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ABSTRACT

Women's movements are striving for a change of patriarchal structures and for an end of gender-based violence. While alliances are essential to achieve a holistic and sustainable change within society, they also bring along new challenges. This master's thesis explores the experiences of men and women in the women's movement in Uganda when it comes to male engagement to explore bonds and boundaries of the movement's collective identity. The focus lies on the lived and experienced realities of men who engage in the women's movement in Uganda to examine how and why they are engaging in the women's movement and how they relate to gender justice. An analysis of this alliance makes it possible to identify dynamics between men and women that may accelerate the achievement of the common goal. Through a better understanding of men's position and function within the women's movement as well as the relationship between gender privileges and subordination, possibilities and challenges for the movement are revealed.

Frauenbewegungen streben eine Veränderung der patriarchalen Strukturen und ein Ende von geschlechtsspezifischer Gewalt an. Für eine ganzheitliche und nachhaltige Veränderung gesellschaftlicher Strukturen sind Allianzen unumgänglich. Nach und nach schließen sich immer mehr Männer dem Kampf für Geschlechtergleichberechtigung an. Dies schafft neue Möglichkeiten, aber auch neue Herausforderungen. In dieser Masterarbeit werden die Wahrnehmungen von Männern und Frauen in der Frauenbewegung in Uganda hinsichtlich männlichem Engagement untersucht, um die Verbindungen und Grenzen der kollektiven Identität in der Bewegung sichtbar zu machen. Der Schwerpunkt liegt auf der Lebens- und Erfahrungswirklichkeiten von Männern, die sich in der Frauenbewegung in Uganda engagieren, um zu untersuchen, wie und warum sie sich engagieren und wie sie sich zu sozialer Geschlechtergerechtigkeit positionieren. Eine Analyse dieser Allianz ermöglicht es, Dynamiken dieser Kollaboration zu erkennen, die das Erreichen des gemeinsamen Ziels beschleunigen könnten.

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1. INTRODUCTION

You can also have this peace in your house, and it won't cost you your manhood if you want this peace in your home. [...] You have to show the community that you care for women and their rights so that you can have others follow you.

– male interview partner¹

All over the world, women and their allies are fighting against patriarchal violence and oppression, and feminist voices and activism are increasingly becoming part of political landscapes. Patriarchal systems and structures of discrimination exist in many different forms, thus their underlying mechanisms are often very subtle and difficult to identify. Men are often stigmatized as perpetrators instead of collaborators and allies of women's movements (Freedman & Jacobson, 2012). Alliances between men and women are essential, however, for a holistic and sustainable achievement of a gender equal society. Hence, women's movements need a broad response from society and trustworthy collaborators in order to change disadvantaged structures within social, political and economic settings in the long term. Moreover, in recent years perceptions on the roles of men in patriarchal structures have diversified: Some authors reject the image of the male perpetrator of gender-based violence and claim that men might also suffer from patriarchal hegemony and hegemonic masculinities whenever they do not self-identify with the dominant masculine identity (Freedman & Jacobson, 2012; Silberschmidt, 2001). Nonetheless, the roles of men remain complex and pose many questions about the relationship between privileges and disadvantages and accompanying responsibilities.

In the last decades, men's role as allies in gender equality work has attracted increasing interest of researchers to better understand the dynamics of social change (Bojin, 2013; Chiweshe, 2018; Freedman, 2012; Holmgren & Hearn, 2009). Interestingly, Malvern Chiweshe (2018) refers to differences between alliances of African men and women compared to non-African allies within the women's movement, claiming that African men and women have always been cooperating to achieve common goals because of their shared anticolonial resistance. In African contexts, women's movements have been particularly active in transforming political landscapes since the 1970s, inspired by anticolonial and independence movements (Tripp et al., 2009). Consequently, Chiweshe (2018) is rejecting a dichotomous notion of men and women within women's movements, which consequently inspired the topic of this

¹ Interview 4: 35, 38; 22nd August 2019

thesis. How do alliances between men and women in African women's movements look like? Where are overlapping objectives, where are distinctions within their collaboration?

This thesis provides insights into the women's movement in Uganda and, more specifically, how men and women form alliances within the women's movement in Uganda to work together against gender-based violence and gender-based discrimination. Uganda is a particularly interesting case because it is worldwide among the countries with most female representatives holding parliamentary seats (Tripp et al., 2009). Furthermore, women's rights have achieved an amendment of the constitution in 1995, providing a framework for gender-sensitive laws (Kwesiga, 2017, p. 215). These facts may lead to the conclusion that women's rights are widely accepted in Ugandan society. Nonetheless, successful implementations of gender-sensitive reforms are limited and women's rights activists find themselves in a dilemma: although there are many female representatives within the national machinery, women cannot freely advocate for their interests because they 'are told to play along under pre-existing rules which have entrenched particular male interests, usually of relatively wealthier elders and patrons' (Tripp, 2000, p. 219). Thus, previous successes might be at risk of ceasing in the future, leaving patriarchal structures and masculine privileges at the forefront.

Consequently, it is exciting to examine the alliance between men and women within the women's movement to understand how men and women work together towards gender equality and why men are motivated to confront and change male privileges to support women's rights. Which effects does alliance-building have on the women's movement in Uganda? The concept of collective identity will serve as analytical tool to reveal bonds and boundaries within the movement. Where does a strong sense of belonging and attachment of men to the women's movement manifest itself? How do women look at male engagement? Where are the boundaries of collective identity between men and women?

1.1 Men as allies of the women's movement

Societal conditions are dynamic even though they often seem static. Women and men have been fighting together in many parts of the world against patriarchal power structures and gender-based discrimination and violence. Patriarchy may be understood to describe a system of power relations that justify male superiority over women, privileging men and putting women in subordinate positions (Silberschmidt, 2001, p. 658). The change of gender dynamics and socioeconomic structures within societies impacts men and boys as well.

Using ‘man’ as social category for the analysis of gender inequalities is not a simple endeavor because categories of ‘man’ are multiple and dynamic, and they come along with hierarchies and inequalities as well. In recent studies, the focus often lies on coalition-building between men and women as well as men’s solidarity with women (Bojin, 2013; Flood, 2001; Freedman, 2012; Holmgren & Hearn, 2009). This allows research to understand forms of alliance building and additionally create necessary resources for gender equality work (Bojin, 2013). Whereas Jonathan Crowe argues that feminism is not about men but rather men’s way of supporting women (Crowe, 2011), Freedman and Jacobson highlight that some men also suffer from patriarchy and thus need to take action in antipatriarchal struggles (Freedman & Jacobson, 2012). Among many authors, there is a broad consensus about the responsibility of privileged men to join women’s movements and, consequently, put an end to gender-based violence all around the world (Flood, 2001; Holmgren & Hearn, 2009; Jewkes et al., 2015).

Within African contexts, however, studies of masculinities and relations between men and women engaged in gender equality work is a rather new phenomenon, and research is often focused on women only, neglecting the complex relationship between men and women in women’s movement struggles (Freedman & Jacobson, 2012). Chiweshe, though, refers to the ‘African reality’ (2018, p. 80), where women and men have been and are considered as collaborators in order to transform discriminatory structures because of globally prevailing racist structures. This motivation for collaboration also exists within African women’s movements, Chiweshe maintains (2018).

Women’s movements often find themselves in difficult environments and their success depends on support through allies and collaborators within civil society. Tensions and conflicts may emerge due to unequal privileges and disadvantages, questions about different dimensions of responsibility and scope of action. The mentioned studies reveal that men’s experiences are multiple, that is why this research puts men who engage in the women’s movement in Uganda at the center to gain insights into their experiences and lived realities.

Gender perceptions and motivations of men as well as dynamics between men and women affect the collective identity of the women’s movement. Therefore, the concept of collective identity (Kern, 2008; Melucci, 1996) within social movement theory provides the analytical framework for this research to understand what alliances within the women’s movement in Uganda look like. The results may contribute to the actors of the women’s movement to strengthen their collaboration. Knowledge about the limits and similarities of individual values and goals can help to change gender relations more consciously. For the women’s movement in Uganda, no such research has been done yet. In the following chapters, the analytical

tools and theoretical concepts used as well as my own position as a researcher on the subject of research will be explained in detail.

1.2 Personal connection to the topic

During the summer of 2019, I took part in an internship at Uganda Women's Network, UWONET, an organization fostering gender equality and women's rights in Uganda. For this reason, I have obtained a better understanding of and practical insights in the strategies, objectives and challenges of the women's movement in Uganda. UWONET serves as a network of organizations and individual activists who advocate women's rights and gender equality in the country². Soon, I realized that the movement is strongly present and active in rural and urban areas and operates nationally as well as internationally through a strong network of women's rights organizations and individual activists.

It was during one think tank meeting that I attended with my fellow colleagues when the topic of male engagement in the women's movement arose. Slowly, an intense debate developed about the pros and cons of male engagement as well as about the hows. Some participants stressed that there still was not enough research on male engagement and how this could contribute to or harm the success of the women's agenda. That was the moment when the idea was born to situate my research in the field of male engagement in the women's movement. My colleagues welcomed the idea and supported me by sharing their knowledge and helping to get access to interview partners. The reason why I am explaining this is to show my own positioning within the research. It is important to highlight my own global positioning as a white, able-bodied Austrian ciswoman writing about the experiences of Ugandan men and women in the women's movement in Uganda, which already stresses the possibility of eurocentric perceptions in the data interpretation. For this reason, I am framing the discussion of male engagement in the women's movement in Uganda around African concepts of gender and women's rights to represent theory from Africa instead of imposing Western theoretical concepts. During the research process, I was often confronted with my own understanding of certain concepts, and after my return to Austria, I was experiencing a growing distance to the research field. After a while, my research topic made me feel uneasy, especially after I had been following up with postcolonial aspects of research. I understood that the only way to overcome this discomfort is to keep the alliance alive and stay in contact with my research

² Official homepage: <https://www.uwonet.or.ug/>

partners to show them that I did not only want to extract their knowledge for my own research purposes but to really see this as a joint project.

Stefania Milan's (2014) thoughts on the ethics in social movement research encouraged me in my decision. She stresses that scholars in social movement research should position themselves in relation to the practices and values the movement stands for with mutual respect and disclose this stance in the research to understand the dynamics of the research process. Research on social movements explains the relationship between activism and academia and how this can affect a movement's activities within society. Milan furthermore expresses the risks of revealing insights into the activists' strategies and objectives, especially when they operate in a hostile environment (Milan, 2014).

A better understanding of male engagement and how this relates to the collective identity of the women's movement in Uganda might support the movement to strengthen its agenda and to get more people on board to foster gender equality and women's rights in society. Additionally, though there is a vast amount of literature available about the Ugandan women's movement (Goetz, 2002; Tripp, 2001; Tripp et al., 2009), gendered dynamics between men and women within the movement have not yet been examined.

1.3 The bonds and boundaries of alliance-building

In qualitative research, research questions tend to change during the circular research process, as the main focus is to understand the life realities of research partners (Dannecker & Englert, 2014b). Understanding takes time and growing into the object of research, which is why it often makes sense to change research questions in the process. During the literature review and the formation of the theoretical framework, I have relocated initial research questions to two key research questions:

How far can collective identity between men and women arise within the women's movement in Uganda?

What are the bonds and boundaries between men and women within the Ugandan women's movement's collective identity?

Men's motivations for engagement and their perceptions about gender roles, gender equality and women's emancipation may reveal similarities and contradictions among members of

the movement, which may reveal how far a collective identity may arise and how certain beliefs impact male engagement in the movement.

I have collected material through six in-depth interviews, two focus group discussions, one written interview and one participatory observation. The focus on the concept of collective identity allows a profound analysis and interpretation of the material in terms of how actors in a social movement relate to each other and to gender equality. In brief, collective identity is constructed through group understandings, ways of thinking, self-conceptions as well as arising boundaries among group members. Boundaries refer to social, psychological and physical structures which establish differences between challenging and dominant groups (Taylor & Whittier, 1992, pp. 110–111).

Boundary markers are, therefore, central to the formation of collective identity because they promote a heightened awareness of a group's commonalities and frame interaction between members of the in-group and the out-group. [...] Boundaries locate persons as members of a group, but it is group consciousness that imparts larger significance to a collectivity. (Taylor & Whittier, 1992, pp. 111, 114)

The obtained material is used to analyze affiliation, self-identification and group identities through the identification of boundary markers and connecting lines. The thesis wants to examine men's sense of belonging within the women's movement in Uganda and how they relate to the movement's goals and strategies. Tensions within alliances may arise because of different opportunities and resources that might lead to an assumed dichotomy between men and women. By investigating the relationship between men and women in the women's movement, the academic discourse on alliance-building can be multiplied and thus strengthen the actors' collaboration.

1.4 Outline

The following chapter presents the theoretical framework of this thesis, which is located in social movement research. The chapter starts with an insight into the theory of inequalities, discrimination and privileges to understand the contexts in which social movements operate. Then the chapter goes into the concept of collective identity in detail. Different approaches to the multilayered phenomenon of collective identity will be introduced, referring to its conditions and necessities for the success of social movements. Subsequently, women's movements and relevant literature will be discussed in more detail to understand processes of mobilization and feminist organizing, followed by African perceptions of feminisms, of the concept of

gender and insights into African feminisms. This is intended to undermine the white hegemony of feminist discourse and make feminist voices from the Global South visible as well as to further embed the research into an appropriate theoretical framework. Moreover, literature and research about (pro)feminist men and male engagement will be discussed to understand male positioning in gender equality work, followed by personal reflections on the use of terminology and concepts.

The third chapter will introduce and discuss the methodology and methods used for the research. Qualitative research methods offer profound insights into the perceptions and realities of life of men and women who actively see themselves as part of the women's movement in Uganda. The focus is on postcolonial research methods and postcolonial approaches to knowledge production in order to prevent the reproduction of inequalities. Furthermore, accompanying responsibility and ethics within social movement research will be discussed, as well as the challenges and limits of the chosen methods.

In the fourth chapter, a contextual analysis of the women's movement in Uganda will provide specific insights into the genesis, objectives and strategies of the movement. Who are the actors of the Ugandan women's movement and what are their goals?

The fifth chapter forms the core of this work: results of the qualitative interviews will be ordered, analyzed and interpreted. Traditional gender roles and perceptions of engaged men on emancipated gender roles shall reveal how far a collective identity can arise among movement members. Insights about men's motivation for engagement, their function within the women's movement, upcoming challenges for men and subsequently challenges for the movement will be examined to explore the bonds and boundaries of the movement's collective identity.

The sixth chapter provides a summary and consequences on political and academic spheres as well as an outlook on subsequent research opportunities.

2. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES AND THE VERSATILITY OF INTERESTS

The world is shaped by invisible structures of power that either allow people to benefit from certain privileges or make them experience disadvantages and discrimination. In social movements, actors' privileges may differ and so do their opportunities. The core of this thesis is to examine the collective identity of social actors within the women's movement in Uganda to see how different opportunities impact a social movement. Hence, before theorizing social movements and their collective identity, we need to speak about systems of privileges and oppression to understand the context in which social movements operate to change structures of power. Individuals are represented as groups and either benefit from certain privileges or suffer from oppression due to the category they are aligned with in this system, may it be race, gender, class, sexuality etc. (Pease, 2010). These categories serve as analytical tools to examine systems of oppression. Privilege, Pease observes (2010, pp. 13–14), is often automatically distributed among people of the dominant group and tends to be invisible and perceived as the norm, thus reinforcing hierarchical power structures and shifting the focus on forms of oppression rather than on mechanisms of privilege. Therefore, the task of social movements and activists seems to be to point out these privileges in order to break power structures in society. Becoming aware of one's own privileges takes time and reflexivity.

When well-meaning members of privileged groups offer to support the struggles of oppressed groups, they often cannot understand why those groups might be suspicious or even hostile towards them. Many men challenging male violence wonder why women do not embrace and applaud their efforts. Members of privileged groups usually do not see how they benefit from the practices that they claim to oppose (Pease, 2010, p. 9).

It seems to be easier to recognize the oppression of the subordinated group instead of the own privileged situation and the own role to play in this relationship, as 'oppressive behavior can be quite unconscious' (Pease, 2010, p. 11). This affects our common understanding of categories like race, gender and sex, among others, that shape our understanding of the world and our experiences: 'It is much harder to recognise how in everyday interactions dominance may be reinforced just because of belonging to a dominant group by birth' (Pease, 2010, p. 11). This also requires an interdependent look at systems of oppression, as they are intertwined and cannot be analyzed separately. A white woman still benefits from her white privilege and thus has different experiences from a black woman, although they both belong to the oppressed gender category 'woman'. Pease's analysis of the relationship between privilege and oppression can be applied to the situation of (pro)feminist heterosexual men. Their en-

agement in women's movements is supportive but they still belong to the privileged group of oppressors, whether they want or not. Reflections about own, often invisible privileges is important in the alliance-building with people belonging to the oppressed group. Otherwise, such alliances won't lead to the desired goal of changing systems of oppression and discrimination. 'The normativity of privilege means that this becomes the basis for measuring success and failure' (Pease, 2010, p. 13), making it hard for people off this range to have equal opportunities in the world. Being male is a privilege, so is being white, both historically grown, dominant social categories that reproduce global hierarchies, which limit the possibilities for people deviating from the norm. Patriarchy, however, as well as masculinities and categories of 'man' are not static but dynamic (Freedman & Jacobson, 2012). This illustrates the difficulty of generalizations of inequality mechanisms; a contextualization and localization is needed.

Pease furthermore explains how this leads to the broad association of 'gender' with women and 'race' with people of color, although these categories refer to the underlying structures of privileges and disadvantages in the world (Pease, 2010, p. 86), showing the necessity of a more detailed analysis of the category 'gender'. So, what does 'gender' refer to and how does this social category operate in the world? It is important to mention that the answer to this question highly depends on the location of the respondent. The Western world shaped the Western meaning of 'gender' during the second wave of feminism in the 1970ies and 1980ies (Pease, 2010, p. 86), but within African contexts, the meaning and the performance of feminist theory is different from Western understandings. Theory always develops and is performed in a certain context, which makes it dangerous to think of its universal application for humanity, as class, race and global positioning challenge universalist understandings about systems of subordination (Ebron, 2007).

To sum up, knowledge about privileges and disadvantages is important to understand social processes and interactions. This is the reason why this thesis examines the collective identity between men and women in the women's movement in Uganda to better understand how men and women can build alliances and form their collective identity to enable social action, considering their different positions in the social sphere. The following chapters will provide theoretical insights into the nature of social movements and their collective identity.

2.1 Insights into social movement theory

Within social movements, actors unite to demand and create social change through organizing and protest. Thomas Kern explains in his book *Soziale Bewegungen* (2008) that there are many different types of social movements: they may vary in duration and success, they might be peaceful or violent and may or not inspire other people to join. They can be defined as

[an] organized effort by a significant number of people to change (or resist change in) some major aspect or aspects of society. [...] Nowadays, it is used most commonly with reference to groups and organizations outside the mainstream of the political system. These movements, often now abbreviated to NSMs (New Social Movements), in the latter decades of the 20th century became an increasingly important source of political change. [...] Social movements are purposeful and organized forms of collective behaviour (Marshall & Scott, 2009)

Through this kind of organizing and public appearance, a movement wants to express its demands and push a particular agenda towards social change (Jasper, 2014; Kern, 2008). Struggles of injustice, be they of class, race or gender for example, initiate such organizing processes to foster social change and transformation and to ‘negotiate daily life’ (Rohlinger, 2009, p. 4). The actors reject certain social structures and demand changes, for instance, improvements of their living conditions. Some social movements are short-lived, others unite and exist over years through informal networks or they even might form official institutions and become part of the political landscape (Jasper, 2014; Kern, 2008). The origins of social movement organizations are many, depending on specific contexts and events. Drastic changes in the cultural or political environment might initiate the organization of social movements, so-called political shocks, critical events or suddenly imposed grievances (Rohlinger, 2009), and thus often accelerate people’s demand for change through their dynamic nature. Political shocks ‘represent times of intense and dramatic change as well as historical moments weighted with political choices that have both national and international import in terms of whether and how social movements respond’ (Rohlinger, 2009, p. 5). Dynamic changes within a certain context are therefore important for the emergence and operation of social movements, resulting in an interplay of different actors such as civil society, social movements and the state.

Social movement research examines reasons, types and consequences of social movements. The rise of this scholarship goes back until the Age of Enlightenment, when people realized that social order and hierarchies were not defined by destiny but humans, and therefore could be questioned and undermined (Kern, 2008). To paraphrase the social scientist Kern: It is not the individual who has to serve the needs of society, but conversely society has to serve the needs of its people (2008, p. 13). If there is imbalance within this distribution of

roles, social movements arise and demand change through various forms of protest, be they national or international, at policy or at the grassroots level.

The scholarship of social movements examines the human desire for revolutionary change of societal structures, power relations and movements' operations within societies. Existing and experiencing injustice may reach such unbearable levels that they lead to protest (Kern, 2008, p. 10). Social orders may reproduce and justify power relations and hierarchies within societies, but because of their dynamic character, they can be changed if enough people strive towards the same goal. That is why Neidhardt and Rucht (1993, p. 307) describe social movements as mobilized networks of groups and organizations trying to bring about, prevent or undo social change through protest in a certain period. Movements do not always work towards more societal justice, sometimes they might also want to maintain certain circumstances, supporting hierarchal structures.

Activism and institutionalized movements

Throughout history, social coalitions can change, old networks can vanish, new ones can arise. Especially in the 1970s in Europe, many protest movements emerged, namely the ecology, peace and the new women's movement, claiming and leading to a great structural change of the social sphere within society (Kern, 2008, p. 53). Hence, socio-political complexities and pitfalls are made subject of discussions and some movements demand or even provide alternative solutions to certain issues within society, which highlights their importance. Thus, they do not only offer oppositions to prevailing hierarchies and power relations but also enable civil societies to reflect on certain issues and their relevance for society.

Particularly in the neoliberal economic era, NGOs have gained importance as institutionalized movements in showing responsibility for social change; the transition between NGOs and social movements is fluent (Kern, 2008, p. 16; Molyneux, 1998, p. 240). The character of movements is thus not limited to the mobilization of social actors but also includes their institutionalization to foster social and political change. But how can institutionalized organs, for instance NGOs, be located within social movement theory? Verta Taylor analyzes movements in abeyance, which may provide bridges between activist uprising and mass mobilization, identifying their importance for a movement's continuous existence and success (Taylor, 1989). Mass mobilization and activism happen in stages – but what happens between them? For movements in abeyance, which means a movement's condition of temporary suspension, Taylor (1989) defines five important characteristics, namely temporality, purposive commit-

ment, exclusiveness, centralization and culture. Throughout time, activists find themselves embedded within different opportunity structures that demand different tactics and strategies (Taylor, 1989). Therefore, a movement may more likely survive a long time if it becomes flexible and adaptive to such opportunity structures, for instance through its institutionalization. This might ensure commitment and willingness of people to stay active and keep the sense of collective action, showing a sense of continuity (Taylor, 1989, pp. 766–767). Taylor (1989, p. 768) argues that centralization of power might furthermore help a movement to provide organizational stability, coordination and technical expertise, which are necessary for a survival in times of abeyance. Institutionalization may also provide security in terms of income and continuous motivation for its members and actors through dry periods, especially when the environment becomes inhospitable or even hostile for a movement's activities (Taylor, 1989, p. 769).

