

Research Article

# Men's Perceptions and Awareness of Gender-Based Violence: Evidence from Madukani Ward, Dodoma City, Tanzania

Ester Chaduo\*, Mark Paul Diyammi , Naomi Isanzu 

Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Dodoma, Dodoma, Tanzania

## Abstract

Gender-based violence (GBV) has predominantly been studied as a problem affecting women and girls, leaving men's own perceptions of violence comparatively invisible in research, policy and service provision. This study examined men's perceptions and awareness of GBV in Madukani Ward, Dodoma City, Tanzania. A qualitative exploratory design informed by a phenomenological approach was adopted. Twenty participants were purposively selected: fifteen men residing in the ward and five key informants from ward administration, religious leadership, the police Gender and Children's Desk and the One-Stop Centre. Data were generated through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions and analysed thematically. Most men understood GBV mainly as physical violence against women, particularly wife-beating, while emotional, psychological, economic and sexual abuse were rarely recognised and were often normalised as ordinary marital disagreements. Men were seldom recognised as potential victims, and the boundary between marital conflict and violence was blurred. Interpreted through Hegemonic Masculinity Theory, these findings show that dominant ideals of male strength, endurance and household authority narrow what men count as violence and render male victimisation invisible. The study concludes that physically centred, female-victim-focused understandings of GBV limit men's recognition of the full spectrum of gender-based harm. It recommends community education that broadens men's understanding of GBV and gender-transformative interventions that engage men as potential perpetrators, victims, witnesses and partners in prevention.

## Keywords

Gender-Based Violence, Men's Perceptions, Awareness, Hegemonic Masculinity, Madukani Ward, Tanzania

## 1. Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV) is recognised globally as an endemic social problem, a public health concern and a violation of human rights, and international guidance emphasises the need for clinical and policy responses that are sensitive to the full range of survivors' experiences [1]. Although GBV research and interventions have historically centred on women

and girls, emerging evidence indicates that men and boys also experience gender-based violence, a dimension that remains largely overlooked because gender stereotypes portray men as strong individuals who are expected to confront hardship alone [2, 3].

In Sub-Saharan Africa, cultural constructions that equate

\*Correspondence: Ester Chaduo (echaduo31@gmail.com)

Received: 14 September 2026; Accepted: 28 September 2026; Published: 21 October 2026



Copyright: © The Author(s), 2026. Published by Science Publishing Group. This is an **Open Access** article, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

masculinity with power, authority and economic provision continue to shape how men understand and respond to gender-based violence [4, 5]. A systematic review and meta-analysis of studies from the region shows that GBV against women remains highly prevalent [6], while qualitative evidence from South Africa shows that men tend to conceptualise GBV mainly as violence directed at women and to explain it through poverty, patriarchal norms and substance abuse [7]. In East Africa specifically, evidence from Kenya shows that men who experience violence from female partners rarely seek help and describe enduring or "persevering" as the expected male response, which discourages them from naming their experiences as violence [8, 9].

In Tanzania, public discourse and policy on GBV have historically centred on female victims, as reflected in national surveys such as the Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey, which provides extensive data on violence against women but offers limited insight into men's experiences and perceptions [10]. This imbalance leaves men who experience or witness violence without a clear framework for identifying it as gender-based violence. The Legal and Human Rights Centre has documented a rising number of Tanzanian men reporting experiences of violence [11], yet the extent to which men themselves recognise and understand these experiences as forms of gender-based violence remains poorly documented, as most existing studies on men and GBV in Tanzania have been conducted in Dar es Salaam and Mwanza [5, 12].

Dodoma Region, and Madukani Ward in particular, has recorded a rising number of GBV cases involving men, while studies of GBV survivor services in Dodoma point to gaps in service availability and readiness [13]. Where GBV is understood narrowly, men's experiences of emotional, economic, psychological and even physical victimisation may remain invisible to both communities and service providers [3, 14]. Despite this, no prior study has systematically examined how men in Madukani Ward perceive and understand gender-based violence, or the extent of their awareness of its different forms, including violence directed at men themselves. This knowledge gap constrains the design of gender-inclusive GBV prevention and response programs. The present study therefore examined men's perceptions and awareness of gender-based violence in Madukani Ward, Dodoma City, Tanzania.

