreements/misunderstandings was common along with either men or women not following their proper roles in the family. An example of this would be a man not providing for the family or a woman not taking good care of the children or disobeying her husband. Religious causes was the least common reason for violence against women.
Perceptions of Solutions to Prevent Violence against Women

The most common solution to preventing violence against women in Simenya was education. The suggested education, however, came in diverse forms. Some believed that more schooling, and especially equal schooling opportunities for both girls and boys would help to empower girls, and thereby reduce violence against women. Others believed that specific education that focused on violence against women would be the best preventative solution. Some believed that this education should focus on educating women on their human rights and on ways to prevent violence in their homes, while others thought this education for women should teach them about their roles in the family in order to prevent violence against them. Others believed that it would be very important to include men in the education, and either hold seminars specifically for men or for both genders. Furthermore, education was mentioned as a way to reduce poverty, which was an aspect of the second most common category to prevent violence against women of financial solutions. Financial solutions also included financially empowering women so that men and women would have equal job opportunities and both would contribute financially to the family. Poverty reduction programs in general were also suggested to prevent violence against women. The next most common ways to prevent violence against women included counseling for couples and the community in general, and religious solutions.
such as praying and spreading Christianity. Enforcing strict consequences for perpetrators, such as high fines or arresting them and enforcing strict laws, was also a common response for the prevention of violence against women (see Figure 5).

There were also a few suggestions from the community about potential challenges and structures for the programs that may be effective. For example, one concern that was mentioned is that it is very hard for people in the community to have time to go to seminars, and it is largely the women and not the men who would willingly participate in seminars without some form of compensation. Additionally, one structure that was mentioned by multiple community members was one in which people went house to house to educate people, as this was currently being done by health workers on topics such as maternal health and diseases.

Current Education in Simenya surrounding Violence against Women

Out of the 100 respondents, only 31 reported having learned about violence against women while growing up. Additionally, out of the 31 who reported that they had been taught, only 10 had been taught in Simenya, while the other 21 were taught outside of Simenya. Seven out of 10 who had been taught in Simenya reported learning about violence against women in Simenya Primary or Secondary school, and the other three reported seminars by organizations that they could not remember or a program by the Anglican Church.
Furthermore, out of the 100 participants, 14 responded that they knew of a program in the area that was working to educate people about violence against women currently. Out of those 14, 4 named Simenya Primary School, 3 names Compassion International, and the others named health services generally, seminars by the Chiefs who came, or couldn’t remember the names.

The 6 teachers from Simenya Primary and Simenya Secondary Schools reported that concepts surrounding violence against women were incorporated into certain subjects in both schools. For example, in English Grammar and Literature in Simenya Secondary School, violence against women or gender issues in general are occasionally integrated into the stories they read in class (Mildred Anne). However, there was no curriculum specifically for this topic at either school. Furthermore, there were no specific seminars dedicated to violence against women or other education on this subject other than what was incorporated into other classes.

**Concepts of masculinity in Simenya**

**Control/Power**

Having control and power in the family was a major concept of masculinity that appeared in the data. Out of 100 interviews, 40% of respondents believed that the man should take total control over his wife in order to be a man, 59% believed that they should not take total control and 1% did not know (Figure 6). However, out of the 59% that did not believe that the man should take total control, approximately 6 indicated that men should have more control than the woman, while 12 responded specifically that the man and woman should be completely equal. Additionally, 26 out of 100 responded that one of the roles of the man was to be in charge of the family and the head of the family. This included concepts such as advising the family, making the major decisions in the family, and taking control over family matters as a whole (see Figure 7).
Provider

By far the biggest role of a man that was reported by respondents in Simenya was the role of providing for the family. This is a very general category that included providing financial means in order to buy food, clothes, and the basic needs of the family. In many cases the man was mentioned to be the breadwinner. Additionally, paying the school fees for the children was one of the biggest financial needs that the man was supposed to provide beyond survival needs such as food. Moreover, taking care of the family was the second most common reported role of the man in the family. This response also generally included ideas about providing needs for the family, often through financial means.

Beyond providing financial needs, another main role of the man was to build the house and to provide shelter. This is another aspect of the man’s role of being a provider for the family.

Protector

Another common role of the man in the family was to provide security and to protect the family. One of the less common roles of the man in the family that still came up multiple times included doing house chores.
Role of Women in Comparison

The concepts of masculinity and the role of the man in the family can further be illustrated by comparing these roles to the reported roles of a woman in the family. The top 4 reported roles of a woman in the family are represented in Figure 8. By far the biggest role of a woman in the family was house chores and taking care of children, an action that was also done in the home. While providing for the family was also a topic that came up, this was a role mentioned by 8 people compared with 50 people who mentioned this as the role for a man. Additionally, the idea of “taking care” of the children and husband in this case was more often associated with doing home chores for them, unlike for a man when it was more commonly associated with providing for the family.