To sum up, institutionalization or the foundation of NGOs can be a successful tactic to sustain collective action and a movement's spirit to foster social change also in periods of mobilization stagnation. It helps networks to stay united especially during periods where it seems rather difficult. Furthermore, movements and protests are characterized through their dynamic nature instead of a static character (Davies et al., 2016; Kern, 2008; Van Stekelenburg & Roggeband, 2013). It seems that this flexibility can also be found in intermediate stages of protest and mobilization. Institutionalized formats may thus also be a strength to legitimize a movement's agenda within the political and social landscape when mass mobilization and direct-action activism seem not to be an option. This case study deals with the institutionalized form of social movements because NGOs are characterized as actors in the Ugandan women's movement. But how do movements arise? What facilitates their formation?

Jasper and McGarry (2015) argue, that the concept of collective identity helps to mobilize people and inspire them to form or join a movement. The following chapter seeks to define collective identity, how it occurs in social movements and which conditions are required to initiate processes of collective mobilization.

Understanding collective identity

Kern (2008) describes identity as an internal model representing significant characteristics and basic structures of one's personality in an abridged version. Emotions play a huge part in this process, as they 'send us signals and help us process information, evaluate our situations, and begin to formulate paths of action' (Jasper, 2014, p. 8). On the basis of this, a person de-

velops a certain behavior. Identity offers, so to say, an orientation for action and, reciprocally, behavior and actions fulfill one's identity, both stabilizing one another (Kern, 2008, pp. 119–122). He points out that the concept of identity is therefore necessary for a collective social network in order to develop strategical behavior.

For Melucci, the term identity is 'the continuity of a subject over and beyond variations in time and its adaptations to the environment; the delimitations of this subject with respect to others; the ability to recognize and to be recognized' (1996, p. 71). Therefore, identity combines both dynamic and static processes related to one's environment. The concept of identity needs recognition through others, which refers to a constant exchange with one's surroundings. But what about collective identity?

Verta Taylor describes collective identity as 'the shared definition of a group that derives from its members common interests and solidarity' (Taylor, 1989, p. 771). Through the creation of a collective identity within a movement, the members identify as a group, revising their common history and further develop goals and strategies to foster their collective action (Friedman & McAdam, 1992; Taylor, 1989; Taylor & Whittier, 1992). The term collective identity became popular within social movement theory in the 1970s together with the rise of new social movements, referring to 'a complex, multiple and multilayered phenomenon' (Milan, 2015, p. 888) that expresses multidimensional interactions between group members. Through collective action, a sense of unity manifests between actors of a movement. Melucci (1996) defines collective action as the construction of an action system and a definition that is interactively shared and produced by a certain group. Hence, it serves the actors as a joint guideline and orientation for action, together with feelings of solidarity for fellow group members (Jasper & McGarry, 2015). Collective identity arises through a process of 'cognitive definitions concerning the ends, means, and the field of action [...] incorporated in a given set of rituals, practices, cultural artefacts' (Melucci, 1996, p. 70). The actors participate in a certain way within this network of active relationships, calculating between ends and means, investments and rewards. These connections create a sense of unity and belonging. 'Passions and feelings, love and hate, faith and fear are all part of a body acting collectively, particularly in those areas of social life that are less institutionalized, such as the social movements' (Melucci, 1996, p. 71). In order to achieve this sense of collectivity, actors need the ability of self-reflectivity to initiate the process of distinction through values, ends and means, Melucci argues (1996, p. 73). Thus, the relational dimension plays a significant role in the process of collective identity. It's about how a coalition of individuals, groups or networks organize their collective representation of their unity. Thereby their similarities and differences in relation to

their social environment become visible, as actors are attributing their discontent to structural or systemic circumstances (Kern, 2008, p. 120; Taylor & Whittier, 1992, p. 114). As a consequence, actors are in permanent exchange with their environment, as this is crucial for the manifestation of collective identity, which initiates participation and mobilization.

Collective identity as a process can be analytically divided and seen from the internal and external point of view. [It] contains an unresolved and resolved tension between the definition a movement gives itself and the recognition granted to it by the rest of society (Melucci, 1996, p. 74).

For the collective identity of a group it is therefore necessary to constantly define itself and thus take a clear position in relation to its environment by purposefully setting oneself apart from others. Consequently, collective identity is a permanent process of interaction between a group of actors and their environment. Nevertheless, internal and external definitions of identity may vary because of different processes of definitions. A movement may externally seem very united in its interests, but its actors experience differences and boundaries within their collective identity because of different forms of engagement.

Kern (2008, pp. 120–121) continues with distinguishing three dimensions of collective identity: the social dimension, stressing attributes of belonging or not-belonging, through which the collective distances itself from its social environment; the thematic dimension, stressing the content-related accordance of members in their values and interests and distancing the collective from other collectives; and the temporal dimension, through which the social collective formed and thus identifies itself historically. These dimensions create awareness about the manifestation of a collective identity and therefore help the movement to develop its strategies and actions.

Such considerations would make one assume that it is highly recommendable for a social movement to know about its individuals' prevailing values and principles to reach its goals. If we assume that individuals are unequally affected by existing social structures and therefore unequally dependent on the movement's success, this 'creates *power imbalanced* relations, in which the less dependent actor has a *power advantage* over the other that tends to produce a corresponding inequality in exchange benefits' (Molm et al., 2000, p. 1399). Such power imbalances cannot be prevented because of its members' heterogeneity. Kern maintains that it can be anticipated that those who are more interested in the success of collective action show a greater willingness to engage than others (2008, p. 116). The more heterogeneous the members of a network are, Kern continues, the decisive factor is who is involved, since some members are able to contribute more than others and are therefore important for the movement's success, no matter if it is their passion, time or resources. Hence, this may lead to im-

balanced relations and/or tensions between individual members within a social movement. Some individuals may show greater commitment and may invest more resources or time than others in the fulfillment of the movement's goals.

Especially in times of internal conflicts, different interests, objectives and resources become visible. Kern (2008, p. 48) speaks about the relation between interests and resources to estimate a social movement's societal impact - the more actors unite their resources and use them commonly, the stronger their sense of unity and thus the movement's impact. This implies that the self-serving use of resources allows individual actors using a bigger field of action than others. Furthermore, disputes around external resources may arise, as one can see for example within some women's rights organizations when donors are favoring projects that incorporate male engagement, leaving behind projects focusing explicitly on women and girls (Jewkes et al., 2015). Such an imbalance may lead to a challenge for the collective identity, as actors need to negotiate the distribution of available resources, which is illustrated by the example. At such a point of disparity, internal solidarity across differences is crucial for the network to remain united in their collective identity and may even lead to an increased sense of belonging. 'People feel a bond with others not because they share the same interests, but because they need that bond in order to make sense of what they are doing' (Melucci, 1996, p. 74). As long as internal different opinions and conflicts are based on mutual respect and directed towards the same goal, they are even conducive to self-reflection and stronger bonds within the social movement. At this point, Pease's (2010) insights into systems of dominance and oppression demonstrate which internal conflicts and challenges for a collective movement may arise through different spaces of opportunities.

Let us have a look at different approaches within the formation of collective identity. It might be assumed that individual actors unite passionately if their personal interests overlap to reach exclusive benefits, which would lead to a joint initiative to reach the desired impact on both a personal and a collective level, setting strict boundaries to group outsiders' benefits (Kern, 2008, p. 112). Kern furthermore demonstrates that altruism would not play a significant role to the process of mobilization, because the personal interest and benefit is crucial for engagement. When it comes to collective goods that are neither divisible nor exclusive and that everybody would benefit from regardless of their engagement, commitment and dedication would decrease. Thus, social movements fighting for collective goods such as peace, justice, sustainability, equality etc. often lack resources because less people dedicate themselves to create collective change (Kern, 2008, p. 113). This perspective suggests that personal advantages and their exclusiveness are necessary parameters for the success of a movement.

Hence, quantification and exclusivity would be crucial pillars within collective identity to mobilize people to join social movements. Consequently, members of a large interest group would not contribute to the production of collective goods as long as they are concerned with maximizing their personal welfare, so Kern (2008, p. 113). If we apply this approach, universal demands for solidarity and socio-political changes to fight marginalization and discrimination would mostly lead to poor engagement – the more personal and individual the incentives, the stronger the commitment to join a movement. In this approach, success is defined through the benefits' exclusivity, highlighting a meritocratic character.

To counteract these tendencies, mutual trust and reliance between individual members and a strong attachment to the movement becomes very important to increase passionate engagement. Molm, Takahashi and Peterson argue that mutual trust and dedication within social exchange develop if commitment and attachment happen reciprocally instead of applying binding agreements that are negotiated (Molm et al., 2000). 'Power affects trust and affective commitment through these behaviors, which build trust by signaling the other's trustworthiness and reducing the inequality of exchange' (Molm et al., 2000, p. 1398). The stronger mutual trust within a movement, the stronger the commitment, even if the members form a heterogeneous group. As described earlier, resources and commitment are mostly distributed unequally between individual members of a collective group. If all of them stick to the realization of the movement's agenda equally, they benefit from social exchange and sharing of their resources, which would lead to a win-win situation, as all would benefit from the achievement of the objectives. The authors further explain that social exchange 'occurs within structures of mutual dependence, in which actors are dependent on each other for valued outcomes' (Molm et al., 2000, p. 1398). In movements based on mutual trust and strong attachment, there is a regular exchange between individuals, aiming to achieve the common agenda. Consequently, it requires to have a closer look on the movement's size and space making constant exchange possible.

Actors of a social movement form a common space through personal exchange, discussing their objectives and strategies to enable transformational processes within society. Kern (2008, p. 120) stresses that strengthening the sense of belonging within this abstract space requires a strong accordance of values and interests. The larger the network becomes, the more extensive and abstract the space is going to be, and, vice versa, the smaller and the more personal, the stronger the individual commitment of its members. Thus, a smaller network size may indicate stronger individual resonance with others because there is more room for each individual's voice. Smaller networks might motivate members to actively participate in

negotiations and development of strategies as they can witness how their engagement in the group's performances bears fruits in the group's performances. As a consequence, the attachment to the group's identity is strengthened.

Nonetheless, besides the potential benefits of the concept of collective identity, one must not leave aside risks and disadvantages, as collective identity may also cause dilemmas in social movements.

The identity dilemma within social movements

Especially in modern times, strong value of individualization has an impact on the collective identity of social movements, as individual self-realization and personal interests interfere within the collective body (Melucci, 1996). Thus, social movements resemble mosaics, with their actors having different interests, resources and objectives, trying to maintain their individuality while being a body of collective identity. 'No longer merely material, these disparities concern the chances of individuals and groups to fulfill themselves as autonomous actors' (Melucci, 1996, p. 93). Such imbalances and conflicts cannot be prevented because the individual actors have different means and access to resources at their disposal, which are distributed unevenly within the movement. Jasper and McGarry (2015) demonstrate this identity dilemma, as identification processes not only have helpful benefits but also certain risks that need to be considered when speaking about the concept of collective identity.

As expressed before, this concept helps to mobilize people and to recruit new members to engage in a movement. A larger network creates more attention and hence might be able to initiate greater impact and societal change through joint strategies and a common ideology (Jasper & McGarry, 2015, p. 2). Additionally, the authors stress that a collective body better understands its surrounding world and existing power relations and may situate itself more easily in these contexts through taking a certain position.

Nevertheless, the idea of collective identities might distort complex realities, blurring individual interests and goals into a supposed corpus of unity and homogeneity, creating cultural stereotypes and stigmas that harm individual members (Jasper & McGarry, 2015). As a result, these stereotypes could harm individuals if their social environment does not draw a line between the collective and the individual identity. Individual identity could always be confused with the identity and positioning of the movement and any personal dissenting opinions would no longer be heard. Processes of self-reflexivity and self-awareness help members to become aware of discrimination and consequently oppose it. For a movement, awareness

about its collective identity helps to specify demands as well as strategies and to take a certain position within the sociopolitical landscape

Also, there is the risk of developing a strong internal hierarchy within the collective identity, as some members might wield more power and stronger represent their interests through the social movement, minimizing others' possibilities to participate (Jasper & McGarry, 2015, p. 3). The more actors are involved in a social movement, the more difficult it may become to keep decision-making at a low threshold. Jasper and McGarry (2015, p. 4) refer to the scale of identification where individuals situate themselves between the center and the periphery of a movement's identity. Some members might feel a strong identification with a movement's identity, investing more time and energy, whereas others stick to their individual interests and goals, investing less.

This situation alone creates imbalance within the movement's representation, as some actors may be at the forefront and others engaging a bit more behind the scenes, leading to a distorted collective appearance. Moreover, movements' identities form a new political truth blind to their constructive character, incorporating the danger of neglecting individual differences and flexibility (Hekman, 2000). These constructions of identity create a 'complex relationship between difference, identity and power' (Hekman, 2000, p. 296) which is reinforced through external and internal processes making it even more difficult to challenge and deform previous identities. The danger of essentialism comes along with constructions of identity, asserting that there is a rigid essential core or essence within each movement's character and, consequently, there is always the ambiguity between rejecting or affirming a group's collective identity (Sussemichel & Kastner, 2019). Moreover, essentialism may lead to external and internal stigmas and stereotypes that might be incorporated in the movement's identity, making it difficult for individuals to preserve their individual character as they might be identified with the presumed essence of the collective identity. I assume that an awareness of an overriding, shared goal is necessary in order to integrate individual interests into a collective field of action and to turn internal differences into a shared strength.

To sum up, a movement faces ambiguity in its unity because of individual actors' behavior and interests and the sense of unity within a collective identity. Spaces of opportunities are in many cases distributed unevenly between members, which may lead to disagreements and challenges. This chapter provided an overall insight into the concept of collective identity within social movement theory, showing the importance of individual and collective reflexivity about values, interests, objectives and power relations within movements. This concept makes it possible to analyze dynamics within a social movement and to recognize the rela-

tionship between its members and their commitment and involvement within the movement. Therefore, the concept of collective identity provides the analytical tool for this study. The next chapter will provide insights into women's movements and their analysis to specify the theoretical framework. General analytical tools to examine women's movements will be complemented with insights into African women's movements to get closer to the context of the women's movement in Uganda.

2.2 Women's movement theory

There is a vast amount of literature about women's movements, which shows the growing interest in and growing presence of women's organizing as well as their analysis and contextualization. There is a large variety of ways in which women unite collectively and in which their allies solidarize with movements to create social change. Theoretical works on women's movements thus try to define and characterize women's movements through different theoretical approaches. The analysis of women's movements might, for instance, examine processes of mobilization, timing, character, influence and effectiveness as well as the arena, the actors and the objectives of the movement's actors (Molyneux, 1998). Furthermore, as Molyneux notes, the study of historical, social and institutional factors that determine the formation of the social movement are of interest as well as the emergence of a collective identity and its altered forms, but the type and focus of analysis depends on the researcher's focus and the theoretical approach (1998, p. 221). Moreover, she draws our attention to the organizational structures and the types of women's organizing, which reveal interesting facts. The space and the way in which social movements are formed discloses exciting characteristics. If the direct target is a break with oppressive structures, the arena in which agendas and strategies are planned is of particular importance. Molyneux mentions the complexity of a movement's character that also influences its analysis.

The contextualization of a specific movement is therefore indispensable in order to locate, embed and theorize it. Due to prevailing discriminatory structures and conditions within socio-political spaces, alliances mobilize to claim their demands. But what exactly can be understood as a women's movement? And how can women's movements be theorized and analyzed?

Women's movements can be understood as mobilized collective actors working for a fundamental change in gender relations and the inequality associated with them (Lenz, 2019). It was in the 19th and early 20th century that women in many regions of the world began to organize against inequalities on the basis of sex and to demand the end of patriarchy within their societies, as outlined by Maxine Molyneux (1998, p. 222). She continues that a movement may define itself through mobilization to make demands to end gender-based discrimination, claim women's rights and gender justice, but the attempt to characterize women's movements shows their existence in multiple forms and types. Women's movements may operate internationally, transnationally, nationally or locally (Lenz, 2019). Transnationalism often results in an NGOization of women's movements (Gouws & Coetzee, 2019, p. 6), besides the previously discussed reasons for an institutionalization of social movements (Taylor, 1989). It becomes clear how diverse the types and ways of women's movements are, which establish themselves and perform their activism according to strategy and possibilities.

To speak of a movement, then, implies a social or political phenomenon of some significance, that significance being given both by its numerical strength but also by its capacity to effect change in some way or another whether this is expressed in legal, cultural, social or political terms. A women's movement does not have a single organizational expression, and may be characterized by a diversity of interests, forms of expressions, and spatial location. Logically, it comprises a substantial majority of women if it is not exclusively made up for women (Molyneux, 1998, p. 224).

Women's movements must be thought in plural; they are characterized through diversity and different interests, based on various forms of experienced oppression (Lenz, 2019). In general, women's movements express a collective attempt to change oppressive gender relations manifested in thoughts and habits of dominant parts of civil society, Lenz argues (2019, p. 902). She mentions self-reflexivity as a tool to ensure that a movement manages to reveal and criticize systems and mechanisms of oppression through building a counter-public, demanding the end of women's subordination and gender-based violence among others (Lenz, 2019). These processes confront power relations and their bearers and not only question these moments of domination but demand an urgent change in their legitimizing thought patterns and practices. This depends on the type of women's organizing and the objectives of their collective action. It is possible that a movement trying to end hegemony and oppression reproduces oppressive structures within itself.

Feminist activisms and feminist knowledge production may also reproduce inequality. The intersectional approach stresses that there is always the danger of reproducing own privileges

and oppressive structures in feminist narratives through a narrow focus on singular instead of plural dimensions of oppressions and their interdependence (Crenshaw, 1994; Lorde, 1981)³.

Audre Lorde (1981, p. 94) poses the question: ‘What does it mean when the tools of a racist patriarchy are used to examine the fruits of that same patriarchy?’ This shows the need for constant self-reflection within movements to avoid a reproduction of hierarchy and oppression. In her words, Audre Lorde shows how strong and powerful socializations can be, even if one tries to deconstruct them completely. Hegemonic structures can be inherent even in liberation movements, which is why colonial, racist, etc., structures can also be reproduced in feminist ideologies. Feminisms are not free from domination per se because domination and privilege always find ways to stay alive. Intersectional approaches stress these mechanisms, which make them an indispensable tool for feminist practices and academia.

African women’s movements

It must be mentioned that an attempt to compare and summarize African women's movements runs the risk of neglecting or even omitting specific contexts through the impression of homogeneity, which may lead to a reproduction of stereotypes and generalizations. African women's movements are rich in number and diversity, of which one must remain aware⁴. I will use the plural term African women’s movements when referring to African social movements fighting for women’s rights and gender equality; the singular term of women’s movement will be applied within smaller contexts or when cited in literature. Nevertheless, a movement is still to be perceived through various activists and actors acting collectively towards same or similar goals.

³ Intersectionality is a theoretical framework and analytical tool examining overlapping and interdependent systems of privilege and oppression based on social and political categories such as class, race, gender, sex, sexuality, ability, etc. (Graneß et al., 2019, p. 79). The term was first mentioned by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a Black feminist from the United States, to express the multilayers of oppression (Graneß et al., 2019, p. 79). Through intersectionality, the limits of working with categories as analytical tools are made clear. There is always the risk of not considering certain categories, which is why it is all the more important to always ask oneself whom one could possibly exclude by certain statements. This intersectional method is indispensable in feminist thinking, otherwise it would reproduce relations of domination.

⁴ A contextual analysis of the women’s movement in Uganda and its specific characteristics will follow in chapter 4.

The authors and editors Badri, Casimiro, Kwesiga, Mungwa and Tripp (Badri & Tripp, 2017b; Tripp et al., 2009) try to carefully highlight commonalities and similar strategies of selected African women's movements in their volumes in order to create a framework for similar characteristics:

The women's movements [...] are movements that have named women as the primary constituency that they are mobilizing. They have built organizational and/or political strategies around the concerns of women. The improvement of women's economic standing, political representation, cultural status, and legal rights are the central goals of these movements (Tripp et al., 2009, p. 14).

Badri and Tripp (2017b) describe how the rise of women's movements in Africa is especially located in the post-independence era. Women's movements in Africa both influenced and were influenced by a global agenda of women's rights, but African movements largely shaped global understandings and actions of women's rights and feminisms (Badri & Tripp, 2017b).

The rise of African women's movements started in the 1970s, but it was in the 1990s where women became extremely visible as strong political actors, promoting antidiscrimination causes and constitutional reforms all over the continent (Tripp et al., 2009, p. 2). Women's movements have existed before, sometimes strongly associated with ruling parties and the state (Gouws & Coetzee, 2019). Dynamics of independence and democratization processes made it possible to show a strong presence within the political landscape and demand women's rights. The advantage of post-independence women's movements in Africa is the setting of own agendas, leadership and funding through autonomous funding strategies (Gouws & Coetzee, 2019, p. 1). This creates an opposition to established power relations, which can problematize inequality and demand change.

As women's movements in Africa responded to the challenges of poverty, conflict, domestic violence and political marginalization in their own societies, they engaged regional and global actors in order to advance their own goals at home (Badri & Tripp, 2017b, p. 29).

Political and social dynamics on the African continent largely influenced the rise of women's movements in Africa and they had a huge impact on the global women's rights agenda and on gender norms (Badri & Tripp, 2017a). Anticolonial and national liberation movements vastly influenced African women's experiences in activism, but in the 1990s the UN and international as well as regional women's organizations influenced normative strategies and tactics to foster women's rights throughout the world (Badri & Tripp, 2017b; Tripp et al., 2009). The UN Decade of Women from 1975-1985 helped to mobilize many women's movements around the globe (Berger, 2014; Lenz, 2019). Furthermore, international and do-

mestic nongovernmental organizations were strongly included in the women's movements strategy to change political landscapes (Berger, 2014; Tripp et al., 2009). African women's movements are thus embedded in endogenous local anticolonial and liberation movements as well as exogenous international women's networks.

Badri & Tripp (2017a) highlight the autonomous character of African women's movements from national governments through international donor support, which contribute significantly to processes of democratization. Such autonomous funding strategies allowed and allow African women's movements to set up their own agenda in opposition to governments and ruling parties and even in opposition to Western ideologies and conceptualizations of feminisms:

African women's movements pressed for changes in [...] the context of democratization, a decline in overall conflict on the continent, changing international and regional norms regarding women's rights, and new donor support. [...] In contrast to the first three decades after independence, they acquired their own sources, selected their own leaders, and forged their own women's rights agenda in ways that were no longer dictated by the ruling party or government (Badri & Tripp, 2017a, p. 29).

What becomes visible is how strongly some African women's movements make use of international and regional women's rights movements to foster change within their own societies and political landscapes (Badri & Tripp, 2017a, p. 29). African women's movements seem to be very present in their activism which has been shaped by anticolonial resistance and processes of democratization, making use of political windows of opportunities to demand women's rights.

In many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, the involvement of women in women's movement activities happened in own ways, without much regard to existing theories, the struggle of women in Africa is not a new phenomenon, but calling it feminism is (Adamu, 2006). Where women's movements can be understood as mobilized collective actors that want to change hierarchies of thought and practice based on gender relations, feminisms demand critical ways of thinking about gender and society, resulting movements want to put an end to domination, inequality and violence (Lenz, 2019). From perspectives of the Global South, feminism often comes along with negative connotations due to its emergence in the West. The 'denunciation of feminism becomes a means for women scholars and activists to legitimize the women's struggle' (Adamu, 2006, p. 5). This brings us to the point of having a closer look at African perspectives on feminisms and related terminologies.

2.3 African perceptions on feminisms and African feminisms

Motho ke motho ka batho ba bangwe.

