



## **Reducing Gender-Based Violence: An Action Research Among Zimbabwean Youth**

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Public  
Administration – Peace Studies

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## DECLARATION

I declare that *Reducing Gender-Based Violence: An Action Research Among Zimbabwean Youth* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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Buhle Maphosa

I hereby approve the final submission of the following thesis.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Gender-based violence is an issue with high global concern. Research has principally focused on the adult population's responses to existing definitions of violence, particularly gender-based violence in the search for effective and sustainable violence prevention strategies. Few studies have examined how young people themselves define violence and the aspects that lead to their acceptance and application of violence. This doctoral thesis reports on the findings derived as part of an action research conducted in two secondary schools in Zimbabwe, urban and rural respectively, with young people between the ages of 14-18 years. The study examined young people's attitudes towards gender-based violence and their tolerance towards it, in an effort to engage youth in proactive strategies in preventing gender-based violence and empower them to be actively involved in developing an environment free from violence for themselves as well as their peers. The study involved questionnaires and focus group discussions, a subsequent prevention intervention and an evaluation of the intervention implemented in their schools using questionnaires and focus group discussions. The study revealed that gender roles, norms and stereotypes form a corpus of aptitudes of what violence involves and the tolerance surrounding violence. Particular forms of violence were identified as gender-based violence and also their level of acceptability. Young people's perceptions and attitudes were constructed by gender socialisation and what they believed to be normal gender behaviour. The evaluation revealed that there was need for more gender-based violence prevention education interventions in schools.

Keywords: gender-based violence, violence; youth; prevention; action research

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my loving mother and best friend, for her immense emotional support, motivation as well as her abiding confidence and faith in me, especially during the most trying time ever of our lives. She has been my rock and inspiration and my number one cheer leader. During the course of my PhD studies she has been my support system, guide, and inspiration. She has picked me up and encouraged me. I am at awe and humbled by such love, faith and friendship. Thank you mummy!

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

*“If we are to have a peaceful world ... then the private pain of violence against women must be taken into account and addressed. There can be no peace in its full sense while violence against women continues.” (Youngs 2003: 1210).*

### 1.1 BACKGROUND

Violence is widespread in Zimbabwe. Titley (2004) asserts that violence is any avoidable act that hinders human self- realisation, and, in most cases, gender-based violence has been excused from being treated as a major issue within the violence discourse. The violence-prevention initiative (2011:1) suggests that “violence and other forms of abuse are most commonly understood as a pattern of behaviour intended to establish and maintain control over family, household members, intimate partners, colleagues, individuals or groups.” Gender-based violence (GBV) includes all forms of violence that disproportionately targets women and girls, including dating violence, domestic violence, sexual assault and intimate partner violence. GBV in Zimbabwe has been identified as a social and personal security concern of women. Prevalence is high with estimates that one in every four women has experienced physical violence in their life time (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT) and ICF International 2012 and UNFPA 2016). Although Zimbabwe has made advances in the law and with national campaigns, women still face societal discrimination and violence because of their subordinate status within the private sphere, the home. It has its roots in both traditional and current legal, religious and social structures (Thomas et al. 2013).

Drawing from recent studies and interventions in Zimbabwe, it should be noted that many of the interventions are reactive in nature. This is so because most of them focus on secondary prevention, that is, immediate responses after violence has occurred to limit its consequences, and tertiary prevention, which is longer-term treatment and support for victims of violence to prevent further adverse effects (World Health Organisation 2002). Although there is a significant increase in awareness-raising campaigns, the efforts currently being funded and implemented to alleviate GBV either address the violence after the reality, or attempt to prevent it, using strategies that are not necessarily ideal: interventions need to suite the populations to which they are directed. Such interventions step in too late, do not reach the majority of the population, and do not address risk factors empirically shown to lead to GBV (Wagner 2010: 69). In Zimbabwe, the majority of the resources are directed to services which are related to health, psycho-social support, legal aid and protection services (Made 2012). Due to the high prevalence of GBV in Zimbabwe and the negative

impacts that result from this violence, GBV-prevention interventions are needed. Burman (2005) asserts that challenging behaviour and the normative roles boys and girls are expected to follow can nurture a climate that no longer tolerates such violence, as well as invalidating myths that surround male violence against women.

This study sought to contribute to the prevention of youth growing up with beliefs and attitudes empirically proven to be a precedent of GBV. The study was aimed at reducing destructive attitudes such as male entitlement, dominance and female passivity (Wagner 2010) and reducing the overall risk to women being abused by their partners by helping youth understand the abuse of power and control in their own relationships with the aim to producing more egalitarian relationships, based on equality and respect. In the context of violence prevention, it is evident that violence does not simply encompass negative behaviour, but also involves context and attitudes (Badurdeen 2011).

This chapter includes the following sections: background; research problem; young people as focus for prevention, overall aim of the study; specific objectives; rationale for the study; scope of the study; delimitations and limitations and structure of chapters.

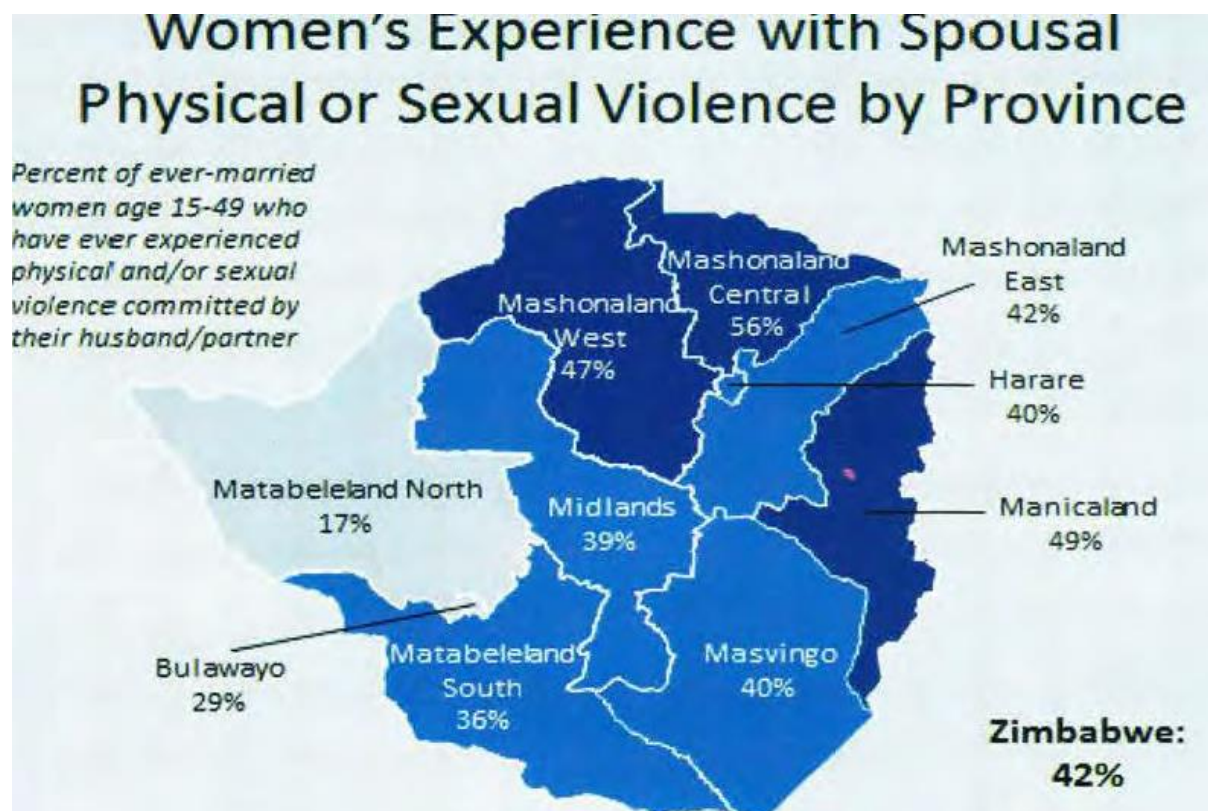
## **1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM**

Violence against women is a gross human rights violation that fractures families and communities and hampers development. However, it has often been misplaced and absent in the dialogues of war and peace. Peace and conflict scholarship has had a bias towards studying war, armed conflict and global terrorism but not intimate terrorism, that is, gender-based violence (Brickell 2015:321, Gregory 2010, Loyd 2012 and Pain 2014). I agree with Young (2003: 1210) who said that: “if we are to have a peaceful world ... then the private pain of violence against women must be taken into account and addressed. There can be no peace in its full sense while violence against women continues.” Gender-based violence has enormous social, economic and productivity costs for individual families, communities and societies. The high incidence of gender-based violence is a major barrier to women’s and girls’ participation and development. The incidence of all forms of violence against women, especially physical and sexual violence continues to be high in Zimbabwe, despite the strong legal framework (Morna and Chingamuka 2013). According to the Zimbabwe GBV national strategic plan (2012-2015), the prevalence of domestic violence, that is spousal physical or sexual violence, ranges from 17 per cent in Matabeleland North province to 56 per cent in Mashonaland Central (see figure 1.1). Morna and Chingamuka (2013) argue that gender-based violence campaigns do not reach the majority of the population and further reveal that, in a 2012 study conducted in Zimbabwe, *Violence Against Women (VAW) Baseline Study*, only 10 per cent of the 6,600 women and men interviewed in the VAW baseline study were aware of GBV campaigns going on around them, for example, the 16 days of activism campaign in Zimbabwe. This reflects that if the adult population (the

target of such a campaign) is not aware of such campaigns, then the youth are at a greater disadvantage.

Zimbabwe has improved the laws on gender-based violence and national action plans combating GBV. However, most of the existing gender-based violence policy and interventions have a focus on the adult population and fail to target the foundations of the predicament in its early stages of appearance. Adolescents have received less attention in prevention programs as well as in policy and research. The *Zimbabwe National Gender-based Violence Strategy* (2012-2015) acknowledges that programmes that work with youth demonstrate more dramatic and sustainable changes in attitude about the acceptability of GBV. However, there has been little done in engaging youth in and out of school in GBV issues.

**Figure 1.1 Women's experience with spousal physical or sexual violence by province**



**Source: Zimbabwe GBV National Strategic Plan (2012-2015:3)**

The research aim was to examine the nature of GBV and recognise that reducing violence means providing adequate resources and increasing commitment to youth (Wolfe et al. 1997 and Saffitz 2010: 98). The notion of altering attitudes to change actual or potential behaviour or prevent violence from becoming entrenched behaviour, lies behind many interventions, particularly those aimed at

young people. For this reason, this study was designed to explore ways to prevent GBV by taking a closer look at young people's attitude towards gender-based violence and their tolerance towards it, in an effort to redirect energies toward pro-active strategies and empower youth to be actively involved in developing an environment free from violence for themselves as well as their peers.

### **1.3 YOUNG PEOPLE AS A FOCUS FOR PREVENTION**

According to Decker et al. (2015), GBV is rife among young people in low-and middle income countries. Young people are considered to be a high-risk population. Decker et al. (2015) asserts that approximately 28 per cent of adolescent and 29 per cent of young adult women have experienced physical or sexual-intimate partner violence (IPV), which is very rampant in East and Southern Africa. According to ZIMSTAT, UNICEF AND CCORE (2013), *The National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents* (NBSLEA) conducted in 2011 in Zimbabwe reveals that with sexual violence experienced in childhood among females and males aged 18-24, a third of females and 9% per cent of males experienced sexual violence before reaching the age of 18. For those aged 13-17, the victimization rate for sexual violence was 9 per cent for females and 2 per cent for males. With regard to young people's experience of physical violence, NBSLEA reported that approximately two thirds of females and three-quarters of males aged 18-24 experienced physical violence prior to age 18. Approximately 50 per cent of either sex aged 13-17 experienced physical violence. The survey also reported on young people's experience of emotional violence and revealed that approximately one third of males and nearly 3 out of every 10 females aged 18-24 experienced emotional violence by an adult prior to turning 18. About 18 per cent of females and 16 per cent of males aged 13-17 experienced emotional violence by an adult in the year preceding the survey. Regarding their attitudes towards spousal abuse, ZIMSTAT, UNICEF AND CCORE (2013) revealed that for both sexes and age groups, cheating (with highest frequency) on a spouse was a justifiable reason to beat a spouse. Among those aged 18-24, 61 per cent of females and 49 per cent of males endorsed that a husband can beat his wife if she cheats on him. Among those aged 13-17, 66 per cent of females and 63 per cent of males agreed with the statement. In the light of these figures, it is evident that young people experience GBV and at the same time harbour various negative attitudes that perpetuate GBV. Young people's experience of GBV can have impacts on their immediate health and well-being as well as to be a precursor for violence in adult relationships (Stanley et al. 2015:120).

The early stages of one's life are very crucial when it comes to gender-based violence, in particular, the prevention of GBV. At the adolescence stage, moving to young adulthood, these are the stages whereby young people are getting acquainted with the physical environment (for instance, violence in some settings), sexuality and intimacy. Follette and Alexander (1992), Tontodonato and Crew (1992), Foo and Margolin (1995), suggest that the adolescence/ young adult stage embodies a unique nexus



between the experience of youth as victims or observers of domestic violence in their childhood and later in their life as perpetrators of GBV, particularly intimate-partner violence. In other words, gender-based violence is learnt at a much earlier stage in the family and community. Menard et al. (2014) argue that young people's exposure to violence may be predictive of adult intimate partner violence (IPV), perpetration and victimization.

Attending to early signs of GBV provides the potential for success of the intervention strategy brought forth by this research. Its success is grounded on addressing GBV before young people are involved in violent behaviour in their intimate relationships. Bryant (2004) and Barter (2009) argue that young people may be brought up with the understanding that violent behaviour in a relationship is part of normal conflict and is managed by gender-role stereotypes that maintain submissiveness for females and aggression for males. In order to prevent violent behaviours from becoming normalised and leading to GBV, it is of paramount importance that interventions are geared towards young people.

This research proposed that early interventions for young people (before the manifestation of violent behaviour) have a greater probability for prevention than dealing with a reactive approach of prevention. Guided by theory (conflict transformation and an ecological model) the research sought to understand the role and limitations of attitudes and their influence on behaviour. I concur with Njamba (2015) and Van der Veur et al. (2007) who are of the view that the beliefs and attitudes of young people have a bearing on GBV and these need to be addressed through open and direct forms of communication. This is a complex discourse, as GBV is on the rise and violence against women is often encouraged in youth culture: music, games, videos, all glorify violence against women. In order for young people to change their attitudes and behaviour, these influences would have to be understood by youth as being destructive and they would need to know how to resist such pressure. Youth attitudes that condone violence at an individual and community level need to be understood and taken as a key priority in the prevention of gender-based violence (McCarry and Lombard 2016: 129). I am persuaded that if more constructive attention is given to young people, there is the potential for the prevention of GBV.

The research targeted young people in schools because of the importance of schools in the day-to-day life of adolescents. In other words, institutions are very important in the moulding of behaviours and attitudes and have the potential to make major contributions to violence prevention for school-going youth. Das et al. (2014:100) argue that family-violence exposure (i.e. exposure to violence at home in terms of witnessing and experiencing violence in the home) and community-violence exposure (i.e. exposure to violence in other settings such as school) is prevalent. Research on the exposure to family and community violence is based on the social-learning theory. That is to say there is a powerful force involved in family/community/peer learning, therefore, gender inequitable attitudes learnt in a

particular setting can be reinforced in another and, on the other hand, these negative attitudes can be unlearned in either setting. Furthermore, Sudermann, Jaffe and Hastings (1995) argue that, most of the social learning that children experience happens in learning and educational institutions, therefore places like schools provide a suitable environment for educating children about gender-based violence.

#### **1.4 OVERALL AIM**

The overall objective of the study was to explore GBV in Zimbabwe and design an intervention strategy for youth which would reduce the prevalence of GBV.

#### **1.5 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES**

- to document the nature, extent and trends of gender-based violence (GBV) in Zimbabwe;
- to review the literature on the causes and consequences of GBV, with particular reference to Southern Africa;
- to review attempts that have been made to tackle GBV with particular respect to Southern Africa and their effectiveness;
- to explore the attitudes of youth in Zimbabwe concerning GBV;
- to design and implement a training programme and subsequent campaign with youth to reduce GBV and undertake a preliminary evaluation of its outcome.

#### **1.6 RATIONALE OF STUDY**

The reason for conducting this research is not only to contribute to the body of existing knowledge concerning the prevention of gender-based violence in Zimbabwe, but to develop and test an intervention that could possibly be used in other contexts. The study was intended to be useful to youth because it would promote the development of critical thinking among young people towards important factors of youth-gender socialisation, particularly electronic and other media. The study intended to expose and challenge attitudes of tolerance towards gender-based violence among young people and promote a peer-education methodology of preventing GBV among youth, as well as promote their active involvement in developing a safe and protective environment for themselves.

The literature reviewed in this study underlies the need for studies of this nature that focus on violence prevention that is, targeting the foundations of this epidemic in its early stages. The study prioritised

youth because people under 25 make up 43 per cent of the world's population, but the percentage reaches 60 per cent in developing countries (UNFPA 2011:8). The stage of youth is a time when attitudes can change. These young people are not abstract statistics, but are present in schools, youth clubs and organisations. Underpinning this study is the concept of the influence of committed minorities (youth) in bringing social change. This implies that social change over time does not necessarily require changing majority opinions. The overall aim of the study was to come up with data on youths' attitudes toward gender-based violence and how these attitudes are formed and how this data can be used to monitor future changes in attitude and experiences.

Gender being a central consideration in many aspects of formal and non-formal education has somehow been neglected in Zimbabwe, whereas this is especially important when it comes to the presence of GBV in the lives of young people. Therefore, the study also sought to promote the role of schools and other formal and non-formal education centres in the prevention of GBV among young people and in the promotion of relationships based on tolerance, respect and equality.

The study raises the profile of gender-based violence in the peace and conflict discipline. It is an important addition to the contemporary thinking of peace as a process that is comprised of and reproduced every day by individuals and local communities. Brickell (2015: 323) concedes that "domestic violence reduction efforts sit at the unstable and dynamic threshold between intimate war and peace". Therefore, operationalizing gender-based violence in peace and conflict studies necessitates peace-building in domestic life.

## **1.7 SCOPE OF STUDY**

### **1.7.1 DELIMITATIONS**

The scope of the study is limited to two secondary schools and associated communities in the Bulawayo province. Other young people in different parts of Zimbabwe may not have the same responses. Therefore, the results of the study cannot be generalised to the Zimbabwean population. The study hoped to identify more universal concepts that could be applied across contexts.

### **1.7.2 LIMITATIONS**

It is a small-scale study and its limitation may be that of moderate generalisations.

## **1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION**

This study was conceived as action research, investigating young people's attitudes that will inform the directions for GBV interventions in Zimbabwe. The study incorporated a component of exploratory research to gain an understanding of young people's perspective and their system of

values, particularly their view of the reasons for violence in certain contexts and their views concerning the acceptability of such violence.

Action research is a design that has a dual commitment to study a system and, concurrently, to collaborate with the members of the system in changing it towards what is together regarded as a desirable direction (Babbie and Mouton 2001). The action research part of the study engaged young people in the design, implementation and evaluation of the training programme aimed at empowering them to become actively involved in developing an environment free from violence for themselves, as well as their peers, in the fight against GBV.

The study made use of mixed methodology, both quantitative and qualitative. It was an explanatory-sequential method. Although the study was predominately qualitative and action-oriented, the first phase of the study made use of a quantitative methodology, which was designed to come up with reliable, accurate and valid analysis or measurement of how young people describe the nature and extent of gender-based violence. This was achieved through administering survey questionnaires to young people between the ages of 14-18. The questionnaire served the purpose of providing ways in which young people conceptualised and framed violence against women in different contexts and also allowed for the exploration of GBV across a wide spectrum of young people. The questionnaire consisted of questions developed from a review of relevant literature on the area of research.

The second part of the research was qualitative in nature. Using Marshall and Rossman's (2014:100) point of justifying the use of qualitative research, in the current study, qualitative research served the following purposes: to act as the means to measure the data gathered in phase 1 of the study (survey questionnaires), and to come up with information that would inform the development of the educational workshop on GBV, which was one of the objectives of the research. This qualitative study involved youth in two different schools in Bulawayo, an urban and rural school, respectively. In brief, the sample mirrored the cultural majority of young people with an Ndebele-speaking background. The qualitative study (questions and discussions) was guided by the review of literature. It utilised focus group discussions that provided an opportunity to contextualise data from the questionnaires and gather in-depth information. Billson (2004) describes the purpose of focus groups to be that of eliciting reliable data and can be grouped into four categories which are, exploring, triangulation, uncovering meaning and pre-testing.

The design, implementation and evaluation of the training programme was based on the principles of action research, in which participants were required to lead an enquiry within a considered conceptual framework. The target group (young people aged 14-18) was accessed mainly through these schools. I purposively selected representatives of urban and rural schools in Bulawayo for the study in order to unearth any differences that might exist geographically in terms of attitudes and engagement in GBV

issues. A preliminary evaluation of the outcome of the training programme/subsequent educational workshops was done by both the action group and participants in the training-programme/subsequent educational workshops.

## **1.9 STRUCTURE OF CHAPTERS**

This study is divided into ten chapters:

### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

This chapter introduces the reader to the problem statement of the study. The reader is informed of the intentions of the study, the aims and objectives of the study and the limitations of the study. This chapter guides the reader through the reasoning behind the problem and outlines the intention of the researcher to solve the problem.

### **Chapter 2: Literature Review- Theoretical Review**

Theoretical review. Triangulation of conflict transformation, Galtung's theory of violence and ecological framework to explain the complex landscape of violence and at the same time provide opportunity to transform violent attitudes, behaviour and contradictions with the aim of reversing the cycle of violence.

### **Chapter 3: Literature Review- Nature, extent and trends of GBV in Zimbabwe.**

The literature review provides the background of GBV in Zimbabwe.

### **Chapter 4: Literature Review- Causes and consequences of GBV in Southern Africa**

This chapter reviews the causes and consequences of gender-based violence.

### **Chapter 5: Literature Review- Existing models of GBV Intervention**

The literature review assesses evidence of different prevention approaches; to review the attempts which have been made to tackle GBV worldwide, but with particular respect to Southern Africa, and their effectiveness.

### **Chapter 6: Research Methodology**

#### **Part I: Survey questionnaires**

This chapter includes survey questionnaires to provide ways in which young people conceptualise and frame violence against women in different contexts and allows for the exploration of GBV, as they see it, across a wide spectrum of young people. In the survey questionnaire attitudes towards physical abuse, emotional abuse, verbal, sexual abuse and financial abuse are explored. Including other forms

of abuse/violence was intentional, for example, non-physical forms of violence. The survey questionnaire will facilitate the exploration of young people's attitudes in relation to both male and female violence. The inclusion of such questions allows for the possibility of reflection on the part of young people taking part and also allows for exploration of the importance of gender.

## **Part II: Focus-Group Discussions**

The second part of the research reports on focus group discussions (qualitative), that provide an opportunity to contextualise data from the questionnaires and gather in-depth information. Billson (2004) describes the purpose of focus groups to be that of eliciting reliable data. The purpose can be grouped into four categories, which are, exploring, triangulation, uncovering meaning and pre-testing.

## **Part III: Design, Implementation and Evaluation of Training Programme**

Because the study is action-oriented the training programme involves young people and thematic areas of the training that include gender issues and GBV.

### **Chapter 7: Findings and Discussion: Young People's Perceptions on GBV Issues.**

This chapter discusses and interprets the results of the questionnaire and focus group discussions. This chapter highlights the relevance and the importance of the study and draws conclusions from the findings.

### **Chapter 8: Findings and Discussion: Planning, Design, implementation and Evaluation of the Intervention**

This chapter looks at the gender-based violence prevention education programme as a promising intervention in the violence-prevention discourse. This includes the background of the intervention, the underlying theories of the intervention. This chapter narrates the planning, development and subjective outcome evaluation of the *Gender-Based Violence Prevention Education Programme* (a violence-prevention intervention) and discusses how action research came into play.

### **Chapter 9: Findings and Discussion: Reflexive Discussion on Action Research Process**

This chapter provides the researcher's reflections on the use of action-research methodology, the researcher's opportunities and challenges.

### **Chapter 10: Conclusions and Implications**

The final chapter of the dissertation contains the conclusions that are drawn from the findings in chapter 7, 8 and 9. It includes recommendations that are made for further study.

## **1.10 CONCLUSION**

This chapter discussed the background of the study, research problem, objectives of the study, delimitations and limitations. An outline of the chapters was also presented. The following chapter, the literature review, covers the theoretical framework the study is based on and the discussion on the conceptualisation of gender-based violence.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF GENDER- BASED VIOLENCE**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

The previous chapter provided an introduction to the current study and the background of violence, with a focus on gender-based violence in Zimbabwe. The chapter also demonstrated the dearth of research pertaining to young people and GBV issues. This chapter provides a comprehensive discussion on the conceptualisation of violence in a broader context and the meaning and conceptualisation of gender-based violence. The chapter outlines the nature of violence describing what is meant by direct, indirect/structural and cultural violence. This is followed by a discussion of the theoretical frameworks that underpin and connect all aspects of the study. These theoretical frameworks serve as mechanisms to understand the phenomenon (GBV) which is under study.