Current Primary Prevention Initiatives in Kenya

Educational Programs

Educational programs that work to educate men and boys (often times also women), provide primary prevention though working to eliminate the negative power and control dynamics that men have over women. This primary prevention focuses on attitude changes and behavior changes in a community. There are several programs that focus on this type of work in Kenya.

In Nairobi, one initiative that is working to address harmful concepts of masculinity is the Men for Equality of Men and Women (MEW) program. Reverend Njoya, a retired minister, began MEW in 1999. This initiative “works to mobilize men to respond to these gains (of women’s fight for equality) and transform themselves to create equitable gender relations” (Men for the Equality).

The Coexist Initiative is another national initiative that works with men and boys to prevent violence against women. Coexist was established in 2005 by Wanjala Wafula, the founder and current executive director of the organization. This organization has been very
successful as it has been “selected by experts in the field as one of the most effective organizations working to end violence against women and girls by addressing negative socialization processes, negative cultural practices, stereotypes and masculinities” (About Us. Coexist, 2015). The Coexist Initiative works in many areas in Kenya including both rural and urban areas (Wafula).

Men for Gender Equality Now (MEGEN) was established in 2001. Their mission is “Transforming the Kenyan Society to denounce all forms of violence and embrace gender equality and human rights” (About Us, Men). They work through “a range of educational, awareness and advocacy activities on the role of men and in promoting human rights, gender equality and ending Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV)” (About Us, Men).

The Men Engage Kenya Network (MenKen) are also all working in this field. MenKen was formed in 2006 following the Dar Es Salaam MenEngage Consultative workshop. It is affiliated with several other organizations through the MenEngage Global Alliance. This is an alliance of organizations that work together “to reduce gender inequalities and promote the health and the well-being of women, men, and children” (About Us, MenKen, 2014).

These organizations work in many different areas around Kenya, including both rural and urban areas, and all of these initiatives are examples of programs providing primary prevention of VAW by looking specifically at a significant root of violence against women: the constructs of masculinity.

Typical Education Provided through these Programs: Promoting Primary Prevention

The following topics are general topics that all or most of the educational programs studied included in some or all of their program initiatives.

General Education on Woman’s Rights

Based on interview responses, general education about women’s rights and the laws in Kenya are often the first step organizations take. This is especially the case in rural areas where actual knowledge and information regarding violence against women is much less prevalent among both men and women than in urban areas. This promotes primary prevention as it increases the understanding that VAW is criminalized, thereby potentially stopping perpetrators from committing a crime for fear of persecution.
Power and Entitlement

Another theme that emerged in many of the organizations was that they all worked to address the sense of entitlement that they report is common among men. All of the organizations interviewed noted the sense of entitlement that was instilled in men through their socialization as children. They discussed how men are often raised to believe that they are superior to women and are then entitled to respect from women, so concepts of gender equality and the importance of valuing women as equals are focused on by many of these organizations.

Harms of Flawed Masculinity for the Man

One of the major themes that emerged in the methodology of all of the organizations interviewed was the method of teaching men the ways in which flawed masculinity hurts men, and how changing these concepts can help men. Example of flawed masculinity would be the concepts that drinking and having sex are manly, men are not allowed to show emotions or cry, and doing house work is not the job of a man. In the case of Men for Equality of Men and Women Now, Reverend Njoya spoke of how men tend to die many years earlier than women. He attributed this to atrophy, meaning that the men did not do work like the women do, such as cleaning, making their bed, and cooking, and because of this many men are less healthy due to “indolence, boredom, and redundancy” in their lives (Njoya). Similarly, Fredrick Nyagah, the Chairman of the Men Engage Kenya Network (MenKen), noted that many men believe both that housework is only for women and that only paid labor is real work (Nyangah).

Harms of Violence against Women: Sensitization

Sensitization of men to the harms of violence against women was another common concept that many organizations work to address. Harms from VAW that may be talked about would be how it breaks family and makes children suffer. A common approach or sensitization exercise used is the boys love of their female family members to begin to put ideas about violence against women into perspective. Reverend Njoya explained how many boys think being a man means having sex, but then they are asked who they will have sex with, “With your sister? You’re mother? Who?” And they respond “No, no”. Then they are asked what they would do to someone who had sex with their sister, and they respond that they would hurt them. This begins to help them put some of their concepts of what it means to be a man into perspective. Additionally, one technique that Wafula from the Coexist Initiative reported was telling a group of men that a woman was being raped, and the men did nothing, then telling them
that someone’s sister is being raped and they all ran to the rescue. Both of these techniques were reported to be effective ways to help men begin to think about violence against women.