- *African proverb in Sesotho language (Ntseane, 2011, p. 307)*

This African proverb can be translated as ‘I am because we are’, illustrating the conceptions of identity from the perspective of African people (Ntseane, 2011, p. 307). When speaking about feminist ideologies, it is important to show the fuller picture and to dismantle Eurocentric dominant discourses. It is difficult to speak of ‘feminism’ because within feminist movements many different ideologies, actors, goals and strategies come together. In African contexts, the term feminism still polarizes, and some voices stress that it does not represent the lived realities and experiences of its people, often being perceived as Western ideology, exogenous to the African continent (Adamu, 2006; Nzegwu, 2003; Oyěwùmí, 2003a), although some African scholars have deconstructed and redefined African feminisms for themselves (Graneß et al., 2019; Odhiambo, 2014).

African scholars deal with the question of African feminisms from the perspective of African people to multiply existing theories and concepts and this chapter discusses some African perspectives on feminisms. In general, there are two fundamentally different approaches when speaking about feminism in Africa. ‘The first one, although critical of mainstream feminism for excluding race, history and class issue, tends to view feminism in a positive and constructive light, whereas the second one dismisses feminism as a *Western*, imperialist concept’, Dr. Fatima L. Adamu observes (2006, p. 3).

The first approach does not neglect feminism as imperialist ideology but rather tries to deconstruct the concept and making it useful and relevant to the struggle of African women, redefining that feminism is not an opposition to men and that women do not need to neglect their biological roles and can celebrate their motherhood, gaining strength out of it (Adamu, 2006). Furthermore, the woman’s condition in Africa is addressed in the context of total production and reproduction of their society, thus involving men and children and a crucial embedment of race and class struggles among others (Adamu, 2006, p. 3). Consequently, the concept of African feminisms has emphases which differ from conceptualizations of white feminisms, based on different social structures. Though feminism has ‘generally been a distant tool of intellectual discourse and political action’ (Adamu, 2006, p. 3), some African scholars defined African feminisms and African perspectives on feminism from an African point of view to make it appropriate for specific African contexts.

Opponents of African feminist theories, however, maintain ‘that African intellectual feminism is a sell-out to the West’, labelling it a profit-seeking feminism which is capable of generating funds, but incapable of representing the struggle and live realities of African women (Adamu, 2006, p. 5), leading to the second approach, which is very critical about and rejects feminist ideology as Western imperialist tool.

When speaking about feminism as an ideology, it is important to examine its content. Instead of using the singular, it should either be called feminisms, as there are scholastic differentiations ‘between white feminism, black feminism, Western feminism, Third world Feminism, and African feminism’ (Oyěwùmí, 2003b, p. 1).

In her books and essays (Oyěwùmí, 2003a, 2010), the Nigerian feminist scholar Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí criticizes the dominance of Western feminism and its inherent imperialist structures. According to Oyèwùmí, feminism became a global political project to describe ‘historically recent Europe and American social movements founded to struggle for female equality’ (Oyèwùmí, 2003b, p. 1). Nonetheless, in a broader context, Western ideologies often are not rooted in African contexts but introduced through historical processes of imperialism and colonization: ‘As a result, Africa has become the recipient of ideas and goods of dubious and often harmful value’ (Oyèwùmí, 2010, p. 1).

Due to Africa’s colonial history and its ongoing effects on the present, African knowledge often finds itself dislocated and disorientated in relation to Western knowledge production (Ntseane, 2011). Consequently, the imperically way knowledge is produced may affect the way African knowledge is produced. Minds and structures are derived in relation to the West instead of deriving from an original African source. Western ideologies, concepts and meanings cannot be universal but are always connected to specific contexts: ‘It is within the Afrocentric paradigm that African women have formulated a unique feminism that pertains to the specificity of African women’ (Ntseane, 2011, pp. 313–314). This leads to the question of where distinctions between Western and African feminisms arise.

In some Western feminist discourses, gender is perceived as socially constructed identity category referring to socially and not biologically determined roles and aspects that dismantle the legitimization of masculine dominance over the not-masculine (Villa, 2019). Nevertheless, its conceptualization is often linked to materialist body awareness. Even though the poststructuralist Western feminist Judith Butler disrupts the dualism between sex and gender and identifies both as socially constructed categories, hence rejecting a materialist notion of the sexed body (Villa, 2019, p. 30), Oyèwùmí criticizes that the Western gender category is linked to the sex, which even has elements of construction inherent as well, both showing how body-

based the constitution of identity is through a Western lens (2003b, 2010). ‘In Western conceptualization, gender cannot exist without sex since the body sits squarely at the base of both categories’ (Oyěwùmí, 2010, p. 9). According to her, these categories are very dependent on the body and thus consider the body as ‘primary source and focus of political agitation’ (2003b, p. 2). Visuality and centrality of the body seem to shape some Western constructions of difference and create a binary opposition between the mind and the body, which would result in the West’s privileging of the visual that form social categories like gender (Oyěwùmí, 2010, p. 3).

In some African societies, such as the Yorùbá society for example, social relations derive from immaterial social facts instead of biology (Oyěwùmí, 2010, pp. 16–17). Oyěwùmí goes a step further and even applies this logic to the category of ‘women’, which according to her is a body-based category as well, thus dominant in Western research, leaving no space for non-body-based categories. Nevertheless, Villa (2019) discusses the multiplexity of versions of gender/sex understandings in Western discourse, for example the one of Judith Butler. In her discussion, it becomes clear how diversely the concepts and notions within feminist knowledge productions can be used to clarify feminist scholars’ positionings.

Oyěwùmí reaches the conclusion that through Western dominance on the discursive level and the nomination of social categories, ‘woman’ became universalized and was applied to African contexts, where suddenly ‘women’ became body-based and visible as category of discrimination. The materialistic, body-based logic of social categories might limit the perception of social reality to a biological worldview in which the materiality of bodies plays a central role and everything that is not linked to the body and related perceptions seems to disappear. Consequently, original social structures would have receded into the background and almost disappeared in the eyes of social sciences. An example would be the shift from the category ‘traders’, referring to a non-body-based social status, to the application of the category ‘market-women’ in African contexts (Oyěwùmí, 2010, p. 17), shaping perceptions of lived-realities through a gendered lens that was not there in the beginning.

From a postcolonial perspective, certain social categories, such as gender and woman, are not originally suitable for African contexts, because of different social structures in society. Oyěwùmí names local categories like ethnicity, seniority, race and generation that would make more sense to gather information about societal structures in Africa (2003b, p. 3). This means that the sex/gender system and its social categories are not universal and their applicability outside of Western cultural systems is limited:

The debate in feminism about what roles and which identities are natural and what aspects are constructed only has meaning in a culture where social categories are conceived as having no independent logic of their own. [...] But then, due to imperialism, this debate has been universalized to other cultures, and its immediate effect is to inject Western problems where such issues originally did not exist (Oyěwùmí, 2010, p. 9).

Oyěwùmí suggests that through discursive imperialism, gender as a Western category became universalized and essentialized, leaving little space for criticism. (White, Western) Feminism, Oyěwùmí (2003a) continues, would project Western culture and cultural habits on other cultures and makes it universal, but not all social categories are transferrable to other contexts. When they are transmitted, this leads to a distortion of actual life realities on a discursive level and, as a consequence, to a silencing and invisibility of non-Western life realities.

This argumentation continues when speaking about the concept of gender equality, which cannot be applied universally. According to Peggy Gabo Ntseane (2011), the struggle for gender equality in African contexts focuses on the complementary. This affects the way alliances are built and solidarity is lived. Due to the common marginalization on the basis of race and class, connecting lines can be drawn between African men and women and a clear demarcation to white feminists. Although the concept of intersectionality, that is the simultaneity of different forms of discrimination such as race, class, gender, sexuality etc. originally derived from Black Feminist scholars from the USA (Crenshaw, 1994), there are lines of connection to the African understanding of simultaneous forms of discrimination and their interdependence.

Terms such as ‘sisterhood’ seem to try to display a common struggle of women against patriarchy, often ignoring race and class categories that make privileged white dominate non-white, lower class women and silencing them in the discourse (Oyěwùmí, 2003b). It is a myth, though, that sisters are equal because the sisterhood is always a sisterarchy, hence a hierarchy in itself (Nzegwu, 2003, p. 102; Oyěwùmí, 2003b, p. 3). Such bonds of a transnational or global feminist struggle uniting all women in the fight against the patriarchy might allow white women to speak on behalf of African women, showing the risk of ignoring other intersecting categories of discrimination such as race and class, reproducing hidden colonial, paternalistic structures (Smith, 2014).

Hence, from some African perspectives, global sisterhood hardly stands on solidarity but rather displays further power dynamics between women, especially within feminist academia: ‘Western feminist thought cannot truly liberate African women’ (Smith, 2014, p. 59).

African studies tend to be reactionary, which describes that most of the theories and concepts arising from the African continent happen in a reaction to predominant Western discourses, either as reactions for or against the West, which still would put the West at the cen-

ter of the African knowledge-production (Oyěwùmí, 2010). Historically speaking, the European mindset influenced African knowledge-production and African scholarship, which means that Western structures would still be predominant in academia and make it difficult for independent theories and concepts to arise and exist. The way knowledge has to be produced in academia follows a Eurocentric scheme, positioning Western discourses at the center of everything – everything produced by Africans, for example, would be measured, analyzed and conceptualized through the Western norm (Oyěwùmí, 2010, pp. x–xi).

The Nigerian philosopher and author Nkiru Nzegwu (2003) describes in great detail the steps she has to take before speaking at a panel to make white academic feminist women understand the hegemonic power structures shaping discourses and the racialization of knowledge. African women, Nzegwu states, are patronized, which means they are considered the ‘oppositional other, the antithesis to the deliberative, competent, rational, and civilized white person’ (2003, p. 101). According to Nzegwu (2003), non-white scholars, in order to participate on the academical stage, need to adapt and accommodate whiteness in their research to become visible. We are all embedded in these power dynamics which inscribed Western intellectual and cultural activities as the norm which all other activities need to compete with. For Nzegwu (2003), gender serves as an imperialist tool that puts non-white women at a disadvantage and keeps white women blind to it. It is very important to understand the intersection of race and class within sisterhood or better sisterarchy. White women hold power within academia; at the same time as they are victims of patriarchy, they are also gatekeepers of privileges, especially when it comes to race and class domination/subordination:

Imperialism is gendered when the political, economic, and social character of dominance is constructed on racial and gender lines, when white women exploit their racial and institutional privileges to racialize others, to claim advantages, and to assert authority over women of color (Nzegwu, 2003, p. 103).

When reading theories about gender and feminisms, it is important to keep in mind that theory and knowledge production are not free from hierarchical structures that put non-white women, Black and indigenous people of color at a subordinate position, leaving them ‘black skinned, white-minded’ (Nzegwu, 2003, p. 105). They might have ‘internalized the oppressive structures of whiteness’ (Nzegwu, 2003, p. 102), consciously or subconsciously.

In her famous essay ‘Under Western Eyes’, Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1988) demonstrates how colonization processes may continue within discourses and ideologies which are trying to end oppression and domination. She opposes the monolithic picture of the ‘third world woman’, victimized and homogenized by Western feminist scholars within feminist discourse, to stress that there is more than just one picture of women in the Global South.

Thus, boundaries in discourses and ideologies become visible, such as in the concept of ‘global sisterhood’. Feminisms and feminists are never homogenous, and neither are structures of oppression and domination, which also operate within feminist discourses:

Usually hidden by masks of collegiality, this subterranean attitude becomes evident when the works of women of African ancestry either are virulently and publicly critiqued as naive [...] and then indicted for missing the more (always unspecified) important theoretical issues, or are represented as ‘descriptive’ and in need of being elevated to a theoretical level (Nzegwu, 2003, p. 108).

The struggle for women to be heard in male dominated academia seems to be the struggle for Black women to be heard in white women dominated academia. The fight against hegemonial structures stays the same, as Audre Lorde (1981) has already told us. Some authors point out that African women adapted Western concepts according to their own purposes (Badri & Tripp, 2017a; Odhiambo, 2014):

African feminists are not, by and large, concerned with issues such as female control over reproduction or variation and choice within human sexuality, nor with the debates about essentialism, the female body, or the discourse of patriarchy. [...] The oppression experienced by African women cannot be identified within the paradigm of Western feminism. [...] African feminism recognises the inherent multiple roles of women and men in reproduction, production and distribution of wealth, power, serenity, inner harmony and complex matrix of power. Unlike the Western feminism, its ideology is founded upon the principles of traditional African values that view gender roles as complimentary, parallel and asymmetrical (Odhiambo, 2014, p. 111).

Odhiambo suggests that African women want to free themselves out of their subordinate position within African societies without the exclusion of men and without the devaluation of traditional values and traditional African culture. There is an emphasis on female autonomy, motherhood and the centrality of children and kinship (Bádéjò, 1998; Odhiambo, 2014).

Due to colonialism, the understanding of African womanhood changed completely, Gloria Chuku (2018) explains, which led to a limitation of African women’s position in leadership, to an increased workload and to a reduction of their status within society. In precolonial African societies, ‘African womanhood embodied versatility, independence, hard work, and resilience of adult females contributing to the socio-economic well-being of their households and communities’ (Chuku, 2018, p. 171). The way African women could participate in their communities and societies changed drastically when the colonial system imposed new hierarchies and socio-political structures legitimizing masculine dominance, through which African women lost their political and spiritual influence within their communities (Chuku, 2018). New categories such as ‘women’ and ‘men’ have not only been imposed on African societies but also demonstrated the need for African scholars to proclaim their relation towards them. Chuku draws the attention to the shift of gender relations on the African continent because of the colonial era’s impact, leading to a new definition of the norm, where women were limited

in their socio-political power and influence. Odhiambo (2014), Badri and Tripp (2017b) suggest to speak about African feminisms, characterized by heterogeneity and pluralism of African societies.

Nevertheless, transnational and international feminist alliances also provide opportunities of strong alliances, although they face differences and internal hierarchies (Adamu, 2006, pp. 4–5). The various academic positionings on different feminisms and their relationships make clear how entangled power relations can be within discourses. The positioning of different authors with different socializations makes apparent that there is no single feminism and that the approaches and contents can be both different and similar, both separated and connected. Despite the insights into the different approaches on feminisms discussed in this chapter, Western or African feminists should not be misunderstood as homogenous groups. The diversity and the confrontation which was portrayed can stimulate processes of reflection and make commonalities visible despite many differences. Confrontations and disagreements multiply feminist discourses and can therefore be a source of strength.

To sum up, African history, colonization and post-colonization periods strongly influenced and continue to influence African feminisms, oppression based on categories of race and class is strongly intertwined and influence the marginalization of African women. This reactionary relation might explain why African women and men unite in the common struggle to ‘construct Africa’ (Odhiambo, 2014). In the first place, it is about self-definition and emancipation from a colonial history that still continues to have effects on the present.

Moreover, African feminisms originally oppose the dichotomy between women and men and the separation on the basis of sex (Odhiambo, 2014, p. 113). Especially African feminisms seem to be more tolerant of the presence of men within feminist spaces in order to build alliances between women and pro-feminist males against global systemic power imbalances within society through collective action: African feminisms should ‘[...] firstly recognize the necessity of a common struggle with African men in order to construct Africa’ (Odhiambo, 2014, pp. 113–114). Therefore, African feminisms seem to be emancipatory and anticolonial in their origins, trying to liberate African peoples from systematic power imbalances. The next chapter will discuss perspectives on male engagement and pro-feminist men within feminist spaces, as the topic of this engagement remains contentious.

2.4 (Pro)feminist men and male engagement in women's movements

The chosen headline probably seems paradoxical to some readers: can men be feminist? Can they engage as allies in women's movements? Some might perceive men's engagement in gender equality work as strange or a utopian project (Connell, 2005, p. 1817). As mentioned by Pease, oppressed people often mistrust more privileged people simply because they belong to dominant groups, which already explains difficulties arising in alliance-building (Pease, 2010). What becomes visible are prevailing paradoxical thoughts on male engagement in women's movements and women's rights activisms. In Michael Flood's words:

Men's collective mobilizations on gender issues are a delicate form of political activity, as they involve the mobilization of members of a privileged group in order to undermine that same privilege (Flood, 2001, p. 45).

Even though some men may also suffer from the patriarchy as ruling system and from the imposed normative male sex role, they still belong to the privileged category of 'men', making them benefit from the 'patriarchal dividend' (Connell, 2015, p. 49). Holmgren and Hearn (2009) outline that men (re)produce gender inequality consciously and/or subconsciously through practices that are strongly embedded in social, economic and cultural relations which are perceived as usual and normal. This makes it hard to dismantle the underlying structures of inequality. It is not possible, though, to draw a simple picture; reality and gender roles are complex and multidimensional.

Men are often labeled as perpetrators of [gender-based] violence, but they are perhaps too infrequently considered also as potential victims or as partners and actors in the fight against violence. Constructions of masculinities are not adequately studied to analyze how dominant forms of masculinities may contribute to cycles of violence and may also oppress and traumatize men themselves (Freedman & Jacobson, 2012, p. 1).

There is a danger of reproducing mechanisms that create social inequality within women's movements by perceiving men as a homogenous category. Although men benefit from their manhood through the patriarchal dividend, these same so-called benefits incorporate disadvantages as well (Connell, 2005). If behavior and understanding of being male deviate from the normative, hegemonic concept, men may experience discrimination from patriarchy as well. If men take on a (pro)feminist position and support gender equality, they may experience exclusion from homosocial relationships and being mocked by other men for being 'not normal' (Holmgren & Hearn, 2009, pp. 407–408). As a result, men often experience the feeling of failure to fulfill these dominant constructions, which might reproduce vicious circles and backlashes of gender-based violence against women and girls (Freedman & Jacobson,

2012). It becomes apparent how entangled systems of domination operate and how multifaceted forms of oppression and dominance are. Feminist masculinity studies are moving away from simply dismissing men as problems to addressing them as part of the solution and as necessary allies to work towards social change (Bojin, 2013; Connell, 2015). Nonetheless, Jonathan Crowe argues that men engaged in feminisms can never experience the gender equality struggle the same way as women do (Crowe, 2011, p. 2). He thereby suggests an insurmountable distance between men and women in feminist activism. Many men engage in feminist issues because of their relationship with women and girls and the awareness of their oppression and discrimination based on gender and sex (Flood, 2001, p. 44). The experiences of oppression are therefore tangible and visible to members of privileged groups because of societal life. It is important to perceive even privileged groups as heterogeneous.

The masculinity researcher Raewyn W. Connell suggests that within diverse and complex forms of masculinities, there are hierarchies expressing unequal shares in masculine privilege that have been problematized by rising women's movements (2015; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). She stresses that masculinities describe patterns of social practices and thoughts linked to men's normative position and role in the gender order, which delimit them from the position of women, in the sense that gender and masculinity are not linked to the biological sex but historically influenced by colonial and racist structures, resistance etc. (Connell, 2015, p. 42). This understanding is incorporated into given structures, which raises expectations about 'proper masculine' and 'proper female' behavior, Connell argues (2015, p. 40). The safeguarding of ideology through reproducing social patterns of thought makes a change in the relations of power more difficult, since it first requires the insight of all persons involved. If men and boys strongly identify with hegemonic forms of masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), they may experience so-called masculinity threats through demands for gender equality and a change of gender norms (Munsch & Gruys, 2018). These identification processes and expectations of masculine behavior create boundaries within the struggle for gender-equal societies, as some men and boys defend the hegemonic concept and its privileged position (Munsch & Gruys, 2018). A change of gender hierarchies, though, cannot be successful without the involvement of men and boys belonging to the dominant group trying to change structures within.

While many men resist change because of the dividend they get from patriarchal gender systems, there are also important motives for men to change their gender practices. [...] Gender is also about relationships of desire and power, and these must be examined from both sides. In understanding gender inequalities it is essential to research the more privileged group as well as the less privileged (Connell, 2015, pp. 39–40).

Their active engagement is necessary for the movement to reach its goals. For a long time, feminist solidarity mostly has focused on women-only networks, held up by the belief that men had no role to play within this fight (Bojin, 2013, p. 364). The space was reserved for marginalized women to express and emancipate themselves (Odhiambo, 2014, pp. 109–110). But in recent years, women actively invite, accept and request men to join their movements and to reflect on their roles in patriarchy (Bojin, 2013; Chiweshe, 2018; Holmgren & Hearn, 2009; Pleasants, 2011). This engagement brings along reflections on how to be a man positively but at the same time belonging to the dominant group, which is problematized. It requires self-reflection about one's own gender identity and social practices that reproduce hegemonic masculinities and patriarchal structures of oppression. It becomes visible that male engagement is associated with ambivalences in women's movements. Male commitment is necessary to strengthen women's movements and break down gender inequalities; nevertheless, there are limits to the engagement and emerging difficulties and differences.

Struggle for space and voice

It is not unusual that women have ambiguous reactions and perspectives on male engagement, since it is men who are privileged by the patriarchal system. The women's movement has passionately fought for an improvement of women's and girl's lives and to put voices of diversity and equality on the map – voices that now rightly fear to be silenced, as men still tend to receive greater attention and interest in the public sphere and profit from more access to different spaces (Flood, 2001; Holmgren & Hearn, 2009; Odhiambo, 2014). Some men tend to introduce patriarchal structures to feminist spaces by dominating within spaces, sidelining or silencing women and their concerns (Odhiambo, 2014, p. 109). Their normal behavior and actions are deeply shaped by being part of the dominant, superior group of 'men', showing the need for critical self-reflection to overcome these power structures. Consequently, not all of men's responses to feminism and women's movements are supportive, Pleasants emphasizes (2011, p. 231). Their voices are considered superior to others, taking more space and recognition within different areas of societal spheres. Hence, pro-feminist men 'need to collaborate with women's rights movements and feminists in ways which challenge this male privilege and give women the space to speak' (Bojin, 2013, p. 366). On the one hand, male engagement requires a lot of sensitivity in order not to disturb or interrupt the emancipation processes of women and at the same time to join the struggle for gender justice. On the other hand, it is difficult to raise issues about men's and boys' parts to play in gender justice while considering them simply as a background category (Connell, 2005, pp. 1805–1806). Opinions

about male engagement stay divided between the recognition for male support and the negative impacts on goals and objectives as well as internal alliances. Even if some men are themselves oppressed by patriarchal structures, they still benefit from the patriarchal dividend. Solidarization processes and alliance-building are therefore based on demarcation and agreement, both of which must be considered.

Funding complications within institutionalized organizations

Other competitive situations for male engagement in institutionalized organizations may arise through funding complications. Many organizations already face funding problems, they depend on donor money, a lot of time and energy goes to resource mobilization. At the moment, programming and advocacy focusing on men and boys seems to attract donor funding easily, as it is considered ‘increasingly trendy and ‘hot’ [...] in development’ (Bojin, 2013, p. 366). Women’s movements operate in hostile environments (Gouws & Coetzee, 2019), which explains the scarcity of available resources. This may shift the focus away from programs targeting only women and girls, as programs including men and boys are perceived as truly important to promote gender equality. Targeted projects with and for women and girls are contrasted with projects with and for men and boys, scarce resources may heat up conflicts (Jewkes et al., 2015). For institutionalized movements that want to implement women's rights and gender equality through their work, this leads to a competition over resource distribution. Funding choices are political choices and statements, so Kate Bojin (2013, p. 376). Hence, alliance-building and solidarity-building may suffer from the scarce resources available and institutionalized movements run the risk of creating an either-or image. As already described in the chapter on collective identity, spaces of opportunities in movements might be unequally distributed, which can lead to varying degrees of commitment or scope for action. Bojin proposes additional funds for gender equality projects targeting men and boys to avoid funding competitions (Bojin, 2013, p. 376). This forced sharing of scarce resources can have a negative impact on the interaction of men and women within women's movements. Male engagement brings friction, since the different positions of power become visible and tangible through cooperation or alliance.