#### **2.2 THE NATURE OF VIOLENCE: TYPES OF VIOLENCE**

##### **2.2.1 Gender-Based Violence**

Gender-based violence (GBV) is an embryonic and developing term. However, inroads have been made in developing a working definition of what constitutes gender-based violence. The definition has been extended to include types of violence associated with: social values generated by people, based on the gender expectations and social positioning centred on gender and the non-conformity to social acceptable values and gender roles. In the light of these two factors, gender-based violence is viewed as a term that staples all acts of violence emanating from patriarchal ideology (Government of Liberia/ UN Joint Programme on Sexual and Gender Based Violence 2011).

There is disagreement about the definition of GBV internationally and the definition varies significantly between countries, ranging from slim definitions that only include physical and sexual violence to comprehensive definitions that consider emotional and economic violence. However, individual understanding of GBV also differs greatly because of the different factors that influence a person's understanding of GBV, such as tradition, level of education, economic background, ethnicity, and so on. This study utilises the definition of GBV by a local author, Mawire (2013: 97), who wrote that gender-based violence is:



...a form of violence to which girls and women are subjected primarily because of their female gender identity. As females, they face systematic discrimination from an entrenched and rationalized system of gender based power relations which then perpetuate an almost universal pattern of subordination that leave girls and women highly vulnerable to acts of physical, sexual or psychological harm from male members of their families and communities, including husbands, lovers, brothers, fathers, teachers and employers.

McIlwaine (2013) asserts that all violence is intrinsically gendered, although GBV is eminent when the gender of the victim of violence is directly related to the motive for the violence. Most research and policy on gender-based violence focuses on women and uses the 1993 *United Nations Declaration of the Elimination of Violence against Women*, Article 1, as the yardstick. The concept of GBV points to violence perpetrated on the basis of particular constructions of gender, and it is well-established that men are the major perpetrators of such violence both against women and against other men (Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997).

According to Spring et al. (2010:356), *The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (General recommendation No. 12)*, puts forward the definition of GBV as any “violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman, or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, and threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty”. UNHCR (2008:201) conceptualises GBV to be inclusive of physical, mental or social abuse that is perpetrated against someone because of their gender or the gender roles they take up in the society and culture. In such a scenario, the individual is left with no free will to pursue other options without serious social, physical or psychological consequences. The UNFPA (1998) stretches the definition to encompass sexual abuse and harm. In most literature, the term gender-based violence is used interchangeably with the term violence-against-women (VAW). However, the UN has constricted the definition of violence against women to mean any act of GBV that culminates in physical violence, sexual violence, psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in the public or private sector (UNGA 1993). The domestic violence act of Zimbabwe [*CHAPTER 5:16 Act 14/2006*] gives a definition what constitutes GBV: domestic violence means any unlawful act, omission or behaviour which results in death or the direct infliction of physical, sexual or mental injury to any complainant by a respondent and includes the following:

- (a) Physical abuse;
- (b) Sexual abuse;
- (c) Emotional, verbal and psychological abuse;
- (d) Economic abuse;
- (e) Intimidation;

- (f) Harassment;
- (g) Stalking;
- (h) Malicious damage to property.

From a development perspective, the term GBV is used as a strong and common currency. The challenge with the way the term ‘gender’ is used is that wherever this word appears automatically it is taken to mean “women”. This misrepresentation has led to a thin understanding that GBV is male violence perpetrated on women. Therefore, the use of the term GBV may suggest that violence is not necessarily gender-related and that forms of violence exist which are unrelated to processes of gender and sexual positioning and broader social-gender inequalities (Leach and Humphrey 2007). This thesis puts forward the view that all violence is gendered in nature. Broadly speaking, GBV in any circumstance includes physical, verbal, psychological and emotional, sexual violence and also encompasses the fear of violence itself between both males and females and among each sex as well. Connell (2002) asserts that concentrating on the differences within gender classifications can illuminate the form of social behaviour between males and females. These differences might be associated with social categories, such as ethnicity, age, location, sexuality and social ranking which are always interlinked with gender.

Most of the violence is gender-based because it is carried out in the name of gender, by the gender social order and those who are targeted are chosen along gender lines. GBV is predominately violence perpetrated by men on women and children, but this does not ignore the fact that it can be directed to other men (De Mel, Peiris and Gomez 2013), or it can be women against men. Through the review of different literature, the conclusion is that men are the primary users of such violence and this is evident because in most of the reports the large number of those implicated as perpetrators are men. However, the fact that men are perpetrators of violence does not mean that violence is a biological construct. The significant cause of GBV is gender inequality, therefore, the GBV is any form of violence used to establish, enforce or perpetuate gender inequality. Although GBV is a universal problem and is found in more or less all societies. The extent of violence varies in different societies because of the levels of gender inequality present in those societies. The link between forms of masculinity and gender-based violence and other types of violence continue to develop inequalities based on social categorisation, for example, age and ethnicity (Leach and Humphrey 2007). The close relationship between men’s violence, privilege and inequality is universal. In the past, institutions have operated with the intention of developing boys permeated with the sense of self-importance, much more than girls.

Heise, Ellsberg and Gottemoeller (1999) suggest that much international research provides cogent evidence that violence against women emanates from gender inequalities and is accepted and overlooked by laws, institutions and community norms that discriminate against women and girls. In

other words, GBV is not just a display of gender inequality, but serves as a channel to discharge violence against women. Gender-based violence is taken to be something that is part and parcel of life and has been normalised in the society and receives less attention as a criminal act; further, victims at the receiving end are frequently discriminated against. I agree with Marhiah (2012:36) who conducted a close analysis of normalisation of violence. She calls this the normalisation thesis and asserts “that violence is not only *normalised*, but *normalising*, and its normalising function is inextricably bound up with its subjectifying effects – it functions to (re)inscribe norms at the same time as it produces particular kinds of subjects who may then police themselves in accordance with these norms”. Gender-based violence cannot be conceptualised outside gender norms, social structures and roles that influence women’s vulnerability to violence.

GBV has a cultural configuration and prior research highlights that GBV is most common in societies with inflexible gender roles or in rigid gender roles or in male-controlled communities (patriarchal) where masculine identity is identified by male dominance (Heise 1998). According to Marhiah (2012:36), because violence has become normal or an everyday thing, it is linked with power relations in which the role of violence is to spread, maintain and reproduce power. Using the Foucauldian insight, power is pervasive and prolific and, at times, tyrannical and has the ability to contribute to GBV.

Hidden (2003) contends that there has been a growing body of research in developing countries tackling the issue of gender-based violence. However, the bulk of the studies have been fixated on prevalence and the determinants without enough attention placed on the principal philosophies that proliferate violence. As facts from various literature show, GBV is widespread and is a global issue and the reduction of GBV is significant in the realisation of women’s rights, gender justice and above all in the reach for equitable social development. Violence is a threat to anyone and can be experienced in numerous stages in the phases of the life cycle as illustrated by the table 2.1 below. Although violence is a universal threat, it disproportionately affects women and children.

Despite the expense that comes from GBV, societies’ institutions justify, conceal and negate violence. UN Women (1995) argues that violence perpetrated against women and girls constitutes an obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace. It is evident (as will be explained in the next section) that violence, and GBV in particular, functions on the three points of the violence triangle as conceptualized by Galtung (1969); direct, structural and cultural violence. One can find some strong systemic elements in the dynamic - violence framework, and the prior concepts mentioned earlier, the conflict triangle and conflict transformation. All these concepts make it simple to understand the “conflict”, which is gender-based violence, in this context, and therefore, ideas

become conceivable to transforming such a conflict by understanding various elements that include violence and gender.

**Table 2.1 Types of violence experienced in the stages of the life cycle**

| PHASE        | TYPES OF VIOLENCE   |
|--------------|---|
| Prenatal     | Prenatal sex selection, battery during pregnancy, rape during war etc.  |
| Infancy      | Female infanticide, emotional and physical abuse, differential access to food and medical care  |
| Childhood    | Genital cutting, incest and sexual abuse , differential access to food, medical care and education, child prostitution  |
| Adolescence  | Dating, courtship violence economically coerced sex, sexual abuse in the work place rape and sexual harassment, forced prostitution.  |
| Reproductive | Abuse of women by intimate partners, marital rape, dowry abuse and murders, partner homicide, psychological abuse, sexual abuse in the work place., sexual harassment, rape, abuse of women with disabilities |
| Old age      | Abuse of widows, elder abuse which affects mostly women.  |

Source: Heise (1994:5)

However, the violence triangle is not the only concept that can be used to understand the phenomenon of GBV. This study goes on to look at conflict transformation and ecological framework, in which these frameworks attempt to provide an understanding of GBV and, at the same time, how the frameworks operates in a dualistic form, that is, it can also be used in the prevention GBV.

To understand gender-based violence, its occurrence and why it takes place, one has to first of understand ‘violence’ and why it takes place.

## **2.3 CONCEPTUALISATION OF VIOLENCE AND THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS**

As mentioned above the understanding of violence is crucial for the conceptualisation of gender-based violence, therefore the following definition of violence is given by the World Health Organisation (WHO) as:

*...the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development, or deprivation (WHO 2002).*

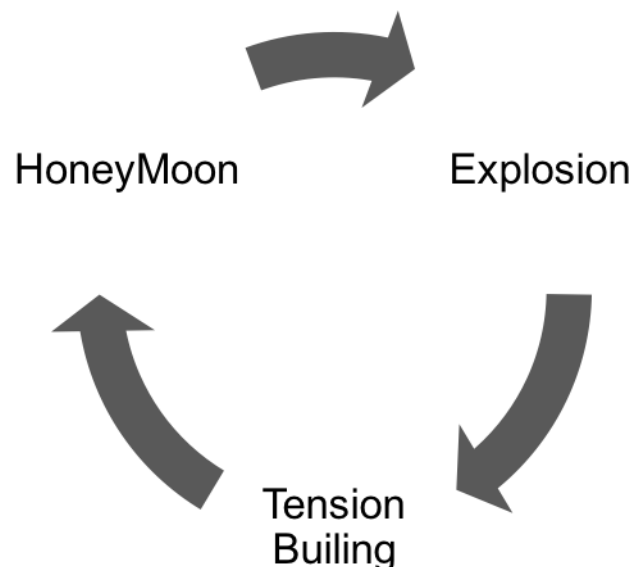
When perpetrated against women or children, violence takes on a number of forms which include, but is not limited to, sexual violence, intimate-partner violence, child abuse and neglect, bullying, teen-dating violence, trafficking and elder abuse. However, this is not to say that there is no violence directed against men. The bulk of the violence directed against women and children is perpetrated by people whom they know, for example partners, family members, friends or colleagues. More so, most violence against women and children takes the form of intimate-partner violence, family violence or school violence (World Health Organization and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine 2010). There is a close nexus between these three types of violence which is usually part of what is referred to as the “cycle of violence”, whereby at some point, victims become perpetrators. The research’s scope is narrowed to focus on the components of the “cycle of violence” as they have an important role intersecting the spread of violence. In this study the circle of violence is described in two ways whereby children who experience abuse in their families may perpetrate violence in the future and also the cycle of violence is described as the cycle that abused women are caught up in and continue to stay in abusive relationships. However pertinent to this study is how the cycle of violence can be broken down so that young people may desist from perpetrating violence in the future. According to Wright et al. (2016:2), research on the circle of violence has established two key factors to the cycle of violence thesis, which are children who directly or indirectly experience violence are much more likely to perpetrate violence in the adolescent stage and young adulthood stage and, secondly, not all of the children who have suffered violence go on to be perpetrators of violence in the future. Although some may not complete the cycle of violence (i.e. some may not go on to perpetrate violence even if they have experienced violence in their childhood), it is important that the cycle of violence for non-resilient youth is broken. Wright et al. (2016:8) identifies factors that may break the cycle of violence. These include:

- (1) individual protective factors: self-control, low depression, self-esteem and verbal intelligence; and
- (2) social protective factors: marriage, job-satisfaction, mentorship, religiosity and educational attainment. Therefore, efforts to break the cycle of violence should make use of protective factors, particularly in GBV programming for young people.

However, in connection with the cycle of violence, the “learned-helplessness” theory has been used to explain intimate partner violence. This theory explains the behaviour of women who have experienced continuous violence and have learnt to be helpless. According to Peterson, Maier and Seligman (1993) the theory maintains that repeated exposure to violence leads to negative attitudes and beliefs about an individual’s capacity to address the issue. Many women are caught up in the cycle of violence because they learnt to accept the circumstances that they are in. Behaviourists such

as Walker (1979) utilised the learnt-helplessness theory to describe the behaviour of women who had experienced continuous violence. In his analysis, he suggests that recurrent abuse diminishes the abused women's will-power to take action, but instead invokes passiveness. Walker (1979) and Francis, Loxton and James (2017) further asserts that women who experience intimate-partner violence suffer from cognitive ability to envision that they can beat abuse, instead, there is a belief that no action can bring about a positive result. Therefore, abused women never end or leave abusive relationships. In other words, the cycle of violence, as propounded by Walker (1979), can explain why abused women remain in abusive relationships. Figure 2.2 illustrates that there are three levels that make up the cycle of violence, which include: tension building, abuse or explosion and honeymoon or remorse forgiveness. On the first level there is a build-up of tension within the relationship and leads to the frustration of the abuser and he eventually becomes violent towards the wife. After this the abuser might feel the need to apologise for the appalling behaviour and then go through the honeymoon stage, whereby the abused woman forgives the abuser and assumes the violent behaviour will never happen again.

**Figure 2.1 The cycle of violence explaining the behaviour of abused women.**



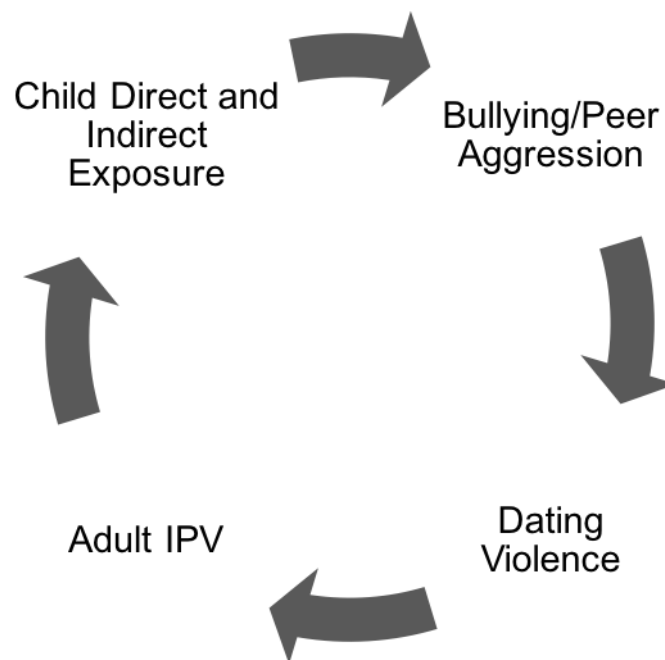
Source: Walker (1979)

Violence has a spill-over effect as it impedes the resolution of other societal problems such as social progress and economic development. Regardless of the type of violence, it usually affects vulnerable groups, for example, individuals affected by violence have little to do with initiating the violence. Although violence may be a universal phenomenon, the efforts directed to dealing with it are more

centred on its consequences with the efforts being reactive in nature, rather than proactive by building and cultivating a culture of peace. In this framework, violence is intolerable. Intervention strategies include preventing the transmission of violence to other societal levels.

The underpinning factor in most violence research is the recurring nature of violence. Understanding this concept makes clear the life-course consequences and, at the same time, it aids in the conceptualisation of the intergenerational connections of violence against women. The cycle of violence also describes the consequences of being exposed to violence at the early stages of life development, either directly or indirectly. Figure 2.2 illustrates the relationship between intimate-partner violence, family violence and school violence and whereby, at a certain stage in life, the victim becomes a perpetrator.

**Figure 2.2 Cycle of Violence for Young People**



Source: Crooks (2011)

### **2.3.1 Models of Violence**

Violence can take any form, which can be physical, emotional, verbal, institutional or structural that can reduce, control or put an end to people's lives. Violence in a myopic view can be considered as bad behaviour. This is because of the fact that the visibility of violence on people is manifest, for example, murders, beatings and torture (physical violence). In this segment, I provide a closer analysis of violence using Galtung's theory of violence. A deeper conceptualisation of violence goes beyond labelling it as behaviour but as involving context and attitude. Where there are unequal power

relations, violence is most evident (Grose and Grabe 2014:975, Wood and Jewkes 1997, and Maynard 1993). A major focus on direct violence (physical) is not enough to change destructive relationships. Structural and cultural violence are other elements that need to be considered. Transforming violence requires a holistic and sustainable approach. This means that direct, indirect and cultural dimensions of violence and conflict should be tackled. This requires a repertoire of process, behaviour and solutions geared to approaches to transforming violence.

The fluidity of violence makes it very difficult to tackle GBV as it cuts across the “public and private sphere” and comes in an assortment of types of violence that include intimate-partner violence, interpersonal violence, structural/institutional violence and systematic violence. Gender-based violence needs to be located along a continuum so as to describe its various forms and manifestations. Placing violence in a continuum paves the way for the relevant contextualisation of violence. Successful conflict prevention (in this case for GBV) demands analysis of the causes, drivers, mutable features and patterns of the conflict as well as elements and social-changing aspects that make sturdier the community’s pliancy to conflict. Gender relations cross many other lines of social structure that include race, class, ethnicity, age and geographical proximity to define the key players in a conflict and the comparative abilities of diverse players to deepen or decompose the conflict (Orina 2014) . As a point of departure, the theory of violence by Galtung articulates that any type of violence can be seen through this amalgamated outline. The triangulation-of-feminism theory, with the violence theory, enhances the further conceptualisation of violence. Confortini (2006:333) asserts that the following points contribute in bettering the theory of violence:

- Incorporate notions of gender as a social construct embodying power relations;
- Dichotomous, mutually exclusive categories that shape the understanding of the world are gendered and they are the key to the production and reproduction of violence at all levels;
- Gendered language defines the possibility and impossibility of pursuing different visions of the social world. Violence and peace can be constituted through language;
- Violence produces and defines gender identities and this, in turn, is produced and defined by them.

The points above are imperative to peace studies, particularly the theory of violence. The notion that violence is “natural” is deep-seated in many societies and, in order to address violence, gender should be taken as a classification of analysis. Confortini (2006:334) is of the view that taking gender as a social construct of violence, organises social life in hierarchically and mutually exclusive categories which are in a relationship of sub/super ordination to one another. In other words, sometimes violence can be valued over non-violence as a way of ending conflict and also that the construction of this



superior status of violence owes much to gender relations. Wilding (2012:1) provides an analysis on the relationship between violence and gender. He argues that “to study violence without considering gender is to ignore the power relations within which violence operates.” Violence is inseparable from the social context in which it takes place and thus is shaped by gendered social relations. The theory of violence has limitations, in the sense that it does not conceptualise gender as a social construct that embodies power relations, rather it looks at it as an alternative expression for sex (Confortini, 2006:335). From a feminist perspective, the construct of gender makes it possible to see how several categories that shape and permit us to make sense of social life are deeply gendered and involved in the production and reproduction of violence at all levels. Wilding (2012:1) argues that “since most violence is embedded in social relations of power, and is not truly arbitrary, most violence is gendered in some way”.

Violence, as conceptualised by Galtung, introduced the fundamental difference between personal, structural violence and cultural violence (Galtung and Høivik 1971). Personal violence is defined as violence with a subject, whereas structural violence is violence without a subject and cultural violence is violence that legitimises both personal and structural violence (Galtung 1990). Structural violence is built into the systems and it is embedded in the institutions of the society. Structural violence creates unequal power and unequal distribution of resources, which, in turn, gives rise to direct/personal violence. Galtung further elaborates that violence can be defined in relation with the magnitude of harm that it produces and in terms of what human needs it limits. The conclusion is that both direct and indirect violence hampers the need of bodily and psychological integrity, basic material needs, such as the need for sleep, nutrition, movement, health, love, etc. and classical human rights (freedom of expression, need for mobilization, need for work, etc.), and nonmaterial needs (such as solidarity, friendship, happiness, self-actualization, and so on) (Confortini 2006:337).

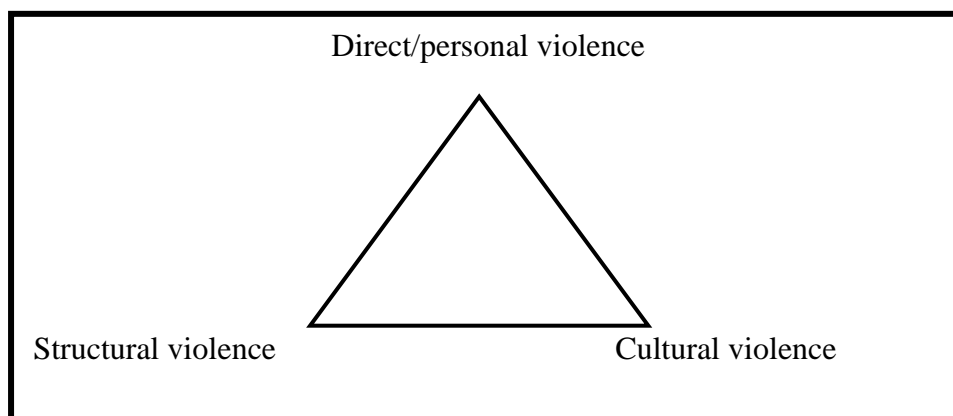
Direct violence represents the tip of an iceberg, with the massive underwater structural violence hidden below the water’s surface (Birthistle 2000). There is a relationship between direct, structural, cultural violence and gender. Gender allows us to comprehend how these structures can be overriding. A gender-conscious approach allows for the exploration of hidden power relations and reveals a way in which violence is conceivable at an individual to global level (Wilding 2012:2). Galtung’s view of cultural violence can be useful when looking at non-material and symbolic systems that provide justification and legitimacy to the use of violence. He sheds light on a non-material approach, when he argues that origins of violence can be traced to the non-material sphere and cultural violence is:

*“...those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence – exemplified by religion, language and art, empirical science and formal science that can be used to justify of legitimise direct or structural violence.” (Galtung 1990:291).*

A striking example would be that some men do not acknowledge that there is something called spousal rape because of their feelings of total entitlement. Furthermore, women who experience this type of violence also believe it is less of a crime. “Victim-blaming” is another example that illustrates cultural violence and this occurs if the individual, who has been violated, has failed to conform to the standards of the society, then they are to be blamed for what has happened to them.

The diagram below illustrates that cultural, structural and direct violence are the three corners of the violence triangle, which is meant to clearly show that all types of violence feed off each other in many ways and violence reproduces itself across all dimensions. Cultural violence can be contained in all areas of social life, for example, religion, law, ideology science. It serves as a legitimising factor for both direct and structural violence (Reychler and Paffenholz 2001). It can be both planned and unintended. The culture of violence stems from a world-view that represents the world in dualistic form (Galtung 1996). The culture of violence can be derived from certain interpretations of various ideologies like nationalism, sexism, racism and provides justification and meaning for violent-conflict resolution in so far as it imbeds the inevitability and righteousness of violence into people’s world view (Galtung 2002).

**Figure 2.3 Types of Violence**



Source: (Ziyadov 2006:32).

According to Confortini (2006:339) and Adelman, Haldane and Wies (2012:692), cultural violence brings about the connection for a gender-conscious approach to violence. This approach makes all other systems possible. Adelman, Haldane and Wies (2012:692) argue that “cultural concepts, institutions, and practices are always changing, which encourage or deter systemic forms of gender violence.” Galtung (1996) asserts that one of the major forms of structural violence is patriarchy and, consequently, gender creates an avenue where violence can flourish. Patriarchy is a top-down system with men at the apex and women at the bottom (Hooks 2013) and (Sultana 2012). Patriarchy is manifest in GBV and is reinforced by cultural justification. To some extent, GBV in Zimbabwe, can be described in static cultural terms. This can be seen in the harmful practices such as child marriages.

Sibanda (2011:2) asserts that child marriage is common in Zimbabwe, and 21 per cent of the girls are married before they turn 18. Reports from civic organisations such as *The Girl Child Network* (GCN) have estimated that 8,000 girls have been forced into early marriages or have been sex slaves since 2008 (Sibanda 2011:2). Early marriages in Zimbabwe have been practiced in the name of religion and culture. For example, some of the chiefs in different parts of the country condone and praise such traditions.

Cultural violence encompasses the concept of patriarchy and sexism, in as much as cultural practices authorise patriarchy. However, the challenge is that many are the times the process of violence, and how it is conceived, is understood by using biological sex. This means it is understood from the context of who has perpetrated violence (that is male or female), whereas it goes beyond biological sex to include masculinities and femininities of which these are constructs that are socially manufactured to represent the ideal man and woman (Baden and Reeves 2000). This drives us to the definition of gender as presented by Spike and Runyan (2010:2). Gender is “the socially learned behaviours, repeated performances, and idealized expectations that are associated with and distinguish between the prescribed gender roles of masculinity and femininity.”