**Entering and Working in Rural Communities**

There are specific challenges of working in rural areas in Kenya when it comes to primary prevention through education. One challenge is the relative lack of education surrounding gender issues in the rural areas compared to in the urban areas. Additionally, there tends to be increased resistance to educational programs of this type in rural areas. Because of this, organizations must gain community support and trust in order for their programs to be implemented.

Both the Coexist Initiative and MEGEN reported that they do work in rural areas. Wafula from the Coexist Initiative reported that when they first enter into a community, they look for “community entry points” such as community meeting points. These entry points give a way for Coexist to begin engaging the community. They also do research on the baseline of knowledge in the community, and look for things that are popular in the community, such as a sports team or player, to incorporate into their programing.

Similarly, MEGEN begins with research and a base survey of what the current knowledge is in the community. Following this, they begin to engage the community by raising awareness about violence against women, such as the laws that are in place regarding VAW and human rights. Additionally, they look for “Community Champions,” who are individuals in the community who may be already doing work on gender equality or who have illustrated interest and passion on VAW. These community champions then become instrumental in reaching out to the community. MenKen also engages “Male Agents of Change” who take up the responsibility to continue work at the community level (Nyagah).

**Specific Methods Used**

Both the Coexist Initiative and MEGEN reported using a variety of art forms in order to raise awareness about VAW and gender issues. These forms included theater, music, and art, and they found this to be a very effective way of spreading word surrounding gender issues. MEGEN reported using this technique in rural areas and both organizations have received positive responses to the technique.

Additionally, dialogue forums were reported to be crucial aspects of MEGEN, Coexist, and MenKen. MEGEN reported conducting dialogue forums with men and women together, and
noted that this was a very effective way for the genders to get together and listen to each other. The role they play during the dialogue is as a moderator and to provide factual information. They have had very positive responses from this technique (Makabira).

Coexist Initiative reported using a method called “training of trainers,” in which they teach and train men to teach and train other men in the community. This then works to expand the reach of the program.

Working with children was another important method that many of these programs do. This is essential as when you get children when they are young, they are more open to these new ideas as they are in the process of being socialized, so many of the typical ways in which men are socialized with concepts of entitlement have not yet fully been formed and are still fluid. Because of this, once men have reached adulthood, whatever they have been taught growing up will be more solidified and will be harder to influence if they are unhealthy concepts. Wanjala Wafula described how the Coexist Initiative engages boys through personal stories, using family examples and the boys’ love of their sisters, and popular trends such as the soccer frenzy or whatever else is popular in the community, in order to teach these concepts. For example, they may use soccer in examples to teach the need for teamwork between men and women.

**Policy and Legislation as Primary Prevention**

**Laws**

Kenya has legislation in place that criminalizes violence against women, which is a form of primary prevention as it may deter perpetrators from committing violent acts due to fear of punishment. Many reported that Kenya has quite progressive laws in terms of violence against women. For example, the 2010 Constitution has provisions for gender equality and human rights. Chapter 4 addresses the human rights an individual is entitled to, including the right to equality and freedom from discrimination, including sex discrimination (article 27), the right to freedom and security of the person (Article 29), and “freedom from torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment” (Article 25) (The Constitution).

Furthermore, the Sexual Offenses Act of 2006 works to protect both adults and children from sexual abuses, and includes minimum charges/ punishments for perpetrators of some of these acts. For example, “Any person, who being in a position of authority, or holding a public office, who persistently makes any sexual advances or requests which he or she knows, or has
reasonable grounds to know, are unwelcome, is guilty of the offence of sexual harassment and shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of not less than three years or to a fine of not less than one hundred thousand shillings or to both” (Section 23) (Sexual Offenses). Additionally, the Protection against Domestic Violence Act of 2015 protects against many forms of domestic violence and includes protection of all members of the family including children (The Protection).