## 2. Conceptualisation of Key Terms

This section defines the key concepts as they are used in this study and in the context of Madukani Ward.

### 2.1. Gender-Based Violence

Gender-based violence is commonly defined as an umbrella term for any harmful act perpetrated against a person's will that is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences between males and females, including acts that inflict physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and

other deprivations of liberty [15]. In this study, GBV refers to any physical, sexual, emotional, psychological or economic harm that occurs between women and men, most commonly within marital, intimate and household relationships in Madukani Ward, and that is rooted in local expectations about how men and women should behave. The definition deliberately includes violence in which men are the victims, and non-physical acts such as insults, public humiliation, and restriction of a partner's movement and the withholding of money for household needs.

### 2.2. Men's Perceptions of Gender-Based Violence

Men's perceptions refer to the meanings, beliefs and interpretations that men attach to GBV: what they consider to count as violence, who they believe can be a victim or a perpetrator, and when they regard a behavior as acceptable or unacceptable within a relationship. In this study, perceptions are treated as socially shaped by local gender norms, religious teaching and men's everyday experiences of marriage and household life in Madukani Ward, rather than as purely individual opinions.

### 2.3. Awareness of Gender-Based Violence

Awareness refers to the extent to which men know about and can recognise the different forms of GBV (physical, sexual, emotional or psychological, and economic), know that men as well as women can be victims, and know the formal channels for reporting and support, such as the Police Gender and Children's Desk and the One-Stop Centre. In this study, awareness was examined through the forms of GBV that men mentioned spontaneously when asked what they understood by the term, and through how they responded when other forms, including male victimisation, were raised during interviews and discussions.

### 2.4. Masculinity

Masculinity refers to the socially constructed ideals, roles and behaviors associated with being a man in a given society [16]. In the context of Madukani Ward, it refers in particular to local expectations that a man should be the household head and provider, physically and emotionally strong, able to endure hardship without complaint, and in control of his household.

## 3. Literature Review

### 3.1. Empirical Review

A growing body of empirical evidence demonstrates that men's awareness of gender-based violence is generally narrow, with recognition skewed heavily toward physical violence. A

qualitative met synthesis of survivors' experiences shows that the harms of GBV extend well beyond physical injury to emotional, psychological and relational wellbeing [17], yet studies of men's understandings show that these non-physical dimensions are less consistently acknowledged [5, 7]. This pattern is reinforced by evidence that traditional gender-role expectations lead men to interpret controlling or demeaning behaviour as ordinary relational dynamics rather than as violence [18].

In Sub-Saharan Africa, a systematic review and meta-analysis of cross-sectional studies documented a high prevalence of physical, sexual and emotional violence against women [6], reflecting a research tradition that has approached GBV mainly through a female-victim lens, with limited attention to male-directed forms of harm. Qualitative research from Kenya shows that male survivors of intimate partner violence seldom seek formal help and describe enduring abuse by female partners in silence [8, 9]. Evidence from South Africa similarly describes violence against men as a "muted reality", in which masculine norms and community stigma discourage men from recognising or reporting abuse, including economic and psychological abuse [3, 14].

In Tanzania, masculinities scholarship shows that cultural expectations of strength, authority and endurance continue to shape how men understand and label experiences of violence within intimate relationships [4]. In Mwanza, men's conceptualisation of emotional abuse was bound up with notions of male power and respect, and with structural constraints such as poverty [5], while research among boys and young men in Northern Tanzania shows that violence is widely treated as a normal part of masculine socialisation [19]. Research in Dar es Salaam found that men exposed to gender-based violence by female partners frequently normalise non-physical harm and rarely report it formally [12]. At the regional level, about one in four married men in East Africa justify physical violence against their wives [20].