Gender as a figurative concept allows for the deconstruction of gendered dichotomies such as violence/peace, victim/perpetrator, and subject/object and focuses on permanencies, intricacies, and contestations when observing social manifestations and social relations (Confortini 2006:437, Wilding, 2012:2, Ellerby 2011:32). The disassembling of dualistic categories allows for the visualisation of paths for modification and empowerment. Violence is involved in the creation of masculinities in the sense that being a man is associated with violence (the *machismo* effect). Violence originates from the centre of peoples’ social organisation, as it yields and breeds the gender order. However, the gender order normalises and breeds unequal and violent social relations. Using a gender lens, it can be understood how violence and gender-powered relations are conjointly organised in all facets of social life (Marhia 2012). Moreover, the gender lens allows for the visualisation of the three points of the violence triangle/theory by Galtung (direct, structural, and cultural violence) and how their interdependence maintains violence in society. In this vein, I defend a qualified rendering of the analysis of violence and I agree with Muthien and Combrinck (2003) that gender exceeds violence and gender discrimination and GBV is evident in direct, structural and cultural violence. I argue that the different levels at which violence manifests itself are well exemplified by Galtung’s theory of violence.

The diverse magnitude of violence cannot be viewed in a vacuum and in seclusion from each other, and they cannot be seen as autonomous from the social erection of hegemonic personalities, be it hegemonic masculinities or hegemonic races. Violence is not a stagnant entity. It consists of constant

change and alteration to society's new necessities. Violence is aided, sustained, and reproduced through institutions, practices, and discourses. It depends on gendered dichotomies for its existence. I also apply insights derived from Marhiah (2012) that violence should be understood not only as revealing the collapse of the social order, but should also be viewed as part of its reproduction.

However, for most social scientists, violence is a learnt countenance of hegemonic masculinity and it is seen as associated in the edifice of hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1987 and Beasley 2015). In support of this point it is useful to gather from the social-learning theory which posits that behaviour is learnt by seeing and redoing the behaviour of others, particularly role models (Bernstein et al. 2013). Since gender roles and social norms rest within a bigger cultural setting and conceded from generation to the next, behaviour also follows the same path (Uthman, Lawako and Moradi 2009). Young boys are socialised according to established norms and are expected to conform to these systems. This compression although understated, permeates every facet of the social atmosphere as boys are taught in different institutions (home, school and community), that their principle duty will be to start and support a family. To cement this argument I gather from Pearce (2007) and an appraiser of Pearce's views, Marhiah (2012), and argue that gender socialisation spreads and validates violent tendencies from the household level (private sphere) going outward into the public sphere (community, society and state at large). The transmitted violence then rolls back with a double dose and strengthens gendered dichotomies in intimate relationships. Norms and attitudes in different cultures profile concerns such as gender equality and the rights of children. However, at the same time, it stimulates reaction (Patel, 2011). Patel further asserts that gradations in what is putative versus what is regularised is imperative. Therefore, the importance of conversations with the communities to understand what is truly culturally-valued and how culture could be co-opted to undermine gender-based violence rather than monopolising culture as a tool for gender-based violence (Adelman, Haldane and Wies 2012: 693), is important.

Since gender is a practice created and bred through social relations, violence can be seen as a mode for breeding the gender order (Connell 1993). There are plenty of factors in the cultural environment that authorise and tolerate violence. Violence is made possible by the existence of power/gender relations and power/gender relations depend on violence for their facsimile, neither gender nor violence is *a priori* (Marhiah 2012 & Confortini 2006). Violence and gender are tangled in a relationship of communal constituents. Using the violence theory by Galtung gives a unique opportunity for practitioners in the field of gender-based violence to "operationalise peace" and a framework within which violence against women can be seen in the larger context of societal violence. I contend that the violence triangle maintains a critical focus on systems and structures of inequality, at the same time sanctioning a conversation of the variances and distinctiveness that are central to feminism.

Having discussed the violence theory and conceptualised violence, I use Lederach's theory of conflict transformation as an antithesis of violence. This analytical perspective shows how the free forms of violence relate with the forms of peace and it is crucial for the theoretical intervention that this research is building. I state my views for this in the subsequent section.

### **2.3.2 Conflict Transformation**

This section discusses how conflict transformation is an antithesis of violence and how this framework makes it possible for the prevention of violence. Using the scholarship of Muthien and Combrinck (2003), if the forms of violence are eliminated (for example, physical assault which can be likened to physical forms of GBV such as beatings) people could experience direct peace. Likewise, with the elimination of structural violence, structural peace could be experienced and with the elimination of cultural violence, cultural peace is attained. It is evident that the forms of violence and their solutions are intertwined and cannot be divorced from each other. For this research, the most significant and compelling argument offered is that it is impossible to reduce GBV without transforming institutions as well as people's mindsets. I contend that conflict transformation offers theoretical tools with which GBV incidences can be reduced.

Conflict transformation is an inclusive approach, tackling a variety of dimensions: micro to macro-issues, local to global levels, grassroots to elite actors, short-term to long-term time scales. Its objective is building capacity and providing sustenance to structural change, rather than facilitating outcomes and delivering settlements. This framework seeks to engage with conflict at the pre-violence and post-violence phases and with the causes and consequences of violent conflict which is usually an extent beyond the site of fighting (Varyrynen 1991). I draw on Lederach's (2003: 14) definition of conflict transformation as a working definition in this thesis. He conceptualises conflict transformation as:

*".... Is to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures and respond to real life problems in human relations."*

The existence of conflict is inescapable and is present in all stages of life, be it social, interpersonal, intergroup between organisations and international. It occurs not only in social units, but also within the different types of social units, within personal as well as nations. GBV can be likened to an on-going conflict that is asymmetric in nature and marked by inequalities of power and status (Varyrynen 1991). This research presents the GBV phenomenon as a "conflict". What this means is that GBV is part of the broader concept of "violence". Francis (2002:54) argues that it is not so much about the "conflict, but violence is the problem". I also borrow from the scholarship of Marhiah (2012) that GBV

can be taken as a form of invisible violence, but rather it should be taken seriously within the human-security discourse. My contention is there is a nexus between human security and peace. Therefore, if the human security of women and girls (even men and boys) is compromised, attainability of peace in communities and at household level will be difficult.

Brinkman, Attree and Hezir (2013) and Ricigliano (2015) assert that there are various drivers of conflict and peace. Although structure is dwelt upon on most of the times, it is not the only driver. I agree with Ricigliano's (2015) argument that the part played by attitudes is also fundamental, particularly attitudes associated with society-group relations, the development of collective value, social grievances and support for structures that allows for full participation. The conflict-transformation theory serves to establish the normalisation of conflict because of its presence in human relationships. However, the strategy in addressing violent conflict is by transforming human relations (Collier 2000).

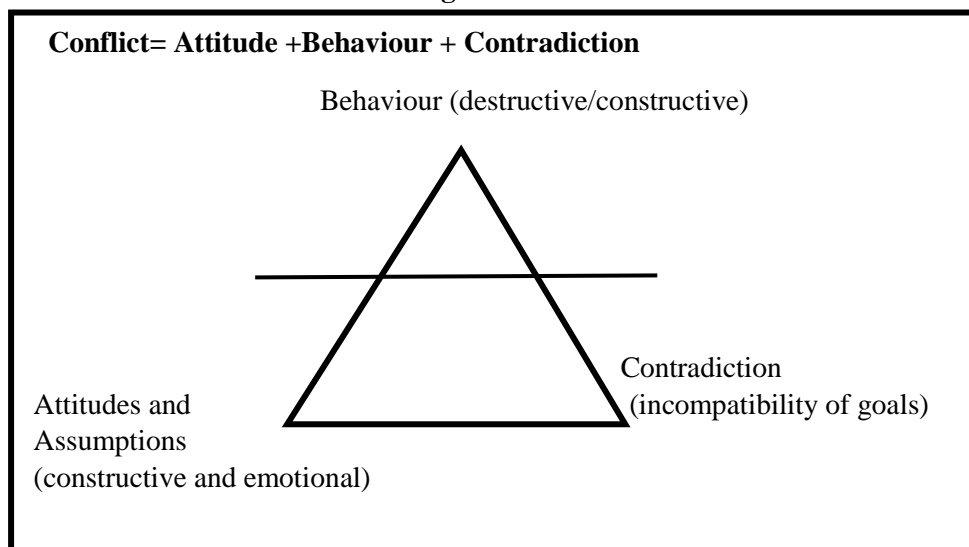
Having argued that GBV is a "conflict", therefore, the key to its transformation is located in the dialectical relationship between structures and agents (stakeholders, the set of actors affected by the conflict/or affecting its course either constructively or destructively) (Dudouet 2006). There is need to support agents of peaceful change such as individuals, groups or institutions who, through their action, contribute to the creation of peaceful sustainable structures. Social actors help to reproduce and transform these structures through their actions (Hay 1995: 199-201). A transformative model of conflict and change should take into consideration the constraints put by structural forces and the margin of freedom open to social agents in promoting social change (Beckett 1997). This solidifies the claim that if conflict is created by social structures that favour a dominant group, there is no way that conflict can be transformed without altering those structures. But structural violence is conditioned and maintained and can only be challenged through the behaviours and attitudes of individual actors or communities which, therefore, must also be transformed.

Using the scholarship of Dudouet and Schmelzle (2010) the objective of this thesis is to transform the underlying conditions (causes, drivers and enablers of GBV), that create the societal propensity for violence and, as such, pose a threat to human security and the stability of the state.

Conflict transformation is built on a strong collection of methodologies to create the right relationships as drivers of peaceful change (Reychler and Paffenholz 2001). There is a variety of back-up, peace-building typologies and tools in for understanding conflict that help in the functioning of conflict transformation, for example the ABC model/violence triangle shown in figure 2.4 . Conflict is universal and inevitable and is present in various social settings (Ramsbotham, Miall and Woodhouse 2011). The presence of conflict is a sign that there is an underling problem that needs to be addressed in the appropriate manner. The visibility of conflict only reveals that there is a bigger

problem underneath. In order to transform violence in a sustainable manner, it becomes important to address all dimensions of violence (Badurdeen 2011). The ABC model or the violence triangle by Galtung, later revised by Bloomfield and Ropers (2005), suggest that conflict is an interplay between these elements, attitudes, behaviour and contradictions. In this thesis, the ABC model/violence triangle is used to understand conflict (gender-based violence), and how the three elements impact violence to-peace transitions. Conflict transformation involves transforming these three components.

**Figure 2.4 The ABC Model/ Violence Triangle**



Source: Galtung (1990)

Bloomfield and Ropers (2003) modify the ABC model in their conception of systemic-conflict transformation, which comes from the interpretation of how attitudes, behaviours and contradictions are a vehicle of violence. In the same vein, this model/concept summarises the broad elements that drive Gender-based violence. In other words, attitude, behaviour and contradictions are conditions that drive gender-based violence. The aim of conflict transformation is to reverse structural violence through modifications that endorse justice and empowerment. The changing of attitudes is closely related to psychological aspects. The ABC model focuses on attitudes between key individuals as they affect their ability to conduct transactions (behaviour), for example, communication with each other, or negotiations. In this case the conflict triangle is useful in explaining why gender-based violence occurs and is rampant. for instance the ABC model/ violence triangle is used to investigate and illustrate the complexities of conflict (gender-based violence) through its provision of a useful framework to analyse the stakeholders/actors in the conflict situation by going deeper into aspects of conflict dynamics.

There are four key dimensions of conflict transformation, which include personal, relational, structural and cultural. In conflict transformation all these elements can be best explained by the ABC model. The elements of the ABC model can be best explained in the following manner:

- *Attitudes*: Refer to feelings of hatred, distrust, and apathy, the transforming potential of these attitudes is to develop feelings of empathy. Emotive, cognitive and conative feelings are involved here.
- *Behaviours*: Refers to physical and verbal violence, or to behavioural patterns such as killing, threats and intimidation (Dudouet 2006) and (Ramsbotham, Miall and Woodhouse 2011). Here the transforming potential lies in the application of especially verbal non-violence.
- *Contradictions*: this involves emotive elements, cognitive elements (belief) and conative elements (will). In conflict transformation there is a need to have a subjective recognition by the victims of structural violence that their basic human needs are unmet. Therefore, when analysing social conflicts (like GBV), it is as important to look for the subjective factors indicating a change in perceptions (through opinion surveys) as it is to observe indicators of socio-political grievances or deprivation.

The study asks different questions pertaining to the three elements in order to gain understanding of the complexities of gender-based violence. For instance focusing on *Attitudes* arising questions included:

1. What negative feelings and emotions are developed among parties towards the conflict you are dealing with.
2. How are these maintained and sustained and through what processes
3. Do certain programs and policies create negative attitudes among the parties

Arising questions when looking at *behaviour* included:

1. what conflict behaviour is used in the conflict situation you are dealing with
2. What strategy and tactics are used
3. What weapons are used in the conflict
4. What conflict behaviours emerge due to certain interventions and community assistance programmes

Arising questions when looking at *contradiction* included:

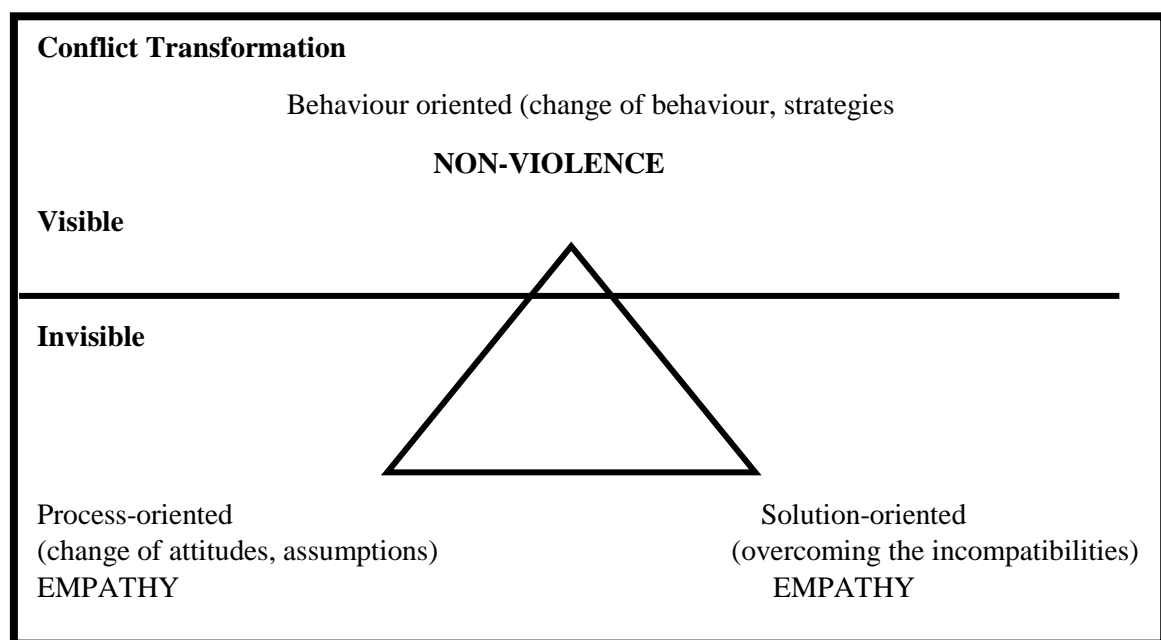
1. What contradiction precedes the conflict you are dealing with
2. How is the contradiction built into the society
3. What are the contentious issues that emerge from the incompatibility



In as much as the ABC model/ violence triangle provides a very important link between the elements driving conflict, at the same time it does provide an important connection of these elements in driving peace. This is summarised in figure 2.5 whereby attitude, behaviour and contradictions can be transformed to positive outcomes. It has the unique power to build peace in GBV issues. When all these three elements; attitude, behaviour and contradiction are dealt with it is equals to conflict transformation.

With the ABC model/violence triangle incorporated in conflict transformation, this research contends that, in order to transform violence (particularly GBV) in a sustainable manner, key competencies such as empathetic attitudes, non-violent behaviour and creativity must be used in order to overcome the contradictions and find solutions that are required. The fundamental premise of the conflict-transformation theory is to address violent attitudes, violent behaviours and contradictions with the aim of reversing the cycle of violence. This will enable young people to have more egalitarian relationships based on equality and respect.

**Figure 2.5 Conflict Transformation**



Source: Galtung (2000:91)

Having discussed violence, how it is conceptualised and shown how it can be theoretically integrated with the conflict-transformation theory for examining violence-peace transitions, I return now to the contentious concept of “gender-based violence” and the criticisms that surround it, and give an in-depth analysis of “gender-based violence”.

## 2.4 ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The ecological model is important in conceptualising the multifaceted interactions of gender and power. This model stresses unequivocal variables within an individual's social environment and seeks to understand GBV through the interaction of these variables (Saffitz 2010). This model provides insight into the factors at play in Zimbabwe. In 1998 Heise developed a unified ecological model to comprehend violence against women. This portrayal of the intricate system of violence has advanced the study of GBV, by accentuating the different causal effects that add to the preservation of gender-based violence. The ecological model is extensively acknowledged as a conjectural foundation for programming research. Gender-based violence is grounded on a conceptual understanding of violence known as the ecological model of abuse. The ecological model asserts that the causes of violence cannot be attributed to one aspect, rather, there is no single factor that causes GBV. The likelihood that a specific man or individual will become abusive, that one community will have a higher rate of violence than another, is a corpus of plenty of factors that interrelate at diverse stages of the social ecology (Heise 1998 & Safdar and Kosakowska-Berezecka 2015).

The social ecology consists of the life stories and experiences, pain, scars and personality factors that men and women bring to their relationships (Best 1998). In other words, social ecology has its roots coming from relations of a pecking order and domination between people, in this case, it is the domination of women by men (Heise 2011). The ecology similarly embraces communications of standards and customs that members of society and social institutions buttress as proper behaviour for both men and women, as well as the tolerability of violence within diverse backgrounds. These customs and standards, as well as beliefs, are, in turn, shaped by structural factors such as religious institutions and ideology and the distribution of economic muscle (of which these are the same areas that cultural violence is contained) between men and women that make an effort to delineate belief and norms surrounding the phenomenon of violence and build women's opportunities for evading violent and non-egalitarian relationships (Burgess and Crowell 1996). The ecological model helps in identifying which factors are particularly relevant to which type of abuse and how this interacts with the context. It is important that this research attempts to highlight the distinctions and discover how norms and beliefs, opportunity, social structures, biological predispositions and peer-pressure combine to enable diverse kinds of violence.

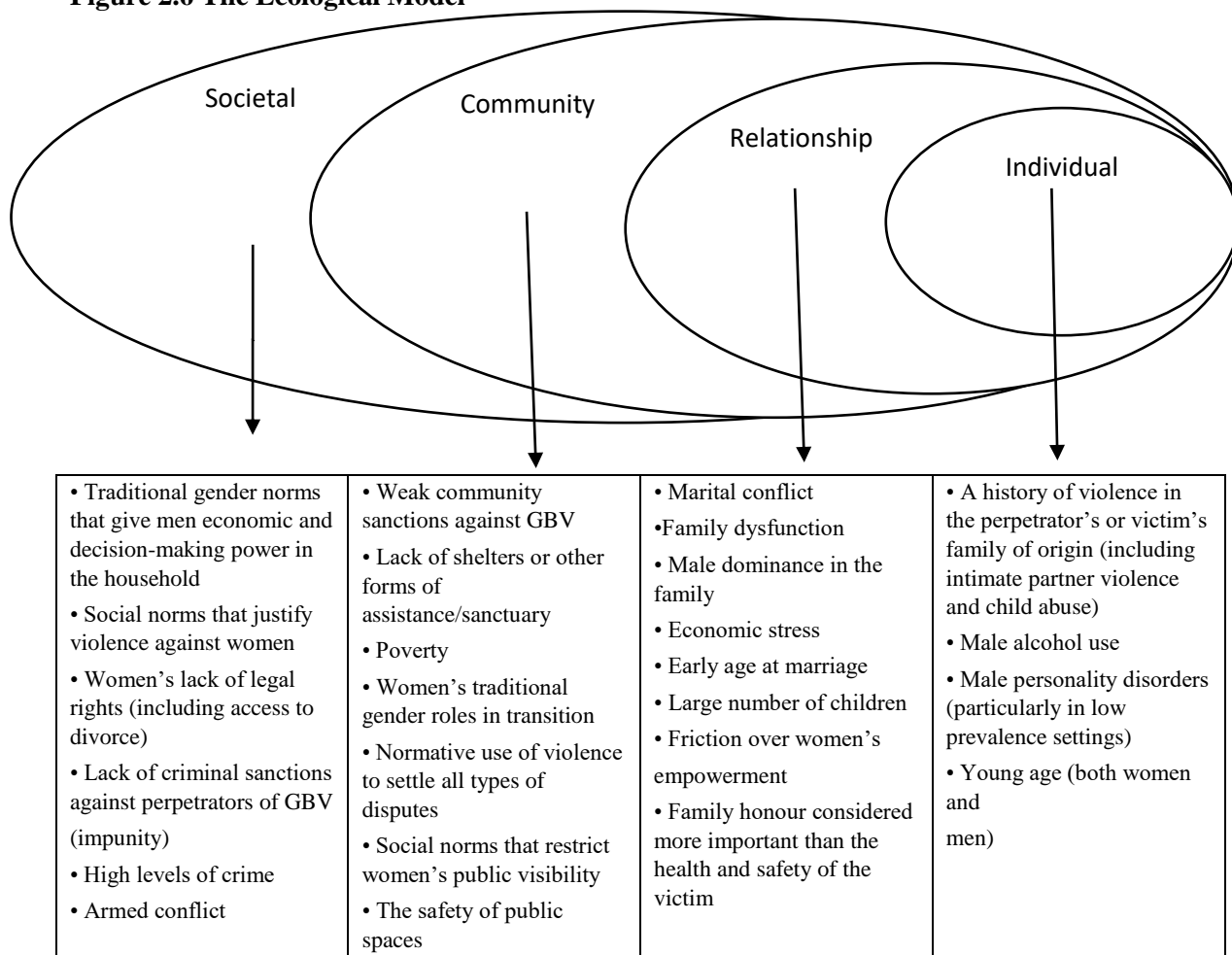
No one element can underpin the prevalence and recurrence of violence in different communities. Violence is an outcome of the multi-faceted interaction of individual, relationship, social, cultural and environmental factors (Heise 2011). Understanding how these factors are related to violence is one of the important steps to preventing violence. The ecological model has also been applied to youth violence and now is being used to understand gender-based violence, particularly intimate-partner

violence (Heise 2011). The ecological model shows the vicious destructive circles that support gender inequality. The model highlights individuals' interaction with their physical and sociocultural environments. Two key concepts of the ecological perspective are that behaviour both affects, and is affected by, multiple levels of influence; secondly, individual behaviour both shapes, and is shaped by the social environment (reciprocal causation (Morna and Chingamuka 2013). The important aspect of the ecological model is the multiple levels of influence that include:

- (1) Intrapersonal or individual factors;
- (2) Interpersonal or close relational factors;
- (3) Community factors;
- (4) Public policy or societal factors.

These multiple layers are explained below. In as much as these layers may explain the causes of gender-based violence, they can equally become a worthy constructive circle challenging these deeply entrenched values, attitudes, systems and norms. The ecological model figure 2.6 illustrated below is used in this study to explain why some of the violence occurs, why some men are more violent than others are, and why some women are consistently the survivors of abuse. In other words, it tries to explain the causes of GBV. Understanding why GBV occurs and factors leading to the perpetration of GBV is a fundamental progenitor in the design of GBV-prevention programmes. The study investigated the association between the experience and perpetration of violence with individual, family, community and societal characteristics of participants. The study also explored social norms around gender relations. The ecological model is used in this research also in programme/intervention design to address changes in the individual, interpersonal, community and societal levels. Figure 2.6 below illustrates the main mechanism that sustains gender-based violence at each level of the social ecology and offers an example of how these manifest within the overarching frame of gender inequality and imbalance of gender-power relations. Most importantly, the model identifies the intended positive outcomes of efforts to prevent violence against women across the ecological model showing strategies to achieve these outcomes at different levels. Unequal power relations that spread violence are bred interpersonally, this is to say that violence manifests itself between individual men and women. This violence emanates from the unequal power relations embedded and acknowledged within the local community and larger society. The ecological model, however, does have a unique advantage in that it shows the interconnectedness of casual drivers of gender-based violence and can have substantial progress in violence prevention where, by design and implementation, programmes can emanate from the different levels of the ecological model.

**Figure 2.6 The Ecological Model**



Adapted from Heise and Garcia Moreno 2002; and Jewkes, Sen and Garcia Moreno 2002.

### **Societal level**

Law, policy and service organisation shape gender-based violence at the societal level. All these three components contribute to the public's understanding of GBV as well as the political responses. Interventions that are conceivable from the societal level are usually advocacy-based to change the discriminatory laws that may exist and create adequate legal infrastructure in response to GBV matters. Laws and policies are very important and they determine the public's response to the unacceptability of GBV and play the role of a repository for every individual. However, the legal infrastructures are insufficient. On their own, they are not able to prevent violence. Inasmuch as national legislation has a role in the prevention of GBV, so do religious and customary laws have a big role in condemning GBV.