*Challenges with Implementation*

However, through the interviews it became evident that there is often lack of enforcement of these laws in communities, as police and those with legislative power may not enforce the law even if they have been trained on it. Wafula contributed the lack of enforcement to the lack of community buy in, and in some cases knowledge, of communities especially in rural areas of Kenya. Furthermore, when there is lack of buy in in the communities, the community members have been found to be less likely to report such situations even though they are illegal. Hesitance to report cases of violence was a challenge expressed by organization such as MEGEN, as in many of the communities they work in they have found that especially in cases of intimate partner violence, survivors may be hesitant to report the cases. Additionally, even when individuals did report, it was not uncommon for them to change their minds and decide to not charge their perpetrator further down the line (Makabira). Additionally, when there is no buy in, the community members may think that the government is trying to make them end their “culture,” as many practices, such as FGM and others, are practiced under the name of “culture” (Wafula). This then creates more resistance to the laws themselves and further inhibits effective enforcement.

Many of these aspects were found to be the case in Simenya. Many respondents reported that most would hesitate to report a case of VAW. Furthermore, George Odawa, an assistant chief and administrator in Simenya, reported how many affected by violence would be wary of going to the courts for a rape case or other abusive case as they do not know what the outcome will be. Many may prefer counseling and conflict resolution after the fact instead of bringing it to court (Odawa).
Discussion

Perceptions surrounding VAW in Simenya

As indicated by the data results, violence against women was seen as an issue that could be improved upon by the majority of those interviewed in Simenya. Furthermore, while the schools in Simenya do try to integrate violence against women into the curriculum at the school, and while this certainly is a positive step towards preventing violence against women, significantly more needs to be done in the community for prevention of violence against women to be sufficient and effective. The education provided in schools alone, especially at the secondary level, will not even reach every child as many children in the area cannot afford to attend secondary school. Additionally, the schools do not provide education specifically on violence against women, it is only brought up and integrated into other concepts in a couple of classes in both the primary and secondary levels. These reasons are likely why so many in Simenya reported that they have never been taught about violence against women in any school or program.

Physical violence against women is generally not accepted by the community in Simenya. This seems to be something that is changing over time, as many noted that “now a days” these things aren’t acceptable, but before, women were considered to be like children. Men very clearly had power over them and it was expected for a woman to be below men in the community. Additionally, some brought up the new constitution and laws, indicating increasing levels of knowledge that violence against women is a crime in Kenya. While there is definitely limited education surrounding violence against women, the education that did exist through media sources and the few seminars, whether in Simenya or elsewhere, is helping to cause the shift to the majority of the community finding violence against women unacceptable.

Elizabeth Swart, in her essay “Strategies for coping with gender-based violence a study of young women in Kibera, Kenya,” similarly found that wife beating was generally not accepted by the majority of women both in Kibera and in the general population. Those in the general population included many women in rural areas, giving a closer comparison to the population in Simenya. Swart found that in the general population, about 60.7% believe wife beating was not acceptable even if the wife is neglecting the children. This is a significant lower percent than the 96% found in my study to say wife beating is never acceptable. However, this difference could
be contributed to the relatively small sample size in this study as well as the community of Simenya itself being different from the combination of areas in Swart’s study.

**Concepts of masculinity that may contribute to VAW**

**Power and Control**

First of all, as indicated in the data, many in the community still believe that men should have more power and control than women do. Both men and women in the community believe this, and this perception could easily be one concept of masculinity that leads to violence against women. Many of the Men’s Organizations, such as Coexist Initiative, note how men have been socialized to believe that they are entitled to a certain level of power over women and are entitled to be respected by women. This concept of power then, when challenged, could lead to violence, as well as leading to the idea that violence against women is acceptable. One example of this that emerged in the responses from the community in Simenya is through the concept of “discipline”. If the man considers the woman inferior to him, he may find it acceptable to perform the kind of “discipline” of hitting her that some in the community mentioned used to be common and accepted, and some mentioned may still be acceptable in the community. However, when the question was whether or not it was ok for a wife to hit her husband, the common responses in the community were often not just “um, no I don’t think so,” but no with a laugh, or absolutely not, or that that’s a taboo and against the culture. Turning around the situation in this way illustrates the power dynamics in the situation, and the assumption that the man is the one with the power to “discipline,” while the woman is the one to be disciplined.