Male engagement in African women's movements

Within African women's movements, men are recognized as partners to form alliances against gender oppressions: this reason makes it easier for them to feel comfortable to become involved in women's movements (Odhiambo, 2014). Their engagement is important to tackle patriarchy and to change unequal gendered power relations. Nevertheless, active engagement and collaboration between men and women within the women's movement may lead to some difficulties and ambiguity (Bojin, 2013; Chiweshe, 2018; Odhiambo, 2014). African women not only experience being deprived of their voices by white Western women but also by African men (Chiweshe, 2018). It becomes clear how quickly alliances and solidarization can turn into a reproduction of power relations. Furthermore, male engagement is hindered by stereotypes about the identity of 'the African man', being 'patriarchal and therefore incapable of understanding or working on women's issues' (Chiweshe, 2018, p. 78). This creates a problematic dividing line between women's issues and men's issues, which are often perceived as incompatible and inhibits men to feel responsible for gender inequality, Chiweshe continues (2018, p. 78). He stresses the binary nature we all exist in, separating woman issues from man issues and whoever would cross that binary was going against the norm, against of what is natural and against of what should be (Chiweshe, 2018, p. 78).

To sum up, African men who are collaborators and allies in the women's movement need to question being a man and accompanying privileges to avoid silencing women's voices through their involvement in the movement: What does it mean to be a man? Which privileges come along with maleness? When men become involved, they may expect to cause irritation and have to explain themselves and their commitment. Critical self-reflection comes along with their responsibility to end gender-based discrimination. It is obvious that men have their part to play in gender equality work to enable transformation towards a gender-equal society. With male engagement, boundaries and binary structures might be ruptured, paving the way for successful alliance-building and solidarization of men with African women's movements. Reflection and dialogue may help to dismantle patriarchal structures trying to invade spaces of women's movements. What can be said is that men's place within women's movements depends a lot on their willingness to listen, to learn and to unlearn. It is a matter of mutual respect and trust: otherwise, contentions around domination of spaces may put women and men in competitive situations.

2.5 Connection between these different approaches used for this thesis

This work is located in social movement research. The concept of collective identity is both an analytical tool and a phenomenon to be studied. Since the data collection is placed within the framework of the women's movement in Uganda, insights into the theory of women's movements, especially African women's movements, were offered. The focus is on the collective identity between men and women, which is why theories and insights into the positioning of (pro)feminist men and male allies within women's movements were presented.

Furthermore, decolonial and postcolonial feminist theories stress the multiplication and pluralization of knowledge production. The complexity of the term 'feminism' and criticism of it was explained, which includes the history of its Western origins. The work aims to show plural feminist theories and ways of thinking in order to break the hegemony of the 'West' and the dominance of 'white' feminist knowledge production. As has been shown, power relations also exist in feminist theories. Feminist ways of thinking would unfold to the extent that they would recognize and name these inherent mechanisms of oppression in order to undermine them. The next chapter follows this argument and provides insights into methodology and methods of this study, discussing the detriment of colonializing methodology and how its decolonization needs to acquire a stronger voice in the scientific world.

3. METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Constructivism provides the epistemological framework for this qualitative research project. This chapter discusses hierarchies in data collection and analysis and emphasizes post-colonial approaches in knowledge production. Moreover, the responsibility connected with social movement research will be dealt with and, in a further step, the research methods will be described.

3.1 Decolonizing methodology

Why history matters in research

Colonialism as one cruel expression of imperialism has shaped many peoples' lives and histories, reminding them of the interruption, exploitation and domination by Europeans who then rewrote and spread knowledge about their 'discoveries' in other parts of the world (Smith, 2012). This happened and still happens through their Western lens and belief systems, incorporating the danger of silencing and misrepresenting other people and their lives, Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues in her book *Decolonizing Methodologies* (2012). The reports by people from the global North about their experiences in the global South would significantly shape Western conceptions of other people and their ways of life. Frequently, a strong emphasis on differences and the Other⁵ occurs (Smith, 2012, p. 12), becoming fixed within cultural perceptions and ideas about other people. History is full of white people's observations of the Other, stories that are 'constructed around their own cultural views of gender and sexuality', Smith (2012, p. 9) argues. Consequently, ideas about the Other could be constructed, could sneak into the Western understanding of the world and could solidify there, which can lead to persistent dichotomies and demarcations (Smith, 2012).

Research is never free from ideologies or political beliefs. In a global frame, marginalized and oppressed people are not just oppressed by social and political but also by academic systems. As explained in chapter 2.3, Nkiru Nzegwu (2003) stresses that African voices need to adopt a certain language and format to be able to be heard in academic spheres, indigenous and local expressions and worldviews are thus severely limited. Thus, African knowledge

⁵ This expression was introduced to postcolonial research by Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* (1978), referring to the West's patronizing ideas and scholarship about other societies and other lifestyles through which dichotomous beliefs become part of general ideas about the world.

productions and African methodologies must permanently assert themselves against Western dominant practices, which already reduces considerable freedom.

Decolonizing research

Just as the aforementioned stories perpetuating cultural perceptions about the ‘Other’, research was and continues to be affected by imperial structures. Through the eyes of the colonized, the origins of research are accompanied by memories of oppression, exploitation and abuse of power (Smith, 2012), pointing to the exploitative history between the West and the rest⁶. Until now, Western imperialism continues to colonize knowledge, as the ‘west can claim ownership of our [indigenous] ways of knowing’ (Smith, 2012, p. 1). There is always the danger of knowledge extractivism leading to important questions: Who benefits from certain research and what is the motivation behind it? Philanthropic beliefs and the ideal of benefiting mankind (Smith, 2012, p. 226) also need to be reflected critically. Through research, knowledge and information are documented and published. Smith argues that research ‘is one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realized’ (Smith, 2012, p. 8).

Knowledge is collected and represented in a certain way, flowing into dominant discourses, shaping ideas. It is crucial to remember that not everybody in the world shares the same belief-system, chronology, and historicity, and that researchers hold the power to significantly define and shape what they are examining (Smith, 2012). Systems of order and reference frames are multiple, and research has to acknowledge that. It’s detrimental when information dissemination leads to Western self-awareness through delimitations in relation to and the exclusion of Others. This increases the supremacy of Western knowledge and continuously reduces the space for other forms of knowledge production. Colonial structures within the sphere of research still exist and affect local researchers: ‘The transplanting of research institutions, including universities, from the empirical centers of Europe enabled local scientific interests to be organized and embedded in the colonial system’ (Smith, 2012, p. 8). The Western way of doing research has become a dominant, superior practice that is difficult to counter.

⁶ It was Stuart Hall (1992) who metaphorically demonstrated problematic global power relations and the construction of identity through this expression.

In addition, it's a question of space and voice within the scientific research area. The representation of voices and alternative methods in research is decisive for its respectful, anti-imperial character. Who owns research? Do research partners have the opportunity for self-determination and participation in research projects? Or is it more of a top-down strategy through researchers and Western methods, reinforcing an extractive, colonial character? Scientific work that is located in specific fields affected by this complex of problems and has to accept possible and all above necessary criticism in order to reflect on power structures and not to reproduce them.

Nevertheless, many Western researchers are trying to break through these hierarchies and to confront them through critical self-reflection and self-positioning, through discussions about ethical, political and social consequences of field research and chosen methods (Englert & Dannecker, 2014a).

What about my own relationship to the research object?

Postcolonial approaches and critical aspects of knowledge production influenced my approach to this research significantly, but it was difficult to subvert traditional methods of data collection. Through reflective engagement with the possible hierarchies, I have found a way to incorporate postcolonial approaches into the research. Linda Tuhiwai Smith has significantly influenced my relation to the scientific project at hand. Under no circumstances do I wish to reproduce imperial, colonial or racist structures, even if there is a danger of doing so unconsciously and unintentionally, since the social structures of science I am operating within are also shaped by them.

Through field research I was able to gain intensive insights into the working methods and dynamics within the women's movement in Uganda. However, my Western background accompanies me, it influences the way I perceive and analyze situations. The philosopher and sociologist Georg Simmel provided insights into such a 'stranger' position in various works, having one foot in and one foot out, thus being kind of a confidante and a judge (Soeters, 2018). The stranger is more of an outsider to the community they are visiting, which may not be a disadvantage for research though, as the person is able to observe independently (Soeters, 2018, p. 60). At this point, one has to remember Smith's (2012) critique: This outsider position has to behave respectfully and inclusively to prevent further marginalization of the research subjects through the researcher.

I tried to work together as much as possible with my colleagues from UWONET, especially during the phase of finding a topic. After all, the research should first and foremost benefit the people who have contributed to the project and made it possible. Nevertheless, it is above all the phase of qualitative evaluation and interpretation in which my subjective ideas come to the fore. What am I doing with the material? How am I interpreting it? Does my interpretation come close to the lived realities of my research partners? To avoid misinterpretations, the phase of dissemination also takes on a very important character, in which I expose myself to the feedback and criticism of the research partners and my colleagues from UWONET. This will require a lot of courage from my part, since I expect the responses to be mixed.

During the research period in Kampala, which lasted from July 2019 until the end of September 2019, I have experienced a strong connection to and at the same time remoteness in my positioning towards the research area. While being in Uganda and working together with my colleagues, the importance of my contribution through this research seemed very clear to me. Did I become a stranger? When I returned to Vienna in October and started with the literature review, data analysis and interpretation, I started to experience a feeling of irritation, especially after reading about postcolonial research discourses. Is it still justified for me to carry out this research as an intern, even though I am no longer on-site?

This underlines the effects of locality on research and how researchers are never isolated from their research field. Distance and time passing may result in a distorted feeling and irritations about belonging and justification of research. Particularly in qualitative research, interview partners and researchers share emotions and intimate thoughts, which may create a bond between the participants. Locality thus strongly influences research and the interpretation of data. What helped me in this situation was the continuous exchange with UWONET, although it decreased in frequency over time because of our local distance. However, the responsibility of social movement research remains beyond such distances. This leads to the following questions: Who benefits from the research? What happens after its publication?

3.2 Responsibility and the ethics of social movement research

Doing research, one must not forget that science is always related to power and often has a political impact, especially within social movement research, leading to an increased responsibility of the researcher (Milan, 2014). Through social movement research, activism and movements are explored and exposed publicly, which poses ethical questions for the researchers.

An ethically informed positioning of the researcher in relation to the values and practices of the movement then becomes crucial, not only in view of gaining access, but also to further reciprocal understanding and mutual respect (Milan, 2014, p. 447).

Social movements always have objectives and goals and communicate messages in various ways with others. Depending on their environment, they might be situated in a hostile environment with many political opponents, limiting their outreach or even cause security issues for members. Additionally, the researcher always holds their own a political position, too, recognizing that there is no apolitical or neutral research (Milan, 2014). That is why Milan draws our attention to the relationship between researchers and activists and that it should be based on mutual respect, trust, clarity and awareness about responsibilities (Milan, 2014, p. 458). On the one hand, Milan (2014) argues, movements desire social change, so the researcher takes on a role in this process that comes along with certain risks. If a movement's strategies are made public, analyzed and revealed through research, this might harm the movement's success and put opponents at an advantage. On the other hand, she continues, a movement might benefit a lot from academic research underpinning their objectives, providing intellectual resources and joint work on solutions to problems.

In order to prevent unequal power relations and an abuse of the movement's resources through the researcher, strong collaboration based on mutual respect is necessary. The researcher must be open to establish a respectful relationship with the activists and also incorporate their ideas through a participatory approach to avoid unequal power relations. Scholars 'benefit from activists' experience-based feedback, situated knowledge, and direct observation' (Milan, 2014, p. 452).

Research always has a political impact, both a direct and an indirect one. Information is collected and presented in a particular way, offering insights into a specific topic and, especially in qualitative research, intimate insights into the realities of people's lives are shared with the public. In most cases, the data is anonymized, but nonetheless this goes hand in hand with certain risks of exposure. In the role of the researcher, one must permanently pose the

question which contents to publish, how and why. Social movements are public players, which is why anonymization must be very precise. Connections between networks can also prompt the audience to draw conclusions, even if all names and organizations remain unnamed (Milan, 2014).

I am aware of the responsibility and possible political impacts this thesis might have. Research partners are located in Uganda whereas I am now located in Austria. The women's movement in Uganda finds itself already in a hostile environment because its claims often oppose the State's political line (Gouws & Coetzee, 2019, pp. 1–3). This adds to the responsibility of research and explains why social movement researchers have to be aware of possible consequences initiated through their research publications. In severe cases, sharing research might lead to a shutdown of organizations, threats to members of the movement or loss of funding. It is absolutely necessary for the researcher to stay accountable for what is and was published. As we deal with a respectful mutual relationship, it is part of the researcher's engagement to provide honest answers. Providing these answers requires self-reflexivity and positioning before, while and after doing the research. Researchers have to stay accountable at any time for their work if research partners demand information.

Activism and theory are often understood as dichotomous although they are strongly interdependent and more interwoven than assumed; the relation between knowledge and power, between research and activism is never apolitical (Nayak, 2015). The central step to create the bridge between activism and academia in this research is through conversation and through dissemination. Since research partners and researchers often have diverse relationships with each other, hierarchical relationships between them must be considered and reflected. Researchers have to be aware of their role in activism and what their research is contributing to because scholarship and activism operate in an intertwined way.

Through an exchange around the research results, the research partners can take a stand and give feedback on the researcher's interpretations. This characterizes research as a partnership at a low threshold. Research always means responsibility, and I want to assume this responsibility by staying in regular contact with the research partners and obtaining feedback. This dialogue makes it possible to actively include the research partners' voices in the evaluation process and to avoid a mere 'information extraction'. This may offer an opportunity to build the bridge between science and activism and to use these two areas together for social transformation towards a society free from gender-based violence and discrimination.

3.3 Methods in social movement research

Social movement research is considered a pluralist field with different methodological approaches and methods applicable to data collection, depending on the research question and the examination purpose, which is mostly problem-orientated rather than method-orientated (della Porta, 2014d, p. 3). Furthermore, quantitative and qualitative methodologies as well as inductive and deductive approaches are often combined, as scientists in the field recognized that the combination of research methods leads to a comprehensive exploration and understanding of social movements (della Porta, 2014d, p. 3). The field's interdisciplinary background explains the input of diverse theoretical and methodological approaches that emerged organically, della Porta (2014d) continues, but the focus still lies on social constructivism among all the various ontological and epistemological preferences.

An understanding of the relativity of reality, strongly depending on individual perspectives, provides the foundation for this research. Constructivism is an epistemological approach, referring to the construction of social categories and subjective perceptions of truth, which recognizes the multiplicity of human experience and the relevance of history, context and the individual's views (Peck & Mummery, 2018). Own individual experiences and perceptions of the surrounding environment are central, requiring a specific way of research to unveil these unique individual experiences. Understanding different life realities in their societal, political, gendered or discursive dimensions, called *Fremdverstehen* (Dannecker & Englert, 2014a, p. 9) could be seen as methodological starting point. Dannecker and Englert (2014a) additionally explain that it's not just about explaining life realities but more about understanding them within a circular research process where all parts constantly interact.

The methodological tool chosen to understand certain contexts is a qualitative research approach. Whenever a field has not yet been examined a lot, qualitative research provides a solid foundation for further qualitative and/or quantitative research, basically aiming at generating and exploring theories (Dannecker & Englert, 2014a). Qualitative research examines the 'real worlds, experiences and perspectives of individuals' lives' (Peck & Mummery, 2018, p. 389). The goal is to understand the habits and practices of the everyday life of the research partners and their scientific interpretation through dialogic methods (Dannecker & Englert, 2014a). Especially in the field of development studies, one has to be critical of most research methods' evolution in the Global North as well as of the hierarchy and power dynamics between researcher and research subjects (Dannecker & Englert, 2014a). As for Uganda and the Ugandan women's movement: this is a research area that has not been examined before. Qualitative methodology and methods are considered as a good research foundation for further

qualitative or quantitative research on certain topics (Dannecker & Englert, 2014b) as well as for the exploration of cultural habits, norms, ethics and cognition (della Porta, 2014b).

Qualitative researchers constantly have to reflect on the constructivist character of reality and their own as well as their research partners' position within a specific context to be able to interpret acquired data in a reliable scientific way. Furthermore, understanding societal, social, gender-specific or political phenomena, discourses or structures according to their specific context are at the center. The choice of methodology for research always depends on the research questions and how they can be answered best. For this research, the aim is to better understand gendered dynamics of the life realities of the actors within the women's movement in depth.

To understand the factors and circumstances of collective identity within the women's movement and the manifestation of bonds and boundaries between men and women therefore requires a qualitative methodology to learn to understand the interview partners' life realities and perceptions. Consequently, the role and individual experiences of the researcher play a significant role. The precision of quantitative research is measured by certain quality criteria, namely objectivity, reliability and validity. In a qualitative methodology, there are different approaches to these quality criteria. Mayring, for example, argues for the transferability of quantitative quality criteria to qualitative work (Freikamp, 2018) but Dannecker and Englert point out the flawed logic behind such a transfer, as qualitative methodologies works differently and are always characterized by the subjectivity of all the involved actors (2014a). Qualitative research, like quantitative research, must be guided by certain quality criteria, even if these vary according to the research methodology. Mayring (2015) explains that reliability and validity are among the classic quality criteria of qualitative research and the examination of linguistic material. In its genesis, qualitative research had to justify its non-arbitrariness and traceability. Objectivity is not possible, as categories and social realities are constructed and highly subjective.

In feminist research and scholarship, which exposes and criticizes the power inequalities in science, subjectivity becomes a strength of critical science. It is important to know and disclose who conducts research and how the biographical background influences and shapes the research. Only in this way can hierarchical and oppressive structures be changed. Donna Haraway (1988) expresses critical thoughts on objectivity in research and how important it is to situate oneself within a particular research context. Epistemology has also been historically conceptualized, and the paths of science have clearly defined which knowledge is scientifically legitimate and which is not. Haraway (1988) criticizes the presumed universal applicability

of objectivity and the marginalization of subjective knowledge in science. The 'I' in science often seems to be invalid and should be omitted as far as possible; it simply has no place in the legitimate world of science.

Here, artifacts and facts are parts of the powerful art of rhetoric. Practice is persuasion, and the focus is very much on practice. All knowledge is a condensed node in an agonistic power field. The strong program in the sociology of knowledge joins with the lovely and nasty tools of semiology and deconstruction to insist on the rhetorical nature of truth, including scientific truth. History is a story Western culture buffs tell each other; science is a contestable text and a power field; the content is the form. Period (Haraway, 1988, p. 577).

This shows us how multidimensional the perceptions of truth in epistemology and how multifaceted the eyes of science are. It would be wrong to assume that science is a space free of power and hierarchy that feels called upon to reveal objective truth. So, throughout the last decades, a feminist outcry demanding another approach in science became audible and demanded the overthrow of the hegemony.

I [Donna Haraway], and others, started out wanting a strong tool for deconstructing the truth claims of hostile science by showing the radical historical specificity, and so contestability, of every layer of the onion of scientific and technological constructions, and we end up with a kind of epistemological electroshock therapy, which [...] lays us out on the table with self-induced multiple personality disorders. We wanted a way to go beyond showing bias in science (Haraway, 1988, p. 578).

The methodology of qualitative research offers a counter and allows a subject-orientated approach to enter science. Within this methodological approach, researchers and partners are always considered as subjects with their own background, context and biography. In recent years, the dispute over the legitimacy of methodological approaches has subsided and both qualitative and quantitative approaches have been confirmed in their *raison d'être*, moving towards triangulation and mixed methods (Lüdemann & Otto, 2019). However, it is wrong to assume that qualitative research is the answer to the question of non-hierarchical science. Bell hooks reveals power relations inherent in this methodological approach, too, which may also contain colonial and racist structures promoting inequality (hooks, 1990). Researchers have to be aware of their accountability and the power they hold through science. Critical reflection and awareness are the first steps towards fair science. 'We need the power of modern critical theories of how meanings and bodies get made, not in order to deny meanings and bodies, but in order to build meanings and bodies that have a chance for life' (Haraway, 1988, p. 580).

Of course, a subject-orientated approach within research also has its weaknesses and must remain bridled. Answering qualitative research questions must not become a purely subjective, incomprehensible matter. Procedures have to be documented and followed in order to guarantee traceability. That is why Haraway (1988) is opting for feminist objectivity, which

she calls situated knowledges. Whose views shape specific research papers? Whose perceptions are incorporated into the interpreted results? As researchers we are accountable for this transparency, we ‘have to become answerable for what we learn how to see’ (Haraway, 1988, p. 583). But caution is required: researchers run the risk of romanticizing the experiences and insights into life realities and of appropriating the vision of the less powerful, pretending to see reality through their eyes, Haraway (1988, p. 584) maintains. Participation in the research field with the research partners creates a certain proximity, but participation is also always characterized by distance. This is because researchers are observers, they always remain at a certain distance to the field and do not share the realities of life unless they are actually part of the community they are researching in. In the following chapter, the methods used to perform this qualitative research will be further explained.

3.4 Applied methods

In the summer of 2019, I was an intern at Uganda Women’s Network (UWONET) for three months. During this field visit, my supervisor and I developed the idea to do research on male engagement in the women’s movement. Field research allows to gain insights into people’s lives in their natural environment or field of action, which characterizes a research method which does not want to interrupt situations of daily lives; the duration and intensity of observations and data collections may vary (Mayring, 2015).

In qualitative methodologies, the understanding and explanation of life realities and perceptions of interview partners form the center. For this reason, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were chosen as interview formats to gain these insights. My colleagues from UWONET supported the idea and helped me to get access to interview partners. All in all, I have conducted six in-depth interviews and one interview in written format, combined with two focus-group discussions and one participatory observation (see appendix), which was conducted during a training on financial issues organized by UWONET with other network members. The data was anonymized to avoid any identification of activists and network members. The interview partners were informed about the process and have agreed in writing to be quoted anonymously in the work. However, in order to locate myself and to disclose access to the research field and the data, I am naming the organization I have worked with. After all, activism is always embedded within political contexts that may harm activists and movements, and research needs to take that into account. More detailed sampling descriptions can be found in chapter 5 together with the data analysis.

In-depth interviews

I have developed a semi-structured questionnaire through the operationalization of the research questions, which still allows for openness and flexibility during the interview situation. This allows the interview to take unpredicted directions, which can lead to interesting, unknown points. Furthermore, the interview situation can acquire a personal dynamic. We live in a world of interviews, della Porta observes, where participants share their observations, thoughts or feelings (2014b, p. 228). In the dialogic and flexible situation of qualitative in-depth interviews, the researcher has the chance to gain insights into new topics and thoughts mentioned by the interview partner. This allows the research to become broader and not to be limited by the researcher's own radius. Of course, the interviewing person is responsible for guiding and directing the interview in a certain direction related to the research question (della Porta, 2014b), but the flexible character allows to draw attention to possibly unknown areas. Both the interviewer and the interviewed person are active and characterized by participation and input, highlighting the low threshold of in-depth interviews compared to standardized, systematic questionnaires.

In my case, I have a lower level of expertise than the people I interviewed, so I have chosen to apply a semi-structured interview guideline. It has a narrative-orientated interview character, which is characterized by low controllability and depth (Dannecker & Vossemmer, 2014, pp. 158–160). Especially relevant for the field of social movement research, this approach might reveal mobilization strategies of internal dynamics of a social movement (della Porta, 2014b). To gain profound insights into the motivation, thoughts and emotions from men considering their engagement for gender equality and women's rights, this seemed to be the most fitting method.