## **Community level**

Social norms surrounding gender and power, which sustain or reject violence, shape GBV at the community level. Different communities and societies have different social norms, however, religious and cultural beliefs fund the dominant framing of the community. In other words, they contribute to what the community understands to be GBV and its justification. Community level effects are factors that surge risks, grounded on individual experiences and relationships with community and social environments, for example schools, places of work, and localities. What a community interprets as tolerable behaviour for its population can deeply have an impact on efforts to avert social problems like GBV (Krug 2002). Heise (1998), Flood and Pease (2006) all assert that the majority of the researches on GBV, reveal that social norms that legitimise male dominance are the main of cause of GBV. Research has also revealed that higher rates of GBV are evident in cultures where manhood is conceptualised in terms of dominance, toughness, entitlement to power or male honour, rigid gender roles and violence is excused as a way to resolve interpersonal disputes.

The goal of community-level prevention of gender-based violence is to instil community change, which strives in an open discussion that contests normally-putative community and individual norms and values linked to violence, in means that are culturally and socially relevant to the local settings (Heise 2011).

## **Relationship/Interpersonal level**

It is common to have GBV in individual (one-on-one) relationships. These can be referred to as interpersonal relationships. Distinct behaviour, attitudes on violence are moulded in the home/ family institution where individuals first come into contact with gender norms and ideas about the social value of girls and women (Krug 2002). As noted above, the context that these gender norms and values are created differs. However, gender preconceptions are still prevalent, for instance, according to a demographic-health study, the perception by both men and women is that there are acceptable circumstances where violence is tolerable and is justified (Morna and Chingamuka 2013). The perception is usually buttressed by the view that women/ girls are to blame for the violence perpetrated against them and, in most cases, victim-blaming perpetuates the problem (Bhattacharyya 2013). The first lady of Zimbabwe was noted saying:

*“If you walk around wearing miniskirts displaying your thighs and inviting men to drool over you, then you want to complain when you have been raped? It’s unfortunate because it will be your fault.” (NewsDay 2015).*

The responses of the first responders (that is usually the family or neighbours) about abuse that has been reported to them, determines the victims’ view about violence. For instance, if violence is

condoned at the community level, then it is easy to justify or tolerate GBV (Krug 2002 & Jewkes, Flood and Lang 2015). This reveals that there is a need for efforts towards interpersonal change as a means to transform current norms and behaviours and the socialisation of young people.

### **Individual level**

Women and girls experience the magnitude of violence directly and at the individual level. Devotion to traditional masculine and feminine gender norms, trivial response to violence and slow reaction to building interventions help to maintain interpersonal violence. Putative philosophies of masculinity consist of social dominance, aggressive sexuality, male entitlement and control. On the one hand, the views surrounding femininity consist of internalised submissive-gender roles, which, in turn, condone behaviour and the blame-culture for the violence that has been directed to them. This level identifies biological and personal characteristics that an individual has (Krug 2002).

This research attempts to create self-improving programming which is a means of effective prevention. Self-improving programming gives the opportunity for individuals, in the case the young people, to envision how they would want the world to be.

The “one man can” campaign by *Sonke Justice* (Peacock 2007) gives a picture that for GBV to be dealt with effectively, men have to be part and parcel of the solution. In other words, to prevent GBV, everyone must be viewed as a possible agent of change. When individuals start to view themselves as change agents it means they have to think deeply about their individual, as well as societal values and behaviours. Transformation of behaviour that averts interpersonal violence needs to have strong ground-work, but this can only be possible if individuals become change agents themselves. Individuals, particularly young people, need to understand that healthy relationships are built on respect. These changes in individuals, especially young people, can have a domino effect throughout the community. Other studies based on the ecological model suggest that gender norms and power relations are the key enablers of GBV (Koester et al 2016).

Strata of attitudes, customs, culture, traditions, practices and norms that strengthen the second- class status of women in the society are internalised by the individual woman. All this strata can similarly be a worthy constructive sphere provoking deep-rooted values, attitudes, systems and norms.

## **2.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

The focus of this chapter was on the conceptualisation of gender-based violence. In an attempt to understand GBV, the research provides a lucid narrative of what violence is, so as to get a clear picture of how any type of violence can be gendered. The theories underpinning this study are at the

centre of this chapter, whereby there was a triangulation of theories. Combining Galtung's theory of violence, Lederach's conflict transformation and the ecological framework, provided greater insights into the complexities of GBV than one theoretical perspective would have done. The adoption of Galtung's and Lederach's theories created an imperative analysis that illuminated the complex landscape of violence and at the same time providing means to change/ transform that landscape. The ecological framework was particularly useful in the identification of levels being thought to be drivers of GBV. In other words, it gave the conceptualisation of the origins of GBV and also the conceptualisation of violence as a multidimensional phenomenon based on various factors. Attention was given to how these levels work and how they can become proposed solutions and be used in effective programming for GBV. In a myopic view the ecological model offered another way of thinking about violence.

## **CHAPTER 3**

# **NATURE, EXTENT AND TRENDS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE**

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents an overview of gender-based violence in Zimbabwe with special emphasis on the forms of GBV, the prevalence of different forms of GBV and the trends of gender-based violence. The unique features of GBV and context will be reviewed, to clarify or give a more representative picture of the extent of the problem in Zimbabwe. This review later results in key conceptual decisions that have informed the action-design of this research.

### **3.2 NATURE AND SCOPE OF GBV IN ZIMBABWE**

According to Morna and Chingamuka (2013) gender-based violence is a human rights violation and is rampant in the SADC region. Gender-based violence constitutes a wide variety of forms including, but not limited to, sexual threats, exploitation, domestic violence, sexual assaults, forced prostitution, female genital mutilation and other harmful traditional practices which give rise to morbidity and mortality (Mashiri, 2013). GBV has become extremely complex and I concur with Kannabiran's (2005:3) insights that GBV is violence that is "natural" in nature:

*"It is within the realm of the normal, the routine, that violence against women is deeply embedded, and it is because the greatest part of violence against women is the violence of normal times that it carries with it the guarantee of impunity irrespective of penal, punitive or constitutional safeguards"*

This is the same within the Zimbabwean context. GBV retains a normal nature regardless of all measures to condemn it. A major factor about the nature of violence perpetrated against women and girls is that usually it is perpetrated by people close to them, for example, a male partner/intimate partner or family member, where there is an interdependent relationship. This indicates that both the public and private sphere present themselves as spaces of safety-threat for women. However, when it comes to the private sphere, it is supposed to be a source of security for women, but is a minacity (Moser and Rogers 2012 & Made 2015). Because most of the violence takes place within the private sphere, it has given rise to the culture of silence by women and girls throughout all social spheres



(Mukanangana et al 2014). According to an extensive study on the extent of violence in Zimbabwe, the *Zimbabwe Health and Demographic Survey (ZHDS)* of 2005-2006 and 2010-2011 revealed that, from the women they interviewed, 34.7 per cent said they kept their abuse a secret. With the recognition of GBV being a threat in the private sphere it becomes challenging to come up with programmes responding to GBV. It is, however, difficult to determine the scope of GBV because of the challenges in the conceptualisation of GBV, hence the dearth of comparable studies. Due to the large number of women and girls who do not report the violence perpetrated against them, this under-reporting creates a situation whereby there is a dearth of statistics concerning GBV. According to Koss (1993) and Palermo, Bleck and Peterman (2014:605) and Chireshe (2015:267), the level of under-reporting of GBV is a big challenge and this culture of silence might occur because victims are often hesitant to reveal that they are victims of sexual or physical abuse as a result of fear and humiliation, stigma, financial barriers, perceived impunity for perpetrators, lack of awareness of available services or access to such services, cultural beliefs, threat of losing children, fear of getting the offender in trouble, fear of retaliation, discriminatory and stereotypical attitudes towards victims in courts and law enforcement settings. Furthermore, some women do not report or seek help because they believe violence is a trivial matter to report. Another challenge when it comes to ascertaining the scope of GBV is that health-care facilities and police fail to consistently record data of the abuse against women.

Although Reed, Raj, Miller and Silverman (2010) acknowledge that women are disproportionately affected by gender-based violence, they argue that there are a number of studies that find both males and females to be victims and perpetrators of intimate-partner violence. Referring to the discussion of the culture of silence, Allen et al. (2015), suggest that women are perpetrators of intimate partner violence. However, the effects resulting from the violence are neither sparse nor insignificant, yet legal justice systems are placid about female perpetration of IPV. Desmarais et al. (2012) assert that men do not report IPV perpetrated against them by women because they do not describe their abuse as a crime, this may be because men suffer less of physical violence or experience less serious effects of physical violence. A study carried out by Archer (2000) that involved a review of 82 research studies, sought to find out the rate at which physical-intimate partner violence is perpetrated by both men and women. Archer's study revealed that there were similarities in the patterns of male-perpetrated violence and female-perpetrated violence. However, women were more likely to report physical IPV than men. The study also noted that even though the research under study were predominately USA studies, there were some included from developing countries and these studies also revealed that there was a high prevalence of physical IPV perpetrated by women.

The culture of silence is there amongst men who are victimised. Nyberg, Taft, Enander and Krantz (2013), assert that some men do report their victimisation. However, those who report suffer from ill

health and a variety of negative psychosocial outcomes in comparison to men who do not report violence. A point to note, as argued by Ansara and Hindin (2011), is that psychological violence receives little attention in quantitative research instead of sexual and physical violence. In the Zimbabwean context, the cultural aspect of patriarchy validates gender-based violence whilst, at the same time, patriarchy hinders men to report their victimisation by women, as it is unthinkable and a taboo (Zimbabwe Human Rights NFO Forum 2006). Gevers, Jama Shai and Sikweyiya (2014) argue that the culture of silence and the clemency of IPV, as a private sphere matter (judging from the reportage of IPV), warrants a need for programmes to concentrate on primary prevention throughout social strata, surpassing the short-term strategies such as public discussions and awareness campaigns.

The 2015 ZDHS reveals that, although still low, there has been an upward trend of women who report to various sources their experience of gender-based violence. The study highlights that less than half of women, 39 per cent, who have experienced physical or sexual violence from anyone have sought help from any source, whereas 19 per cent of the women did not seek help, but confided in someone that they were experiencing some violence. On the contrary, the study revealed that four in ten women (42 per cent) had never sought help or told anyone. This shows that there is still a culture of violence when it comes to gender-based violence issues. Table 3.1, adapted from ZDHS (2016:340), presents information-help-seeking behaviour among women who have experienced violence. Among women who have experienced physical or sexual violence, the number of those who sought help or told anyone increased from 31 per cent in the 2005-2006 ZDHS, to 37 per cent in the 2010-2011 ZDHS, and 38 per cent in the 2015 ZDHS (ZDHS 2016:324) Note that in Table 3.1 women can report more than one source from which they sought help. Figures in parent thesis are based on 25-49 unweight cases. An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 unweight cases and has been suppressed. Table 3.2 presents sources of help to stop violence that have been used by women who have experienced violence. Under-reporting and failure to seek help happens everywhere in the world (Palermo, Bleck and Peterman 2014).

Makahamadze et al. (2012) contend that a number of studies carried out in Zimbabwe reveal that domestic violence is a compelling issue for women. This is supported by the evidence given in a number of studies. In a study conducted by Armstrong (1998), 85 per cent of women had experienced domestic violence and 15 per cent of men had experienced domestic violence perpetrated against them by women. A 2002 study carried out by Watt and Zimmerman in Zimbabwe revealed the point that domestic violence disproportionately affects women: 33 per cent of women had violence perpetrated against them. There has been a sharp rise of domestic violence throughout the years, as verified by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO forum (2006).

**Table 3.1 Help seeking to stop violence**

Percent distribution of women age 15-49 who have ever experienced physical or sexual violence by their help-seeking behaviour according to type of violence and background characteristics, Zimbabwe 2015

| Background Characteristic           | Sought help to stop violence | Never sought help but told Someone | Never sought help, never told anyone | Total | No. of women who have ever experienced any physical or sexual violence |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|--|
| <b>Type of violence Experienced</b> |                              |                                    |                                      |       |  |
| Physical only                       | 36.2                         | 20.7                               | 43.1                                 | 100.0 | 1,864  |
| Sexual only                         | 29.8                         | 12.9                               | 57.3                                 | 100.0 | 327  |
| Physical and sexual                 | 50.8                         | 17.2                               | 32.0                                 | 100.0 | 651  |
| <b>Age</b>                          |                              |                                    |                                      |       |  |
| 15-19                               | 39.7                         | 19.1                               | 41.1                                 | 100.0 | 481  |
| 20-24                               | 38.7                         | 17.8                               | 43.5                                 | 100.0 | 472  |
| 25-29                               | 37.6                         | 21.1                               | 41.3                                 | 100.0 | 576  |
| 30-39                               | 37.5                         | 20.1                               | 42.4                                 | 100.0 | 877  |
| 40-49                               | 42.0                         | 15.2                               | 42.8                                 | 100.0 | 436  |
| <b>Religion</b>                     |                              |                                    |                                      |       |  |
| Traditional*                        | *                            |                                    | *                                    | 100.0 | 10   |
| Roman Catholic                      | 34.1                         | 20.1                               | 45.8                                 | 100.0 | 163  |
| Protestant                          | 37.5                         | 19.9                               | 42.6                                 | 100.0 | 419  |
| Pentecostal                         | 40.1                         | 22.0                               | 37.9                                 | 100.0 | 673  |
| Apostolic sect                      | 40.0                         | 17.0                               | 42.9                                 | 100.0 | 1,274  |
| Other Christian                     | 33.2                         | 17.9                               | 48.8                                 | 100.0 | 107  |
| Muslim *                            | *                            | *                                  |                                      | 100.0 | 12   |
| None                                | 35.5                         | 18.9                               | 45.6                                 | 100.0 | 180  |
| Other * **                          |                              |                                    |                                      | 100.0 | 3  |
| <b>Residence</b>                    |                              |                                    |                                      |       |  |
| Urban                               | 35.0                         | 25.8                               | 39.3                                 | 100.0 | 1,075  |
| Rural                               | 41.1                         | 14.9                               | 44.0                                 | 100.0 | 1,768  |
| <b>Province</b>                     |                              |                                    |                                      |       |  |
| Manicaland                          | 33.4                         | 16.6                               | 49.9                                 | 100.0 | 366  |
| Mashonaland Central                 | 33.7                         | 27.5                               | 38.7                                 | 100.0 | 253  |
| Mashonaland East                    | 39.1                         | 13.6                               | 47.3                                 | 100.0 | 337  |
| Mashonaland West                    | 51.6                         | 5.5                                | 42.9                                 | 100.0 | 377  |
| Matabeleland North                  | 32.1                         | 27.3                               | 40.6                                 | 100.0 | 102  |
| Matabeleland South                  | 35.5                         | 23.4                               | 41.2                                 | 100.0 | 77   |
| Midlands                            | 48.2                         | 9.7                                | 42.2                                 | 100.0 | 374  |
| Masvingo                            | 42.6                         | 15.8                               | 41.6                                 | 100.0 | 292  |
| Harare                              | 30.4                         | 33.9                               | 35.6                                 | 100.0 | 514  |
| Bulawayo                            | 31.4                         | 26.9                               | 41.6                                 | 100.0 | 151  |
| <b>Marital status</b>               |                              |                                    |                                      |       |  |
| Never married                       | 36.2                         | 22.7                               | 41.2                                 | 100.0 | 443  |
| Married or living together          | 38.2                         | 17.7                               | 44.2                                 | 100.0 | 1,925  |
| Divorced/separated/widowed          | 43.8                         | 20.9                               | 35.3                                 | 100.0 | 474  |
| <b>Number of living children</b>    |                              |                                    |                                      |       |  |
| 0                                   | 36.7                         | 21.7                               | 41.6                                 | 100.0 | 523  |
| 1-2                                 | 39.0                         | 18.9                               | 42.0                                 | 100.0 | 1,156  |
| 3-4                                 | 38.9                         | 19.7                               | 41.4                                 | 100.0 | 856  |
| 5+                                  | 41.1                         | 12.7                               | 46.2                                 | 100.0 | 308  |
| <b>Employment</b>                   |                              |                                    |                                      |       |  |
| Employed for cash                   | 41.0                         | 19.1                               | 39.9                                 | 100.0 | 1,544  |
| Employed not for cash               | 46.8                         | 8.4                                | 44.8                                 | 100.0 | 108  |
| Not employed                        | 35.2                         | 19.8                               | 45.0                                 | 100.0 | 1,190  |
| <b>Education</b>                    |                              |                                    |                                      |       |  |
| No education                        | (44.0)                       | (10.0)                             | (46.0)                               | 100.0 | 40   |
| Primary                             | 41.7                         | 14.9                               | 43.4                                 | 100.0 | 812  |
| Secondary                           | 37.6                         | 20.8                               | 41.6                                 | 100.0 | 1,844  |
| More than secondary                 | 36.6                         | 21.1                               | 42.3                                 | 100.0 | 147  |
| <b>Wealth quintile</b>              |                              |                                    |                                      |       |  |
| Lowest                              | 43.5                         | 15.4                               | 41.1                                 | 100.0 | 510  |
| Second                              | 40.1                         | 15.6                               | 44.3                                 | 100.0 | 513  |
| Middle                              | 39.7                         | 13.8                               | 46.4                                 | 100.0 | 500  |
| Fourth                              | 36.6                         | 21.1                               | 42.3                                 | 100.0 | 714  |
| Highest                             | 35.5                         | 26.7                               | 37.8                                 | 100.0 | 606  |
| Total                               | 38.8                         | 19.0                               | 42.2                                 | 100.0 | 2,842  |
| Total                               | 38.8                         | 19.0                               | 42.2                                 | 100.0 | 2,842  |

**Table 3.2 Sources for help to stop the violence**

Percentage of women age 15-49 who have experienced physical or sexual violence and sought help by sources from which they sought help, according to the type of violence that women reported, Zimbabwe 2015

| Source  | Type of violence experienced |             | Physical and Sexual | Total |
|---|------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------|
|   | Physical only                | Sexual only |                     |       |
| Own family  | 53.1                         | 64.6        | 51.9                | 53.8  |
| Husband's/partner's family                                    | 38.8                         | 17.5        | 39.8                | 37.2  |
| Husband/partner   | 0.4                          | 0.0         | 2.5                 | 1.0   |
| Boyfriend   | 0.3                          | 0.0         | 0.0                 | 0.2   |
| Friend  | 4.9                          | 13.7        | 11.9                | 7.8   |
| Neighbour   | 3.2                          | 4.3         | 7.0                 | 4.4   |
| Religious leader  | 3.4                          | 2.3         | 4.9                 | 3.8   |
| Doctor/medical personnel                                      | 3.6                          | 4.7         | 4.6                 | 4.0   |
| Police  | 19.8                         | 6.5         | 27.2                | 20.8  |
| Lawyer  | 0.1                          | 0.0         | 1.7                 | 0.6   |
| Social work organization                                      | 1.1                          | 2.2         | 2.0                 | 1.5   |
| Other   | 5.8                          | 9.5         | 4.3                 | 5.7   |
| Number of women who have Experienced violence and sought help | 674                          | 97          | 331                 | 1,102 |

Note: Women can report more than one source from which they sought help.

Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF (2016:341)

The 2005-2006 Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey (ZDHS), the 2010-2011 ZDHS and the National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents Preliminary Report 2011, in so far as GBV research is concerned, gave far-reaching data on the scope of gender-based violence in Zimbabwe. Data produced from all these studies highlights that there are soaring levels of physical and sexual violence aimed at women and girls. The 2005- 2006, ZDHS reveals that 36 per cent of women who took part in the survey, from the ages of 15, had suffered physical violence, whilst 47 per cent of the women said it was someone close to them who had perpetrated the violence, particularly an intimate partner. 18 per cent said perpetrators were people socially responsible for their security in the homes such as mothers and step-mothers. Later on, the 2010-2011 ZDHS highlighted that violence cuts across all backgrounds. The findings revealed that 30 per cent of women in the age group of 15-49 experienced physical violence from the age of 15 and 27 per cent were subject to sexual violence perpetrated by an intimate partner. Both national studies revealed that 22 per cent of women that their first encounter of sexual intercourse was not with their consent. There are similarities in the way that women experience sexual and physical violence in terms of context and characteristics. However, for women who are empowered, that is with an education and paid employment, they are at less risk of experiencing gender-based violence (Kimuna et al 2013:779, Tenkorang et al 2013, and Vyas, Mwambo and Heise 2015). The 2010-2011 ZDHS, asserts that in Zimbabwe, for young women, sexual violence becomes a reality before the age of 18. This is backed up by the figures obtained from the study, 32.5 per cent, which constituted a third of female

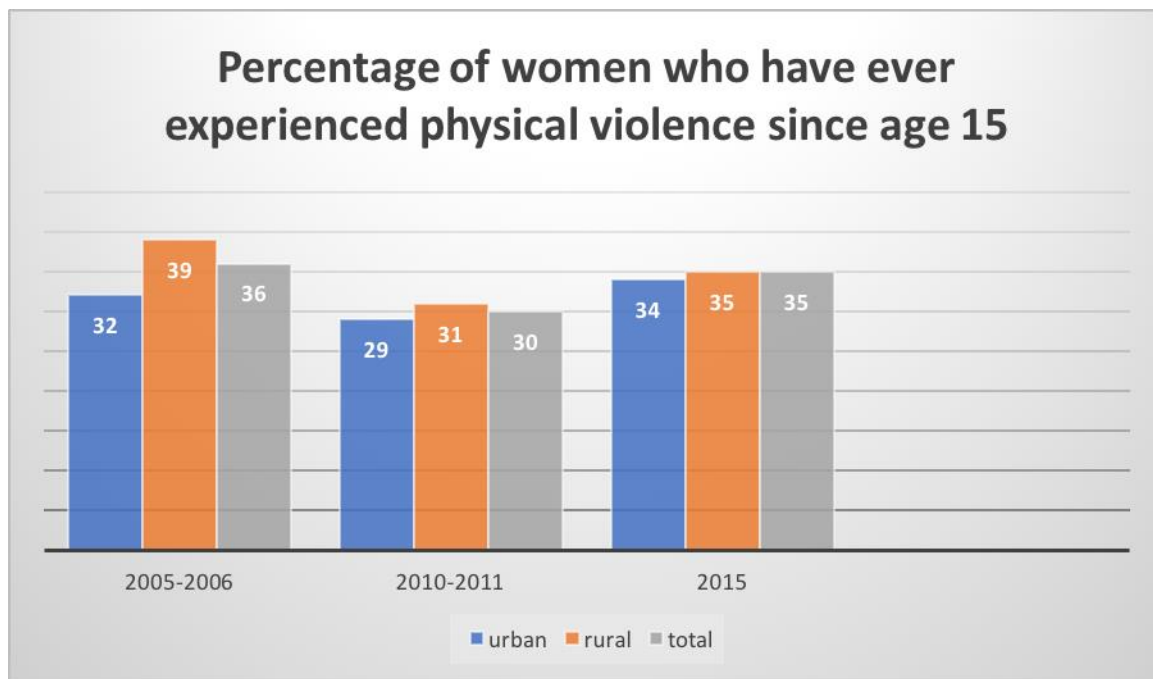
participants between the ages of 18-24 said they were subject of sexual violence prior the age of 18 and 9 per cent of males within the same age category had been recorded to have been sexually abused before the age of 18 (ZIMSTAT and ICF International 2012). The research also noted that these findings were as a result of the intricate interaction of patriarchal values, tradition, culture and poverty (these will be discussed in the following chapter) which drive domestic violence.

There was a five year gap between the administering of the 2005-2006, 2010-2011 and 2015 ZDHS, and these gaps showed that there was a downward trend in women who had experienced violence, particularly physical violence. The percentage of women who had experienced violence was recorded to have decreased in 2010 and then an increase in percentage of women who had experienced violence was recorded in 2015 (ZIMSTAT and ICF International 2016:318). Figure 3.1 illustrates the trends of physical violence against women since 2005- 2015.

Of the three national studies carried out in Zimbabwe, the *National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents Preliminary Report 2011* was targeted at adolescents and youth to ascertain the nature and extent of violence young people face in their everyday lives. The findings from the research revealed that 33 per cent of females and 9 per cent of males said that they had been subjected to sexual violence before the age of 18, and that 20 per cent of females and 6 per cent of males were subjected to unsolicited sexual touching. 15 per cent of young females and 4 per cent of young males were subjects of unsolicited attempted sexual intercourse before the age of 18. 14 per cent of young females and 2 per cent of young males said they had experienced unwanted sex (ZIMSTAT, UNICEF and CCORE 2013:18).