Ultimately, it is the concept of power and control that is the root of the violence against women, and everything can be tied back to this. Therefore, it is significant that such a large proportion of the community responded that a man should have total control over the wife. Even though it was not the majority of the community who responded this way, 40% is a significant proportion, especially as this is the root of not just physical violence but also many other inequalities between males and females. Additionally, while power and control of men over women was typically not a response given by those interviewed as to the cause of violence against women, a closer look at the causes they listed and the examples that were common among their responses illustrates the ways in which their answers perpetuate the underlying causes of power and control.
Importance of Gender Roles

A very important aspect of being a man or a woman in Simenya is performing your “roles” in the family. For a man, this commonly means providing, advising and controlling, and protecting your family, and for a woman, this commonly means doing work in the home, taking care of children, and obeying and respecting your husband. When the gender roles are broken by either gender, it can lead to violence. The common scenario that was described, where the man fails to provide, the women then questions him and argues, which then leads to violence, is an excellent case study to illustrate how gender roles and power comes into play. This scenario can be interpreted in multiple ways. First of all, the man in this scenario has failed in his gender role to provide, and when the woman then questions him about this, she essentially challenges his ability to perform his role in the family. The man now is not only being challenged and questioned on his ability to perform his role, but this is being done by a woman who is supposed to respect him. This is where the woman’s gender roles comes in. If the role of a woman is to be obedient to her husband, questioning him and arguing with him may be seen as breaking her gender role.

This is also very consistent with the findings of Hatcher in her paper “Social context and drivers of intimate partner violence in rural Kenya: Implications for the health of pregnant women” who similarly found that partner violence can be triggered both “when men transgressed gender norms of ‘the provider husband’” and “when women fail to meet expectations of being a ‘good’ wife, often described as respectful, obedient, and responsible” (Hatcher, 2013). This clearly illustrates the importance of the role of the man to provide as well as the roles of a good wife to obey the husband. Hatcher also similarly found that some believed the wife needs to be “disciplined” when she does not adhere closely to her gender role.

However, while gender roles are an essential component of physical violence against women, it is inseparable from the roots of power and control. The power dynamic is evident in the fact that even though the man is also very clearly breaking his gender role in the situation that was described, it is still the woman who gets beat. Additionally, if there was a situation in which only the man was breaking his gender role, the man would not get beat as violence is not accepted from the woman at all and is not in any circumstances a part of her perceived gender role. This also indicates the power dynamic at play and intertwined with gender roles.
Furthermore, if both genders followed their gender roles perfectly, it may reduce physical violence, but it would not eliminate the power inequalities in the home and it would not eliminate other forms of violence such as the woman not having a voice in the home and not having economic empowerment.

**Poverty, Alcohol, and other contributing factors**

Poverty was the number one reported cause of violence against women. Poverty was also the number one area in which a scenario like the one in the previous section was described. The lack of financial income directly inhibits the ability of the man in the family being able to provide, thereby not allowing him to complete this gender role. Additionally, poverty contributes to the intersections of many aspects of gender inequalities that were indicated in the data. For example, as the perceived role of women in Simenya was generally in the house and not in the workforce, women are often less economically empowered. This may make it more likely for a woman to stay in an abusive relationship as otherwise she may not have the means to provide for herself and her children. Furthermore, not being economically empowered also may make it more unlikely for her to report the abuse for the same reasons. Economic dependency and these issues was also a trend noted by Makabira, from MEGEN, in other areas in Kenya where they work.

Alcohol was another significant response and contributor to scenarios in which violence against women occurs in the area. This may cause violence if the husband comes home drunk and the wife complains or questions him. Following the questioning, the drunk husband may beat the wife. This was a situation that many people suggested was a major cause of the violence against women in the area, as well as being a significant problem in the area in general. Alcohol abuse also directly ties back to the concept of gender roles, as it may prevent the husband from providing for the family as he should in accordance to the gender roles expected, which then causes more stress in the household and can lead to more violence, once again due to power dynamics.

Prostitution and unfaithfulness were also reported to be an issue that would lead to intimate partner violence. Multiple respondents described how men may go off and get prostitutes, and that this may then cause violence between the husband and wife.
Figure 8: Understanding VAW

Poverty, Alcohol, Contributing Issues in Family → One or both Partners not Performing Proper Gender Roles → Power and Control Epitomized Through Violence

All of these issues are intertwined with the concepts of gender roles in the family, and are therefore also intertwined with the concepts of power and control through this chain. This chain is illustrated in Figure 8, which depicts how contributing issues lead to gender roles not being followed, which then results in power and control being demonstrated through violence.

Taking these results into consideration, the number one solution by the community, the solution of education, would likely be extremely beneficial assuming it worked to counteract the roots of power and control in the community. This is where an educational program would come into play. Their second most common response of financial solutions and poverty reduction may also be an important aspect to incorporate as it was found to be a significant contributing issue.