Collectively, existing studies confirm that men's awareness and recognition of gender-based violence remain constrained by narrow, physically centred definitions across diverse settings, and that men's own experiences of victimisation are particularly likely to remain unrecognised. However, this literature has not adequately captured how men in specific Tanzanian communities such as Madukani Ward define the boundaries of GBV, recognise or fail to recognise themselves as potential victims, or distinguish gender-based violence from ordinary marital conflict. This study addressed this gap by examining men's perceptions and awareness of gender-based violence in Madukani Ward, Dodoma Region.

## 3.2. Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by the Hegemonic Masculinity Theory [16, 21], which explains gender relations through socially constructed and hierarchically organized forms of masculinity. The theory argues that dominant masculine ideals, characterised by stoicism, physical power, dominance and emotional

control, are exalted by society and confer power and legitimacy on men who display them, while men who do not are stigmatised. With regard to gender-based violence, hegemonic masculinity discourages men from admitting vulnerability, from considering GBV a legitimate issue that could affect them, and from recognising the full range of behaviors, beyond physical assault, that constitute violence [22]. The theory is relevant to this study because, in a peri-urban setting such as Madukani Ward where traditional gender roles persist alongside urbanisation, it helps explain why many men display narrow, physically centred understandings of GBV and limited recognition of male victimisation.

## 4. Study Methods

### 4.1. Study Area

The study was conducted in Madukani Ward, an urban ward within Dodoma City Council, Tanzania, with a population of 39,324 and a population density of 10,687 persons per square kilometre [23]. The ward comprises five streets, namely Sululu, Massi, Jamai, Kamili and Reli, and is characterised by a mix of residential, business and institutional land use. It was selected because of its recorded prevalence of GBV cases involving men.

### 4.2. Research Design, Population and Sampling

The study adopted a qualitative research approach with an exploratory design informed by a phenomenological perspective, which is appropriate for developing an in-depth understanding of men's lived experiences and interpretations of GBV within their natural social context [24]. The study population comprised adult men living in Madukani Ward, together with local officials and service providers who handle GBV matters in the ward. Men were purposively selected to vary in age, marital status, education, occupation and socio-economic background, while key informants were selected because of their direct role in receiving, mediating or responding to GBV cases. Recruitment continued until data saturation was reached, that is, until new interviews no longer generated new codes or insights [25]. The final sample comprised twenty participants: fifteen men and five key informants, namely a Ward Executive Officer, two religious leaders, a police officer attached to the Gender and Children's Desk, and a social worker linked to the Regional One-Stop Centre.

### 4.3. Data Collection

Data were collected using in-depth interviews (IDIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs). IDIs were conducted with all five key informants and with individual men, to explore personal experiences and interpretations in depth. The FGDs involved the men participants only; key informants did not take part, so that men could speak freely without officials present.

Two FGDs were held, one with seven men and one with eight men. All interviews and discussions were audio-recorded with participants' informed consent and transcribed verbatim.

#### 4.4. Data Analysis and Trustworthiness

Data were analysed using thematic analysis following the six-phase framework [26, 27]: familiarisation with the data, generation of initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the final analysis. Both semantic and latent levels of analysis were applied, and open coding was used to allow codes to emerge inductively from the data. Trustworthiness was established through prolonged engagement, member-checking and triangulation of IDI and FGD data, consistent with established standards for rigorous qualitative inquiry [28].

#### 4.5. Ethical Considerations

Ethical clearance was obtained from the University of Dodoma, together with research permits from Dodoma City and Madukani Ward authorities. Informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity and voluntary participation were maintained throughout the study.

### 5. Results and Discussion

#### 5.1. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Men Participants

This section presents the demographic profile of the men participants (Table 1). Their diversity in age, marital status, education and occupation strengthens the trustworthiness of the findings by capturing perspectives across different life stages and socio-economic positions.

**Table 1.** Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Men Participants (n = 15).

| Characteristic | Category                           | Frequency (n) |
|----------------|------------------------------------|---------------|
| Age            | 24–29 years                        | 3             |
|                | 30–45 years                        | 9             |
|                | 50 years and above                 | 3             |
| Marital Status | Married                            | 10            |
|                | Single                             | 3             |
|                | Divorced                           | 1             |
|                | Widowed                            | 1             |
| Education      | Primary education                  | 4             |
|                | Secondary education                | 6             |
|                | Certificate/Diploma                | 3             |
|                | University degree                  | 2             |
| Occupation     | Small-scale business owner         | 8             |
|                | Informal trader/boda-boda operator | 3             |
|                | Government/private-sector employee | 2             |
|                | Casual labourer/unemployed         | 2             |

Note. The five key informants described in Section 4.2 are not included in this table.