The study revealed that both female and male adolescents had experienced sexual violence that was perpetrated against them by an older individual with results pegged at 63 per cent of girls and 42 per cent of boys having said to have experienced sexual violence not just once but on numerous occasions. In examining these findings, it is evident that girls are more at risk of GBV than boys and the results also give a snapshot of the high prevalence of sexual violence in Zimbabwe. The trends of GBV in Zimbabwe are having a disturbing shift whereby the numbers have increased of juveniles perpetrating violence, particularly sexual violence. The Newsday (2015) reported that of the 4,379 rape cases in Zimbabwe recorded as from the month of June 2014, 3,046 cases were committed by juveniles. These are statistics that reflect reported cases, however, there are plenty of cases which go unreported (Newsday 2015).

**Figure 3.1 Trends in physical violence**



Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF International (2016:318).

### **3.3 PREVALENT FORMS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE**

The data collected about GBV is fragmented and is mostly incomparable, although there might be some similarities. This is because of the varied ways in which GBV is conceptualised by countries. GBV is in actual fact socially condoned and pervasively embedded in the lives of women and girls. Because of a system that is based on gender-power relations which gives rise to the subordination of women, women and girls automatically face discrimination. Masenya and Mokoele (2015:27) argue that “discrimination against women is one of the worst social stigmas that society has not been able to overcome. Women and children are too often amongst the most marginalised in all societies and face unique challenges in the enjoyment their human rights.” Law, culture and religion viewed through the lens of power (Tamale 2014:155) have created a legacy of discrimination, which has resulted in the astounding levels of physical and sexual violence against women. The connection between power and discrimination, is that hegemonic power sways both men and women to consent to social norms and values that are innately exploitative (Tamale 2014:155). Good or bad gender norms are constructed by hegemonic discourses. GBV is a complex issue that has seen the invention of different programmes to curb it. Institutions such as religion, culture and the law may curtail the efforts to reduce gender-based violence because these are controlled by hegemonic powers. Zimbabwe is no exception, regardless of various programmes to champion this scourge, its prevalence is still high and the culture of “silence” mars the efforts towards its eradication (Chireshe 2015). Women are sometimes the unwitting

reinforcers of negative hegemonic discourses regarding the acceptance of violence and hence do not see the need to speak up about gender-based violence.

This research discusses three typologies of gender-based violence: family violence; community and state violence. The most prevalent form of GBV in Zimbabwe is family and/or domestic violence. Domestic violence is defined as “a form of gender-based violence, which is defined here as any act of violence that results in physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, girls, and men, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty” (ZIMSTAT and ICF 2016:315). Domestic violence may also be known as spousal violence or intimate-partner violence and violence by other family members or unrelated individuals (ZIMSTAT and ICF 2016:316 and Rodgers, 2016:137). WHO (2010) defines intimate partner violence “as acts of physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse and controlling behaviour within an intimate relationship that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm.” Fidan and Bui (2016:1075) argue that IPV is the most prevalent form of violence against women worldwide and usually happens in families. There is a core relationship between domestic violence and intimate-partner violence,. In other words, IPV is a subset of domestic violence (specific form of domestic violence), which is the most prevalent form of GBV that affects women, and men are the sole perpetrators throughout Southern Africa.

While I examine domestic violence critically, using the scholarship of Rodgers (2016:134), I contend that “there is no singular type of ‘perpetrator’ nor homogenous group of ‘victims’ or ‘survivors’.” Domestic violence affects anyone regardless of their gender. However, figures tend to reveal that domestic violence is gendered in nature (Rodgers 2016:137). This is to say that the perpetrators of this kind of violence are in fact predominately male partners. Gender-based violence is always viewed as violence against women or a women’s affair, painting the picture that men are embroiled in violence only as perpetrators (Dutton and White 2013). Because of the gender paradigm, men who experience any form of GBV are not taken seriously when they report GBV against them. The gender paradigm’s view of gender-based violence is an extension of patriarchy that assumes males are perpetrators and females are victims (Cannon and Buttell 2015). Therefore, males who experience violence, have few options of what to do or where to go because services are designed for female victims (Dutton and White 2013). The gender paradigm asserts that female violence is not serious and is usually a reaction to male violence. It can be loosely referred to as ‘normal conflict’ in relationships. Society’s frame of gender-based violence perpetrated by women against men is of a less serious nature and does less or no harm to the victim. Gender paradigm stereotypes are held by both men and women and also law-enforcers (such as police) and academics.

The attachment to the leading gender paradigm encourages gaps in academic research. In Africa, men do not get as much attention as women in research as victims of gender-based violence. In the

Zimbabwean context, where polygamy and long-term extra marital affairs popularly known as the “small house saga” are common. Women perpetrate violence against other women and even men. In such cases it is argued that women perpetrate violence in self-defence (Sanders 2002). Dutton and White (2013:6) argue that women in fact do perpetrate violence against men and other women. This suggests that if women engage in violent behaviour as much as men do, this is referred to as the gender symmetry (Dutton and White 2013). Therefore, the rationale of this study is to engage youth, both boys and girls in addressing gender-based violence issues.

Statistics from the 2015 ZDHS reveal that 45 per cent of married women reported experiencing domestic violence by their current or most recent partner. 30 per cent reported experiencing domestic violence in the past 12 months (ZIMSTAT and ICF 2016:322). On the contrary, the 2015 ZDHS reports that 4 per cent of married women report that they have instigated physical violence against their current or most recent husband, and 2 per cent report that they have done so in the past year (ZIMSTAT and ICF 2016:323). In this research, although I refer to the most prevalent form of GBV in Zimbabwe as domestic violence in general, the study is mainly concerned with IPV. In domestic violence/IPV, the most common forms of violence are sexual, physical, emotional and psychological and socio-economic violence. These various forms of intimate partner violence are discussed in the following sections.

### ***Sexual Violence***

Sexual violence is rampant in domestic violence/IPV and it comes in different forms. It constitutes sexual acts perpetrated against an individual in different circumstances and settings, such as rape in marriage or dating or non-romantic relationships, verbal abuse of a sexual nature usually (gendered language), forced marriages (mostly child marriages), forced abortion, genital mutilation, virginity testing and any other violent behaviour directed at the sexual integrity of a person. For example, banning women from accessing sexual and reproductive health services like birth contraceptives, human trafficking for sexual exploitation, unwanted exposure to pornography and sexual touching (Human Rights Bulletin 2011:2 and Dartnall and Jewkes 2013:4). Throughout literature, sexual violence has conceptualised challenges, that is, how do we define; what constitutes; how do we measure sexual violence. Dartnall and Jewkes (2013:4) conducted a close analysis of sexual violence and suggest that sexual violence is diverse and includes “a range of different victim perpetrator relationships, a range of different sexual acts, a range of forms of coercion and contexts of vulnerability and it occurs in a range of settings.”

Mashiri’s (2013) account of sexual violence is that it is coerced sex, forcing a partner to do certain sexual acts, preventing a partner to use birth control or refusing to use a condom. Globally, data on the pervasiveness of sexual abuse is inadequate and a corpus of studies suggest that a significant number



of girls and women have been subject to child sexual violence, forced sex and sexual coercion. UNAIDS (2011) asserts that, according to research in Africa, 60 per cent of women have been subjected to physical and sexual violence from their intimate partner. ZIMSTAT and ICF (2012) highlighted a disturbing number of rape cases: the number shot up from 3481 in 2009 and 4450 in 2010 and a shocking 2195 incidences between January and May 2012 alone. Dartnall and Jewkes (2013:6), Jewkes (2002) and Jewkes (2011) suggest that the root cause of sexual violence is gender inequality and discrimination. For instance, girls suffer from forms of violence that are fuelled by gender inequality such as forced/early marriage, sex trafficking, female genital mutilation and virginity testing (García-Moreno et al 2015). Abrahams et al. (2015: 49) contend that gender inequality drives notions of male sexual entitlement and male rights to use rape as punishment or correctional mechanism. Non-partner sexual violence is on the increase in Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee, ZIMVAC 2016:161), non-partner sexual violence, according to Abrahams et al. (2015:49) is sexual violence perpetrated by strangers, acquaintances, friends, colleagues, peers, teachers, neighbours, police, military personnel, family members such as fathers, brothers, uncles, uncles, cousins and step relations. Table 3.3 illustrates perpetrators of physical and sexual violence in Zimbabwe.

**Table 3.3 Perpetrators of Physical and Sexual Violence**

| <b>Sexual Violence</b>    |                   | <b>Physical Violence</b> |                   |
|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>Perpetrators</b>       | <b>Proportion</b> | <b>Perpetrators</b>      | <b>Proportion</b> |
| Current husband/partner   | 59.2              | Mother/step mother       | 4.2               |
| Former husband /partner   | 9.7               | Father/step father       | 3.4               |
| Current/former boyfriend  | 13.3              | Sister/brother           | 4.9               |
| Father/step father        | 1.0               | Daughter/son             | 2.2               |
| Brother/step brother      | 2.0               | Other relative           | 11.0              |
| Other relatives           | 3.1               | Current boyfriend        | 7.6               |
| In-laws                   | 1.0               | Former boyfriend         | 6.8               |
| Family friend             | 1.0               | Mother-in-law            | 4.7               |
| Employer/ someone at work | 1.5               | Father-in-law            | 0.7               |
| Police/soldier            | 0.5               | Teacher                  | 1.4               |
| Priest/religious leader   | 0.5               | Employer/someone at work | 0.7               |
| Stranger                  | 7.1               | Police/soldier           | 0.3               |
|                           |                   | Husband/other            | 50.3              |

Source: ZIMVAC (2016:164)

In relation to GBV among young people, sexual coercion is a very prevalent form of violence. Previous research suggests that, in most cases of sexual violence, the perpetrator is known to the victim (Dartnall and Jewkes 2013:6 and Bingenheimer and Reed 2014:2). Dartnall and Jewkes (2013:8) and (Tenkorang and Owusu 2013) assert that, in most cases, the first sexual encounter for young girls and women is usually through coercion or force. This is, however, more common among girls than boys and the adolescent stages poses as a time of risk for experiencing coercive sex or forced sex. The Zimbabwe National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents, carried out in 2011, reported that for young people between the ages of 18-24 15 per cent of females experienced unwanted attempted sex before the age of 18 years whereas 3.8% of males reported unwanted attempted sex before the age of 18.. Pressured sex before the age of 18 was reported by 7.4 per cent of females and 1.4% per cent of males. Physically forced sex before the age of 18 was reported by 9 per cent of females and 0.4 per cent of males. Unwanted completed sex before the age of 18 was reported by 13.5 per cent of females and 1.8 per cent of males. Overall, for young people aged 18-24 , who had their sexual encounter before the age of 18, 41 per cent of females and 7 per cent of males reported that their first sexual intercourse was unwanted, that is, they were forced, pressured, tricked or threatened to engage in sexual intercourse. For those aged 13-17, 43 per cent of females and 5 per cent of males had unwanted first sexual intercourse, that is, they were forced, pressured, tricked or threatened to engage in sexual intercourse (ZIMSTAT, UNICEF and CCORE 2013: 22).

The Zimbabwe National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents, carried out in 2011, also reported that 77 per cent of females and 26.7 per cent of males between the ages of 18-24 said that the first incident of sexual violence was perpetrated by a boyfriend or girlfriend, that is, someone they were in a relationship with. Neighbours were cited by 10 per cent of females and 33 per cent of males as the perpetrators of the first incident of sexual violence among young people between the ages of 18-24. There was a similar trend with young people between the ages of 13- 17 as 60 per cent of females and 12 per cent of males reported experiencing any sexual violence and the perpetrators were their boyfriend or girlfriend (ZIMSTAT, UNICEF and CCORE 2013: 22).

Research has shown that GBV occurs in schools whereby it is perpetrated by male students in combined schools and by male teachers as well. GBV in schools usually takes the form of sexual violence (Chikwiri and Lemmer 2014; Abrahams, Mathews and Ramela 2006); Jewkes, Levin, Bradshaw and Mbananga 2002 and Ruto 2009). A multi-country study conducted in 445 schools in Southern Africa (Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe), reported that of the young people aged 16, 28.8 per cent of the female students and 25.4 per cent of the male students said they had experienced forced or coerced sex (Andersson et al. 2012). Dartnall and Jekwes (2013:8) suggest that were there is a high prevalence of boys who have experienced forced sex, this is due to a number of social phenomena. One is the

peer pressure that boys face to express that they are ‘men’ by having sex at some point in their lives when they are far from being ready for sexual relationships. Sometimes the boys are pressured by their girlfriends to engage in sexual intercourse. Secondly, boys are coerced into sexual acts with older women as there is some sought of fascination attached to it.

Research on violence against women in Africa shows an increased risk of current physical or sexual violence among women of a younger age, especially those aged 15 to 19 (Krug et al. 2002; WHO 2005a; Kishor and Johnson 2004). In a peri-urban study in Zimbabwe, there was a difference in the way men and women construed sexual abuse. Female participants acknowledged that spousal rape was possible, while the men refused that notion. Whilst some participants believed that rape could not be blamed on the victim, some, on the other hand, highlighted that women put themselves at risk (Damba et al. 2013). Using the scholarship of Brownmiller (1993) men and women may have parallel views about sexual violence depending on factors such as socialisation, silence and gender power relations. Brownmiller (1993:472) asserts that “sexual violence is simply the imposition of domination and authority, the humiliation, sometimes annihilation of someone who cannot retaliate.” She goes on to argue from a historical perspective that women were taken to be ‘property’ for example in the feudal societies, men had property rights over their wives and wives of their serfs. Looking at African societies, there is a similar pattern, having paid for a woman’s dowry is misconstrued to mean women become the property of their husbands. Therefore, it is difficult for most societies to recognise spousal rape as being a crime. According to a study by Mannell, Jackson and Umuntoni (2016:65), sociocultural, economic, political-legal and historical constraints inform on women’s actions towards intimate-partner violence. The study also highlighted that women experiencing IPV described four possible actions that could be taken against violence: reporting the violence, seeking emotional support, fighting back against violence or remaining silent. Remaining silent seemed to be an easier option, not only because they condone social norms that accept violence, but prefer to preserve the image of family and marriage.

Sexual violence in Zimbabwe against women and children is high and therefore, the concentration on trying to reduce the surging numbers of incidences. The poignant picture of sexual violence painted by research can be even more serious and vivid if the majority of incidences were reported.

### ***Physical Violence***

Physical violence constitutes ‘normal’ violence. The human rights bulletin (2011:3) defines physical violence as “any deliberate act that directly impairs the victim’s physical wellbeing. It is the intentional use of physical force with the potential of causing harm, injury, disability or death. Physical violence includes pushing, choking, slapping, punching, and burning among other acts that can cause physical harm.” Physical violence is the most visible and common form of GBV. According

to Mashiri (2013), perpetrators usually assault their spouses, partners and family members. SAFAIDS (2009) asserts that because of the patriarchal nature of Zimbabwe, and culture, it is often part of gender socialisation that girls and women are taught that it is normal for their husbands or partners to beat them, therefore, endurance is taught regardless of the harm done by physical assaults.

The 2015, Zimbabwe Demographic Health Survey (ZDHS) reports that 35 per cent of women in Zimbabwe have experience physical violence since age 15. Among women aged 15-49 who have experienced physical violence since age 15, 54 per cent report their current husband/partner was a perpetrator, 23 per cent report a former husband/partner, and 7 per cent report other relatives. Among married women who experienced violence since age 15, 64 per cent report their current husband/partner committed acts of physical violence and 27 per cent report former husbands or partners. Among never-married women, 22 per cent report that the persons who committed acts of physical violence against them are other relatives, 19 per cent report teachers, and 24 per cent report other persons. Women's experience with physical violence has changed little over the past decade: 36 per cent of women age 15-49 reported having ever experienced physical violence since age 15 in the 2005-06 ZDHS, 30 per cent in the 2010-11 ZDHS, and 35 per cent in the 2015 ZDHS (see figure 3.1). In all three surveys, women most commonly reported that the person committing the physical violence is a current husband/partner, followed by a former husband/partner.

In another study, also in Zimbabwe, Damba et al. (2013), acknowledged that the men interviewed in the study frequently used the word 'discipline' in place of physical violence, indicating that there was nothing wrong with physically disciplining their wives and there is a sense of obligation to do so. Damba et al. (2013) also revealed that female respondents indicated that men who beat up their wives were regarded as men who could keep their households in order and women felt that it was natural and normal for men to behave in that manner.

A study conducted in Hatcliffe, Zimbabwe by Mukanangana, Moyo and Rusinga (2014), revealed that physical violence perpetrated against women was routine with 95 per cent of the respondents having reported to be victims. A further analysis in terms of age, indicated that 66 per cent of women who had experienced physical abuse fell in the 25-39 category, while 30 per cent constituted youth who had experienced physical violence. The global prevalence of physical violence shows that this an issue that cuts across all boundaries. Leburu and Phetlho-Thekisho (2015:400) suggest that in South Africa, physical violence is the number two cause of death (intimate femicide) and ranks high in the cause of disability, particularly among women. The table below shows the views of women in developing countries concerning the issue of physical violence. To a larger extent these statistics reveal some degree of internalisation of abuse among women.

| <b>Table 3.4 Women's attitudes towards wife beating in relation to whether husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife</b> |                |       |                 |       |                              |       |                       |       |                              |       |
|--|----------------|-------|-----------------|-------|------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|------------------------------|-------|
| <b>Husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife (% of women who agree)</b>  |                |       |                 |       |                              |       |                       |       |                              |       |
| Country  | Burns the food |       | Argues with him |       | Goes out Without telling him |       | Neglects the children |       | Refuses to Have sex With him |       |
|  | Urban          | Rural | Urban           | Rural | Urban                        | Rural | Urban                 | Rural | Urban                        | Rural |
| Benin (2001)   | 35.3           | 20.2  | 45.5            | 30.6  | 50.6                         | 34.3  | 59.3                  | 38.9  | 19.4                         | 13.5  |
| Cameroon (2004)  | 25.8           | 13.8  | 33.3            | 21.1  | 40                           | 28.2  | 48.7                  | 42    | 27.1                         | 14.8  |
| Ethiopia (2005)  | 67.5           | 30.8  | 63.9            | 34.6  | 69.1                         | 41.5  | 69                    | 44.2  | 49.6                         | 19.8  |
| Ghana (2003)   | 18.5           | 8.9   | 34.3            | 24.3  | 39.2                         | 28.4  | 42.9                  | 30.8  | 24.1                         | 15.5  |
| Kenya (2003)   | 17.7           | 12.3  | 50              | 33.5  | 41.9                         | 31.6  | 59.3                  | 42.8  | 31.8                         | 22.1  |
| Malawi (2004)  | 12.5           | 6.3   | 12.8            | 7.1   | 14.7                         | 10.1  | 18.6                  | 10.5  | 14.7                         | 8.6   |
| Nigeria (2003)   | 35             | 22.7  | 47.8            | 35.4  | 58.4                         | 42.2  | 53.8                  | 41.1  | 42.5                         | 28.1  |
| Senegal (2005)   | 27.4           | 19.1  | 58.1            | 38.7  | 60.8                         | 38    | 57.6                  | 39.1  | 55.4                         | 34    |
| Egypt (2005)   | 25             | 10.4  | 47              | 23.8  | 49.4                         | 27.4  | 48.6                  | 27.1  | 43                           | 20.1  |
| Jordan (2002)  | 72.9           | 56.1  | 9               | 3     | 37.1                         | 20.8  | 49.9                  | 33.2  | —                            | —     |
| Indonesia (2002–2003)  | 3.6            | 2.2   | 6.3             | 4.1   | 21.1                         | 14.9  | 22.1                  | 16.5  | 7.9                          | 5.8   |
| Nepal (2001)   |                |       |                 |       |                              |       |                       |       |                              |       |
| Philippines (2003)   | 5.1            | 3.9   | 8.8             | 8     | 12.1                         | 13.2  | 24.8                  | 29    | 3.1                          | 2.7   |
| Bolivia (2003)   | 4.3            | 2.2   | 7.1             | 3.7   | 12.6                         | 6     | 25                    | 17.3  | 4.5                          | 2.4   |
| Dominican Republic (2002)  | 9.2            | 3.6   | 9.9             | 4.9   | 12.9                         | 7.2   | 19.9                  | 15.3  | 4.5                          | 1.9   |
| Haiti (2000)   | 3.6            | 1.8   | 1.7             | 0.8   | 5                            | 2.3   | 9.5                   | 5.9   | 1.3                          | 0.6   |
| Nicaragua (2001)   | 14.4           | 6.6   | 14              | 6.4   | 34.4                         | 23.4  | 33.2                  | 21.6  | 16.9                         | 10.2  |
|  | 7.9            | 2.6   | 7.5             | 2.6   | 9.9                          | 3.4   | 13.4                  | 7.2   | 4.8                          | 1.7   |

Source: McIlwaine (2013:68)

### ***Emotional/Psychological Violence***

Emotional or psychological violence is a type of violence that is usually not taken seriously. However, this is the predominant type of violence in IPV or domestic violence (Morna, Dube and Makamure 2015). Emotional and psychological violence as defined by the Human Rights Bulletin (2011:3) is “behaviour that affects victim's feelings and sense of self with the intention of directly impairing the victim's psychological integrity. Such acts include insults, stalking, threats and denial of access to needs and requirements.” According to a violence against women (VAW) baseline survey in Zimbabwe, the results from this study revealed that in the “I story workshops” emotional violence was the most recorded form of violence with 70 per cent of women having experienced it. The study goes on to show that women can experience more than one type of violence at a given time (Morna and Chingamuka 2013). In another study by Damba, Lunga, and Musarurwa (2013), male respondents viewed GBV as sexual assault (rape) by a stranger, whereas female respondents generally construed

GBV as emotional or psychological abuse, referring to instances of constant verbal abuse by men and constant degrading. However, this type of violence is hard to detect and prove. Casique-Casique and Furegato (2006:953) assert that a study carried out in Chile highlighted various manifestations of emotional violence such as:

- Verbal abuse- humbling, insulting, ridiculing, humiliating, using mental games and ironies to cause confusion.
- Intimidation- scaring with looks, gestures or screams, throwing objects or destroying property.
- Threats- to hurt, kill, commit suicide, and take the children with him.
- Isolation- abusive control of the other person's life by watching over her acts and movements, listening to her conversation, impeding that she makes friends.
- Disdain- treating the other person as inferior, making important decisions without consulting the other person.
- Economic abuse- abusive financial control, imposing monetary rewards or punishments, impeding the woman from going out to work, although this is necessary for family maintenance.

It is important to note that victims of emotional violence do not often take what they are experiencing seriously and hence there is no agency to respond to this type of violence (Casique-Casique and Furegato 2006:953).

### ***Socio- Economic Violence***

Socio- economic violence has been highlighted as being one of the forms that is prevalent in Zimbabwe. Human rights bulletin (2011:3) and Morna and Chingamuka (2013) assert that economic violence involves the orchestrated denial of education, income and occupation. Sedziafa et al. (2016:2) define economic abuse as “denying women their most basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter, and so on, to more complex needs including economic independence and inability to fully participate in household purchasing decisions.” A VAW baseline study in Zimbabwe acknowledged that 57 per cent of women had experienced economic violence. Forms of economic abuse highlighted in this study comprised the partner not supporting his children, being denied the chance to work or engage in income-generating projects, demand for money, gambling away all earnings, a partner

stealing wages, being abandoned during pregnancy, being evicted or locked out from the matrimonial home (Morna and Chingamuka 2013).

According to a Development Research in Africa study (2011:73), the survey highlighted that 48 per cent of female participants had been subject to economic violence and continue to be victims of economic violence. In the study economic abuse was understood to include victims' salary spent on other women (extra-marital affairs), victims possessions sold or damaged and having their clothes torn off. Other striking findings from the research were that 34 per cent of men controlled the household income and 27 per cent of victims were denied knowledge about the household finances, 26 per cent were denied access to household income and 13 per cent of victims reported physical abuse for spending money for the upkeep of the household. Leburu and Phetlho- Thekisho (2015:402) assert that economic violence is likely to maintain the dependence of victims on the perpetrators because of the unbalanced power dynamics and control in the relationship.

Theoretical assumptions linked to socio-economic abuse is patriarchy. Sedziafa et al. (2016:4) assert that "patriarchy manifests in the private sphere by retaining control over female partners' financial resources through restriction and subordination of participation in economic development." In most cases men dominate in the public and economic sphere and women are relegated to inferior roles within the family, and this may lead to the feminisation of poverty, forcing women to rely on their male partners for basic needs such as food and housing (Chant 2007). This is a twofold situation, because, in some instances where the man cannot provide for the family economically, and the woman is engaged economically, that may breed violence or abuse due to the standing traditional norms that exalt women's subordination. In other words, the man feels emasculated because of the economic independence of the woman. Casique-Casique and Furegato (2006:954) agree with the latter point and presents the fact that there are social changes in productive institutions and the home, as we see more women get into the labour market and assume roles as the breadwinners, which affects her roles at home. This is a reality that men are traditionally not ready and willing to accept.

In Zimbabwe, gender-based violence (GBV), remains a threat to the empowerment of women and girls, human rights, as well as peace and security. It is present in all spheres of life and can manifest itself through its evolutive cycle (physical violence, emotional/psychological violence, sexual violence and socio-economic violence).