Current Primary Prevention in Kenya

Legislation as Prevention

Participants in Simenya commonly suggested legal action as both a solution to prevent violence against women, and as an action to be taken against a man who was beating a woman or who had sexually abused a woman. The current legislation in Kenya certainly makes these ideas possible, as men who are perpetrators can certainly have legal action taken against them. However, legislation currently does not provide adequate primary prevention for violence against women in Kenya, and simply creating harsher laws will likely in itself not prevent VAW, due to the issues of lack of enforcement and lack of women reporting the violence. Ellsberg, etc., in their article “Prevention of violence against women and girls: what does the evidence say?,” came to a very similar conclusion that implementation of legislation was an issue in low and middle income countries. According to their analysis of research, “training and improved
legislation alone do not improve outcomes for women or reduce violence at a community level” and that significant changes would have to occur for implementation to be improved as “there is often resistance to the laws from male-dominated judiciary and police” in low- middle income countries (Ellsberg, 2014).

Essentially, the laws will only be effective methods of primary prevention of violence against women if several things fall into place. First of all, the laws need to be effectively enforced by those in the community such as police and those who have legislative authority. In order for this to happen, there must be community buy in. Creating community buy-in is a complex task that requires education on both the laws themselves and the harm of VAW. This is where educational programs come in, as educational programs work to obtain community buy-in by raising awareness of VAW and encouraging ideas that discourage VAW in the community. Additionally, the laws can only be effective if women feel comfortable reporting the crimes. This currently is largely not the case in Simenya, as many believe those affected by violence in the area would not feel comfortable sharing, a trend that has been found to be an issue in many areas of rural Kenya. Educational programs would also help to increase the level of reporting through education on women’s rights. Essentially, the laws in themselves will not be sufficient to increase primary prevention of violence against women, and education and community change will be necessary for the laws to truly be effective in reducing violence against women.

Figure 9: Legislation as Primary Prevention
Educational Programs as Prevention

Educational programs that work with men and boys play an important role as primary prevention initiatives in many parts of both rural and urban Kenya. Multiple aspects of these programs support prevention of VAW both directly and indirectly. All of the programs looked at in this study work to create power equality between men and women through working to address the concepts of entitlement and power men have over women. This is an absolutely essential part of their programs, as this essentially targets the root of the problem of the concept of being superior to women and the concepts of being entitled in society. Additionally, many of the 14 men who participated in the survey for those in educational programs reported that their thoughts about what it meant to be a man had changed, and many reported that they now believed women should be respected. This illustrates the importance and centrality of the concept of emphasizing equality in value and power between the genders.

Additionally, educational programs provide important support towards the legislation surrounding violence against women actually being enforced through their role in educating people about the rights of women and the legislation in place. Furthermore, their community mobilization and working towards gaining community support against VAW further encourages enforcement of the law in these communities. This is a way in which educational programs indirectly help to prevent violence against women by strengthening the legal system of prevention.

Limitations

One of the most significant limitations during the research in Simenya was the language barrier. While I had a translator always available, it is inevitable that some of the meaning and concepts were lost in translation as the information had to be translated first into Luo or Swahili and then back to English. Additionally, even when the interviews were conducted in English, participants may not have been able to fully express what they were thinking in English, which further may have limited the richness of the data that was collected. This was a limitation that affected the data from Simenya in particular, as language barrier was significantly less of a concern in Nairobi and for the data collection there. However, some of the surveys that were given out to men who are participating in the organizations were sent out to different areas in Kenya, so the responses to these surveys may have been affected by language barrier limitations as well.
Another limitation in Simenya was that there were sometimes multiple people in the room while the interviews were conducted in the homes. This was inevitable as we were going into others homes and there were sometimes children or other adults in the homes. However, having others in the same room may have influenced the responses of the interviewees, especially when the others were adults or spouses. When interviews were conducted in the shops, sometimes there were interruptions with customers, adding a further distraction and potential limitation.

Yet another limitation in both Simenya and Nairobi was the relatively small size of the sample, as only one hundred individuals were interviewed in Simenya. Additionally, the population that was interviewed in Simenya may not have been representative of the entire community. This is because a larger proportions of older women were interviewed as they were the most likely to be in the homes during the day when the interviews were conducted. This was due to younger adults working in the fields during the first part of the day or being at their shops. While many individuals from the town center were interviewed as well, the total population interviewed still was not representative of the total population of Simenya. Small sample size was also a significant limitation for the surveys administered to men that participate in the programs based in Nairobi. Very few surveys were able to be administered, so the data is likely less complete than it would have been with a larger sample size.