The men participants ranged in age from 24 to 58 years, with the majority aged between 30 and 45 years, an economically active group typically heading households. Most were married, and educational attainment varied from primary education to university degrees. Occupations fell into four groups. Small-scale business owners were men who own and run their own small enterprises, such as retail shops, kiosks or stalls.

Informal traders were men engaged in unregistered petty trade, such as street vending, while boda-boda operators were motorcycle-taxi riders who carry passengers and goods for a fare, a common source of income for young men in Tanzanian towns. Government or private-sector employees were men in salaried jobs in public offices or private firms, and casual la-

bourers were men hired on a daily or short-term basis for manual work, together with men who had no regular work at the time of the study. This diversity enabled the study to capture how men across different life stages, family situations and socio-economic positions in Madukani Ward perceive and interpret gender-based violence.

## 5.2. Men's Perceptions and Awareness of Gender-Based Violence

Analysis of the data generated three interrelated themes concerning men's perceptions and awareness of gender-based violence in Madukani Ward: GBV predominantly understood as physical violence directed at women; weak recognition of men as potential victims; and blurring of the boundary between normal marital conflict and actual violence.

### 5.2.1. GBV Mainly Understood as Physical Violence Directed at Women

When asked to explain what they understood by gender-based violence, most men immediately and almost exclusively associated the concept with physical acts of aggression against women, particularly wife-beating. Non-physical forms such as emotional abuse, economic control and psychological humiliation were rarely mentioned spontaneously. The following statement was given by a man during an in-depth interview, in response to the opening question on what GBV means. It illustrates how the term was equated with wife-beating, while insults and the withholding of money were explicitly excluded:

"Gender-based violence is when a man beats his wife. That is the form that is widely known and recognised. Once you beat her, you have abused her. Other things, such as insulting her or withholding money from her, are not really regarded as abuse." (Male IDI Participant, Madukani Ward)

The police officer from the Gender and Children's Desk, who receives and records GBV complaints in the ward, confirmed that this narrow framing is common among the men the officer meets in the course of that work:

"When many men are interviewed, they explain GBV only as being beaten. They have not seen the other side, economic, emotional, or even that men themselves can be victims." (Key Informant, Police Gender and Children's Desk)

This finding is consistent with regional evidence that gender-based violence continues to be conceptualised predominantly in physical and female-victim terms, with limited recognition of psychological, economic and male-directed forms of harm [3, 7]. It also reflects broader evidence that traditional gender-role expectations lead men to interpret controlling behaviour, such as withholding money, as a legitimate exercise of household authority rather than as abuse [18]. This pattern aligns with Tanzanian masculinities research showing that cultural expectations of authority and provision shape how men label experiences of harm within intimate relationships [4, 5]. From the perspective of Hegemonic Masculinity Theory, control over household money is part of the provider

and household-head role that confers legitimacy on men, so withholding it is read as the exercise of authority rather than as violence.

### 5.2.2. Weak Recognition of Men as Potential Victims

A second prominent finding was limited recognition among participants that men themselves can be victims of GBV. Many respondents hesitated, expressed surprise, or rejected the idea outright when asked whether men could experience GBV, associating victimhood with weakness and a failure to fulfil masculine roles of strength and authority. The following response came from a 34-year-old man during an in-depth interview, when he was asked directly whether a man can be a victim of GBV. It shows that he rejected the idea and linked reporting to public ridicule:

"A man cannot be a victim of GBV. That is a women's issue. A man is supposed to endure. If you report, you will be laughed at: 'this one is not a real man'." (Male IDI Participant, 34 years, Madukani Ward)

During a focus group discussion on the same question, another participant acknowledged that men do experience humiliation and beating from their wives, but explained why such experiences are kept silent:

"We men feel ashamed. Even if a wife humiliates you or beats you, you keep quiet. You tell yourself 'I will endure it'. Because society expects a man to be strong." (FGD Participant, Madukani Ward)

This pattern of limited recognition is supported by Kenyan evidence showing that men who experience violence from female partners rarely seek help and describe "persevering" in silence, much as the participants here spoke of enduring [8, 9]. It is further corroborated by South African evidence that masculine norms and community stigma jointly discourage men from identifying as victims of gender-based violence [3, 14], and by Tanzanian evidence that men abused by female partners seldom report it [12]. Evidence from other regions confirms that male victims of intimate partner violence under-report their experiences because acknowledging victimisation is perceived as incompatible with masculine identity, a pattern that persists even where formal recognition of male victims is more advanced [2, 29, 30]. In terms of Hegemonic Masculinity Theory, endurance and stoicism are central to the dominant ideal of manhood, so admitting victimisation places a man outside that ideal and exposes him to the ridicule the participants described.

### 5.2.3. Blurring of "Normal Marital Conflict" and Actual Violence

The third theme concerned a strong tendency to normalise controlling, humiliating or economically restrictive behaviours as ordinary marital disagreements rather than recognising them as GBV. Participants reserved the label of gender-based violence for extreme physical acts resulting in visible injury, while behaviours such as restricting a wife's movement

or withholding money were described as everyday aspects of married life. The following statement was made during an in-depth interview in which the participant discussed everyday disagreements in marriage. It shows where he placed the line between a family quarrel and GBV:

"If you quarrel with your wife because she did not cook or she went out without permission, that is not GBV. That is household discipline. GBV is when you go too far, when you beat her severely until she is injured." (Male IDI Participant, Madukani Ward)

This narrow threshold for what qualifies as gender-based violence mirrors Tanzanian evidence that men's understanding of emotional abuse is bound up with notions of male authority and respect [5], and regional evidence that about one in four married men in East Africa consider physical violence against a wife justified in some circumstances [20]. It is also consistent with evidence from Dar es Salaam that men exposed to gender-based violence often normalise non-physical harm and frame it as a private household matter rather than as GBV [12]. Viewed through Hegemonic Masculinity Theory, describing restrictions on a wife's movement as "household discipline" reflects the belief that a man's authority over his household is legitimate, so only violence that clearly exceeds that authority is labelled as abuse.

Taken together, these findings indicate that men's perceptions and awareness of GBV in Madukani Ward are multidimensional but constrained by patriarchal norms, narrow definitions of violence, and limited recognition of male victimisation. These constraints reduce the likelihood that men will identify harmful behaviours in their own relationships, disclose their own victimisation, or support comprehensive GBV interventions and formal reporting mechanisms.

## 6. Conclusion and Recommendations

### 6.1. Conclusion

This study concludes that men's perceptions and awareness of gender-based violence in Madukani Ward are significantly constrained by narrow, physically centred and female-victim-focused conceptualisations of the phenomenon. Non-physical forms of violence, including emotional, psychological and economic abuse, remain largely unrecognised and are frequently normalised as ordinary marital disagreements. The weak recognition of men as potential victims, reinforced by hegemonic masculine expectations of strength and endurance, further compounds this limited awareness. In line with Hegemonic Masculinity Theory, the findings show that the same ideals of strength, endurance and household authority that legitimise male control also prevent men from recognising non-physical abuse and their own victimisation. Addressing gender-based violence comprehensively in Madukani Ward therefore requires expanding community understanding of GBV beyond physical violence and actively challenging the gendered assumptions that render male victimisation invisible.

### 6.2. Recommendations

The study recommends that community education and awareness programmes be deliberately designed to broaden men's understanding of gender-based violence beyond physical violence, incorporating emotional, psychological, economic and sexual forms of abuse, and explicitly acknowledging that men can also be victims. Gender-transformative interventions should engage men in critical reflection on masculinity and create safe spaces for discussing vulnerability and violence without stigma. Service providers at One-Stop Centres and Gender and Children's Desks should receive training on recognising and responding to male survivors without reinforcing stereotypes that position men only as perpetrators. Local government authorities should strengthen coordination between formal and informal structures to promote consistent, gender-inclusive messaging about the full spectrum of gender-based violence. Future research should examine men's perceptions of GBV across other wards and regions of Tanzania, and explore how targeted awareness campaigns influence the evolution of men's understanding of gender-based violence over time.