### **3.4 LEGAL FRAMEWORK SURROUNDING GBV IN ZIMBABWE**

Mushonga (2015) argues that GBV is a security issue and in the case of Zimbabwean women and girls, GBV is the topmost security threat. Ironically, Zimbabwe has good and far reaching legislative and policy frameworks to strengthen women's security. However, there are challenges women face to get

the necessary security. Chireshe (2015) is also of the same view that, despite of all the legislative and policy frameworks, there is an under-utilisation of these frameworks and GBV continues to soar. This may be because of a large number of cases that are reported but they never go to the courts. Sometimes, police officers withdraw these cases usually upon the request of complainants. According to Medie (2013:378), this type of behaviour or circumstances “undermine the purpose of GBV legislation and raises serious concerns about the translation of formal policies into substantive changes in the lives of women.” Another challenge faced by Zimbabwe is the implementation of the gender equality legislation and policies. Patriarchy is still entrenched in the society, even at the individual level of policy makers such as police and, therefore, GBV and other forms of gender-based discrimination and marginalisation still continue to exist even in the presence of gender sensitive legislation.

The Zimbabwean government has made inroads in dealing with GBV through adhering to global polices such as the Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979; The UN General Assembly Act of 1993; Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Development, Equality and Peace, held in Beijing, China, in 1995; The Declaration on Gender and Development on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against women and Children of 1997; Commission on Human Rights Resolution 2003/45 on Elimination of Violence Against Women and SADC Gender and Development Protocol 2008 (Chuma and Chazovachii 2012). On the domestic front, the government has also made strides with the enactment of the domestic violence act of 2006, the sexual Offences Act of 2001 and the Criminal Law Codification and Reform Act of 2004 to provide for prosecution of offences relating to rape, marital rape, sexual violence and wilful transmission of HIV.

In addition to these domestic instruments there are other instruments meant to regulate GBV that include the national gender policy, the national Gender-Based Violence Strategy and Action Plan and the National HIV/AIDs Policy. However, with all these instruments in place the challenges are those of implementation, which can be alluded to the lack of funds and awareness despite national budget support for GBV issues (Makahamadze, Isacco and Chireshe 2012). According to a study by Chuma and Chazovachii (2012), carried out in rural Zimbabwe, they assert that the lack of implementation of GBV legislation is due to lack of awareness of the law, dependency of women on their husbands, social attitudes, beliefs and perceptions and a dual legal system that accommodates both customary and general law, fear of stigma and weak enforcement mechanisms such as police. Sometimes the laws on GBV are difficult to enforce mainly because of the nature of the violence, which mainly occurs in the private spaces. As a result, services, such as victim-friendly units, legal access, temporary shelters for survivors and psycho-social support still have a limited influence in society.



The legal terrain surrounding the issue of GBV is at best strong in both the public and private sphere, in addition to that, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) offer services to help prevent GBV. However, the bone of contention is, if the laws are somehow or to some extent “inadequate”, what needs to be done to get that comprehensive strategy to reduce GBV?

### **3.5 GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND YOUTH IN ZIMBABWE**

There is a budding body of Zimbabwean research in the area of GBV by many authors on how adults perceive violence against women. However, there is scant information on youth and relationship violence. Young people and relationship violence is an area that has had much attention in developed countries like the USA, but is slowly finding its way to developing countries. Spivak et al. (2014:38) assert that intimate partner violence often starts at a young age. According to results from a 2011 youth risk behaviour survey, about 9 per cent of students in high school reported dating-violence (i.e. physical violence by a boyfriend or girlfriend). Eaton et al. (2012) reported that of females who suffered from rape, physical violence or stalking perpetrated by an intimate partner, 22.4 per cent said their first experience of IPV was between the ages of 11-17 , 47.1 per cent at age 18-24 years, and 21.1 per cent at age 25-34 years. For males who suffered from rape, physical violence or stalking perpetrated by an intimate partner, 15 per cent suffered from IPV for the time at the age of 11-17 , 38.6 per cent at age 18-24 years, and 30.6 per cent at age 25-34 years. Spivak et al. (2014) maintain that young people who suffer from intimate-partner violence continue to face some form of abuse into their adult years. For this study, the most critical and compelling intention is to examine the attitudes and views of young people towards GBV and engage them in the solution to end violence against women. The small body of Zimbabwean literature in the area of relationship violence concentrates on sexual violence. The themes from these Zimbabwean studies can be summarised as follows:

- The National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents (NBSLEA), conducted in 2011 targeting young people so as to ascertain the nature and extent of violence young people face in their everyday life, acknowledged in its findings that of young people between the ages of 18-24, 15 per cent of females experienced unwanted attempted sex before the age of 18, whereas 3.8% per cent of males reported unwanted attempted sex before the age of 18 years. Pressured sex before the age of 18 was reported by 7.4 per cent of females and 1.4 per cent of males. Physically -forced sex before the age of 18 was reported by 9 per cent of females and 0.4 per cent of males. Unwanted-completed sex before the age of 18 was reported by 13.5 per cent of females and 1.8 per cent of males. Overall, for young people aged 18-24 who had their sexual encounter before the age of 18, 41 per cent of females and 7 per cent of males reported that their first sexual intercourse was unwanted, that is, they were forced,

pressured, tricked or threatened to engage in sexual intercourse. For those aged 13-17 years 43 per cent of females and 5 per cent of males had unwanted first sexual intercourse, that is, they were forced, pressured, tricked or threatened to engage in sexual intercourse (ZIMSTAT, UNICEF and CCORE 2013: 22).

The survey also reported that 77 per cent of females and 26.7 per cent of males between the ages of 18-24 said that the first incident of sexual violence was perpetrated by a boyfriend or girlfriend, that is, someone they were in a relationship with. Neighbours were cited by 10 per cent of females and 33 per cent of males as the perpetrators of the first incident of sexual violence among young people between the ages of 18-24. There was similar trend with young people between the ages of 13- 17, as 60 per cent of females and 12% per cent of males reported experiencing any sexual violence and the perpetrators were their boyfriend or girlfriend (ZIMSTAT, UNICEF and CCORE 2013: 22).

This thesis therefore contends that GBV is present among young people and they are not just victims, but also perpetrators. The adolescent and young adulthood stage is a convenient moment to implement strategies to scale down the magnitude to which young people may later become involved in violent relationships. The only possible way of aiding policy formulation and development of appropriate strategies for preventing GBV, is to become knowledgeable about young people's attitudes towards violence and violent behaviour.

- A study on the prevalence and risk factors for forced or coerced sex among school-going youth in 10 Southern African countries (Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia Zimbabwe, Tanzania and South Africa) noted that sexual violence was very normal among school going youth in Southern Africa and one in every five youths (both male and female) between the ages 11-16 were affected. 4.7 per cent of female students acknowledged they had perpetrated forced sex whereas 11.7 per cent of male students said they had been perpetrators of forced sex (Andersson et al. 2012). Andersson et al. (2012) further asserts that those who had experienced forced sex by the age 16 across southern Africa constituted 25.4 per cent male students and 28.8 per cent female students.

According to another study by Decker et al. (2015) forced sex (as a first experience for young people) was prevalent. The study revealed that 20.69 per cent of 15-19 year-old females experienced sexual violence across Haiti, Malawi, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Cambodia, Ukraine and Timor Leste. Whilst 14.57 per cent of 20-24 year-old females across these countries experienced sexual violence. The study concluded that 28 per cent of female adolescents and 29 per cent of female young adults disclosed a lifetime of physical violence and sexual IPV, of which both have a high prevalence in East and Southern Africa.

- Although not a Zimbabwean study, a Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa, study on adolescents' beliefs about forced sex revealed that 26 per cent of the boys were more sexually active than girls (12 per cent). The boys also had the perception that coercive sex is some form of a retributive measure for the female partner and were not well-versed with legal implications of forced sex and health outcomes (De Vries et al 2014). This denotes that most countries in Southern Africa may be facing the same challenge although its magnitude may differ by virtue of the differences in countries.
- In a Bulawayo, Zimbabwe study by Hof and Richters (1999), the relationship between teenage pregnancy and gender-based violence was analysed and the authors noted that the root causes of these unwanted pregnancies were the power inequalities between men and women (the girls and their partners because of big age difference). The authors furthered alluded to the fact that the power inequalities gave rise to and facilitated various forms of GBV. The study identified psychological violence, sexual violence (coercive sex) and physical violence.
- From a national survey on young people's *Attitudes towards Spousal Abuse*, (ZIMSTAT, UNICEF and CCORE 2013), the study revealed that both sexes felt there were justifiable instances for the use of physical violence. Of those in the 18-24 age group, 61 per cent of females and 49 per cent of males respectively approved of wife-beating in cases of infidelity by the wife (the same reason was obtained from a study held by Damba (2013) in peri-urban communities in Bulawayo). For the young people in the 13-17 age category, 66 per cent and 63 per cent of females and males respectively concurred with the above statements (ZIMSTAT, UNICEF and CCORE 2013).
- A study by Rumble et al. (2015:5) indicates that one in three girls in Zimbabwe experience some form of sexual violence before the age of 18. Prevalence rates of sexual violence among young people range from 27 per cent and 38 per cent. The study goes on to highlight that, for the majority of Zimbabwean women, their first relationships as teenagers is characterised by violence. The study reveals that half of those who experience sexual violence do not tell anyone, hence there is a need to understand why help seeking-behaviours are low for young people in Zimbabwe and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Gathering from previous research the most persistent findings on GBV are that if children are exposed to violence or witness domestic violence or themselves experience abuse in their childhood, this becomes a precursor of IPV in their adult life (Heise 2011). Research highlights that the adolescent stage provides an opportunity for the interconnection of experiences as a victim of domestic violence as a child or as a witness of domestic violence and the perpetration of IPV.

Although not widely explored in Zimbabwe, violence among young people is prevalent and is fast becoming a problem, more often juveniles are implicated of perpetrating sexual violence among themselves and their relationships. White and Widom (2003), Carlson et al. (2015), Wildsmith et al. (2012) and Adamo (2014) suggest that dating violence like domestic violence or IPV consists of psychological or emotional violence, physical violence, and sexual violence. Regardless of social differentiation, young people may belong to two sides of the coin, either as perpetrators or victims. According to a study done by Tharp et al. (2011) in the USA, one in 10 students in high school have been subject to physical violence at the hand of a dating partner. New research suggests that adolescents and young adults have become perpetrators and it is important that Zimbabwe delves into this avenue of GBV, rather than targeting the adult audience when it comes to prevention strategies. By contemplating early symptoms of relationship violence, there is a good chance that preventive strategies can be successful before violent behaviour is exuded in intimate-partner relationships and made “normal”. This study finds it is important to intervene at this early stage to prevent GBV and all factors that facilitate GBV, like gender roles and traditional stereotypes.

### **3.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter looked at the extent of the different forms of GBV in Zimbabwe and the legal framework in Zimbabwe that is in place to address the violence. As suggested by this study, there are gaps in literature when it comes to dealing with youth and GBV. However, a small body of research confirms a high prevalence of GBV among young people. The chapter also highlighted the importance of integrating young people in the fight against GBV because it affects young people as both victims and perpetrators.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

As highlighted in Chapter 2, GBV cannot be attributed to a particular cause, rather, there are a number of factors that cause GBV. The conceptualisation of violence is a multifaceted phenomenon based on the interaction of personal/individual, situational and socio-cultural factors which have become known as the ‘ecological framework’ paradigm discussed earlier in Chapter 2. This chapter outlines the theories on the causes of GBV. An array of causes of violence will be reviewed from the biological to the cultural perspective. However, much emphasis will be put on the societal level (macro level) and individual level (micro level) as an attempt to explain the causes of violence.

#### **4.2 GENDER SOCIALISATION**

Research has shown that violence can start at an early age and continue throughout an individual’s lifespan as it has a swelling effect. Underlying violence against women is gender inequality, however, gender equality and violence against women have a complex relationship which has led to the emphasis on increasing gender equality by proponents of the reduction of violence. Gender-based violence is an implicit element of gender inequality. In other words, violence enables gender inequality to thrive. Gender inequality arises from the differences in socially constructed gender roles (Wood 2012), and gender socialisation occurs to cement those roles. Delving deeper into the nuances of gender socialisation, Crespi (2003:5) asserts that “gender socialisation is a more focused form of socialisation, it is how children of different sexes are socialised into their gender roles and taught what it means to be male or female”. Shaffer (2005) defines socialisation as a process that allows individuals to learn or develop beliefs, values and behaviours favoured by culture, which permits them to fit in and behave appropriately in their society. While socialisation may emanate from the family, it continues to manifest itself at different levels. Children continue to be socialised in school, community settings, through peers, and the media. All these levels shape the thinking and behaviour of young people (Usta, Farver and Hamieh 2016:416). Amin and Chandra-Mouli (2014) argue that gender attitudes assimilated by men and women are moulded by different institutions. These may include peers, family, the community, media, sport, schools, religion and military. They justify norms associated with masculinity and female subordination.

The social learning theory also provides insights of socialisation. It maintains that individuals are socialised through observing the experiences of others, then imitating and modelling the observed behaviour or experiences depending on whether there is positive reinforcement or not. While

literature provides various models to explain the cause of GBV, most of it centres on the developmental approach. The developmental approach acknowledges that early exposure to domestic violence results in children, particularly boys, mimicking that behaviour in their own intimate relationships, thus creating a cycle of violence (Figure 4.1). According to Spaccarelli et al. (1995), Macmillian and Kruttschnitt (2005), there is a link between the exposure to violence by boys and the prospects of them using violence with norms abetting; this aggression and coping mechanisms to do with gaining control through aggression (see Figure 4.1). Usta, Farver, and Hamieh (2016:416) assert that young people who have witnessed violence in their families often learn or take violence to be a means of conflict resolution and are at risk of using the same methods to resolve interpersonal conflict. Drawing on the social learning theory, it explains the mechanisms correlated in the development of relationship violence. In the words of Heise (2011:31), “a violent home ‘teaches’ children that violence is an effective way to get what you want, to exert authority and to settle disputes.” The more that violent behaviour is not reprimanded in a household, the more children will internalise it to be part of their behaviour. Social learning theory asserts that behaviour is learnt by observing and re-enacting the behaviour of others, particularly role models: they re-enact violent behaviour to build their masculine capital. Gender roles and norms are learnt within a wider given context and passed down to generations (Uthman, Lwanko and Moradi 2009).

Kaufman and Zigler (1993) argue that there is some exaggeration when it comes to the number of witnesses of violence who go on to perpetrate violence in their adult lives. What this means is that being exposed to domestic violence is a critical risk factor. However, this does not mean that all children who witness or experience violence go on to be perpetrators of violence (see Table 4.1 of figures of children who witness violence worldwide). Exposure to violence at an early age has a number of effects that include, but is not limited to trauma, emotional scars and behavioural issues (mostly violent behaviour). In contexts where there are rigid gender roles, in other words where women possess limited power and men are given social power over female behaviour, these social foundational acts assist in explaining the current level of relationship violence. I concur with the scholarship of Kaufman and Zigler (1993) that repercussions of domestic violence exposure are complicated and interplay with gender attitudes.

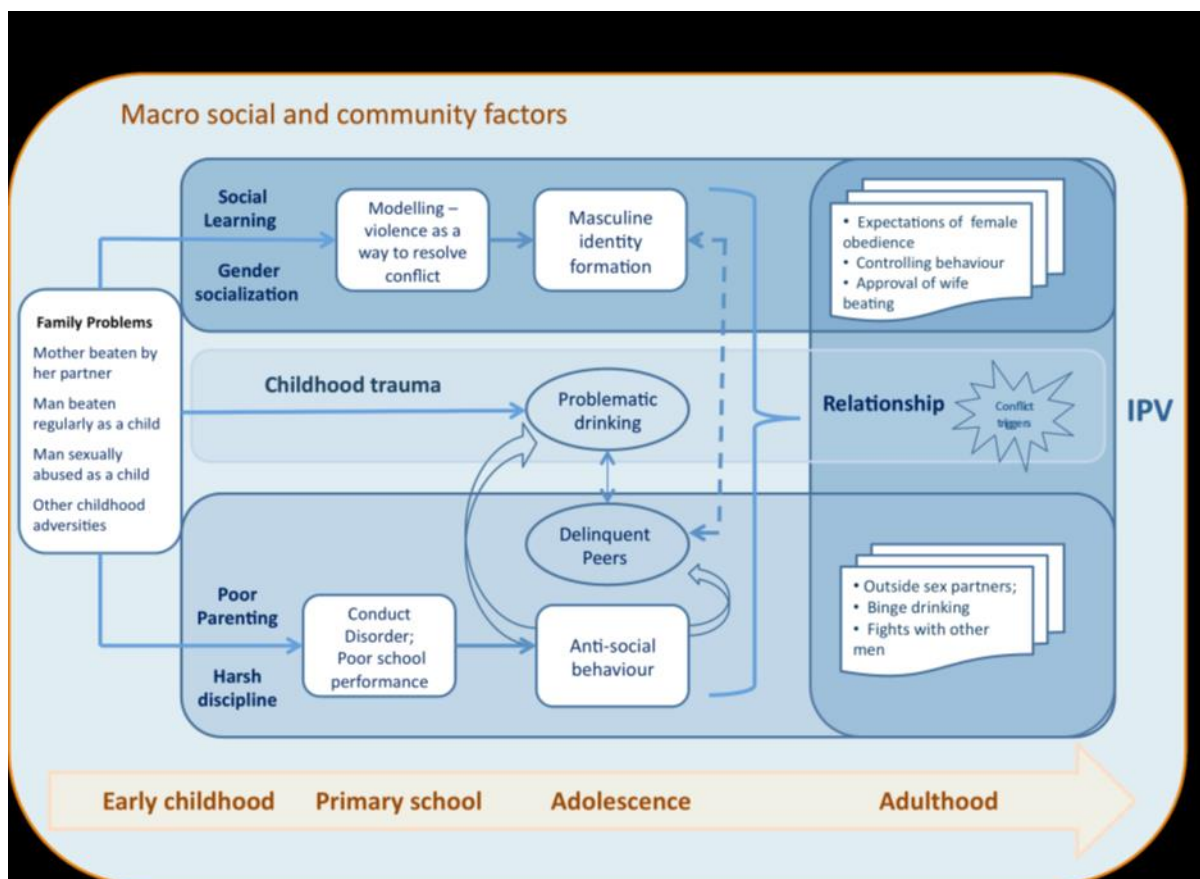
Heise, Ellsberg and Gottemoeller (1999) and Rolleri (2013) highlighted that boys are brought up to be strong and girls are raised to be compliant. Appropriate feminine behaviour in the developing context and in Africa in particular, is usually built around the conformity to men’s claim of superiority and the social hierarchy giving accolades to women who interlock with the socially-admissible roles even

though they carry the risk of violence against them (Fidan and Bui 2016:1077). For instance, research has revealed that demographic-based surveys in ten countries highlighted that rigid gender attitudes

actualise early in the lives of young people. The research revealed that 50 to 83 per cent of boys aged 15-19 disclosed that wife bashing was acceptable under certain circumstances (Amin and Chandra-Mouli 2014).

Saffitz (2010) also argues that boys are socialised to conform to a set of traditional norms such as being the supporter of the family, to which all social institutions ascribe. If men fail to support their families or are financially unable to, this leads to a masculinity crisis and, as compensatory behaviour, they turn to physical and sexual abuse to assert their power (Mzinga 2002 and Strebel et al. 2007). Gender attitudes lead to the kind of violence adolescents experience, such as bullying, to which boys are more prone, whereas girls are more likely to face sexual abuse, psychological abuse and exclusion. As indicated earlier, different social institutions are responsible for gender socialisation. The family institution is however, the most primary and tenacious influence. If there is unequal gender balance in the family institution or incidences of domestic violence, children internalise these behaviours and later find themselves in violent relationships.

**Figure 4.1 Development paths to perpetration of violence by men**



Source: Heise (2011:46)

**Table 4.1 Global estimates of children who witness violence.**

| <b>REGION</b>                      | <b>CHILDREN WITNESSING VIOLENCE<br/>(MILLIONS)</b> |
|------------------------------------|--|
| South Asia                         | 40.7–88  |
| Western Asia                       | 7.2–15.9   |
| Sub-Saharan Africa                 | 34.9–38.2  |
| South-eastern Asia                 | NA   |
| Northern Africa                    | 0.55–0.66  |
| Latin America and Caribbean        | NA   |
| Eastern Asia                       | 11.3–25.5  |
| Commonwealth of Independent States | 19.8–61.4  |
| Developed countries                | 0.9–11.3   |
| Global estimate                    | 133–275  |

Source: Heise (2011:37)

The peer group also plays a very crucial role in gender socialisation (Landor et al. 2016:5). Young people's friends or peers who normalise violence are more likely to view violence as legitimate, and having peers who condone violence and witnessing their violent behaviour may lead young people to accept violence as well. In a bid to explain the causes of rape, Jewkes et al. (2011) refer to a number of studies in South Africa with young rural men. They assert that the inability to be financially stable resulted in young men forming gangs and perpetrating rape in pursuit of gender power in a situation where traditional roles, such as being the provider, are less attainable. In addition to peer groups, the mass media (television, video games, and popular films) play a role in socialisation. Peer cultures may apply peer pressure to perpetrate violence (Jewkes et al. 2015:114).

According to Finely (2016) and Usta, Farver, and Hamieh (2016:416), mass media that praises masculinity or violence may contribute to the use of violence or attitudes that condone violence, especially violence against women. According to a study by Lavoie, Robitaille and Herbet (2000), the reasons mentioned for dating violence included pornography and movies. In another study by Romito and Beltramini (2011:1314), they argue that there is a connection between pornography and attitudes reinforcing violence against women. Using feminist thought, Romito and Beltramini (2011:1314) write that "pornography, overtly violent or not, represents in itself a form of discrimination and violence against women."

A great deal of research has revealed that the primary cause of gender-based violence is the socially constructed gender norms that socialise men to put a price on hierarchy, aggression, power, respect and emotional suppression (Fleming et al. 2015 and Fulu et al. 2013). Socialisation of children into hegemonic masculinities and femininities results in power inequalities between individuals, gender groups and institutions. Amin and Chandra-Mouli (2014) argue that, although the challenging of dominant masculinities has been given noticeable priority, it is very important that we also recognise that passive femininities or patterns that maintain the subordination of females, results in negative



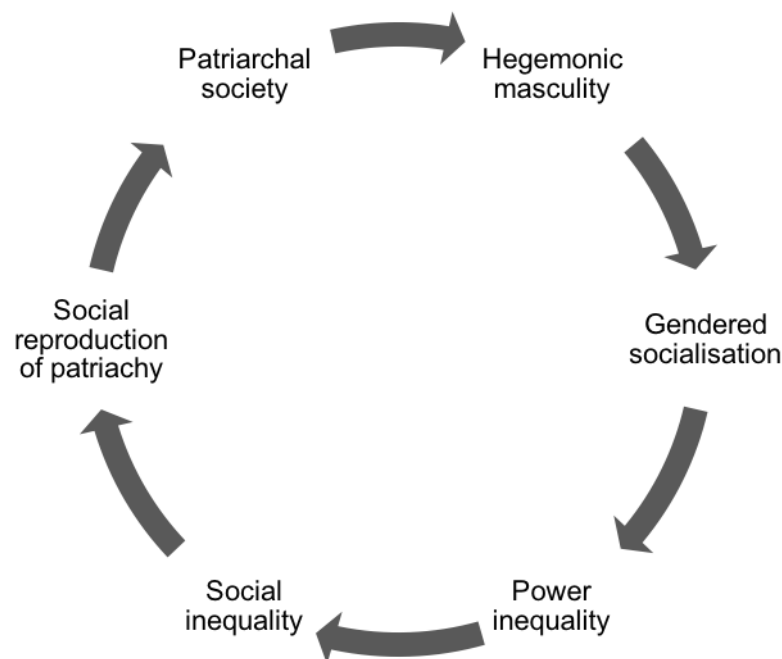
effects on girls' self-esteem, body image and capacity to affirm themselves in their relationships. Masculinities are seen as a risk factor for interpersonal violence and male perpetration of violence can be seen as an expression of a particular set of masculinities. Hegemonic masculinities have been identified as being a factor in male perpetration of violence (Jewkes et al. 2015). Whilst masculinities are associated with violence, not all masculinities of male perpetrators of violence are hegemonic (Jewkes, Flood and Lang 2015). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 832) argue that violence "is in a considerable measure a problem and consequence of masculinity". Masculinities, as defined by Scott-Samuel (2009:159) "are the range of alternative ways (national, social, racial, sexual) in which male gender relations are expressed. Hegemonic masculinity is the form of masculinity which is culturally and politically dominant at a particular time and place."

According to Skovdal et al. (2011:5), Anderson and Umberson (2001); Connell (1995), Migliaccio (2001), Presser (2005), Schippers (2007), hegemonic assumptions of masculinity usually characterise 'real men' as strong, in control, sexually promiscuous, disease free, emotionally independent, tough, fearless and as breadwinners. A number of studies maintain that men who act in accordance with hegemonic masculinities are at risk of committing violence against women or other men (Leone et al. 2016, McCarry 2010; Peralta, Tuttle, and Steele 2010, Zurbriggen 2010 and Kenway & Fitzclarence 1997). Connell and Schmidt (2005) emphasise in the theory of hegemonic masculinity that power is not exercised through the use of force, but rather through the acquiescence of the powerless. I concur with the authors, in other words, women to some extent facilitate and maintain their subordination, as they are the bearers of the process of socialisation for both boys and girls.