Furthermore, time was a significant limitation in the study. There were a limited number of days that data could be collected in Simenya, and time was further shortened as it was the rainy season, and heavy, daily afternoon downpours required the research to either end early or at least halt for a while. Furthermore, the ability to find people in the morning hours was limited as Simenya is largely a farming community and many people go to work in their fields in the morning before the day got too hot. These two limitations then significantly limited the number of people who could be interviewed each day, and as there were a limited number of days we had to complete our research, this inevitably impacted the study. Additionally, there were surveys administered to two organizations that work with men to prevent violence against women (see Appendix 3) and 14 surveys were received back, but there was no time to analyze the data from these surveys to any significant extent due to the time constraint. Many of the organizations have most of their programs outside of Nairobi, so the surveys had to be transported to one of their sites and then back again. This limited the locations the surveys could be administered to in the first place and prevented sufficient time to analyze the data as the surveys were returned late.
These surveys would have contributed valuable information to this study and more surveys would have been received back if there had been more time to complete this portion of the study. Additionally, the rainy season limited the time for the project in Nairobi as well, as the traffic jams could last three or more hours any time transport was necessary in the afternoon after it had started raining.

Conclusions

Physical violence against women is generally not accepted by the community, although it occurs and is generally seen as a problem in Simenya. The majority in the Simenya community also believe that perpetrators of violence against women should have actions taken against them and should be punished. However, it is generally accepted in this area for a man to have more control if not total control over his wife, and current education surrounding violence against women is lacking in the community.

Violence against women is caused by complex interactions between many aspects. There are strong connections between contributing factors such as poverty and alcohol abuse, and gender roles also play a significant role in contributing to violence against women. These are often the reasons that individuals give when thinking about the causes of violence against women. However, these issues do not directly cause violence against women, but provide the facets through which power dynamics are embodied through the violent act. Furthermore, these power dynamics come about through concepts of masculinity such as entitlement and being superior to women.

Providing education is arguably the best and most important method for primary prevention of VAW as they foster prevention in multiple ways. Educational initiatives help to prevent VAW both through working to create favorable situations for laws to more likely be enforced and by working to counteract the roots of power and control of men over women. Education is especially important as the prevention measure of creating legislation alone is not sufficient nor effective in preventing violence against women in isolation.
Recommendations

While further legislative efforts may also be beneficial, efforts to prevent violence against women should be focused on education that promotes gender equality, and includes men and boys in their approach. These initiatives would be good investments for any interested supporters in terms of financial support with the goal of preventing violence against women. Additionally, the government should support these initiatives financially and should work with these initiatives in order to implement a school curriculum and program country wide.

Furthermore, these programs should ensure that they include in depth discussions about unhealthy concepts of masculinity and concepts of power dynamics. However, these programs should also include discussions about gender roles and contributing factors such as poverty and alcohol. These factors should be discussed in context with the base of power and control, so as to increase understanding about the relationships between these factors and to prevent poverty or alcohol abuse from being used as excuses or factors that ultimately are not under control of the perpetrator.

Moreover, Simenya would benefit from an educational program that works to inform the community members on women’s rights and work with community members to understand violence against women and healthy concepts of masculinity. This program should focus especially on the importance of gender equality. These concepts should be implemented into a school program in order to reach children as they are growing up and being socialized. Additional suggestions for a potential program in Simenya can be found in Appendix 1.

Future Research Suggestions

This project and the interviews in Simenya focused primarily on physical violence against women. However, there are many significant other facets of “violence” against women. This violence appears in the forms of lack of political representation, lack of economic empowerment, and lack of a voice and decision making power in the family, along with many others. These forms of violence are all important to understand in order to fully grasp the complexities of the power dynamics and their relationship to gender roles. Because of this, doing further research on each of the forms of inequality specifically would be extremely beneficial to contribute to the knowledge in this area and in order to better understand how this power inequality may be resolved.
Additionally, this project focused only on violence against women, but violence against men also occurs in Kenya and some believe it to be increasing. More research should be conducted on the causes of violence against men as well as research on the prevalence of violence against men and the characteristics and roots of this violence. This research could bring light to how to further encourage equality between both genders and how to reduce all forms of gender based violence in Kenya.

Furthermore, as Simenya is a small area, it may be more beneficial for a program to be implemented in the Ugunja sub-region as a whole. Because of this, it would be beneficial to conduct research in Ugunja and other surrounding areas, and to create program recommendations based on studies from this broader area.

Additionally, while gauging behavior and attitude change is difficult, future research could expand upon looking at the changes that men who are participating in these programs report. Looking at the attitudes of men participating in these programs, in addition to having a better understanding of the problems, will help to better assess what aspects of education towards both men and women could be improved and what is working effectively.