How do the interview partners see the world? What do they think about their engagement for gender equality and women's rights? For the data analysis, the researcher tries to see through the eyes of the interview partners to understand their positions and the meanings that individuals attribute to their actions and to interpret the data accordingly (della Porta, 2014b). Again, this leads to a certain responsibility accompanying the research. The interview partners shared their intimate thoughts and perceptions around their engagement in an environment that is not only welcoming to the women's movement, which underlines the importance of a precise anonymization. The political landscape may respond with severe restrictions against organizations or individuals, which must be considered by the researcher when publishing the results of a research project. The 'observational field of the social scientist – social reality –

has a specific meaning and relevance structure for the beings living, acting, and thinking within it' (della Porta, 2014b, p. 230).

Focus group discussions

The focus group discussions not only led to a better understanding of the participants' life realities and perceptions but also offered more insights into existing gender dynamics, power relations, different perspectives and functions within the movement. Apart from the advantages of the focus group discussions, there are also some challenges for the interviewer because the situation can become more complex, showing the need for both an interviewer but also an anchor who stimulates the debate, acquiring a good balance between a thematic and a dynamic approach in the discussion (Dannecker & Vossemer, 2014; della Porta, 2014a). In focus group discussions, individuals are 'called on to discuss and confront each other collectively – as a group – on the theme that forms the objects of investigation' (della Porta, 2014a, p. 290). This serves to explore collective opinions rather than individual perceptions on a certain topic (della Porta, 2014a) and is especially suitable for the examination of collective identity of the women's movement in Uganda.

'Focus groups aim to discover the meaning behind the position of a certain group, and the collective process through which this collective meaning is formed' (della Porta, 2014a, p. 290). The participants of the focus group discussions share and compare information in their collective presence, which allows the interviewer to gain insights into their collective norms, meanings and social constructions, particularly among groups that are normally without a strong voice or representation (della Porta, 2014a). Furthermore, such interview situations might yield insights about hierarchical structures or gendered dynamics within a group, and so does the silence of certain group members in regard to certain questions (Dannecker & Vossemer, 2014, p. 166).

Interestingly, the effect of focus group discussions is the display of social relations in a social movement beyond its ideology. The method seems helpful for the analysis of the processes of construction of collective identities (della Porta, 2014a, p. 292). During the focus group discussions, such dynamics and role distributions were revealed through the presence and the space occupied by different participants, indeed revealing gendered dynamics among the actors of the women's movement. This method was thus very suitable to understand how gendered dynamics impact the motivation and role of actors both male and female within the women's movement. The discussions went beyond the movement's ideology and standardized

expressions to reveal the way women and men thought about male engagement in a space that was once saved for women to support their empowerment.

Participatory observation and research diary

Although I have experienced a distance of locality within the research, there is also proximity through the three-month-long stay in the field. The close contact with my colleagues and interview partners and the common bond of working together for three months allowed me to gain insights and experience. The participatory observation took place in mid-August during a financial training course in Nebbi, where the focus was on the gendered division of labor within organizations of the women's movement. Together, the participants reflected in a protected space on areas of financing within their organizations.

A research diary served as tool for personal reflections and situating my own experiences and knowledge. For me, it became clear that I wanted to support the movement through this research. Reflective insights are necessary to understand the way the empirical material was interpreted and how the interview partners' experiences and notions of male engagement were understood.

Content analysis after Mayring

For the analysis and interpretation of the empirical data, the interviews were transcribed and structured through codes and a content analysis, more specifically in a 'category-driven text analysis' after Mayring (2015). For structuring and coding the material, I have used the program atlas.ti. According to Merten (cited in Deutschmann, 2014, p. 95), context analysis is a method to explore social realities and analyze and interpret characteristics of a manifest text to characteristics of a non-manifest context. The analysis and interpretation of the gained empirical data will always be referred to the theory. A context analysis systematically structures and puts data in order to make the research accountable, this is an inductive process (Deutschmann, 2014). This means that the data will be analyzed within a provided framework through an intersectional lens with putting the data in relation to the described and referred concepts and theories to ensure a coherent line.

A content analysis can be applied both within qualitative and quantitative research models or mixed-methods approaches (Mayring, 2015). The qualitative approach knows not only how to analyze objects, contexts and processes, but also how to make a re-experience of lived real-

ities possible (Mayring, 2015). To do this kind of research, the research question has to be chosen in such a way that terms and categories can be developed from the material that make the interview partners' realities of life comprehensible and reliable.

Therefore, it is essential that researchers disclose their prior understanding of the subject and position themselves with regard to the research process, as their subjective interpretation is incorporated into the evaluation of the data. The interpretation is orientated towards the perspective of the research subjects instead of applying it from the outside, which refers to the concept of methodically controlled external understanding, or *methodisch kontrolliertes Fremdverstehen* (Mayring, 2015). For the traceability of the content analysis it is particularly important to indicate how, and under which conditions the material was obtained, continues Mayring (2015): Who was involved? What is there to know about the background of the action and the socio-cultural background of the persons involved? Who is the target group?

The objective of a content analysis is to reduce the material to some essential contents which through abstraction can be put in relation to each other within a clear body, that still illustrates and reveals its origins within the raw material (Mayring, 2015). This allows the researcher to interpret the material through processes of paraphrasing, generalizing and reducing (Mayring, 2015, p. 70) alongside the theoretical framework and the research questions through a multidimensional lens.

3.5 Sampling

The objective of this research is to explore the experiences and perceptions of men who are engaging in the women's movement in Uganda. Therefore, the aim was to generate insights into different contexts and situations, to discuss their motivations, expectations, their roles and thoughts around their engagement for women's rights. All in all, the qualitative data comprises nine interviews and one participatory observation. I have been in the field for three months during the summer of 2019, working as an intern at Uganda Women's Network. Through this opportunity, I gained access to various male and female women's rights activists and could gain insights into the movement's operations, success and challenges. Currently all interview partners are working in the field of gender equality. In all in-depth and focus group discussions, there were twenty-one interview partners, of which fourteen were men and seven women. The men were committed to the women's movement in various areas, for example through their work in organizations in the field of procurement, advocacy, monitoring & evaluation, programming and administration. Another interviewee himself was a founder of an NGO.

Among others, there was also an independent artist, a PhD candidate and advocacy officers. Most people conducted the main part of their work in the capital, only five were continuously engaged in rural Uganda.

I conducted two focus group discussion with both men and women to gain insights into the dynamics between and perceptions of men and women to explore the collective identity of the women's movement. The first focus group consisted of ten interview partners, namely four men and six women, all engaged in different positions within one organization. Among them were program and advocacy officers, monitoring & evaluation officers, general staff, administration, procurement, finance and communications officers. The organization is based in Kampala, the capital of Uganda.

The second focus group discussion was with two men and one woman. One man is the leader of the community, the other two are working in a Community Based Organization (CBO) in the same community in Northern Uganda.

Six qualitative interviews were conducted face-to-face with men who engage in the women's movement. I was able to contact these interview partners through the help of UWONET and their network of women's rights activists. Upon telling people about my research plans, I obtained further contacts and six men accepted to be part of this research. Four interview partners have been engaged in three different organizations since several years. One interview partner was an independent gender activist and artist. Another interview was conducted in Western Uganda with two men working with a CBO, but this interview was very short and did not yield a lot of insights. I met them during one of UWONET's gender trainings, and during a 30 minutes break we discussed male engagement and women's rights. It was the same training where I have conducted the participatory observation. The training was about finances and resource mobilization for women's rights organizations and offered a lot of insights into the gendered dynamics and positions within organizations in the field of gender justice.

All interview partners were between 25 and 50 years old, educated, and income-earning middle-class, although the income varied between capital-based and countryside-based members. Many of the interview partners who lived in the capital had relatives in rural parts of the country, which influenced their understanding and perceptions of gender equality. Among the interview partners, some were married and had children, some were in relationships and some were single. The interviews were held in English.

One interview was conducted in a written format, where the questions from the research guideline were answered and sent by email. This interview partner came from the Southwest

of Uganda and was engaged in clerical activism for women's rights in this region. I met him during a consultation meeting. He is enrolled in a PhD program in the United States.

These insights into the interview partners' profiles highlights their different backgrounds and living situations that shape their understanding around gender issues. All of them have a lot of experience working and engaging in the women's movement in Uganda. The interviews are anonymized, have been transcribed and numbered, being referred to with their date of record.

Moreover, there are a lot of on-going debates on how to label men who engage in women's movements. Should they be called feminists, (pro)feminists or allies and collaborators (Bojin, 2013; Chiweshe, 2018; Crowe, 2011; Holmgren & Hearn, 2009)? When presenting the research results in the following section, I will identify men as allies and collaborators of the women's movement to avoid heteronomy of identification: although I have raised questions about perceptions of the term feminism, not all of the research partners were in favor of this term.

3.6 Challenges and limits

Qualitative research is characterized by the objective of in-depth understanding of research partners' life realities, which explains that examination tools are not standardized but adapted to the specific context of research. The empirical data is personalized and subjective, which leads to its non-transferability to broader contexts (Freikamp, 2018). In other words, the research results can be considered as fundamental understanding of the research partners' positions within a particular context and thus cannot be transferred to other contexts. No objective, broadly applicable conclusions about social conditions can be drawn on the basis of qualitative social research, since no objective understanding of reality applies.

Western knowledge production 'about' conditions in the global South is strongly criticized because it reproduces perceptions of 'others' and thus contributes to stabilizing prejudices and discrimination (Englert & Dannecker, 2014a). Furthermore, the authors Englert and Dannecker (2014a) demonstrate difficulties and dangers of reproducing global inequalities when European researchers examine non-European contexts.

Research always exists within a political framework and has implications for the people involved, which is especially noteworthy when the work is located in social movement research. It is therefore a challenge for this thesis to distance itself from the hegemony of Western knowledge production. The risks of the study must also be considered: although research

partners have been anonymized, it is possible to draw conclusions about organizations, which are thus exposed to risk. It is therefore essential to consult again before publishing the thesis and to exchange research results.

More than ‘man’ or ‘woman’: beyond the heteronormative binary

Using categories to study social inequality runs risk of reproducing and stabilizing the same inequality structures. This work is located in the feminist production of knowledge. It uses the terminology 'man' and 'woman' in understanding their social construction. I dissociate myself from the binary conception of gender, but I strongly refer to the chosen literature, which in most cases uses the terminology 'man' and 'woman' and does only rarely mention LGBTIQ+ people. It is difficult to build a bridge between one's own understanding of reality, and thus my subjective research lens, and the life reality of the research partners and the object of research. This does not mean that LGBTIQ+ people do not play a role but rather that queerness is still a taboo. Their rights

‘[...] emerged after 2010 in countries such as Uganda and Kenya as a concern of some women’s rights organisations. Abortion – which, like LGBT [sic!] rights, is still largely taboo – has also gained increasing prominence in countries where large numbers of women die from unsafe self-abortions’ (Badri & Tripp, 2017b, p. 6).

Generally speaking, the chosen literature treads a tightrope between breaking taboos and adapting to social norms in the context of the LGBTIQ+ community.

The same applies to the description of the heteronormative dominant group(s). I prefer the use of the terms cis-man and cis-woman in order to illustrate the privileged position of people whose ascribed gender role corresponds to their chosen gender identity. This distinguishes them from trans people and non-binary people, for example. Nonetheless, the contextualization of this thesis is located within postcolonial feminist theories (Mohanty, 1988; Nzegwu, 2003; Oyěwùmí, 2003a; Smith, 2012), which stresses the need to let go of own Western thoughts and concepts and embrace the plurality of thoughts in feminist knowledge production. That is why I have decided to place the analytical categories 'man' and 'woman' at the center of my work in order to remain as close as possible to the lived realities of my research partners.

4. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN UGANDA

Uganda counts as one of the countries with the strongest women's movements in Africa (Tripp, 2001; Tripp et al., 2009). Nonetheless, social norms and unequal gender relations within the Ugandan society continue to allow men and boys to wield power over women and girls and to oppress them (Muriisa, 2010). Women and girls suffer from physical abuse and domestic violence, together with structural oppression and no adequate referral pathways (BTI, 2020, p. 14; FIDH - International Federation for Human Rights, 2012, p. 13; Lane, 2015). As a result, they often experience victim blaming when trying to report issues of domestic abuse (Lane, 2015). Studies have reported that around 46% of women in Uganda claimed to be physically abused by their partners (UWONET, 2011).

Furthermore, comparisons of schooling between boys and girls show a big gap; girls often drop out earlier, with teenage pregnancies being a big factor (BTI, 2020, p. 26). Moreover, the dominance of the masculine norm over the female one denies women to own property, which leads to economic and social dependencies on men that are embedded within cultural practices, Muriisa (2010, p. 609) states. Due to massive gender inequality and gender-based violence, the women's movement in Uganda emerged to stand up for gender justice and gender equality within society:

In Uganda's past, women's organisations focused on improving domestic household skills, nutrition and hygiene, and on income generating activities. Today, there is greater emphasis on activities that contribute to women's political participation: civic education, improving leadership skills, and lobbying on particular legislative proposals (Tripp, 2001, p. 102).

When Uganda became independent from British colonial rule in 1962, the Ministry of Community Development, Culture and Sports was in charge of women's issues until the 1980s (Kwesiga, 2017). Under the military rule of Idi Amin from 1971 to 1979, all women's organizations were banned and from 1978 onwards, all women's activities were coordinated and carried out on a very low budget by the National Council of Women (NCW) within the Ministry of Community Development, Culture and Sports (Kwesiga, 2017). Historically, the national mechanisms and machineries to foster gender equality and support women's rights were marginalized and financially limited.

When the current president Yoweri Kaguta Museveni came to power after the second term of Milton Obote in 1985, Uganda entered a new stage of institutionalism, which also led to a rise of the women's movement (Kwesiga, 2017). 'The women's machinery has thus been activated in the context not only of democratization process, but also of economic reform under structural adjustment policies' (Kwesiga, 2017, p. 205).

The women's movement, which was formed in the 1980s in Uganda, is one of the most effective social movements in the country and women's movement in Africa general, characterized by a strong network and its relatively strong autonomy towards the state and strong visibility in public (Tripp, 2001, 2002). The actors are institutionalized organizations, non-governmental organizations, independent activists and some individuals/associations within national machineries etc. (Tripp & Kwesiga, 2002). This pluralism and heterogeneity among the actors of the women's movement can be considered as a strength; women's rights were pushed on the national and domestic level, in cultural and social spheres, in order to fight for peace and to create bases for solidarity (Tripp, 2002, pp. 3–4). Where disagreement could be suspected, there is a strong cohesion, more than in any other societal sector in Uganda (Tripp, 2002, p. 6).

Since the 1990s, the new women's movement in Uganda mainly has focused on women's political participation (Tripp, 2002, p. 4). Even though political freedoms, freedom of speech and the right to association are limited, the movement counts as one of the strongest societal actors influencing the political landscape pressuring the state (Goetz, 2002; Tripp, 2001). Their agenda strongly focusses on the political participation of women and women in leadership besides pushing rights of women and girls in civic education, unpaid care and domestic work, nutrition and hygiene, reproductive rights, income-generating activities and ending gender-based violence and violence against women and girls, probably making it the most organized sector within civil society in Uganda (Tripp, 2001). The autonomy towards the state arises firstly from the openness of Museveni's regime towards women's rights activism and secondly from the influence of donors favoring women's organizations in the area of development cooperation (Goetz, 2002; Tripp, 2001).

The rise of new political spaces after the military regimes of Idi Amin and Obote II helped the 'new' women's movement, which arose in the 1980s (Gouws & Coetzee, 2019), to become a relatively autonomous social actor in Uganda, as the political liberalization coming along with Yoweri Kaguta Museveni improved Uganda's human rights records, facilitated greater freedom of expression and initiated a decrease of militarization (Tripp, 2001). This change within the nation's politics led to a stronger awareness and demand for women's rights. The women's movement additionally drew immense inspiration from the UN Decade for Women Conference in Nairobi in 1985 and the UN Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 (Tripp, 2001).

This new women's movement since the 1980s differs a lot from the previous one, which was strongly associated and linked to the State and the ruling party, whereas newly formed

women's organizations and social actors follow their own independent agenda, leadership and funding strategies (Gouws & Coetzee, 2019). Under Idi Amin, the whole women's movement was merged under a single organization called the National Council of Women (Tripp, 2001). The newly gained autonomy and freedom under Museveni's regime allowed the actors of the movement to operate in an independent field of action without censorship and strong governmental control. But what about the field of action today?

Museveni, who is Uganda's president to this day⁷, leads the National Resistance Movement (NRM), which is in power since 1985 and resulted from the National Resistance Army, a guerilla army who fought successfully against the military regime of Milton Obote II (Goetz, 2002). Museveni and the National Resistance Movement carry out a no-party regime (Tripp, 2001). On the one hand, the president enforces a no-party system and wants to avoid a multiparty-system because of fear of sectarianism and the politicization of religion and ethnicity, which has led to severe problems in the country before, as noted by Tripp (2001) and Goetz (2002). On the other hand, his resistance to multiparty systems shows the semi-authoritarian character of his regime. 'Societal actors and, in particular, those who engage in political activity that might be construed as anti-governmental, are immediately considered suspect' (Tripp, 2001, p. 103). Hence, the women's movement finds itself indeed in a hostile environment, being confronted with limited freedom of speech and repression through government authorities. In semi-authoritarian or authoritarian regimes, the political autonomy of social actors and movements becomes increasingly important to their fields of action, growth and impact. Nevertheless, one has to acknowledge that Museveni's regime also has been very supportive of the women's movement, pushing its political visibility, with women holding 19 per cent of seats in parliament and 30 per cent in local government along with positions in ministries, judiciary and within the special commission (Tripp, 2001). 'The dismal track record of mainstream political parties in representing women's interests or fronting women candidates has produced a tradition of antipathy to political parties by women's movements the world over' (Goetz, 2002, p. 551). Nevertheless, women strongly contributed to independence and democratization processes (Goetz, 2002). Museveni's type of regime is therefore not only opposed by the women's movement.

The president of Uganda also reserves one third of all seats in the national assembly for women, which equals one for each of the country's districts (Goetz, 2002), and guarantees women's political participation. It was also the work of the women's movement to make gender-sensitive changes to Uganda's constitution, which came into force in 1995 and is still con-

⁷ Status September 2020

sidered very gender-sensitive (Goetz, 2002). The question remains, however, whether this is sometimes a strategic move by the President to attract women among his electorate. Besides, the support he shows for the women's rights agenda is limited, as became visible in 1998, when the president was undermining the efforts of the women's movement to ensure equal property rights between men and women in the Land Bill (Goetz, 2002).

On the one hand, the women's movement is confronted with limitations to their field of action and must be careful in not opposing the government too much; on the other hand, it receives support from the regime and a large representation of women in the political landscape. This situation highlights the difficult relationship between the women's movement and the regime. The political landscape in which the women's movement in Uganda operates is contradictory and has both supportive and hostile attitudes.

Applied strategies for male engagement and gender equality

Since the UN Decade for Women between 1975 and 1985, many UN member states make use of national machineries for the achievement of gender equality within their countries (Kwesiga, 2017). To incorporate the advancement of gender equality into national machineries, as Kwesiga (2017) explains, the Beijing Platform for Action was established to support gender mainstreaming within government and thus in all policy areas.

In 2016, CARE Uganda⁸ published research results based on their programming which was conducted in the North of the country on engaging men in gender equality, documenting the motivation and expectations of men as part of the beneficiaries (CARE Uganda, 2016). This strategy is applied by multiple actors in support of gender equality and women's empowerment in the whole country (CARE International, 2019). At the center is the exploration of one's own masculinity and a change of discriminating social norms through men's self-reflexivity and awareness about gender injustice (CARE International, 2019).

The CARE report (2016) provides insights into the organization's strategies to increase male engagement for gender equality, namely the selection of a so-called role model man in the community.

⁸ CARE International operates as international non-governmental organization in various countries, also in Uganda: 'CARE works around the world to save lives, defeat poverty and achieve social justice. We put women and girls in the center because we know that we cannot overcome poverty until all people have equal rights and opportunities' (CARE International, 2020).

These role model men are briefed by the organization to act as agents of change and support women's empowerment and gender equality within their home communities, reaching out to at least 10 other households (CARE Uganda, 2016). Briefly, the research results showed that men are motivated to foster gender equality because of the following reasons:

Individual level	Household and intimate relations	Peer and community relations
• Change individual bad behavior such as having multiple partners and alcoholism • Increase self-esteem • Improve their image in the community, or (for existing leaders): live up to community expectations	• Improve relationships and reduce GBV in the household • Start using family planning • Improve the household's living conditions and income	• Contribute to positive developments in the community, e.g. reduce alcohol consumption, promote girls' education and reduce GBV • Change their negative image in the community (or confirm a positive image)

(CARE Uganda, 2016, p. 1)

The report (CARE Uganda, 2016) explains that a change in behavior, reduction of alcoholism, increased self-esteem and a better image within the community were individual sources of inspiration for men to support women's rights and putting an end to gender-based violence. At the household and intimate relationship level, the interviewed men mentioned healthier relationships and less gender-based violence, consideration and application of family planning methods and improved living-conditions and income as motivation. Within peer groups and communities, motivation arose out of the wish to contribute to community development and giving the community a good image. It is noteworthy that men in support of gender equality expressed that they had to deal with mockery, stigmatization, mistrust and irritation of their wives and peers as reaction to their engagement (CARE Uganda, 2016). Hence, motivation and engagement may be limited because of hostile peer group reactions causing a bad image of supportive men.

Nevertheless, role model men are considered to have a positive influence on their social surroundings and society, leading to healthier relationships, enhanced livelihood conditions and leadership skills (CARE Uganda, 2016). Conducted research shows a link between social and economic development as result of male engagement in gender equality within communities (CARE Uganda, 2016).

The CARE report shows that men are important actors in the realization of gender equality on the individual, household, community and national level. Prevailing unequal power relations and discriminative social norms impede their decision to support gender equality and women's empowerment. The ability of self-reflexivity is required to initiate a change of

mindset and thus a change of gender-discriminative behavior of men. Men's social setting is important for their behavior, too, as peers and the social environment may blame gender-transformative male behavior for their progressive actions. The CARE reports (CARE International, 2019; CARE Uganda, 2016) show that male engagement for gender equality and a change in social norms are current strategies applied by various actors to work towards a gender-equal society in Uganda. It is therefore not unusual for men to be capable actors within the women's movement, as male engagement is supported on various levels within the country.

This thesis goes one step further and looks at the motivation for male engagement within the women's movement to see where the values, interests and goals of men and women within the women's movement overlap or differ and what this means for the collective identity of the movement. In the following section, the sampling will be explained, followed by an analysis of the empirical data.

5. MALE ENGAGEMENT IN THE UGANDAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

As described in the sampling, the following interview extracts are based on the collected empirical data. The interview partners are active members within various institutions of the women's movement in Uganda, being employed in procurement, advocacy, monitoring and evaluation, programming and administration. Among them, there is a founder of an NGO as well as an independent artist, a PhD candidate and advocacy officers. Due to their income situation and educational background, they could be considered to be part of what Ayoki (2012) defines as the emergent middle class in Uganda. Moreover, due to the predominance of normative gender roles within society at large, male commitment to gender equality is more of a recent phenomenon. In addition to the male interview partners, female activists also took part in the focus group discussions, which reveals dynamics between the participants that may lead to conclusions about the movement's collective identity.

This chapter describes men's perception of gender roles and their motivations, functions within the movement as well as along-coming difficulties that arise because of their engagement for gender equality and women's rights. The first part wants to examine how male perceptions about traditional and emancipated gender roles influence male engagement in the women's movement to see whether they share the same interests and reasons to transform gender norms within Ugandan society. The second part goes a step further and examines male motivations, functions and challenges alongside their engagement in the women's movement. Through that, conclusions about the movement's collective identity can be drawn.