### Abbreviation

|          |                                                                     |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| FGD      | Focus Group Discussion                                              |
| GBV      | Gender-Based Violence                                               |
| IDI      | In-Depth Interview                                                  |
| IDIs     | In-Depth Interviews                                                 |
| IPV      | Intimate Partner Violence                                           |
| KII      | Key Informant Interview                                             |
| KIIs     | Key Informant Interviews                                            |
| LHRC     | Legal and Human Rights Centre                                       |
| MCDWGS   | Ministry of Community Development, Gender, Women and Special Groups |
| NBS      | National Bureau of Statistics                                       |
| NGO      | Non-Governmental Organization                                       |
| SDG      | Sustainable Development Goal                                        |
| SDGs     | Sustainable Development Goals                                       |
| TDHS     | Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey                              |
| TDHS-MIS | Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey and Malaria Indicator Survey |
| UDOM     | University of Dodoma                                                |
| WHO      | World Health Organization                                           |
| WEO      | Ward Executive Officer                                              |
| OSC      | One-Stop Centre                                                     |
| OSCs     | One-Stop Centres                                                    |

### Author Contributions

**Ester Chaduo:** Conceptualization, Data collection, Formal Analysis, Investigation, Methodology, Project administration, Writing – original draft

**Mark Paul Diyammi:** Methodology, Supervision, Validation, Writing – review & editing

**Naomi Isanzu:** Supervision, Validation, Writing – review & editing

## Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

## References

- [1] World Health Organization. Responding to intimate partner violence and sexual violence against women: WHO clinical and policy guidelines. Geneva: World Health Organization; 2013.
- [2] Tsui V, Cheung M, Leung P. Help-seeking among male victims of partner abuse: men's hard times. *Journal of Community Psychology*. 2010, 38(6), 769-780. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20394>
- [3] Tshoane S, Olutola AA, Bello PO, Mofokeng JT. Domestic violence against men: unmuting the reality of the forgotten gender. *Cogent Social Sciences*. 2024, 10(1), 2304990. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2304990>
- [4] Aloyce D, Stöckl H, Malibwa D, Peter E, Mchome Z, Dwarumpudi A, Buller AM, Kapiga S, Mshana G. Men's reflections on romantic jealousy and intimate partner violence in Mwanza, Tanzania. *Violence Against Women*. 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012221108421>
- [5] Mshana G, Peter E, Malibwa D, Aloyce D, Kapiga S, Stöckl H. Masculinity, power and structural constraints: men's conceptualization of emotional abuse in Mwanza, Tanzania. *Social Science & Medicine*. 2022, 292, 114606. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2021.114606>
- [6] Muluneh MD, Stulz V, Francis L, Agho K. Gender based violence against women in sub-Saharan Africa: a systematic review and meta-analysis of cross-sectional studies. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*. 2020, 17(3), 903. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17030903>
- [7] Zinyemba KG, Hlongwana K. Men's conceptualization of gender-based violence directed to women in Alexandra Township, Johannesburg, South Africa. *BMC Public Health*. 2022, 22, 2235. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-022-14616-5>
- [8] Tenkorang EY, Zaami M, Kimuna S, Owusu AY, Rohn E. Help-seeking behaviors of male survivors of intimate partner violence in Kenya. *Journal of Family Issues*. 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X211042847>
- [9] Waila JM, Mitiro DO, Wilson ML, Horstick O, Musyimi CW. "There is no peace", "we are just persevering": triggers, manifestations, and consequences of intimate partner violence against men in Kenya. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605241299451>
- [10] Ministry of Health (MoH) [Tanzania Mainland], Ministry of Health (MoH) [Zanzibar], National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Office of the Chief Government Statistician (OCGS), ICF. Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey and Malaria Indicator Survey 2022: Final Report. Dodoma, Tanzania, and Rockville, Maryland, USA: MoH, NBS, OCGS and ICF; 2023.