Jewkes et al. (2015:118) maintains that the concept of hegemonic masculinity is present in the subordination of women and girls. It is important that women realise that they have a role in reproducing their subordinate status and that this can be achieved through gender socialisation, and their contribution to gender hierarchy by creating social injunctions and marginalisation of certain masculinities and femininities. I agree with Jewkes and Morell (2012) that construction of gender is crucial and that interventions that prioritise the participation of both men and women in critical thinking around subjects such as gender identities, roles and practices are promising in the reduction of gender-based violence. Changing the concept of gender socialisation should not only mean re-defining gender roles that men and women conform to, but also through the engagement of "gate keepers of power", men and boys make gender equality achievable. Gender-based violence has identifiable causes however women face a number of challenges in their attempt to stand up against violent men. Their efforts are shut down and are labelled as 'feminazi', 'man haters' and 'male bashers' because they attempt to challenge the gate keepers of power and disrupt the current status quo. Other challenges women face in standing up violent men include: gendered socialisation, power inequality and social inequality. However the biggest challenge is that gender-based violence is seen

as a women's issue and when men hear the term gender-based violence they tend to not pay attention or distance themselves from the issue. By rendering men invisible in the gender-based violence discussion is as good as maintaining and reproducing dominant systems. Figure 4.2 summarises the connection between the issues that have been described in this section. It draws attention to how different elements are connected to each other and how they are a probable cause of gender inequality which, in turn, is a common denominator in gender-based violence concerns.

**Figure 4.2 the dynamics of gender inequality**



Source: Scott-Samuel (2009:160)

### 4.3 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL NORMS

Previous research has highlighted that there are a number of different social norms and beliefs connected to gender that drive gender-based violence, as well as the risk of diseases such as HIV and sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Jewkes, Flood and Lang (2015) maintain that social and cultural norms sustain gender inequality and violence. Socio-cultural norms are embedded in the culture of a particular society and, in order to understand the GBV phenomenon, it is important to understand the cultural values and traditions of both men and women who experience and commit violence (Karugahe 2016:47). This leads me to the definition of culture as a take-off point for this discussion. Griswold (2012:3) asserts that:

Culture is observed to usually mean one of the four things: norms, values, beliefs or expressive symbols. roughly, norms are the way people behave in a given society, values are what they hold dear, beliefs are how they think the universe operates, and expressive symbols are the representations, often of social norms, values and beliefs themselves.

Cultural explanations of the causes of gender-based violence are frequently used in developing countries such as those in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, whereas in developed countries, culture is not the focus when it comes to the causes of GBV and prefer to describe culture as 'people's behaviour patterns not necessarily connected to any particular values or beliefs' (Griswold 2012:3).

Given the influence of cultural beliefs in Africa, there is a relationship between cultural theories and gender-based violence. However culture is not the only explanation for GBV. Adams, Salazar and Lundgren (2013: 8) suggests that social norms are the expected suitable roles for both men and women. Hiese 2011) adds to the argument by raising the fact that these social and gender norms are catalysts in individual behaviour and attitude that condones or disapproves of violence against women. In other words, social norms can drive individual behaviour through social enforcement or sanctions towards non-compliant individuals or individuals who deviate from group expectations (Linos et al. 2013:148).

Gender and social norms around the family institution, like youth sexuality, power, control over women, dominance, are usually part of male characteristics and behaviour and are seen as a shared social ideal (Jewkes, Flood and Lang 2015:1581). Gender and social norms may be formed initially at the family level but they are sustained, reproduced and created into a tool to rationalise violence throughout other levels. Gender-based violence is basically a derivate of the intricate interaction of religious, ideological and socio-cultural factors. However the traditional socio-cultural norms are the reason why most interventions to curb GBV have failed (Bishwajiti, Sarker, Yaya 2016:3). Because the causes of GBV are centred around socio- cultural dimensions it is crucial that interventions focus on transforming the socio-cultural arena and create ethically acceptable norms that do not discriminate against any individual. Most of Sub- Saharan Africa is run by traditional patriarchal institutions. This means these patriarchal values still persevere in most societies despite the wave of globalisation that has come with social, value and attitude changes. Socio-cultural norms have a hand in the disregard of women's human rights and the increase of GBV (Bishwajiti, Sarker, Yaya 2016:3).

Although culture might differ throughout Sub-Saharan Africa, socio-cultural and interpersonal norms determine the nature of gender-based violence. For instance, in typical Zimbabwean culture, men are traditionally viewed as possessing power (they have ultimate decision-making powers), entitlement and autonomy (Riphenburg 1997). All these factors become justified by social and cultural values in the context of gender-based violence, particularly spousal violence. According to a study conducted in

Kenya, there are normative spousal roles and norms for resolving spousal disagreements and conflict. The normative spousal roles for women, in particular, included subservience, keeping the family together, maintaining a good romantic relationship, good housekeeping, child bearing (boys are a preference), protecting or caring for children adequately and not refusing sex (Barnnett, Maticka-Tyndale and Kenya 2016:7). The failure of women in executing these roles gives reason for spousal GBV. The response to the failure of wives/women in carrying out their normative spousal roles, comes in the form physical or sexual violence. For instance wife-beating is accepted as an appropriate response or correctional mechanism when a wife fails in her spousal duties. A critical analysis of demographic health surveys across Sub-Saharan Africa indicate that men and women justify wife-beating. For instance, in order to gain insight on young people's attitudes toward the acceptable use of physical violence in marriage, the 2011 NBSLEA (ZIMSTAT, UNICEF AND CCORE 2013) gave young people five scenarios: if she goes out without telling him, if she neglects the children, if she argues with him, if she refuses to have sex with him, or if she burns the food. To get a clearer picture, participants were given five different scenarios to ascertain their views on whether a wife was justified in beating their husband. These scenarios included: if he comes home drunk, if he cheats on her, if he doesn't give her money, if he doesn't help care for children, if he refuses to have sex with her. A majority of the participants agreed that a wife beating was acceptable under certain circumstances and below half of the participants endorsed that a wife should beat the husband if he cheats, does not give her money and does not care for the children. Table 4.2 and Table 4.3 illustrate the responses of young people between the ages of 13-17 and 18-24. The study revealed that the majority of the participants accepted wife beating and found it to be normal. On the other hand, when asked about their attitudes of wives who beat their husbands for similar reasons given for wife beating, a significant number of participants (both male and female) endorsed that it was okay for wives to beat their husbands given certain circumstances (ZIMSTAT, UNICEF and CCORE 2013:89). This shows that in as much as young people condone wife beating, their response that men should be beaten by their wives for failure to execute their spousal roles is retaliation to the way society behaves when it comes to gender roles and inequality. However such thinking does not help the fight against gender-based violence.

Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale and Kenya (2016) assert that in spousal normative roles, men always have the upper hand. In other words, power is gendered. In an environment that glorifies cultural norms, it is difficult to report sexual spousal abuse. For instance, Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale and Kenya (2016:7) maintain that husbands have sexual power and is legitimised by the cultural and legal system as the concept of conjugal rights. One would think conjugal rights exists for both parties, but power dynamics in the relationship come in. This gives the man the right to do anything to the wife, even if she resists sex with the husband, the husband could still take it by force. All this becomes the fault of

the wife for refusing and thereby causing the husband to use authority and force. And, therefore, use of force or rape in marriages serves as a corrective mechanism so that next time the wife does what is expected of her. It is a cultural belief in most of sub-Saharan Africa that men have the authority to discipline their wives if they cease to carry out the spousal normative roles.

**Table 4.2 Percent Distribution of Females and Males Who Reported Attitudes Regarding Husbands Abusing Wives, NBSLEA Zimbabwe, 2011**

| <b>Situation</b>             | <b>Female</b>  |             |             | <b>Male</b>    |             |             |
|------------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|
|                              | <b>Percent</b> | <b>LCL§</b> | <b>UCL§</b> | <b>Percent</b> | <b>LCL§</b> | <b>UCL§</b> |
| <b>18 - 24 Years</b>         |                |             |             |                |             |             |
| Goes out without telling him | 12.8           | 9.6         | 16.1        | 15.8           | 12.6        | 19.0        |
| Neglects Children            | 31.6           | 27.3        | 35.9        | 34.4           | 30.2        | 38.6        |
| Argues with him              | 19.2           | 15.4        | 23.0        | 20.2           | 15.8        | 24.6        |
| She Refuses Sex              | 19.2           | 15.4        | 23.0        | 20.2           | 15.8        | 24.6        |
| Burns Food                   | 6.2            | 2.1         | 10.4        | 12.8           | 10.0        | 15.6        |
| Cheat on him                 | 61.0           | 55.9        | 66.1        | 48.9           | 43.7        | 54.1        |
| Any of Reasons               | 65.6           | 61.1        | 70.2        | 60.2           | 55.1        | 65.2        |
| <b>N</b>                     |                | <b>567</b>  |             |                | <b>589</b>  |             |
| <b>13 -17 Years</b>          |                |             |             |                |             |             |
| Goes out without telling him | 3.7            | 10.6        | 16.9        | 18.1           | 14.3        | 22.0        |
| Neglects Children            | 34.4           | 29.2        | 39.6        | 34.4           | 30.2        | 38.6        |
| Argues with him              | 17.9           | 14.2        | 21.5        | 19.4           | 16.0        | 22.9        |
| She Refuses Sex              | 9.5            | 6.4         | 12.5        | 11.0           | 8.4         | 13.7        |
| Burns Food                   | 9.1            | 5.3         | 12.9        | 12.8           | 10.0        | 15.6        |
| Cheat on him                 | 66.2           | 61.0        | 71.3        | 63.3           | 59.3        | 67.3        |
| Any of Reasons               | 70.2           | 64.8        | 75.6        | 69.5           | 65.9        | 73.0        |
| <b>N</b>                     |                | <b>495</b>  |             |                | <b>759</b>  |             |

§ LCL = lower confidence limit of 95 percent confidence interval; § UCL = upper confidence limit of 95 percent confidence interval

**Source: ZIMSTAT, UNICEF &CCORE (2013:89)**

**Table 4.3: Percent Distribution of Females and Males Who Accept Husband Beating Wife in One or More Situation, NBSLEA Zimbabwe, 2011.**

| Situation                       | Female  |            |      | Male    |            |      |
|---------------------------------|---------|------------|------|---------|------------|------|
|                                 | Percent | LCL§       | UCL§ | Percent | LCL§       | UCL§ |
| <b>18 - 24 Years</b>            |         |            |      |         |            |      |
| Comes home drunk                | 5.3     | 3.1        | 7.5  | 5.8     | 3.4        | 8.2  |
| Cheats on her                   | 32.1    | 27.5       | 36.8 | 31.7    | 26.5       | 37.0 |
| Does not give her money         | 17.5    | 12.5       | 22.6 | 18.8    | 15.2       | 22.4 |
| Does not help care for children | 23.6    | 18.6       | 28.7 | 25.3    | 20.6       | 29.9 |
| Refuses to have sex with her    | 8.6     | 5.5        | 11.7 | 6.3     | 3.9        | 8.7  |
| Any of Reasons                  | 39.6    | 34.4       | 44.8 | 42.9    | 37.5       | 48.4 |
| <b>N</b>                        |         | <b>567</b> |      |         | <b>589</b> |      |
| <b>13 -17 Years</b>             |         |            |      |         |            |      |
| Comes home drunk                | 7.5     | 4.5        | 10.6 | 6.0     | 3.8        | 8.2  |
| Cheats on her                   | 42.6    | 36.5       | 48.8 | 39.3    | 34.3       | 44.3 |
| Does not give her money         | 22.5    | 17.8       | 27.2 | 23.9    | 19.9       | 27.9 |
| Does not help care for children | 34.4    | 28.6       | 40.3 | 33.3    | 28.8       | 37.8 |
| Refuses to have sex with her    | 6.6     | 3.8        | 9.4  | 8.0     | 5.6        | 10.5 |
| Any of Reasons                  | 53.4    | 47.8       | 59.1 | 52.1    | 47.7       | 56.6 |
| <b>N</b>                        |         | <b>495</b> |      |         | <b>759</b> |      |

§ LCL = lower confidence limit of 95 percent confidence interval; § UCL = upper confidence limit of 95 percent confidence interval

**Source: ZIMSTAT, UNICEF &CCORE (2013:89)**

Social and cultural norms play a significant role in the increase and maintenance of violence against women. Figure 4.3 gives examples of socio-cultural norms that exist across different countries that exacerbate and maintain violence against women. According to Heise (2011:13), justification of violence is related to the type or level of indiscretion or wrong-doing and the gravity of the abuse. Violence that is regarded to be excessive, or not justified, is likely to face high disapproval from both men and women. This gives the window of opportunity to address violence at multiple levels, so as to confront social and cultural beliefs that establish and certify the range of justifiable male and female conduct. This will also assist in the development of a new social order that rebukes violence, regardless of its gravity.

**Figure 4.3 Examples of social and cultural norms that promote violence against women**

- A man has a right to assert power over a woman and is considered socially superior e.g. India; Nigeria; and Ghana.
- A man has a right to physically discipline a woman for “‘incorrect’” behaviour– e.g. India; Nigeria; and China.
- Physical violence is an acceptable way to resolve conflict in a relationship – e.g. the United States.
- Intimate partner violence is a ‘taboo’ subject – e.g. South Africa.
- Divorce is shameful – e.g. Pakistan.
- Sex is a man’s right in marriage – e.g. Pakistan.
- Sexual activity (including rape) is a marker of masculinity – e.g. South Africa.
- Girls are responsible for controlling a man’s sexual urges – e.g. South Africa.

Source: Heise (2011:12)

Revisiting the earlier discussion on gender socialisation, there is a link between socialisation and socio-cultural norms and beliefs. These norms and beliefs may be constructed originally in the family institution but other institutions continue to maintain and justify the application of violence. For young people, especially at the adolescence stage, peer groups strengthen and construct attitudes that legitimise and promote the use of violence. Peer groups can strengthen individual norms and beliefs of the tolerance of violence (Giordano et al 2015). According to Reyes et al. (2016: 350) young people can hold descriptive and injunctive normative beliefs and these can be associated with the future use of violence in adult relationships. It is, therefore, important that socio-cultural norms that young people hold be addressed, especially the traditional gender role attitudes, because research has found that men and boys who subscribe to traditional gender norms are more likely to use violence (Reyes et al 2016: 351). However, research on the link between socio-cultural norms and dating violence among young people is insufficient and conflicting, but the adolescence stage is where these norms become visible and become acceptable. For instance, results from a study by Reyes et al. (2016:358) suggest that injunctive norms (acceptance of intimate partner violence) and socio-cultural, gender roles work together to exacerbate the risk of intimate-partner violence preparation among boys.

#### **4.4 PATRIARCHY**

Patriarchy has been connected to adolescent and adult intimate-partner violence and hence patriarchy becomes a focus area when it comes to primary prevention efforts (Reyes et al 2015:350). Drawing upon feminist theories helps explain how patriarchy is a cause of gender-based violence. Before delving into the discussion, it is important we know the meaning of patriarchy. According to

Alexander and Taylor (2016:364), patriarchy is a concept used to express men's control or dominance over women in all aspects of life. Gathering from many other definitions of patriarchy, it can be defined as a rigid system that puts men at the top and subordinates women's status. Feminist theories have managed to provide a background on gender-based violence through its efforts in rebuking the theory that men are more superior than women and also by identifying the means in which patriarchy reinforces male dominance in determining or supervising the behaviour of women. In the light of this argument, it can be acknowledged that women are under the control of men. Gender-based violence, especially intimate partner violence/domestic violence, demonstrates the unequal power dynamics between men and women in different societies (Rico 1997). Therefore, the discussion on patriarchy will focus on gender roles and inequalities, structural inequalities and interpersonal power relations.

Feminist theory focuses on patriarchy as an explanation for the subordinate status of women and gender-based violence. Ali and Naylor (2013) maintain that feminist thought on domestic violence or IPV is anchored on the belief that it is a result of gender power inequalities in society, a social problem bent on and fuelled by the patriarchal structure of different societies that impels women to conform to submissiveness even when they are experiencing physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence (Ali and Naylor 2013:612). Apart from patriarchy, feminists include the cycle of violence, learnt helplessness, battered-women syndrome and the power and control wheel. According to feminist ideology, patriarchy is described as a belief and value system that legitimises dominance of men in both the public and private spheres. Men exercise and share power among themselves in the public sphere and within the family institution. Ali and Naylor, (2013:614) assert that men or husbands are supposed to be heads of the family and in charge of all decision-making processes in a patriarchal society. In this way domestic violence /intimate partner violence is justifiable as a means of showing off or exerting male dominance. Research indicates that for people who conform to patriarchal beliefs and values, there is acceptance of the use of violence by men especially husbands and intimate partners (WHO 2005). Patriarchy renders or gives men the value and attitudes they use to rationalise violence.

Because the patriarchal ideology emphasises control of women by men, I go on to use the power and control paradigm to explain the relationship between patriarchy and gender-based violence. Power and control maintain that power inequality within the relationship may drive conflict. According to Dobash and Dobash (1979), feminists maintain that domestic violence is an outcome of men's motive to obtain and maintain control over women. The power and control model further explains the techniques that men use to make sure the women remain submissive and men always retain control and power. Individuals are motivated to perpetuate violence or exude abusive behaviour by the power and control they have over other individuals (Fife and Schrager 2012). Power is exercised mainly by men, for example, husbands through the use of threats, force and violence to obtain obedience from



impotent individuals like children and wives. In the same vein Bostock et al. (2002) argue that such behaviour is a means to control the spouse's life by employing techniques of intimidation such as coercion, isolation and economic abuse. However, Fidan and Bui (2015:1079) write that “the traditional Zimbabwean family privileges old age, marriage and men. In extended families, women gain authority and respect with age because senior female members can exercise patriarchal powers over junior females”. This is particularly interesting because, even if women may have certain amount of power and control, it is not over men but other fellow women and mostly enforcing traditional gender norms/roles that subordinate the status of women in the society. In most circumstances, people who experience violence begin to conform to the desired behaviour of the abuser. Fife and Schrager (2012) assert that isolation (i.e. being secluded from all public life without friends or family making victims unable to seek help) is the most destructive form of intimidation. The power and control theory is of significance in the African context, as individual rights are sacrificed for the family. For example, in Zimbabwe, after marriage, women cease to have autonomy over their reproductive health and the husband has a say on the woman's reproductive capacity (Kambarami 2006).

The power and control model is grounded in feminist ideology and was developed in 1980-81 as an outcome of the *Domestic Abuse Intervention Project* in the USA (Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Project 2003). Figure 4.4 depicts the “power and control” wheel. Patriarchy also dictates the gender roles of individuals in a community. The gender role theory, as Bowen (2011) puts it, is associated with how individuals behave with regard to their beliefs and gender identification. The threat to traditional gender roles and culturally-appointed positions is met with violence by men. Feminist ideology affirms that failure to the inequality between men and women gender-based violence will continue to persist. There are high levels of gender inequality in Africa and therefore, the interpretation of GBV as an outcome of gender inequality. This is inescapable because most of the African societies are patriarchal and subordinate women in the society (Fidan and Bui 2015:1077). Karugahe (2016:52) asserts that inequalities between men and women are shaped by unequal distribution of power between spouses, polygamy, and the tolerance of male promiscuity, and miscued meaning of bride-price (lobola). Therefore, gender inequalities that are firmly established in the culture and patriarchal institutions, have been alluded to be the cause of GBV. For example, in a study conducted in Zimbabwe, there was a positive relationship between polygamy and GBV (Wekete et al. 2014:1415). According to a study by Nyamayemombe et al. (2010), women in polygamous marriages were more likely to face spousal violence (46.1 per cent) than women in monogamous marriages (35.2 per cent). However, the effects of gender inequality can be addressed using the equality wheel model (see Figure 4.4). This model provides individuals, particularly men, with group discussions running on eight themes: nonviolence, non-threatening behaviour, respect, support and trust, accountability and honesty, sexual respect, partnership and negotiation and fairness.

**Figure 4.4 Power and Control Wheel**

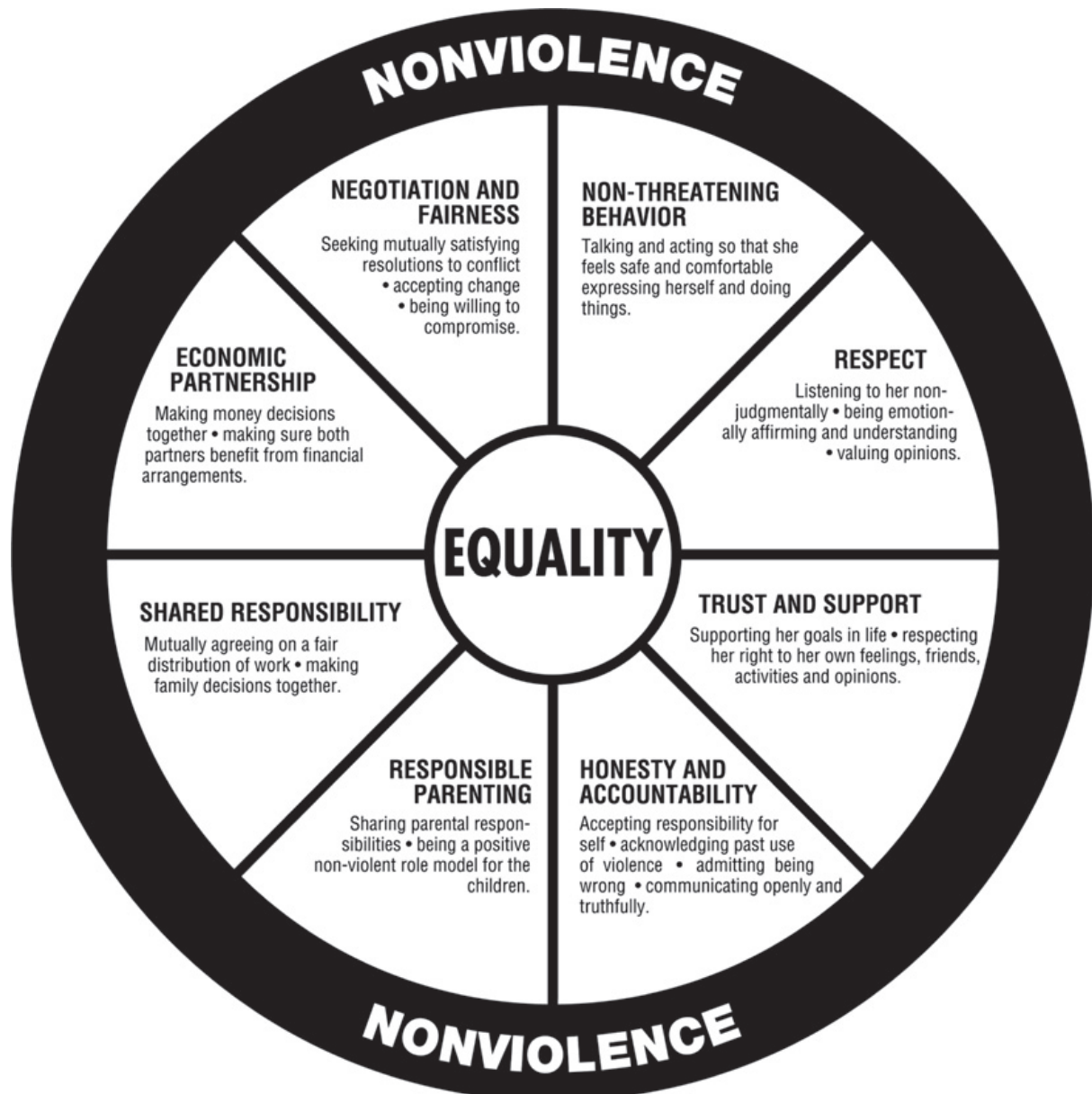


Source: Ali and Naylor (2013:614).

Feminist ideology has been found to have significant gaps when explaining the causes of violence, as it fails to acknowledge that there is also female perpetration of gender-based violence (Lawson 2012). Fidan and Bui (2015:1077) argue that, although there is a connection between male dominance and spousal abuse, using patriarchy to interpret GBV poses some challenges. Patriarchy fails to acknowledge the variations in different forms of gender inequality and the multiple forms of dominance and women's experiences in different societies. Fidan and Bui (2015:1077) write "there is no universal patriarchal structure", therefore, there is need to contextualise for a specific society to understand the causes of gender-based violence. According to Kambarami (2006), socialisation within the family sets up and inculcates patriarchal norms and roles into young people. However, it goes

beyond the family institution and penetrates through to other of society's institutions, such as marriage, religion, education, politics and the economy.

**Figure 4.5 Equality Wheel Model.**



Source: Ali and Naylor (2013:615).