5.1 Male perceptions of gender roles and gender equality

Gender equality means that both male and female are given equal opportunities and are treated with dignity and respect.

- Male interview partner⁹

Within the Ugandan society, traditional gender roles still shape wide parts of society. In relationships and families, ideas of a male head of the house and a housewife who takes care of raising children and unpaid care work often still prevail.

⁹ Interview 9:4, 17th September 2019

Paying a bride price, or dowry, when marrying a woman may influence the perception the wife as a property, preventing her from separating or divorcing from the husband (FIDH - International Federation for Human Rights, 2012, p. 11; Muriisa, 2010, p. 609). Contrastingly, one interview partner explicitly desired to remove the dowry system completely (Interview 3: 37, 10th of September 2019), showing his refusal of traditional habits reinforcing gender inequality.

Secondly, unpaid care and domestic work is still largely aligned with the role of the Ugandan woman:

In Uganda, there are a lot of husbands who are unemployed but still think that care work is part of the woman, even if she runs a small business (Interview 2:9, 27th August 2019).

This creates dependency relationships that put women in a disadvantaged position. Besides cultural practices and habits that still enforce gender injustice at home, leadership positions seem to be still widely considered as male domain. For one male interview partner, though, it was clear that ‘in some years to come, you will see women competing with men in leadership positions’ (Interview 5:55, 20th September 2019). Thus, changing perceptions of traditional role models and normative attributions of gender spread among men who are active within the women’s movement. Another male interview partner highlighted:

Our society has put out a narrative for example that the men are supposed to be the leader and yes, we believe that they are the leaders but again we should move from the point where we are believing that men are the alpha and the omega (Interview 8:8, 09th August 2019).

He clearly recognized the privileged role of men within society and at the same time pointed to the need to break through this hierarchy and give women equal status. Nonetheless, some measures for gender equality seemed to polarize. There are some governmental measures that try to apply affirmative action strategies to foster women’s rights, for example when it comes to the examination system within the Ugandan educational system, where girls start with five points ahead, which is considered as a success for women activists (Tripp, 2002, p. 13). These societal measures were met with mistrust by the independent artist. He had a difficult childhood coming from a family of poor economic background, which probably influenced his experience of gender injustice.

If we are equal, why do girls have more marks than me? Why do they have 5 points extra? That’s the Ugandan examination board thing. Girls have 5 extra points even before they do any exam, that’s their starting mark. Whereas boys start from zero (Interview 3: 28, 10th September 2019).

Experiences of discrimination are multifaceted; here it becomes clear how personal experiences determine self-positioning. Since this interview partner himself has a difficult socio-

economic history, he rejected these measures for gender equality, because he felt disadvantaged by them. On the one hand, affirmative action measures polarize greatly, since they clearly identify the disadvantaged group as such, but at the same time they seek to achieve more equality in society. Through that, men can experience what it feels like to be disadvantaged because of their own gender. This in turn could stimulate reflection processes. On the other hand, female activists identify such measures as successful strategy to support women and girls' educational pathways and put women in leadership positions (Tripp, 2002, p. 13).

In other matters, the engaged men's positionings correlated with the objectives of female activists. Through the interviews it became clear that the dedicated men approach these role concepts in a very differentiated and skeptical way, that they largely even reject them completely. Especially within relationships, one man who had been working for the women's movement for fifteen years, expressed that he would see his wife as a partner and not as a property:

Should I see her as a way, as a source of partnership, someone who is my partner, or I see her as a property? So, the perception of men has to change (Interview 1: 16, 20th August 2019).

As long as women are considered the property of men, their rights can be violated, and their voices cannot be heard within society. The interview partner claims that men need to change their understanding of relationships and social structures. Especially when it comes to unpaid care and domestic work, the male interview partners expressed that they have their part to play – they considered housework rather as teamwork instead of a woman's duty:

I grew up knowing that if you are married, you have to help your wife, if you are not married, you have to support your sister. You have to share the work (Interview 2:20, 27th August 2019).

The founder of an NGO stresses the importance of economic independence, that women should no longer be dependent on their husbands' income. He thus rejected the traditional family structure with the man being a single earner.

It is all about being independent, having an own income, because this means having an own decision. You can decide what to do and what to use it for. If somebody is sponsoring you, that person has the right to decide what you should do (Interview 2: 3, 27th August 2019).

Furthermore, in Uganda, women still are not commonly allowed to own land, which increases their dependency on male relatives even more. The program officer of one NGO addressed this tradition and also noticed a slow change.

Very few women still own land in most of the parts of Uganda. Now, with education, some are rolling up, but women practically don't inherit land from their parents [...] The knowledge gaps and access to and control over resources are the two major hindering factors [of female emancipation and independence] (Interview 4: 3, 22nd August 2019).

Consequently, he opted for women finally having access to resources and deciding how to use them independently. Still, very few women would be aware of their rights, accepting gender-based violence and discrimination because of a lack of knowledge.

Furthermore, one program officer did not perceive it as a cost of manhood to stand up for women's rights. On the contrary, his idea of justice encouraged him to advocate for gender equality.

Positive masculinity is, when I told you about the women's movement as a man, you don't take away the fact that you are a man, you don't neglect your duties, but you recognize women, girls, mothers as equal partners in everything. As equal human beings, nothing makes a woman less human (Interview 4: 38, 22nd August 2019).

It becomes clear that the committed men deal with the constructed gender norms in a very reflective manner and perceive them as changeable and flexible. At least in their statements, they clearly positioned themselves on the transformative side and wished for changes in social structures.

It is just making the people understand the concept of gender equality and gender is not a threat. It shouldn't be perceived as a threat, as something that is taking something away from you but rather something that is adding and highlighting what it actually tells. It is not taking away the pants from you, or your rights to make decisions, or taking away the position in the family unit. No. It is just basically saying that it is about our perceptions and efforts about how we think and how we work together for our future, family units and societies, and at the end also the countries (Interview 8:34, 09th August 2019).

For the collective identity of the women's movement, one can assume that the described perceptions of gender roles create positive alliances between male and female activists of the women's movement. The interviewed men positioned themselves very reflectively towards gender equality and women's rights and shared the demands of their female colleagues regarding normative role models and their position within society. Possible demarcation lines were identified when it came to affirmative action measures. Nevertheless, the own privileges due to the affiliation to the dominant group 'man' were recognized and critically questioned, in some statements even clearly rejected. In their ideas, the engaged men therefore strongly agree with those of their female companions, which indicates a strong feeling of solidarity between men and women within the women's movement.

In the next chapter, the functions, motivations and emerging difficulties of male engagement will be analyzed in order to make further statements about the collective identity of the movement.

5.2 Men's functions within the movement

The reasons for men's employment vary and so do the functions that the male interview partners take on within the women's movement. Results showed that different opinions about this topic were represented within the movement. First of all, this chapter examines the positions of employment inside the women's movement.

Overall, the empirical data included fourteen male interview partners. They were committed to the women's movement in various areas, for example by working within NGOs in procurement, advocacy, monitoring & evaluation, programming and administration. Another interviewee was a founder of an NGO, others include an independent artist, a PhD student and advocacy officers. It is noteworthy that some organizations were a source of attraction as they were offering job opportunities within the women's movement. Some interview partners didn't have a lot of knowledge about gender equality prior to their employment. One interview partner explained that it was even his first job, which made him feel very privileged, as he came from a poor family background.

Yes, I feel privileged. Being here gave me a lot of opportunities to value and to understand, to learn, to know something which I have not known before. So, I feel privileged to work with the women's movement and this is my first work which I am doing since school (Interview 1: 25; receptionist, 20th August 2019).

Through these job opportunities, some interview partners have learned to understand what gender equality is about and why it is so important.

Initially of course I didn't have a proper understanding of what the organization does so it was after I came in and I was given a placement that I slowly began understanding the concept of gender and what it actually stands for (Interview 8: 1; procurement officer; 09th August 2019).

Another interviewee shared insight into his work as an independent artist, promoting gender equality through music and performances, not working for a specific institution nor in a specific position. His strategy is 'advocacy through art', he is spreading knowledge about gender equality on different channels because he wants to reach all kinds of people and transfer knowledge free of hierarchy (Interview 3: 1; 10th September 2019).

On the other end of the spectrum, one interview partner set up a women's organization for women's economic empowerment, with him being the head of organization, currently training 60 women in business skills (Interview 2: 1, 27th August 2019). He expressed his admiration

for projects about male engagement, but limited resources would be problematic for his organization.

I want to engage men, to change their attitude of thinking to a modern way, not sticking to gender roles anymore. I would love to do a project like that. But we have no resources, our potential is not used fully (Interview 2: 27, 27th August 2019).

The participatory observation documented on 13th August 2019 during a financial training with various participants from the movement in rural eastern Uganda revealed gendered mechanisms when it came to functions of men and women. Interestingly, it was mostly men holding important financial positions and women mostly working as their accounting assistants. One participant tried to clarify through saying that women sometimes would not want to work in these positions that were at that time covered by men. This was a significant message showing that gender roles may be reproduced within organizations of the women's movement. Generally, the respondents seemed to be a bit intimidated when it came to answering these questions.

Male representatives of the movement and public figures fighting for gender equality were identified as useful to influence other men or at least to make them listen. '[It] might be easier for a man to talk to fellow men than for a woman to reach out to men' (Interview 3: 30; 10th September 2019). The same interviewee opted for a male minister of gender to widen the audience and to better display the importance of the movement's agenda in public. This limits women's voice and space in public for the sake of the agenda's dissemination – and is therefore contradictory in itself, raising questions about representation: What is the price the women's movement is willing to pay? And how should the movement react to this problem of female public visibility and outreach?

Maybe men would also involve their ideas more if they hold some key positions in the women's movement. Here in our organization: boards – no men. And not only here, also other organizations. [...] Men have to be motivated in the organizations. Key positions should be allocated, not all but a particular percentage. It is understandable that a women's rights organization cannot be led by a man, but a man can be a project officer for example – men should be motivated, spaces should be opened. Not only motivated, you cannot motivate someone if you are locked out (Interview 6: 15; 11th September 2019).

Furthermore, according to some interviewees, gender equality was not visible within the staffing of some organizations. They thought this imbalance was counterproductive, discriminating men and irritating the public through a mis-implementation of gender equality. As a result, men would not feel very integrated and their engagement would be hindered.

Men fear affirmative action, they fear the laws that are there, which leads to a lack of respect. [...] We always challenge the organization because we find that in programming, there is no man. Men are the other side of communication, in finance. M&E at least is done by men, which is close to programming. But the other men remain in office, people don't see men apart from drivers. So, men will keep believing that it's just a women's thing (Interview 2: 26, 32; head of a women's rights organization; 27th August 2019).

The interview partners saw an urgent need to bring more men into visible positions of institutionalized organizations of the women's movement, so that male commitment is recognized as a positive example within society.

The women's movement should be their first motivation for engagement. If in a women's rights organization like this one, there is no man on the board, I see they are being locked out in one way. If a man maybe cannot be a project coordinator, then you also see discrimination within the women's movement, discrimination against men (Interview 6: 14; M&E coordinator; 11th September 2019).

But at the same time, a female interviewee raised her concerns about such opinions and the danger of changing priorities. According to her, if men took specific positions within a women's rights organization, the focus would shift from women to men and limit projects that explicitly focus on women and girls.

I think it is important that they [men] engage within the movement because you have different categories of people who support the women's movement. Many times, when it is led by women, sometimes people downplay the issue and say 'those are women's things', that's why it is important especially for us here in Uganda where a lot of decisions are made by men, things are led by men, so sometimes if you don't have a male figure there, it does not move. However, that I think is also dangerous because sometimes when the men come in, they take over. That changes the focus, it stops to be about women, and starts to be about the male person who took over. But the engagement is necessary especially for them to understand the issues, identify with the issues and take responsibility where they are expected to (Interview 6: 1; female program officer; 11th September 2019).

This illustrates the problematic area of male engagement within the women's movement where patriarchal structures possibly enter a space that was once accessible for women and girls only but is now open for everybody to increase support for gender equality within society. Results showed that engaged men still feel to a small degree locked out of these spaces; their commitment has limits, they cannot fully involve and realize their ideas, which is hindering them from full engagement. There is a difference between men being allies and supporters of the movement and men being only employed in certain positions to make the movement work. Female members of the movement are very careful about whom to accept and employ to keep the movement's agenda focused on the well-being of women and girls. They are very sensitive about men's motivation and function within the women's movement.

To sum up, different perspectives arise when it comes to the function of men within the movement. Engaged men experience how their gender limits them, denying them certain positions, for example when it comes to programming, which would harm the institutions because

of their hindered engagement. On the other hand, women still fear a shift of focus when men take over too many influential positions. This demonstrates the struggle for space, once reserved for women and girls only, now mostly open to allies and supporters. The movement struggles between provision of safe space for marginalized women and girls and conviction and involvement of allies to push the agenda. The opening has to happen carefully, keeping the patriarchy from entering via the backdoor. If the movement provokes men to feel discriminated, this must be addressed to prevent backlashes.

Particularly when it comes to financial positions within organizations of the women's movement, men tend to still take the lead. On the one hand, in most of the examined cases, they are running the financial part while being supported by female assistants, which shows the continuum of issues around gendered employment. On the other hand, men might feel locked out of some spaces, experiencing limits regarding their ideas and involvement, which might lead to a decrease of passion and an increase of frustration. It is noteworthy that for some male interviewees, gender equality was not represented in the staffing of organizations. This lack of representation, they maintained, hindered the organizations' success in public, resulting in a continuous labelling of the agenda as women's thing. Both men and women realize that male public figures are still more convincing than female ones so that even suggestions for a male minister of gender and other male representatives of the women's movement's agenda were made. This suggestion is problematic to the extent where it jeopardizes women's voice and space in an already contested area of public space.

The function of men within the women's movement affects the sense of unity and reveals power relations within the movement. Although the interviewed members identify and reflect on harmful structures and inequalities, the danger of their reproduction within institutionalized organizations of the women's movement persists – especially in the area of finance, a mostly male dominated field. Functions within movements may lead to a reproduction of hierarchies and dependencies, which may limit the implementation of gender equality.

Space and opportunity structures were also discussed when it comes to the function of men within the movement. Since institutionalized organizations of the women's movement were considered sources of income, men often feel prevented from taking up certain positions within the organization. This point of friction affects the collective identity of the movement and illustrates the impact of social structures. Consequently, the image of a female-only space may prevent male outsiders from joining the movement and thus the movement's success. The different functions within the movement and their gender dynamics have a direct impact on the collective identity and create tensions between women and men that need to be reflect-

ed. Mutual understanding and conviction to stand up for the same goals are essential for a successful cooperation between all participants.

5.3 Motivation for engagement

The motivation of men to engage in the women's movement may impact its success because it reveals how passionate male allies are and how strongly they support the movement's objectives. The interviews showed that motivational factors need to be contextualized because motives are always intertwined and interdependent; hence, they show up in different contexts repeatedly.

The male interview partners mentioned several motivational factors for their engagement, namely their family unit (1.1), political reasons (1.2), community development (1.3), financial motivation (1.4) and personal joy (1.5). In the following section, these key factors will be analyzed in detail. They are intertwined and cannot be interpreted in isolation; the codes are structured according to the frequency of their occurrence. The following diagram illustrates in which interviews the individual codes occurred:

	Code 1.1.	Code 1.2.	Code 1.3.	Code 1.4.	Code 1.5.
Interview 1	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Interview 2	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Interview 3	✓	✓		✓	
Interview 4	✓	✓		✓	✓
Interview 5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Interview 6	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Interview 7	✓				
Interview 8	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Interview 9	✓	✓			✓

Fig. 1: Motivation for engagement

Family Unit

Results showed that the family unit was a big motivation for male interview partners to engage in the women's movement, as it was mentioned in all in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The interviewees shared insights about where they experience gender injustice at home, for example through violence, economic dependency or unpaid care work,

and how this motivated them to live in solidarity with women and girls, starting within their own household. They spoke about their own family as a source of inspiration for engagement, increased household income and the importance of partnership at home. They shared their opinions on unpaid care and domestic work and that families are an important environment for socialization, which helps to unlearn beliefs about gender roles.

Some interview partners were strongly motivated by their own female family members and expressed their support. Initiatives and interventions by the women's movement provided inspiration for their own family life.

Through this women's network, my engagement has improved a lot of things to me and my family. I stay in a family, free of domestic violence issues. So, that's the benefit for me (Interview 5:19; 20th September 2019).

The engaged men showed a strong identification with the agenda of the women's movement because they directly experienced the benefits of gender equality within their own families. The women's movement is providing options for peaceful family lives and relationships that are not based on male domination over females.

Particularly as me being working here, I benefit a lot, because the way I look at my family and the issues happening there and the way I manage them is totally different from other people who don't know about women's rights. It opens my mind to see that in my family, every person is equal regardless of who you are. That's how I experience it and practice it at my home (Interview 6: 49, 11th September 2019).

The experience of gender equality directly impacts the own family life. Most of the interview partners expressed how this improved their family well-being and led to a decrease of violence at home. They rejected the use of violence, but since it is widespread in society that men commit violence against women (FIDH - International Federation for Human Rights, 2012) and they have experienced violence against women and girls in their surroundings, they feel confirmed in their rejection of violence through the advocacy work of the women's movement.

Gender-based violence, especially the physical abuse of women and girls, was a very present theme in the interviews. It is noteworthy that many interview partners expressed their wish of a reduction of violence, especially of physical abuse, at home within their own family. Benefits emerge from a peaceful marriage life; this peace would then spread to the community and would convince others to change. Interestingly, the women's movement therefore seems to be a key factor of change, offering non-violent examples of relationships and families.

Through this women network, my engagement has improved a lot of things to me and my family. I stay in a family, free of domestic violence issues. So, that's the benefit for me and I am sharing this with the community (Interview 5: 19; 20th September 2019).

One interviewee said specifically that this renunciation of violence was not a cost of manhood but rather adding something to his life. It seems that gender-based violence and male violence and domination over women is incorporated into traditional gender roles.

You can also have this peace in your house, and it won't cost you your manhood if you want this peace in your home (Interview 4: 35; 22nd August 2019).

Having daughters or female relatives would increase the motivation of ending gender-based violence, as stated by another interview partner: 'Sometimes my sisters get beaten by their husbands and I ask myself why this is happening' (Interview 6: 65; 11th September 2019). Experiencing uncontrolled, arbitrary forms of violence was met with much disgust and lack of understanding. The human desire for safety and to see one's relatives grow up in a safe environment and nonviolent community motivates one participant to advocate for women's rights in particular:

I feel that my girls when they grow up, as they are young, they should not face what I have seen people facing in the communities. That is what I work hard for and that's why I feel that what we are doing here should transform the world and the communities. So, as my children grow, they should grow in a healthy community, in a healthy environment, where they will not experience the violence their grands have gone through (Interview 1: 66; 20th August 2019)

Especially during community meetings, women often seem not to have freedom of speech and to be beaten if they raise their voices – many interview partners strongly opposed to such violent behaviors:

Women need to have the freedom of speech. When you go to clan leaders, a few women raise their hands. If a woman raises her hand, you can be sure that it is an elder woman. Young women won't raise their hands, they will fear that if they make a mistake, they will be beaten. So, we have to involve with the clan leaders (Interview 5: 48; 20th September 2019).

Interestingly, two interviewees mentioned counter-reactions to violence against women and girls, namely violence perpetrated by women against men. Additionally, within the participatory observation, men often mentioned this form of violence and the need to address it to reach gender equality (participatory observation, 13th August 2019). It seemed that raising issues about violence against women and girls would result in discrimination against boys and men, who would not be able to freely report issues of violence perpetrated by women. They seemed to experience a disadvantage because of fears of be a victim of violence, not being able to defend oneself:

It [female violence against men and boys] is never addressed. There are women who beat up their men so badly, and when you mention that, they think you are lying, they think it must be justified. It becomes a war, people start thinking that a woman can never be wrong, yet I want it to be balanced (Interview 3: 41; 10th September 2019)

Remarkably, another motivation for engagement within the family unit was the economic benefit of female economic independence. Economic equality served as motivation because male interview partners do not have to feel the pressure of generating income on their own. Even though women in Uganda were historically often considered as caretakers and bread-winners of the family (Snyder, 2002, p. 174), the desire for economic security may put a lot of pressure on men's shoulders, too. As a female finance officer who took part in the focus group discussion explained:

So, bringing these men on board of the meetings, they understand what these women are talking about and what issues they were discussing. If a woman starts saving money, we need to make the man understand that she's putting it aside but at the end of the day it is helping both to help our family development (Interview 6:36; female; 11th September 2019).

That demonstrates that the family unit helps to better understand the outcomes and advantages of gender equality. Women need men to understand their emancipation, as she expresses. Male family members would thus benefit from female emancipation because of an increased family income and increased resources.

I'll just take it from... at national level, you see, it becomes hard to answer but for me I'll start with the family level of our society, which would be equal access to and control over opportunities and resources for all (Interview 4:6; 22nd August 2019).

The national level sometimes seemed very abstract for interview partners to describe, which may lead to misunderstandings or misconceptions of what the women's movement stands for. The family unit, though, is a direct learning environment where the benefits of women's rights and gender equality become visible and directly tangible.

Some felt that another reason for male engagement was a more peaceful atmosphere in relationships. The women's movement would offer strategies for handling personal relationships, marriage life and breaking down hierarchies, leading to peaceful life free from domestic violence: 'How should I see my wife? Should I see her as a source of partnership, someone who is my partner, or I see her as a property?' (Interview 1:16; 20th August 2019). Partnership means shared responsibilities, decisions as a team and shared work. It creates benefits regarding mental and physical health and well-being and also affects children in a positive way. For most male interview partners, peaceful relationships were direct benefits of women's emancipatory processes and a rupture of traditional gender roles.

Now, when I am at home with my girlfriend, I do the work as well. She will find me doing the laundry, bathing the baby, we have one small beautiful daughter. Without fear of the environment around me. But I tell them that I am a responsible husband and father, and I'll help her to do the work. Otherwise, she might break down, which would lead to huge issues, financially or regarding health. Maybe she'll fall sick, then it will be me who has to care for her. But if we do the work together, she will be healthy. I will tell my environment that I'll do care work and in fact I've changed men. Those who give me the audience to talk to them, I've changed them (Interview 2:20f; 27th August 2019).

Unpaid care and domestic work was recognized by many interviewees as a great challenge within families. In patriarchal structures, domestic work is aligned with the role of the 'woman', leading to a huge burden without being recognized, remunerated or redistributed (OXFAM Uganda, 2018). Thus, it is notable that male interview partners acknowledged recognition and redistribution of unpaid care and domestic work, which according to them, would increase the well-being of all family members, leading to peaceful homes. It can be assumed that men who engage in the women's movement tend to be open to recognize, redistribute and reduce unpaid care and domestic work; some of them were even raised that way, despite prevailing gender roles:

If the woman is home doing all this work, it is work. Just because she is not in an office or because she is not being paid a salary, it does not make it any less work (Interview 8:19; 09th August 2019).

Through the agenda of the women's movement, the engaged men felt confirmed in their rejection of traditional gender norms and their support of gender equality and female emancipation:

There was always division of labor, even between my siblings. Then we had time to play. It's the same with the women's movement, it just rejuvenated what I was already doing as a child (Interview 2:20; 27th August 2019).