Furthermore, many of the educational programs in this study had found effective ways of engaging men to change a large social issue through methods such as teaching them the negative effects of the issue. This is a method that could potentially be useful in other areas of education and social change. Many of their structures for entering into communities and gaining trust and support from the communities may also provide important frameworks for other areas of study, so the broader implications of these methods would be an important area of future research.
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Appendix 1: Recommendations for a VAW Prevention Initiative in Simenya

There are currently no educational programs such as the ones described working in Simenya. However, a program such as this with the proper structure could likely have a big impact in Simenya. Any program that would be initiated would benefit from working off of local infrastructure that is already in place and functioning. For example, creating a curriculum for Simenya Primary and Secondary schools would be an effective way to implement a program that would target children. This program should begin in the primary school and continue through the secondary school. Additionally, there should be a specific curriculum for these issues, instead of these concepts simply being integrated into already existing classes. This could be in the form of reoccurring lectures or discussion forums. The program should have a discussion component, especially by the level of the secondary school, as dialogue was found by many programs to be effective and important aspects of these programs.

Furthermore, it may be beneficial, at least to begin with, to use the health worker system that is in place in Simenya. There are currently health workers that go house to house and educate individuals on topics such as maternal health and diseases. This system may be beneficial as one concern raised by the community was not having enough time to go to specific lectures, and men especially not attending the lectures. Therefore, using the house to house health worker method, at least to begin raising awareness of issues, may be an effective method to avoid these problems.

One additional suggestion for the curriculum that should be integrated into this program is to specifically discuss gender roles and the many contributors of VAW in context of power and control and masculinity. Integrating and discussing these concepts together and in relation to each other would likely be beneficial as they are all interconnected, yet are often not viewed in connection to each other.

Beyond these suggestions, many of the methods that education programs already use would likely also function and be beneficial in Simenya. The methods of using arts and drama to educate the community on VAW and women’s rights, using dialogue that engages both men and women to discuss these issues and concepts such as gender roles, and educating men especially on the harms of flawed masculinity and VAW, could be beneficial additions to any initiative in Simenya. Furthermore, encouraging power equality between the genders should be a central focus in any VAW prevention initiative in the area.
Appendix 2: Simenya Interview Questions

Location:
Date:
Interviewer:
Gender:
Age:  (before/ after Independence)
Marital Status:
What tribe are you from?
What is your occupation?
What level of education did you complete?  (primary, secondary, university)

Questions:
1. Is it common in this area for violence against women to occur?
2. How often have you heard of intimate partner violence, or violence against women occurring? What do you think is the cause of violence against women?
3. What do you think is the cause of violence against women?
4. Do you think it is acceptable for a husband to beat his wife under any circumstances? And if so, when and to what extent?
5. Is it acceptable for a man to force his wife to have sex with him under any circumstances if she doesn’t want to?
6. Does a man need to maintain control over his wife in order to be a man?
7. What do you think is the role of a man in his family?
8. What is the role of a woman in the family?
9. If you saw or heard a man beating a woman, would it be ok? Would you take any actions to interfere?
10. If a family member or friend of the family beats or has unwanted sexual advances with a woman or girl, what do you think should happen to the man? And to the girl?
11. Is it acceptable under any circumstances for a woman to hit or beat her husband?
12. Were you ever taught in school or any program about violence against women growing up?
13. Do you know of any programs or schools in the area that teach children about violence against women?
14. Do you think such a program would be beneficial to the community?
15. What else do you think would help to prevent violence against women in this community?
16. If violence was occurring in a home in this area, would it be common for those affected to share the violence and try to get help or do they try keep it private?
17. Do you have anything else you would like to add?
Appendix 3: Men’s Organizations Survey

Gender: Male Female  Age:
What is your occupation? Employed Self-Employed Unemployed
What is your marital status? Single, never married Married Widowed Divorced
What level of education did you complete? Primary Secondary University Other:
How long have you been participating in this program?

1. What do you think is the cause of violence against women?

2. What do you think is the role of a man in the family?

3. What do you think is the role of a woman in the family?

4. What do you think would help to prevent violence against women?

5. What are your views on the current laws dealing with violence against women?

6. Do you think the police and authorities are doing enough to curb violence against women?

7. Have you ever physically abused a woman? If yes, what led to the abuse?

8. Has this program been beneficial to you?

9. What are a couple of things you have learned in this program that you value?

10. Have your thoughts about what it means to be a man changed from this program? If so, how?

11. Have you told other men about what you have learned in this program?