- [11] Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC). Tanzania Human Rights Report 2023. Dar es Salaam: Legal and Human Rights Centre; 2024.
- [12] Athuman A, Munishi EJ. Exploration of male partners' gender based violence by female partners in Dar es Salaam-Tanzania. *East African Journal of Education and Social Sciences*. 2022, 3(6), 189-197.
- [13] Mwamasangula JW, Gibore NS. Service availability, readiness and health-seeking behavior of gender based violence survivor services in primary healthcare facilities in Dodoma, Tanzania: an explanatory-sequential study design. *medRxiv [Preprint]*. 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1101/2024.06.09.24308665>
- [14] Thobejane TD, Mogorosi LD, Luthada NV. Gender-based violence against men: a muted reality. *Southern African Journal for Folklore Studies*. 2018, 28(1). <https://doi.org/10.25159/2520-3525/4304>
- [15] Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC). Guidelines for integrating gender-based violence interventions in humanitarian action: reducing risk, promoting resilience and aiding recovery. Geneva: IASC; 2015.
- [16] Connell RW. Masculinities. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press; 2005.
- [17] Sinko L, James R, Hughesdon K. Healing after gender-based violence: a qualitative metasynthesis using meta-ethnography. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*. 2022, 23(4), 1184-1203. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838021991305>
- [18] Anwana E, Dlamini N, Reddy M. Men's perspectives on gender-based violence and the economic empowerment imbalances between men and women in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *African Journal of Inter/Multidisciplinary Studies*. 2024, 6(1), 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.51415/ajims.v6i1.1407>
- [19] Sommer M, Likindikoki S, Kaaya S. Boys' and young men's perspectives on violence in Northern Tanzania. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*. 2013, 15(6), 695-709. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2013.779031>
- [20] Demissie KA, Geberu DM, Teshale G, Jejau M, Tiruneh MG, Tafere TZ, Hagos A, Baffa LD. Justification of physical intimate partner violence among married men in East Africa: evidence from the recent demographic and health survey (2015-2022): a multilevel analysis. *Frontiers in Sociology*. 2025, 10, 1514917. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2025.1514917>
- [21] Connell RW, Messerschmidt JW. Hegemonic masculinity: rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society*. 2005, 19(6), 829-859. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205278639>
- [22] Jewkes R, Morrell R, Hearn J, Lundqvist E, Blackbeard D, Lindegger G, Quayle M, Sikweyiya Y, Gottzén L. Hegemonic masculinity: combining theory and practice in gender interventions. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*. 2015, 17(sup2), 112-127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2015.1085094>

- [23] National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Office of the Chief Government Statistician (OCGS). The 2022 Population and Housing Census: Administrative Units Population Distribution Report, Tanzania. Dodoma: NBS; 2022.
- [24] Creswell JW, Poth CN. Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications; 2018.
- [25] Saunders B, Sim J, Kingstone T, Baker S, Waterfield J, Bartlam B, Burroughs H, Jinks C. Saturation in qualitative research: exploring its conceptualization and operationalization. *Quality & Quantity*. 2018, 52(4), 1893-1907. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-017-0574-8>
- [26] Braun V, Clarke V. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*. 2006, 3(2), 77-101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- [27] Byrne D. A worked example of Braun and Clarke's approach to reflexive thematic analysis. *Quality & Quantity*. 2022, 56(3), 1391-1412. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-021-01182-y>
- [28] Lincoln YS, Guba EG. Naturalistic inquiry. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE Publications; 1985.
- [29] Wallace S, Wallace C, Kenkre J, Brayford J, Borja S. An exploration of the needs of men experiencing domestic abuse: an interpretive phenomenological analysis. *Partner Abuse*. 2019, 10(2), 243-261. <https://doi.org/10.1891/1946-6560.10.2.243>
- [30] McLeod DA, Ozturk B, Butler-King RL, Peek H. Male survivors of domestic violence, challenges in cultural response, and impact on identity and help-seeking behaviors: a systematic review. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*. 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15248380231177318>