Furthermore, it was found that the family was perceived as the first environment where people are socialized and learn or unlearn gender roles. One interviewee especially identified the pressure he received as the oldest son, from which he personally took his motivation to work for gender equality:

I started to have full control over my family when I was 15 years. Somehow it would make me feel 'I am the boss', even though I was younger, I was supposed to be the one taking care of them. When we grow up, I was the first born, followed by two other brothers, I was always responsible for my siblings. Mom was doing business, I had to take care of the family, to ensure that we had water and firewood, I had to do the house chores (Interview 3: 5, 9, 18; 10th September 2019).

Consequently, a huge motivation for men to engage is the modification and flexibility of gender roles within a family. An interview partner who has been working for a women's rights organization for several years expressed how societal expectations would reinforce gender roles at home, causing a vicious circle that is hard to escape from:

Where society expects me to be the man, I expect from my wife, girlfriend or fiancée to be the one doing the house chores (Interview 8:17; 09th August 2019)

All in all, the family unit is source of different factors of motivation, as it is the first learning environment where gender roles can be modified and the benefits of gender equality for all household members can be experienced on different levels. The fact that this key factor of men's motivation arose in all interviews shows how important female emancipation and gender equality is for the family well-being and how the women's movement supports men who do not want to stick to normative gender roles. The family unit thus seems to make benefits of gender equality visible and tangible, not only for engaged men but also for others who may not yet be convinced of the women's movement's agenda. Furthermore, it can be said that the prevention of violence, especially of physical abuse within the own family, is another present key factor for men to become involved in the women's movement. Violence has gendered effects which need to be analyzed accordingly. Many men stated that they had observed their female relatives being abused, which led to an increased sensitivity for women's rights.

Nevertheless, they also felt disadvantaged when they themselves become victims of violent experiences or discrimination. They felt that they cannot turn to anyone to address their own experience of violence and abuse. Basically, the prevention or reduction of experiences of violence is a priority for the committed men. They therefore consider the women's movement a good opportunity to achieve this goal, which overlaps with the objectives of female activists. A peaceful family unit free of gender-based violence can be viewed as source of motivation and may lead to a strengthened experience of collective identity within the women's movement.

Political motivation

Most of the interview partners stated political reasons as a source of motivation for their engagement. They identified deficiencies in health care, transport and infrastructure, especially in rural parts of the country, leaving marginalized and vulnerable people behind. They express concerns about the government not taking enough measures to improve people's lives in the communities, particularly of the vulnerable population, as 'it seems that the government has kind of forgotten them' (Interview 4: 55; 22nd August 2019), especially when it comes to resource distribution. Furthermore, one interview partner mentioned the unequal, unfair justice system that tends to privilege people who are economically well-off.

Government needs to do more to actually push the social services which are in the urban area to the communities so that the communities see the values of education and the values of these health services, attain them, and use and utilize them to transform their lives. [...] Girls and women, they don't receive the equal justice as men do. They don't, unless you have money. A woman who is economically empowered receives more justice than a woman who is not economically reliable (Interview 1:14, 35; 20th August 2019).

Another issue mentioned was the political representation of the women's movement within parliament. Patriarchal structures, one interview partner said, lead to an 'inferiority complex' of female politicians, limiting their political presence, power and credibility (Interview 6: 48; 11th September 2019). The relatively large number of women in parliament stays in conflict with the success of female parliamentarians [MPs], who often seem not to be heard enough (Tripp, 2002, p. 15). In the interviews, men were identified as key partners of women's empowerment to change the political landscape in favor of women's rights and gender equality. Hence, another motivation for male engagement is the desire to change political landscapes. More men might start to support the movement when inspired through male allies pushing forward women's rights and raising their voices for women's issues:

Maybe, what I can say is that we need more men in the women's movement. We need to politically empower women to take over the decision-making positions in the country. Right now, to me, the women we have in parliament are not doing much on the women's movement. We just have a view who can stand as women and defend the movement in Uganda. They [female MPs] feel inferior to the men, and intimidated. They lack confidence in speaking in front of men. The president is listening, maybe their speaking will have consequences. They prefer keeping their positions as MPs and electorates, but they don't fight for other women in Uganda. If we empower our women politically, we shall not get these harmful bills passing through. If all the women in Parliament stood united, they would have a huge power. We don't need shy women in parliament, we need women who can stand and talk (Interview 2: 39f; 27th August 2019).

The male interview partners showed a strong desire to change political structures in favor of women's rights, but they seemed to feel disappointed by the women in parliament, not supporting the agenda of gender equality enough. Nonetheless, they realized that the MPs' shyness may be the answer to patriarchal structures within parliament and society. Due to intimidation from male colleagues and members of society sticking to traditional values and gender norms, female members of parliament might not be able to raise their voice enough to make women's rights heard,

If you want an MP to talk about women's issues, get a man involved who is on the side of women, because if you have female MPs raising voice for women, a typical local Ugandan man will not understand what she is saying that is any different from what his wife says (Interview 3: 29; 10th September 2019).

Patriarchal structures and gender inequality within the political landscape and institutions would not only put women at a disadvantage, but also men and the country in general. In one case, the fiscal detriments for the country were highlighted by a male program officer working for a women's rights organization:

Gender inequality can lead to a country losing about 25 % of its GDP. We need to [...] make African governments realize how much they actually lose just through gender inequality. They need to show actions. Uganda seems to have other priorities, right now our democracy is still not really democratic so there is a lot of money needed for the government to survive, to stay in power (Interview 4: 52f; 22nd August 2019).

Several interview partners expressed the urgent need for governmental action to foster gender equality to improve people's lives. Results showed that there is a general mistrust towards the government of Uganda to support gender equality and the agenda of the women's movement. Corruption and the desire to maintain hegemonic power structures seem to hinder the implementation of the agenda, as mentioned by the interview partners.

Our government wants to keep people ignorant and in darkness. People should not be aware of what is happening. Then they won't come out, even if it is their right. That's what the government wants, they want to keep power (Interview 2: 44; 27th August 2019).

The wish for a stronger representation of the movement's agenda within parliament to push women's rights was a recurring theme.

What we really need is government standing up and taking on some of these [gender equality] projects. Our government is too lazy (Interview 6: 69; 11th September 2019).

This reveals the interview partners' dissatisfaction with the current political situation, as well as a motivation to bring dynamism into rigid political structures through the women's movement.

It seems that the Ugandan government doesn't have the capacity, in terms of resources and manpower to influence the local person. However, the government has the capacity to formulate policies and laws that can be implemented by the NGOS. [But] some government officials are corrupt and can't be trusted to implement such programs (Interview 9:8; 17th September 2019).

At this point, the need for engagement of both male and female representatives in parliament is crucial to reach the movement's objectives at the national level. Without this parliamentary support, gender equality will be difficult to reach, as the movement has its operating limits.

To sum up, political reasons were expressed in different ways. Some interview partners gave very direct and precise answers addressing governmental inaction, some mentioned it indirectly observing the need to improve resource distribution, health care systems and infrastructure. Male interview partners realized that women's empowerment may lead to peoples' empowerment – that is why they join the female struggle for gender equality. Perceptions of the constraints of female MPs made it clear that some do believe that men are needed to convince society of women's rights and gender equality, otherwise the support would even decrease. This contradicts the wishes of women within the movement, who are strongly committed to more female leadership positions.

Community development

Due to a lack of infrastructure in rural areas, communities find themselves confronted with different problems than urban areas. Community development as a motivation for engagement in the women's movement arose in five interviews whenever a personal connection between the interviewees and a remote area was found, for instance when the interviewee's family lives in the countryside. Lack of education, health care and the need for easy access to basic supplies and infrastructure, such as good roads for transport, complicate life, especially for women and girls, as identified by the interview partners. Another aggravating factor was that the women's movement's outreach activities would sometimes be limited and hardly reach remote places in the countryside.

Because many are there in the communities, they don't value education a lot and they don't look beyond of what they are seeing and what they are having around them which could have transformed their lives. [...] The city is where people receive these formal services like electricity, running water, health care, at least the transport means are a bit better, the communication model is a bit better. In urban centers, these means are a bit better. But deep in the rural villages those services which I have mentioned are not there (Interview 1: 13, 59; 20th August 2019).

The interview partners realized that the implementation of women's rights within families can lead to the development of communities and even the entire nation.

It is about our perceptions and efforts about how we think and how we work together for our future, family units and societies, and at the end also the countries (Interview 8:34; 09th August 2019).

One interviewee, who is the leader of a community in northern Uganda, especially recognized the need for women's empowerment and strongly links it to community development. He opted for a domino effect of empowerment, which would first strengthen women, followed by their families and later the community.

Even the community I am leading, I've seen that there is a great improvement in people's behaviors, in how they handle issues, the way people solve disputes, there is a great difference. People can sit down and talk. If I see empowered women [...], I see that there is hope in the family, the family is also empowered, and also the community is empowered (Interview 5: 25, 20; 20th September 2019).

Interestingly, gender would not matter to him, as long as the contribution to the community was a good one. Again, the flexibility of gender roles among engaged men becomes clear.

If [a woman] is saying something good for our community, what's wrong with it? Some men can sit in a meeting and up to the end, they don't talk. A woman, what should she do? If a man is not talking, let her talk (Interview 5: 54; 20th September 2019).

The women's movement and the organized meetings in the communities seem to improve the way issues are handled because people would start to talk about issues unitedly. It is notable that the women's movement therefore helps to improve community development, as peo-

ple are brought together to share their opinions and raise issues that are affecting them. Male engagement was identified as a crucial activity by a female interview partner to improve lives within communities:

We are seeing men coming up reporting the issues that are affecting them. They used not to report issues, but these days they are very open, they meet you and report their challenges, they know the referral pathways very well. Involving men in the network is very valuable and it is working very well. All men should be brought on board (Interview 5: 28; female; 20th September 2019).

There were some suggestions that institutions of the women's movement which are located in cities should increase information dissemination to reach people at the grassroots. One interview partner living in Kampala expressed his doubts about policy language and how this was not always understood in the countryside:

If our efforts were channeled to the grassroots and help our people to understand the meaning and the concept of gender and gender equality, it would be a substantial push besides all the policies at national level. Because this stays here in our offices, but if you go down to the last person [in the village], they don't understand what the policies are (Interview 8: 33; 09th August 2019).

What became visible is that the community was perceived as another important environment to incorporate gender equality into the daily lives of people and motivates men to foster gender equality. Community development is important for both women and men who engage in the women's movement. Social structures, especially the sense of community in Uganda are strongly anchored in daily life, which explains the desire for a better life for disadvantaged people at the countryside.

Financial motivation

Seven interviewees expressed their financial motivation, referring to a positive linkage between women's empowerment and double earner households, economic growth and increased production levels. If women are empowered and men engage in this empowerment process, a household will very likely experience economic growth.

I wouldn't really see any problem with my wife or girlfriend earning more because at the end of the day she is bringing something to the table and the pressure is taken off of me (Interview 8: 23; 09th August 2019).

The interviewees realized that women are highly affected by poverty and referred to the additional negative outcomes for men, as they may experience pressure to provide for the family and control the resources (FIDH - International Federation for Human Rights, 2012).

Just look at the economical perspective. There are still many homes where men unite with wives and then they experience growths. But where men are the heads of the household and don't involve women in decision making and planning, they won't experience economic growth. Where a man respects his wife, respects her decisions, there is also peace (Interview 6: 53; female; 11th September 2019).

Interestingly, the own poor economic background of one interview partner taught him the pressure and flexibility of gender roles at early age. His family did not have enough money to constantly buy new dresses, which led to a rupture of stereotyped clothing habits.

I was putting on dresses and skirts until I was 5 or 6, I never tell this in public, because I grew up in a poor family where economizing was part of the deal. Instead of buying new pants for me, my mom used to give me the outgrown dresses of my sister, until the surrounding, the community, the public pushes you and says, 'hey you are a boy, you can't do that, go and remove this' (Interview 3: 15; 10th September 2019).

This shows how the financial situation can intensively highlight the wish for gender equality and the need for a rupture of gender roles and ongoing stigmatization as it relieves men and undoes their position as sole male breadwinner.

However, financial reasons were identified as a problematic factor of motivation, too: 'In Uganda, we have the huge challenge of unemployment. If someone is in the women's movement because of work, that is different from someone who is passionate about women's work' (Interview 6: 3; 11th September 2019). The motivation to reach the women's movement's objectives could be at risk due to financial hardships. Again, motivational factors are never isolated but interdependent. Financial well-being as motivation to support the women's movement may either lead to a sensitivity and understanding of gender equality or it enables free riders to earn income without passionately fighting for women's rights and gender equality.

Personal joy

Personal joy and happiness arising from individual connections was another factor of motivation, although it was only mentioned explicitly in three interviews (4, 5, 9). These male interview partners stated that they either benefitted personally through sharing knowledge to improve people's and especially women's and girls' lives or that they felt the need for their contribution on a moral level to foster a just society: 'Personally, I don't have a direct benefit, what I am doing is to contribution to make just and fair society for the humanity to live in happily' (Interview 9: 14; 17th September 2019).

I was motivated by some women who approached me in community meetings and dialogue meetings, women who were exposed and left outside. I was embraced by the way they came to at least push for issues regarding women (Interview 5: 3; 20th September 2019).

Living in solidarity with women made them happy and filled them with joy. This form of inspiration can have a positive effect on cohesion and cooperation within the social movement.

For me, the personal joy of getting involved is the personal joy you get from those women who you [work with], those women's lives who you change, those who you empower and they tell you 'I never thought I could get here but now this knowledge has turned me around.' [...] That's my joy of changing people's lives. It is quite wonderful (Interview 4: 13; 22nd August 2019).

Another personal benefit that was mentioned is related to one's own learning and the possibility of self-reflection. One interview partner often referred to the way he perceived his community since he has been part of the women's movement. His engagement changed his mind set and he joined advocating for women's rights to improve people's lives in the communities.

When I started comparing it with the life, that's when my mindset started shifting and when I started comparing the lives in the communities, I come from with what the people [from the movement] are advocating for and representing it to the practical experience people are going through, that was when my mindset changed (Interview 1: 27; 20th August 2019).

Interestingly, personal joy as motivation often was not mentioned explicitly, but the interview partners who spoke about it, did this with a lot of emphasis. Being passionate about the movement's agenda was met with a lot of respect as it would create trustable alliance-building (Interview 6; 11th September 2019). Organizational members stressed that it is a challenge for the movement to discover members' true motivation behind their engagement because men who are just there for personal benefits may harm the movement's success.

Although the motivational factors of men and women for their involvement in the women's movement may vary in some cases, many similarities have been found that have a positive effect on the collective identity of the women's movement. The results demonstrated that being confronted with personal experiences of gender injustice was an important factor of motivation for men to engage in the women's movement. They rejected the normative, traditional role of a 'man' or a 'woman', which seemed to strengthen their sense of belonging to the women's movement. Such experiences were mostly made within the own family, which can be regarded as the first environment where one is socialized and confronted with gender roles in a particular way. Male interview partners stressed their burden and where they felt stigmatizations, especially with the pressure of generating income and controlling resources in their families.

At the national level, gender equality mechanisms sometimes seemed to be a bit abstract or inaccurate to learn about gender justice, which may impede the personal experience and learn-

ing effect. Besides the own family, it is the women's movement that helps to notice and observe gender dynamics – both are important learning environments for men to reflect about gender roles. Furthermore, the women's movement offers strategies to experience a change in gender roles, providing benefits to both women and men.

Although men and women belong to different social groups, which in turn have different experiences of discrimination or privileges, the data showed commonalities in the perception of gender injustice. The data also underlined that men often suffer from gender roles whenever they would not fit into the hegemonic male norm. Experiencing injustice can increase moral awareness and fosters a sense of responsibility to build alliances with women. Such dynamics may lead to an unlearning of discriminating gender norms. If men become aware of gender discrimination and violence against women and girls, they tend to change their habits and start living in solidarity with women.

Furthermore, the women's movement is a motor for change that helps men to live a life free from violence and to concretize ideas about societal transformation. They become sensitized through the movement, as it offers examples of non-violence and peaceful ways of living. Within the movement, men feel the space to share their opposition to violence, not fearing stigmatization or harassment by others. Through their engagement, men tend to recognize the interlinkage between women's empowerment and the removed burden of being the sole male breadwinner, leading to a new understanding of alliance. In a country where unemployment is a serious challenge in general, the desire for economic well-being pushes the fights for justice and a rupture of stereotyped gender roles. Hence, men also expressed suffering from discriminatory social structures, as the question about the motivation for their engagement revealed. They experience a lot of pressure in connection with their gender role. This unites them with women, for whom the women's movement also represents a safe space in which one feels protected from experiences of violence and discrimination. Critical reflections and mutual listening inspire confidence among female actors in the women's movement to open their space for men. At present, the women's movement operates as a space for both men and women to recognise discriminatory structures in the social sphere or in the political landscape and to reflect on their own role in these contexts. Women and men, thus, feel bonds in their collective identity through this safe space of the movement, where they can unlearn gender roles.

Engaged men were aware of the importance of their role as allies of the women's movement and met this with a great sense of responsibility. Since injustice happens at many different levels, a strong government that promotes equality is required. It is noteworthy that there

was a huge desire for strong public figures who push the women's movement's agenda and fight inequality, together with the desire for a change in the political landscape. Governmental inaction was met with deep distrust by men and women of the movement and some felt that the movement was left alone in its fight for gender justice. In this particular case, the limits of collective identity become visible. Female public figures do not have the same opportunities for action as men because they belong to the disadvantaged group, which is why men within the movement feel obliged to speak for women in order to gain wider acceptance within society. On the contrary, women do not want to be victimized by others, they want to be able to speak for themselves and also to be heard. Their field of action is not the same as the one of their male allies, which leads to frictions among members. Privileges play a huge role in the public sphere, they become noticeable and reveal gender mechanisms in public and politics.

Additionally, the collective identity between men and women reaches its limits when there is a difference in saying and doing – in case the expression of actions which unite actors of the movement in their antipatriarchal fights may in the end just be words. Such double standards may lead to a reproduction of inequalities and therefore pose a great challenge for the movement. There are different opportunity structures, as men tend to profit from a greater scope for action within society. Men's visibility and audibility thus seems to be greater than that of women, which also leads to discussions within the movement. Mutual respect and trust is therefore essential for collaboration. The interviews have shown that it is essential for many members of the movement to know the motivations and interests of other members, whether they are women or men. It is very important for them to be able to rely on their allies and fellows. Members who show no passion for their advocacy for women's rights are met with skepticism. It became clear that for the collective identity of the movement it is important to agree with its values and goals in many respects, whether man or woman. Wherever the activists' perceptions of gender injustice and gender roles overlap, a strong sense of belonging emerges, which in turn can positively influence the struggle for gender equality.

5.4 Challenges experienced by men

During the interviews, men expressed three main challenges which come with their engagement, namely harmful and harassing peer group and community reactions (3.1.), masculinity threats (3.2.), and their ambivalent roles within the women's movement (3.3.), as they belong to the privileged group but support the oppressed group. The following diagram illustrates in which interviews the individual codes occur:

	Code 3.1.	Code 3.2.	Code 3.3.
Interview 1	✓	✓	✓
Interview 2	✓	✓	✓
Interview 3	✓	✓	✓
Interview 4	✓	✓	✓
Interview 5	✓	✓	
Interview 6	✓	✓	✓
Interview 7	✓		
Interview 8	✓		✓
Interview 9		✓	

Fig. 2: Challenges experienced by men

Peer group and community reactions

Eight out of nine interviews gave insights about reactions from men's peers or their communities. Mostly they would have to cope with mischievous or negative comments and echoes. They were raised in an environment that sticks to rigid gender roles and concepts of 'women' and 'men', which makes it very difficult for them to engage in the women's movement without being confronted with hostile reactions from their environment.

Here in Uganda, culturally you are brought up as a man, you are stereotyped as a man and that comes along with responsibilities, restrictions, words that are whispered in your ear, words that are told you publicly (Interview 3: 4; 10th September 2019).

As soon as behaviors or views deviate from predominant role models, committed men often feel like targets in their environment. It seems that they are often confronted with their values and beliefs and feel the need to justify them in front of peers.

And sometimes, they [community members] belittle me with saying that I have a woman's mind. But I always say that a woman's mind is the same as the one of a man (Interview 1: 67; 20th August 2019).

A common view amongst interviewees was that the community often reinforces gender roles, as it is an important social environment where socialization happens. Most of the respondents frequently experienced negative comments from their peers, who tend to make fun of, shame and harass men who are engaged in the women's movement or who try to break stereotypes and gender roles.

The way you grow up being told 'you are a man, you have to do this' – the community itself, the way the community prepares you and puts that force on you. I was putting on dresses and skirts until I was 5 or 6, I never tell this in public, because I grew up in a poor family where economizing was part of the deal. Instead of buying new pants for me, my mom used to give me the outgrown dresses of my sister, until the surrounding, the community, the public pushes you and says 'Hey you are a boy, you can't do that, go and remove this' (Interview 3: 12, 15; 10th September 2019).

A man fighting for women's issues is weaker than his wife, the common sense goes. Some felt that the source of these gender norms were rooted in the lived cultural aspects and traditions, mostly appearing in rural parts of the country.

It is actually difficult because the cultural aspect alone, when you support your wife, for example in sharing work activities, they will start saying that now your wife has overpowered you (Interview 5: 10; 20th September 2019).

Standing up for gender equality and women's rights would not only be difficult for them in their social environment, they often would also often be perceived as antagonists to cultural tradition.

The mindsets tend to change only among the people who at least attended and went to school, because down there [in the countryside] they will otherwise think that you are playing around with culture (Interview 7:8; 13th August 2019).

This also happened to one interviewee in his relationship with a girl, where he felt great pressure to secure the family income. He pointed out the great burden he felt regarding male gender stereotypes and how difficult it was to modify it.

When I just finished University, I was dating a girl and I literally became a father. That's where I really felt the pressure, she felt that it was always MY job that everything was going right for her, it was MY job to see that she had paid for everything, that she gone for the trips at University, MY job to take care of her hair, her nails. I told her: 'Man, we are all students, I struggle the same way as you.' She replied: 'But you are a man!' (Interview 3: 35; 10th September 2019).

In personal relationships, men often suffer from gendered stereotypes as well, for example through the pressure to secure the family income. According to one interviewee, some people even would react very radically and would totally refuse to talk to them, which was identified

as an additional burden for men: ‘It is not easy to wake up and come to office when your neighbor doesn’t want to talk to you. And that is the story of men’ (Interview 6: 34; 11th September 2019). Especially when men work for a women’s rights organization, such reactions cause irritation and harm male engagement. When it comes to shared domestic activities and care work, some engaged men find themselves accused of ‘spoiling [others’] women’ (Interview 4: 56; 22nd August 2019).

Some people even would doubt their honest commitment and would claim that men only work with women’s rights organizations because of selfish interests. But this interviewee even acknowledged a positive turnaround, as other men’s curiosity was tickled. In the best case, this could raise awareness about gender equality.

Interviewer: How do you feel as a man working for the women’s movement?

Interview partner: I feel different. Because many men don’t understand it, but it also gives me a positive vibe. Many people ask me, they want to know about it, how I succeed. If I’m there just for the career. They think: ‘Is it just for the career? Does it give you access to international travel?’ *[laughing]* But the good thing, at least, it tickles their curiosity. They start asking (Interview 4: 44f; 22nd August 2019).

Some male interview partners realized that their engagement for women’s rights is met with interest by their surroundings. They believe that spreading the information and advantages of gender equality would convince others to join.

I once felt that the rights of my female relatives are being violated, it was an issue about land, I supported the girls, I stood against the other community members and finally the girls got the land. In the community, the members have not yet identified themselves with gender equality, but this will happen. They just need to get the full information and then put it into practice’ (Interview 6: 67; 11th September 2019).

According to another statement, negative comments and envy could also have an encouraging effect as long as one is not attached to his environment. Furthermore, an interview partner argued that a happy relationship served as a source of strength and as a coping-mechanism. As a strategy, he suggested moving away to another community, but this would only be possible for economically well-off people, as most of the others value their community a lot and would not be able to live separated from them:

You find them saying ‘What? You are making your wife lazy, not making her wake up early to do the work!’ They are joking about me and make comments. Others just feel jealous because they see how happy we are. Some who believe in witchcraft they think my girlfriend bewitched me to do all the work for her. Don’t allow yourself to be ashamed of the community around you. Tomorrow you can leave if you’re just renting the house and you can go to another community. Be a challenge to the community (Interview 2: 21, 24; 27th August 2019).

This shows how difficult it is to modify rigid perceptions of gender roles. Due to the hostile social environment many men find themselves in, they require strong awareness and confidence about the reasons for their engagement. Joy and personal benefits that arise through engagement counteract the hostile social environment. Results showed that engaged men ex-

perience conflicts with their peers and communities. Their engagement tends to cause irritation and is sometimes met with disrespect and harassment. Some peers even malign male allies, doubting the allies' true passion but rather suppose selfish interests behind their engagement, which may lead to shameful and uneasy feelings. What can be said is that male engagement certainly tends to tickle the curiosity of certain social surroundings. This may lead to more awareness and sensitization of other people and to a rupture of persisting gender norms and discriminatory habits. In successful situations, male engagement initiates processes of change in gender norms and stereotypes, which may lead to the movement's much-desired societal transformation towards gender equality. This is important for the women's movement in Uganda to inspire more people to join their struggle. Consequently, peer group pressure could also have a stressful effect on collective identity.

Masculinity threat

'If a man does something that is normatively linked to the role of a woman, somebody will speak behind his back that this is not meant for men' (Interview 5:14; 20th September 2019). As this quote shows, many interviewees experienced that men may feel threatened in their masculinity when they unlearn and break with traditional gender roles. This can either bother men or even lead to harassment through others who rigidly stick to traditional roles of 'woman' and 'man'. If women become emancipated and men are not involved in this process, most of the interviewees fear that this may lead to a backlash of increased gender-based violence against women.

The focus needs to shift from women to men – because if this woman is given that knowledge of women emancipation or gender equality information, the man is left behind and then he feels threatened because he doesn't understand why his wife has gone for this and where she got that knowledge (Interview 1: 49; 20th August 2019).

They perceived that emancipation processes would be met with resentment and irritation and that openness and sharing information could counteract this.

He [a man in the village] will feel threatened and ask himself 'Why is my woman speaking and thinking like that? Because she was attending that meeting? What should I do?' Either she should not go, if she insists, this will lead to fighting and violence will increase. But if this man is brought on board and participates himself, there will be a great change very fast. He, the common village men, he doesn't get this message. [He] will feel threatened because the woman will come home with a different mind and a different reasoning (Interview 1: 57, 71; 20th August 2019).

As an explanation for these reactions, some interviewees identified fear. Their peers or male community members would probably fear empowered women and perceive them as a masculinity threat. One interviewee shared her experience, telling that ‘men started violating women more and more instead of changing’ (Interview 5: 11; 20th September 2019) because they were not involved, hence did not understand their wives’ different behavior. The participants on the whole felt that male engagement is crucial in avoiding such backlashes to ensure ending gender-based violence, which would also be beneficial for men.

Many men in the villages still do They fear empowered women, they put a lot of pressure on themselves because think when some of the things like looking after the family assets, they do it for both the side of them being misogynist and thinking ‘only I can do this’ but then this also means in their minds they think that a woman actually cannot do this. When then they realize that a woman can do this effectively, they will have quite a balanced life (Interview 4: 16; 22nd August 2019).

Male engagement in processes of women’s and girls’ emancipation and gender-equality may reduce pressures and burdens experienced by men, leading to a balanced life. There were some suggestions that knowledge transfer and information dissemination between all involved people is crucial to reach gender equality (Interview 1: 55; 20th August 2019; Interview 6: 10; 11th September 2019). One respondent indicated that according to him, the concept and message of gender equality at that time seemed to spread only ‘among the elite people’ (Interview 6: 39; 11th September 2019), highlighting the need for more knowledge transfer to rural parts. Only one interviewee from rural Uganda seemed very disturbed by the term ‘feminism’ and feared the marginalization of men and the resulting division of society.

A stronger family is built by both men and women and so the society. The danger with the feminist movements is that they tend to put women on the forefront as if men don’t matter. This is serious error that may result in men being pushed to the edge, or simply the movement may turn to be a tool to marginalize men (Interview 9: 15; 17th September 2019).

All in all, one can conclude that most of the interviewees acknowledge the danger of a masculinity threat leading to an increase of violence against women and girls, which is the reason why they identified male engagement as absolutely necessary to avoid such backlashes. Nonetheless, some experience the fear of being left behind and being overpowered by women, maybe causing a masculinity threat. This may occur within the peer group of engaged men or even happen to themselves, too. The process of unlearning gender roles is able to destroy big pillars upon which the social world was built – this might cause irritation and insecurity. If women become empowered and start claiming their rights and men are left out of this process, this might result in fear experienced by men, as expressed in the interviews. Such feelings may even lead to a backlash of increased gender-based violence which harms women

and girls even more. The analysis showed that some men even worry about the marginalization of men through women's empowerment processes, causing further division of society. That is why men need to be brought on board in empowerment processes to avoid such backlashes of gender-based violence against women and girls. It is noteworthy that men also benefit from women's empowerment, as demonstrated in the interviews, because men may feel relieved from burdens and pressures aligned with their social gendered role. Knowledge transfer is an important means to go along with empowerment processes, and this must not stop outside elite's circles. Thus, the shared experiences of benefits through women's empowerment processes have positive effects on the feeling of belonging and unity within the movement, as both men and women can benefit from the activities of the movement. Transparency and joint development and involvement are important means to achieve positive outcomes.

Men's ambivalent role within the women's movement

Some interview partners explicitly expressed how they would localize their role within the movement. They identified men as the 'problem' (Interview 3: 29, 10th September 2019) and 'obstacles' (Interview 8:14; 09th August 2019) but at the same time as the solution. Building solidarity and alliances with women was identified as absolutely necessary to reach the movement's objectives, where men feel the possibility to contribute.

I think men should engage more. As I said, since we are the biggest tumbling block, it should be more men engaging (Interview 8: 20; 09th August 2019).

This quote illustrates that self-reflective skills are available to assess the relationship of one's own privileges and their impact on other groups. This ability for self-reflection is important for collaborative activism and solidarization.

I believe in solidarity because first of all, most of the inequalities that women face are perpetrated by men, so the moment we start solidarity means the less men on the side of abuse (Interview 4: 49; 22nd August 2019).

Successful alliance building and solidarity needs men to multiply concepts of gender equality among society. This includes the need for men who display their support publicly, otherwise patriarchal structures in public institutions and politics will hardly change. Because of the male domination in the patriarchal system, men find themselves in a contradictory role. Often, they are stigmatized as the obstacle, being the reason for women's and girls' suffering, but at the same time they may be suffering from the same systemic structures in different ways. In such cases, they still find themselves in a more privileged situation, which requires

constant self-reflection about and opposition to these privileges, as discussed by Pease (2010). Without this, mutual trust and respect within the women's movement won't be achieved.

No one is above the other. A man should not think that he's above a woman, or that he's under a woman. So, we should all believe that we enjoy the same rights, that we are on the same level. We all have the same rights, roles. That's when a man will contribute, or when a man's perception of gender equality will fit the needs of the community (Interview 1: 39; 20th August 2019).

However, they perceived their personal role as very important when it came to knowledge transfer among their peers.

My part to play is basically to influence other men and basically tell them: 'Hey, when we speak about gender, we are not taking away the pants of you, we are not taking away the decision-making powers from you' (Interview 8: 12; 09th August 2019).

Many of the interview partners confirmed interventions in their social environment, influencing others to achieve gender equality. This duty is met with a strong sense of responsibility and importance by many interview partners, which demonstrates solidarity with women and girls.

I will tell my environment that I'll do care work and in fact I've changed men. Those who give me the audience to talk to them, I've changed them (Interview 2: 22; 27th August 2019).

The ambivalent role may become visible within organizations as well. One interview partner felt the need to justify the passionate engagement of men within the organization in front of his female colleagues. This may be because women sometimes express their disagreement on male behavior openly, at times directly addressing their male colleagues.

Female colleague: I keep asking myself: We grow up like sisters and brothers, and when a girl gets married, a violent man will treat you like a third party. But if somebody else is doing the same thing to his sister, they will riot. Where is the difference? So, I think we need to engage men and ask them why they treat their women like that. We need to understand that (Interview 6: 63; 11th September 2019).

Dynamics in the focus group discussion demonstrated that sometimes women clearly refused their male colleague's argument in a very direct way: 'You don't understand it because you are a man' (Interview 6: 59; female; 11th September 2019). Hence, certain issues were identified where women might not really feel understood by their male counterparts and limit their space for solidarity as a counterreaction. This may create difficulties and misunderstanding in a common working-environment, where men might feel the constant need to justify their engagement in the women's movement.

Female colleague: But of course, some men who engage in the movement have good intentions [...].

Male colleague: Even us here! (Interview 6: 8; 11th September 2019).

The social environment creates a big challenge for men who engage in the women's movement, as traditional, rigid gender roles and concepts prevail. Male engagement in the women's movement then becomes a psychological pressure because the community puts demands on men to stick to normative and traditional gender roles that may cause gender discrimination. Such power dynamics tend to harm the involvement processes for gender equality. Furthermore, male gender norms and other forms of masculinities need to be reflected by the movement, as they manifest a burden for men, making them suffer from patriarchy, too. Ignoring these facts may cause irritation and the feeling of not being understood in the fight for social gender justice.

Their ambivalent role within the movement may result in men self-identifying as the problem and the solution for gender equality at the same time. Building solidarity with women and girls is their contribution and strategy to challenge patriarchal norms through knowledge transfer among their peers and influencing others through highlighting the benefits of gender equality. This duty is met with a lot of importance and a sense of responsibility through being living examples of how to break gender norms, which is also appreciated by female actors. Nevertheless, men's ambivalent role also becomes visible within institutions of the women's movement, as the social category of 'men' and their structural power is identified as the obstacle the movement is trying to overcome. It is noteworthy that engaged men often feel the need to justify their engagement and verify their passion for the agenda in front of female colleagues, which may lead to imbalances within the team. For the collective identity of the movement it is necessary to acknowledge these ambivalences and to incorporate them into reflection and work in order to acknowledge the difficulties of male engagement. The life realities of engaged men allow the movement to move beyond a dichotomous and binary understanding of privilege and oppression and to understand the diversity of gender roles.

What can be said is that the individual challenges experienced by engaged men create a connecting line between women and men within the movement that highlights and strengthens the common struggle for gender equality. Both genders experience disadvantages and, although they are different in their character and depth, they may lead to a feeling of unity. The collective struggle and the joint development of strategies can have a long-term positive effect on a transformation of social dynamics if many individuals feel addressed and motivated by the movement's objectives.

5.5 Challenges for the movement

The focus group discussion on 11th September 2019 revealed many interesting perspectives on male engagement and different positionings within the women's movement. Language matters and so does the wording within the women's movement. Some interviewees expressed their confusions about different labeling. Referring to 'women's issues' and 'women's agenda' would lead to binarity, distancing men and their responsibility in the movement:

When you use the term 'women's movement', it is less sharp, it doesn't offend chauvinistic men as much, but it also sounds like a thing for women and men should watch from the side (Interview 4: 43; 22nd August 2019).

Furthermore, several comments criticized double standards occurring in private spheres. On the one hand, some people seem to pretend their support for the movement, but in their private environment they would reproduce inequal structures. Interestingly, such habits were identified in both men and women and, again, knowing the true motive for engagement was said to be crucial. Women could also be 'gatekeepers of patriarchy' (Interview 4: 27; 22nd August 2019) and hence reinforce patriarchal structures through unfair habits, putting women and girls at a marginalized position within society.

We have examples of men who work for the women's movement, but they are no examples at home, GBV [gender-based violence] is still there. There is a huge number of such cases. But also, we have a number of cases of some men who come out and start advocating for women's issues, so nothing can just be taken for guarantee. For me, it depends on the motive: Why are you there? Is it because of the job? Or because you feel you are concerned about it, that's what I can see (Interview 6: 4; male; 11th September 2019).

Knowing the true motive of someone's engagement in the movement seems to be of great importance to make sure that fellow members are truly passionate about reaching gender equality and putting an end to gender-based violence and discrimination. Furthermore, an alignment of interests and standpoints can have a positive effect on collective identity and leave pretenders unsuccessful.

We have seen so many women who have pretended to be part of the women's movement, but when they are out there, they're actually not implementing this. Same with men, who pretend being part of the movement but are actually violating the rights of women. If we don't involve men successfully, we won't reach the final goal (Interview 6: 6; female; 11th September 2019).

Interestingly, many different opinions about male engagement came up in the focus group discussions. One point of view was that spaces should stay safe, otherwise the focus would shift from women and girls to men and boys, which could annihilate all previous achievements to foster women's and girls' rights within society. A female interviewee expressed the necessity to first emancipate and strengthen the capacities of women before men should enter the movement. The other perspective was that spaces should remain open, men should enter,

otherwise gender equality would never be attained. This raises the following questions: To what extent can men advocate for women's issues? Will they take over the spaces once saved for women and girls?

If you put the male at the forefront of women's movement, then probably they won't push women's issues forward (Interview 6: 5; female; 11th September 2019).

Where we have already heard that some men would not feel visible enough within the movement or even locked out of some spaces, this female interview partner puts forward the counter argument: if women weren't at the forefront anymore, the agenda would probably change and lose its focus on women's and girls' rights.

But of course when you look at the historical perspective of where we are coming from, us being in the private sphere, so this is our space, the women's movement, that's why we have the fear that when men come on board, they would want to take on and change the agenda (Interview 6: 7; female; 11th September 2019).

Female activists do not want to be pushed off the scene, and in some cases critical views have been expressed about male commitment: there is a fear of a change of agenda and that men increasingly speak for women, even though they want to speak for themselves.

One thing the women's movement now needs to do is to build the capacity of the women who are already there before they create space for men (Interview 6: 29; female; 11th September 2019).

While male engagement is a current strategy of the women's movement to gain more acceptance in society, the emancipation of women and girls remains an important focus of attention. It seems that these two strategies compete for attention and resources in many ways.

Yet, we need to bring men on board because there are some men who are passionate about this as well, but we haven't yet realized that because even us, the ladies, we have enclosed ourselves in that space as 'our space'. So, it kind of puts the men off and we never get to listen to their ideas but yet I believe that if they are on board, they would play a very big role in changing this entire thing (Interview 6: 26; female; 11th September 2019).

Another issue that was raised concerned victimization of women and girls. Women do not want to be dependent on the support and need of men to reach their goals, they don't want to be victimized. When it comes to male engagement, this needs to be considered and reflected.

So maybe as a women's movement, sometimes we [women] play victim too much, like oh, we're so underprivileged. Sometimes it is a fact but maybe that should not be the face that we put on, that victim-face. We should be proud (Interview 6: 24; female; 11th September 2019).

Finally, some female participants complained that men would rarely pay attention to women speaking or raising their issues, the attention would often drop to zero, which was perceived as very frustrating for women. Their experience was feeling misunderstood or not ap-

preciated enough by men, which may lead to a lack of trust. This was also visible in the focus group discussions, as some men left the room and did not really seem to pay attention to women speaking about male engagement.

Interviewer: And now I have a question especially for the men [interview partners], who should engage themselves more in our interview, as I see that it's mostly women talking now.

[Group is laughing, enthusiastically speaking about that comment]

Interviewer: It's interesting – the men already have almost left.

Female colleague: You see, it's always like this when we speak about our issues, and I am not speaking about the men here in this room. The men have already left, that's very common when women's issues are being discussed. Attention just goes to zero, they [men] walk away, they don't concentrate (Interview 6: 33; 11th September 2019).

To sum up, when it comes to male engagement, the women's movement finds itself confronted with some challenges. The motive of engagement is very important, as some participants denounced double standards actors from the movement would demonstrate at home. This would reinforce patriarchal structures and harm the movement's objectives from inside. Representation of the movement in the private environment of its actors was therefore identified as extremely important. Another problem area that was mentioned deals with the question of space. It is feared that many men in the movement could cause a change of the agenda, shifting from the focus on women and girls to an increased focus on men and boys or other issues. How can diverse perspectives about space and male engagement be best integrated in the movement's activism without separating positionings too much? Mutual respect and listening are important. In this respect, the women identified a lack of interest among the men as soon as women's issues are discussed intensively. The field of tension becomes clear: men sometimes feel that they are not given enough attention within the movement, as they too experience disadvantages and discrimination in some respects. They feel that they are placed at the back of the queue. In return, women often feel that men do not take their experiences of discrimination seriously enough and leave them alone in the fight for women's rights. Here the demarcations within the movement's collective identity become clearly visible.

Furthermore, the interview partners expressed a rejection of double standards and differences in talking about and living the women's movement's agenda. What is fought for publicly may be irrelevant in the own private surroundings, which further highlights the importance of knowing the true motive for engagement, no matter if the member is male or female, as there are female gatekeepers of patriarchy as well. Knowing the motives and objectives and appreciating ties may lead to strong bonds between female and male activists, resulting in a strong sense of unity.

Nonetheless, the question of space seemed to keep polarizing within the movement. On the one hand, some argue that spaces should still stay secure and build capacities of women and girls before opening them to men; on the other hand, others stressed the importance of male engagement to reach the objective of not losing the focus on women and girls. Additionally, women stressed their disagreement on male gender advocates in the public sphere, as it was and is their fight to step out of the private sphere, where they mostly were made to belong, and finally influence the public sphere as well. Results showed that men were identified as successful multipliers of gender equality, but at the same time they may reinforce hierarchies because of their different opportunity structures and resources.

The difficulty arises as men are part of the solution to reach gender equality, but women do not want to depend on them or to be victimized, as such dependency structures may create a backlash and limit previous and further achievements. Furthermore, women criticized some male reactions when they start raising their voices, as men's attention would often decrease significantly. On the contrary, men would sometimes feel intimidated, trying to be respectful and to leave space to women without occupying too much space. That is why building mutual trust within the movement's activism is of utmost importance. Diversity of opinions and perspectives can be a strength rather than an obstacle, but the focus needs to stay on a shared direction, otherwise the anti-patriarchal fight will disappear. These tensions reveal both opportunities and challenges in the women's movement in Uganda, which can have both positive and negative effects on the collective identity and sense of community.

The results can be summarized as following: There were very similar views among men and women within the movement regarding traditional gender roles and their desired rupture. Both men and women experience disadvantages due to these traditional, unequal structures, albeit to varying degrees. Mostly, the engaged men were able to reflect on their privileged situation and its effects on others and to critically question it. This makes solidarity with women within the movement possible, and a sense of unity can develop that was also visible in the interviews. This shows that a collective identity exists and is also lived within the movement and in relation to its environment. Since this phenomenon is considered very dynamic and multi-layered, there are also points of friction between men and women, which show the need for reflection and exchange, an exchange of needs, desires, perceptions and resulting objectives.

Bonds and boundaries can be summarized as follows:

bonds	boundaries
Experience of gender injustice	Possible victimization of women through men
Unlearning gender roles	Interaction between privileges & oppression
Reflecting socialization	Double standards reproducing patriarchal structures within the movement
Deviation from normative gender roles	Lack of trust
Rejection and condemnation of GBV	Experiencing a limited field of action within the movement
Desire for and well-being in safe spaces	Struggle for space and voice
Desire for peaceful social lives	Unequal space and opportunity structures within the movement
Trust-building through similar objectives and motivations	Binary concepts of gender
Feeling of belonging and solidarity	Arising ambivalences of men's role within the movement

Fig. 3: Results

The awareness about the bonds and boundaries of the movement's collective identity may help its actors to develop new strategies. Although difficulties do exist, there is a sense of unity among members and discussions allow room for critical reflections. The interviews showed that the collective good of gender equality benefits men as well as women in Uganda, which may increase male motivation for engagement. Interests, opportunities and available resources may lead to certain boundaries of the movement's collective action. Nonetheless, these frictions offer insights into subtle discriminatory structures. Trust and respect are indispensable for a successful opening of spaces within the women's movement. The overlapping interests of men and women in this struggle show that an optimistic view of the future is possible and that there are strong ties within the alliances of male and female activists within the movement. The results demonstrate that engaged men critically question their own masculinity and the privileges associated with it, and that the foundations for successful, honest solidarity are consequently built. Although the points of friction still need to be debated among the members of the movement, this process is necessary for a sustainable and holistic implementation of gender equality within the Ugandan society.

6. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the collective identity of the Ugandan women's movement revealed that women and men in different situations perceive themselves as allies in the fight against gender-based violence and discrimination, and both parties are differently affected and disadvantaged by patriarchal structures. Nevertheless, there are points of friction where mutual listening and trust are required to build solid alliances between men and women. The ability of self-reflection is necessary to develop trust, cooperation and collaboration. It became visible that contradictions exist, but as long as the motivation for the commitment is in line with the goals of the movement, these ambivalences can be discussed and processed in a well-intentioned manner. What can be said is that the struggles of the women's movement for gender equality need declarations of solidarity and commitment to make an impact on society and to lobby for women's rights and equality. Such a commitment needs to come from men and women together. The stronger the conviction of the members themselves for their work, the easier it seems to convince others to approve or even support the activities of the movement. It is remarkable that collective identity exists despite ambivalences and contradictory dynamics, strengthening and uniting the movement to be and to remain active together. In many matters, the interests coincide and thus enable joint collaboration. The effects of female emancipatory processes on men have shown that binary concepts of 'women's issues' and 'men's issues' are not sustainable.

The difficulties and challenges, but also the opportunities arising from male engagement within the women's movement in Uganda, could in a further step lead to an examination of strategies and their implementations to foster gender equality and women's rights. This qualitative research can be seen as the first in this field of research, but due to its nature, the results cannot be generalized. The interpretation of the data is based on the interviewees' living environments. It can be considered as a starting point for further quantitative and qualitative research.

To sum up, male engagement in the women's movement in Uganda brings along challenges but also opportunities and is inevitable for a change in traditional gender norms. This thesis has shown that men also face difficult situations because of their commitment, but that they are at the same time aware of their privileges. Their commitment to the movement also brings along many benefits and motivations that encourage cooperation and participation. Listening, reflection and trust are important basic components for a strongly developed collective identity within social movements in order to engage in common struggles and initiate

social change. This investigation offered a more differentiated insight into the women's movement in Uganda. I illustrated the effects of breaking with traditional gender roles on the personal level but also in the larger social climate. In a society in which traditional gender roles continue to shape and influence social, political, and economic life, it became clear that the women's movement is a space that breaks with these conceptions. At the same time, the break with traditional role models has tangible effects on the well-being of women and especially men. The thesis made evident that women's movements can provide an experimental atmosphere to develop and experience new forms of social organization. Future research could focus on precisely such effects, advantages and points of friction between men and women in order to pave the way for a gender-equal society.

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8. APPENDIX

List of interviews

Interview No.	Date	Duration
Interview 1	20. 08. 2019	00:42:21
Interview 2	27. 08. 2019	01:16:52
Interview 3	10. 09. 2019	00:40:01
Interview 4	22. 08. 2019	00:39:29
Interview 5	20. 09. 2019	00:49:58
Interview 6	11. 09. 2019	01:11:34
Interview 7	13. 08. 2019	00:20:39
Interview 8	09. 08. 2019	00:26:57
Interview 9	17. 09. 2019	4 pages (written)