Fleming et al. (2015:252) argue that most men are not perpetrators of physical violence. However, using the scholarship of Connell (1995), most men (and also some women) choose to follow or conform to the gender order that legitimises the high status of men compared to women. In other words, men, who are not perpetrators of violence, but who themselves accept violence, contribute to

the culture of violence in the society by not protesting against it. Connell (1995:79) argues that men, who do not protest against violence, benefit from the ‘patriarchal dividend’” The patriarchal dividend can be understood as men benefiting from gender inequality (Dover 2014).

#### **4.5 RESOURCE THEORY**

There is a connection between economic resources and violence against women (Fife and Schrager 2012). The resource theory highlights that the individual who has more access to resources i.e. has more income, education and occupational status, is the one who has control and power over the other individual in an intimate relationship (Fife and Schrager 2012). Bostock et al. (2002) suggest that men who have resources may use those resources to control their spouses and, on the other hand, men with less resources may turn to physical violence to make up for their deficit. The theory suggests that men who are perceived as having limited power and control are more likely to perpetrate violence as compared to women, and women are more likely to confirm the use of violence in their intimate relationships. Atkinson et al. (2005:1138) raise a very crucial point pertaining to intimate partner violence and the resource theory and argue that “it is not so much men’s lack of resources that predict wife abuse but lack of resources relative to their wives”. Therefore, men who have lower status than their wives are often aggressive and violent towards their wives.

African societies socialise men to be breadwinners, to be able to take care of their families and be providers. Socialisation inspires men to try and live up to the masculine gender roles (Pleck 1995). Because patriarchy dictates that men should have power and control over women, men who fail to fit into the gender role order face diminution of masculinity and there is a discharge of emotions, particularly violent emotions, because of the pressure to fulfil the expectations of a ‘real man’. Pleck (1995) asserts that men who try to fulfil gender role expectations, but who are unable to realise the ideal, face what is called ‘gender role discrepancy’. There are various reasons why men may be unable to meet these expectations, such as economic hardships, race/ethnicity, class and sexual inequalities. Vandello and Boson (2013) maintain that men may experience low self-esteem or other psychological effects and may resort to violence as a means of reclaiming a masculine status. When men experience gender role discrepancy, it is either they change their mindset or attempt to solve the problem, and, in most cases, problem-solving is the coping mechanism used by men (Fleming et al. 2015). According to Glanz and Schwartz (2008), gender role discrepancy is usually resolved through men engaging in other behaviours to affirm their masculinity, for example, perpetration of violence. For many men, accessing workplace or employment opportunities and being the sole provider for the family is a way of showing and exercising their masculinities and earning respect. If they fail to gain

these physical signifiers of masculinity, they assume other constituted masculinities such as aggression, force and physical violence.

Although research has indicated that education, income and employment for women decreases their chances of being abused, the resource theory suggests otherwise (Terrazas-Carrillo and McWhirter 2015, Heise 2011, WHO 2005, Vyas and Watt 2009, and Dalal 2011). Atkinson (2005) argues that women with higher status and income than their husbands are more at risk of experiencing abuse. There is a contradiction between the resource theory and other theories that emphasises the empowerment of women by means of education, better employment to reduce the occurrence of intimate partner violence. One point to note is that this theory may not be applicable to other societies. however in Zimbabwe and other African countries, where there is a strong existence of a patriarchal structure and men are expected to be sole providers for the families, this explains the gender-based violence phenomenon.

The relationship between women's economic status and intimate partner violence is very complicated. Generally, employment has been associated with benefits throughout research (Creed and Macintyre, 2001). However, research on women's economic empowerment and its effects on intimate partner violence has reported mixed results (Terrazas-Carrillo and McWhirter 2015:3). Although some studies have reported positive effects of gainful employment for women, some have also reported a surge in intimate partner violence due to women's access to financial resources (Heise and Garcia-Moreno, 2002). According to Jewkes (2002) and Bhattacharyya, Bedi and Chhachhi (2011), *The Intervention of Micro Finance for AIDS and Gender Equity (IMAGE)* conducted in South Africa, has yielded positive results for women. The programme's intention was to fight poverty and women's low status, which would lead to the decrease of HIV, and also intimate partner violence among women. Micro finance was used by the programme to empower women so that they could support their families. Evaluation results of IMAGE revealed that the risk of intimate partner violence had gone down significantly (well over half) from its initial 71.3 per cent prevalence (Jewkes, 2002; Bhattacharyya, Bedi and Chhachhi 2011).

However, negative results have also been documented by other studies (Rhaman, Hoque and Makinoda 2011 and Dalal 2011). India has completed vast research focusing on empowering women and improving their subordinate status. However, Dalal (2011:38) in his study, found that intimate partner violence was high among working women. In Dalal's analysis,, women who had lower income or the same income as their spouses were at less risk of experiencing intimate partner violence compared to women who earned more money than their husbands. The study also revealed that husbands who did not have jobs, were more likely to perpetrate violence against their wives compared to those who earn less than their wives. Overall, the study maintains that women with a high

education and gainful employment are more at risk of experiencing intimate partner violence compared with unemployed women in India.

Globalisation has worsened gender inequalities in societies and has put women at more risk of experiencing gender-based violence (True 2015). Grabe et al. (2014) asserts that the financial and psychological stress that men are going through is making women susceptible to abuse by men. True (2015) suggests that globalisation has led to the loss of male entitlement whereby neo-liberal policies have increased opportunities for women and more women are getting into the labour market and attaining economic independence. Boonzaier (2008) asserts that, due to globalisation, the global markets have a bias toward women and prefer to employ women over men. This is so because women are seen as a source of cheap labour due to predominant gender structures and ideologies. True (2015:3) maintains that 'the obverse of women's economic empowerment is sometimes men's economic disempowerment'. For example, globalisation outcomes have led to economic restructuring in South Africa and men have had to experience long-term unemployment and the loss of the breadwinner status (Boonzaier 2008). Boonzaier (2008) further asserts that because these men have been stripped of their masculinity and are not able to retain their role as providers, they have acknowledged feelings of powerlessness and perpetrating violence against their spouses as a means of reclaiming lost control and power.

In another study by Boonzaier (2005) conducted in South Africa with 15 women and their male partners, there was a correlation between intimate partner violence and the economic disempowerment of men. The study revealed that men's reaction to their rising unemployment and women's economic empowerment was to try and assert other dominant forms of masculinity by abusing their partners/wives. Studies also indicated that men's view of a 'real man' was associated with being able to provide for the family. The men also admitted that, because they were unemployed and unable to fulfil the role of the provider, they justified violence because of the feelings of powerlessness and crisis in masculinity (Boonzaier 2005). In other words, neoliberal economic policies have rendered some men redundant, increasing current gender inequalities and also establishing additional forms of marginalisation and susceptibility to violence.

All these factors indicate that the need for men to have a greater economic status than women validates the resource theory. Both the resource theory and reclamation model highlights the masculinities-based root causes of male perpetrated violence. Despite the fact that masculinity cuts across all causes of violence perpetration, there is inadequate attention given to it in research and violence-prevention programmes.

## 4.6 ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK THEORY

The ecological framework theory provides a through explanation of gender based violence by describing various elements at different levels. The framework asserts that behaviour is determined by the interplay of social surroundings and individuals. In other words, behaviour is developed as a result of this interplay (Dasgupta 2001). The framework assists in understanding the elements that determine the behaviour of individuals and which could escalate the perpetration of violence and its acceptance. In other words, the ecological framework highlights the risk factors that are most likely to cause an individual to be a victim or perpetrator of violence. Understanding these risk factors helps in building appropriate prevention strategies. Table 4.4 provides a list of risk factors that contribute to violence from an ecological perspective.

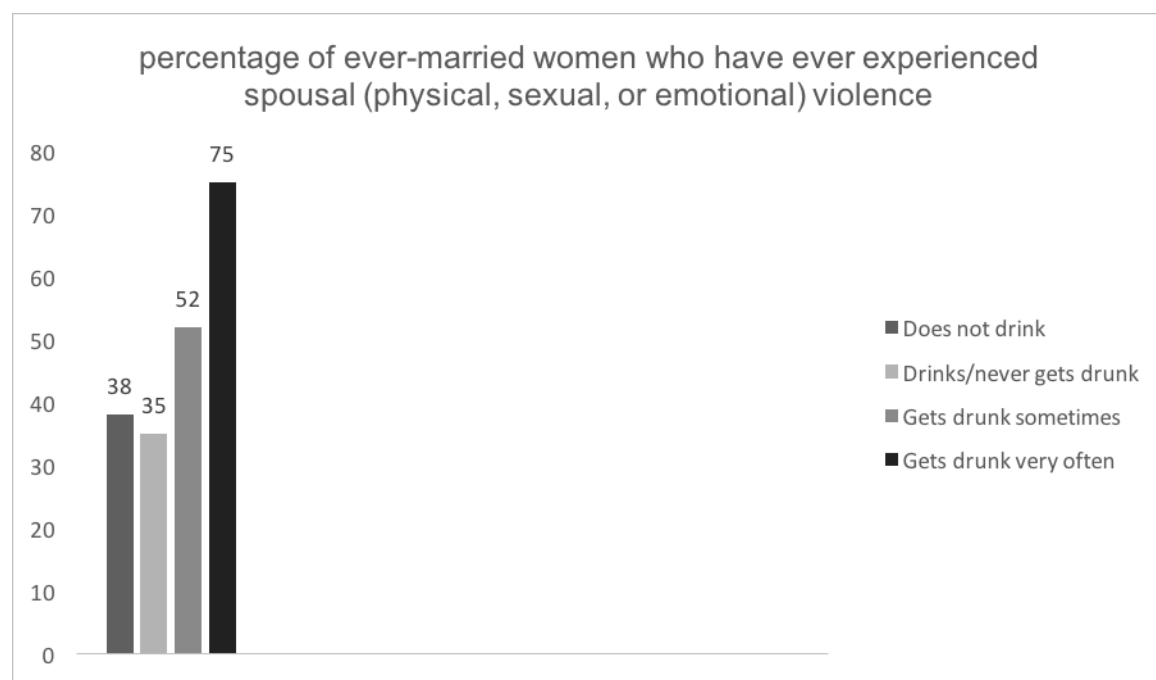
**Table 4.4 Risk factors that contribute to violence**

| INDIVIDUAL  | RELATIONSHIP   | COMMUNITY   | SOCIETAL  |
|---|--|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gender, age &amp; low level of education</li> <li>• Childhood aggressive behaviour</li> <li>• Low socio-economic status, unemployment</li> <li>• Mental health and behavioural problems</li> <li>• Alcohol &amp; substance abuse</li> <li>• Masculine identity challenges</li> <li>• Normative views of violence</li> <li>• Family history of violence &amp; victim of child abuse and neglect</li> <li>• Impulsivity</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exposure to family violence</li> <li>• Intergenerational learning of violence &amp; poor parenting</li> <li>• Association with violent and delinquent peers</li> <li>• Gang membership</li> <li>• Challenges to masculine identity &amp; gender relations and roles</li> <li>• Normative view of dominant masculinities</li> <li>• Unequal distribution of power</li> <li>• Low socio-economic status and socio-economic stress</li> <li>• Family honour linked to masculinity</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High unemployment</li> <li>• Low income level</li> <li>• High population density</li> <li>• Limited job / economic opportunities</li> <li>• Normative view of violence</li> <li>• Lack of resources</li> <li>• Low social capital incl. connectedness to community &amp; school and poor support</li> <li>• Social marginalisation</li> <li>• High levels of crime &amp; violence</li> <li>• Availability of alcohol &amp; drugs</li> <li>• Easy access to guns &amp; other weapons</li> <li>• Lack of knowledge on violence</li> <li>• Poor &amp; ineffective policing</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Socio-economic &amp; political structure of society: Patriarchal &amp; capitalist arrangement</li> <li>• Weak legal and criminal justice system</li> <li>• Social disorganization</li> <li>• Economic, education &amp; health policies</li> <li>• Poverty</li> <li>• Poor living standards</li> <li>• Income inequalities</li> <li>• Cultural norms and values around masculinity ideologies, supporting violence, gender inequality</li> <li>• Media</li> <li>• Historical trauma</li> <li>• Conflict or post-conflict</li> <li>• Displacement</li> </ul> |

Adapted from Centres for Disease Control (CDC) 2012; Dahlberg 1998; Krug et al. 2002; Sethi et al. 2004, 2010; Sethi, Racioppi, Baumgarten, & Vida 2006).

The model has four levels (see Chapter 2) that cover biological and personal factors such as age, gender, education, income, psychological problems, personality disorders, aggressive tendencies and substance abuse. For example, alcohol abuse has been linked to violence against women. According to a study conducted in nine countries by Stockl et al. (2014:10), alcohol abuse was significantly linked to intimate partner violence among young women in different countries, especially when both partners or one of the partners were drinking. Alcohol abuse and the experience of intimate partner violence was recorded in urban and rural Brazil, urban Namibia, rural Peru, Samoa, and urban and rural Tanzania. Other studies conducted in Zimbabwe by Nyamayemombe et al. (2010) and Wekete et al. (2014:1428) acknowledged that heavy drinking was associated with gender-based violence. The studies revealed that married women whose husbands were drinkers were more likely to face intimate partner violence. According to the 2015, ZDHS, three quarters of women (75 per cent) whose husbands were heavy drinkers reported having experienced physical, sexual and emotional violence. This is illustrated in figure 4.6.

**Figure 4.6 Spousal violence by husband's alcohol consumption**



Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF (2016:322)

The second level encompasses relational factors that influence perpetration of violence, such as family, intimate partners, friends, and the workplace. It describes how these relationships may lead to the perpetration of violence. The third level looks at the community and factors that could increase violence such as poverty, unemployment and association with delinquent peers. For example, poverty creates situations in which individuals become susceptible to violence. Because of the feminisation of poverty, women are more likely to experience gender-based violence. That is why gender-based



prevention programmes have adopted economic empowerment strategies such as micro finance to address GBV. Social and economic exclusion are factors that influence GBV and these can be viewed as a process, or as a result of gender-based violence. Social and economic exclusion can hinder the attainment of livelihoods, human development and equal rights and opportunities.

The fourth level looks at structures and systems of the society. At this level, factors viewed to be the cause of gender-based violence include, parental role and responsibilities, societal norms, rigid gender norms and notions of masculinity, linked to dominance, and social and health structures. Societal constructions on individual entitlements can cause GBV. This level considers how different institutions (i.e. family and community) play a part in perpetuating GBV. Societal norms and values often prolong the existence of various forms of gender-based violence. Social institutions such as religious institutions create the biased recognition of men over women. More so, these societal values are passed on from one generation to the other.

The ecological model theory also maintains that, in order to address GBV, the different levels need to be taken into consideration so as to come up with good prevention programmes to fight gender-based violence. Consequently, addressing GBV requires understanding that a one-size-fits-all approach is inadequate in addressing GBV because there is no one single cause of gender-based violence.

#### **4.7 A THUMBNAIL OF THEORETICAL APPROACHES THAT EXPLAIN GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

Literature holds differing views on the causes of gender-based violence. Krug et al. (2002) gives a summary of the causes of gender-based violence that include: traditional gender norms that encourage male superiority and entitlement; social norms that tolerate or justify violence against women; weak community sanctions against perpetrators; poverty and high levels of crime and conflict in society. In an integrated search for the causes of gender-based violence, there are various theories that have been brought forward by scholars that explain GBV, of which some have been highlighted earlier in this chapter. Table 4.5 summaries the major theoretical approaches to understanding gender-based violence. However, these are not exhaustive.

**Table 4.5 Major theoretical approaches to understanding gender-based violence.**

| Theory/Approach         | Examples of proponents                                       |
|-------------------------|--|
| Social learning         | Bandura (1977)   |
| Cycle of violence       | Walker (1979)  |
| Ecological              | Bronfenbrenner (1977) Heise (1998)                           |
| Resource based          | Blood and Wolfe (1960) Goode (1971)                          |
| Patriarchal             | Smith (1990) Yllo and Straus (1990)                          |
| Reclamation model       | Pleck (1995)   |
| Power and control       | Dobash & Dobash (1979) Steinmetz (1987) Yllo & Straus (1990) |
| Learned helplessness    | Seligman and Maier (1967)                                    |
| Battered women syndrome | Walker (1979)  |
| conflict                | Quinney (1970) Turk (1977)                                   |
| Gender socialisation    | Harris (1995) Henslin (1999)                                 |
| Exchange                | Homans (1974)  |
| Attachment              | Bowlby (1969)  |
| Stress                  | Farrington (1986) Jasinski (2001)                            |

## 4.8 CONSEQUENCES OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

There are a broad range of effects of the exposure to gender-based violence. This section describes the magnitude and the link between gender-based violence and health outcomes and development.

### 4.8.1 THE EFFECTS OF GBV ON HEALTH

Gender-based violence is a public health and human rights issue with serious consequences, not only to women's health, but children and adolescents who also experience gender-based violence. Regardless of the context of how GBV takes place (i.e. during peace or war time, by partner or non-partner, in the family or community), it is a defiling and exciting experience for individuals who have suffered from violence. Gender-based violence has long-lasting effects for women's reproductive health. According to WHO (2013:21) and Illangasekare et al. (2013) these may include: HIV infection, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), low-birth weight, premature birth, induced abortion, unwanted/unintended pregnancies, alcohol abuse, depression and suicide, injuries and death from homicide (see Table 4.6).

**Table 4.6 Behavioural and health consequences of violence.**

| Physical  | Mental health and behavioural   | Sexual and reproductive Health   | Chronic disease   |
|---|---|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abdominal injuries</li> <li>• Thoracic injuries</li> <li>• Brain injuries</li> <li>• Burns/scalds</li> <li>• Fractures</li> <li>• Lacerations</li> <li>• Genital trauma</li> <li>• Disability</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alcohol drug abuse</li> <li>• Depression and anxiety</li> <li>• Post-traumatic stress disorder</li> <li>• Eating and sleep disorders</li> <li>• Attention deficits</li> <li>• Attention deficits</li> <li>• Hyperactivity</li> <li>• Externalising behaviour</li> <li>• Smoking</li> <li>• Suicidal</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of contraception</li> <li>• Unsafe sex</li> <li>• Unintended pregnancy</li> <li>• Pregnancy complications</li> <li>• Induced/Unsafe abortions</li> <li>• Gynaecological disorders</li> <li>• Complex pain syndrome</li> <li>• Chronic pain syndromes</li> <li>• Chronic pelvic pain</li> <li>• HIV</li> <li>• Sexually transmitted infections</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arthritis and asthma</li> <li>• Cancer</li> <li>• Cardiovascular disorder</li> <li>• Diabetes</li> <li>• Kidney problems</li> <li>• Liver disease</li> <li>• Stroke</li> </ul> |

Adapted from WHO (2013); Butchart, and Mikton (2014).

#### *HIV and Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs)*

Research reveals that GBV, in particular intimate partner violence, is a driver of women's susceptibility to HIV and STIs. There are severe pathways that attempt to describe the association of IPV and HIV infection. For example, forced sex doubles the risk of direct transmission of HIV (Wagman et al. 2015, WHO 2013, Campbell et al. 2013, Maman et al. 2000 and Campbell et al. 2008). WHO (2013:22) argues that women in abusive relationships may fail to negotiate safe sex with their partners. According to WHO (2013:22), men who perpetrate violence against their female partners, are more likely than nonviolent men to engage in risky behaviour such as multiple sexual partners, transactional sex and alcohol abuse. Wagman et al. (2015) stress that gender inequalities fuel IPV and HIV. Furthermore, socio-cultural norms exacerbate the risk of violence against women and the contraction of HIV/STIs. Notions of masculinity are associated with 'sexual stamina' (Nzioka 2001, Morrell and Jewkes 2011). Mashiri (2013:7) suggests that Zimbabwean studies offer clear evidence that women fear abuse from their male partners and this hinders women's decision-making

in negotiating safe sex and the use of contraceptives. WHO (2013:22) maintains that studies from Africa and India reveal that there is a link between intimate partner violence and HIV/STIs.

#### *Unwanted/Unintended Pregnancies*

In violent relationships there is a presence of fear and controlling behaviour from partners, that is why women in such relationships report reproductive health effects. These negative reproductive health outcomes can be explained through indirect means such as male partners barring their wives/ partners from using contraceptives. As a result, women in such relationships have more unintended pregnancies all the time and approximately half of these pregnancies are ended through induced abortions in unsafe and risky conditions (WHO 2013, Miller et al. 2010, Pallitto et al. 2013, Hindin et al. 2008, Pallitto and O'Campo 2005, Goodwin et al. 2000 and Silverman et al. 2007). Research provides evidence that women in abusive relationships have reported having induced abortions.

#### *Low birth weight and prematurity*

There is a link between IPV and low birth weight and prematurity. WHO (2013:23) suggests that stress and living in an abusive relationship can affect maternal health and, in turn affect birth weight. Sigalla et al. (2017) assert that IPV is the reason for poor birth outcomes. According to Beck et al. (2010), approximately 12.9 million children are born pre-term, and Africa and Asia bare the highest rate of pre-term births (over three quarters). IPV during pregnancy is related to depression and anxiety, poor pre-natal care, poor maternal weight gain and unhealthy living (substance abuse, and poor diet) (Maman et al. 2002, Maman et al. 2010 and Shamu et al. 2013). Shamu et al. 2013, stress that Zimbabwe has the highest rates globally of IPV during pregnancy. The 2015 ZDHS reports that violence against women during pregnancy went down from 8 per cent in 2005-2006 to 5 per cent in 2011 and was 6 per cent in 2015 (ZIMSTAT and ICF 2016). In a study with young women in South Africa between the ages of 15-19 years, Gender-based violence was found to be the major cause of negative pregnancy outcomes, such as mortality and unsafe abortion (Decker et al. 2014, and Patton, Coffey and Swayer 2009). In summary, IPV is definitely a risk factor for birth weight and prematurity.

#### *Alcohol Abuse*

Although there is a connection between alcohol abuse and male violence against women, there is evidence that suggests that there is a significant connection between women and alcohol abuse (Devries et al. 2014, and Jaquier, Flanagan and Sullivan 2015). Jaquier, Flanagan and Sullivan (2015:446) suggest that women who experience IPV suffer from severe anxiety. Alcohol and drugs are used as coping mechanisms. The tension reduction theory propounded by Conger (1956), explains why abused women turn to substance abuse. It states that individuals use substances as a coping

mechanism for negative and sad states. For example, women may turn to alcohol to cope with stress, fear and anxiety associated with IPV.

### *Depression and Suicide*

WHO (2013:24) argues that IPV may lead to depression and suicide attempts. Trauma can cause stress, fear and isolation which, subsequently, cause depression and thoughts of committing suicide. Devries et al. (2013) and Dillion et al. (2013) suggest that IPV is linked to risk of depression and suicide attempts. Research indicates that even adolescents are at high risk of experiencing IPV and non-partner sexual violence (Hindin, Christiansen and Ferguson 2013). Adolescents have rather the same adverse health outcomes that adults have if they experience violence (Decker et al. 2014). According to current research, there is a connection between abuse during the adolescence stage and health outcomes such as depression, suicidal attempts and chronic inflammation (Bertone-Johnson et al. 2012 and Exner-Cortens, Eckenrode and Rothman 2013). Abuse can place young women on a path to future violence and sexual risk behaviour (Lang et al. 2011). Not only do young women experience adverse health outcomes, but experiences of GBV undermines the self-worth of young women because their engagement in education, employment and mobility in society is constrained (Bruce 2011). According to a study conducted in Johannesburg, South Africa, by Decker (2014) poor health outcomes such as depression, mental health and suicidal ideation were associated with IPV and non-partner sexual violence.

### *Fatal and Non-fatal Injuries*

WHO (2013:25) suggests that IPV is correlated to many adverse health outcomes. However, the most evident and direct impacts are fatal and non-fatal physical injuries. Intimate partner homicide is the most extreme health outcome and involves male and female homicide by an intimate partner. Campbell et al. (2003) argues that most women who are murdered have reported a history of IPV and men who are killed have a history as perpetrators of IPV (Serran and Firestone, 2004). WHO (2013:26) maintains that the highest prevalence of intimate partner homicide where women were murdered was in South- East Asia (55 per cent followed by Africa (40 per cent) and the Americas (38 per cent). Gender (2014) suggests that one woman is killed every six hours by her intimate partner in South Africa.

Non-fatal injuries are usually visible on the face, neck and head. These may be accompanied by musculoskeletal and genital injuries (WHO 2013). From the Meta-analysis done by WHO (2013), women experiencing IPV were most likely injured by their intimate partners.

#### **4.8.2 EFFECTS OF GBV ON DEVELOPMENT**

According to the scholarship of Sen (1999), development can be defined as a process of expanding the freedoms people enjoy, and GBV is a major hindrance to achieving development. However, I bring human development into the discussion as human development goes beyond economic growth. There is abundant evidence to show that high rates of economic growth do not necessarily lead to improvements in living standards for poorer sections of the population and that greater improvement in these living standards can be achieved by strategies that do not focus exclusively on growth. This distinction focuses on development priorities and strategies, not on the essential nature of the development process itself. Therefore, development is the energy of people seeking to fulfil their aspirations that serves as its driving force. The efficiency, productivity, innovation, creativity and organisational capacities of people determine the level of accomplishment and enjoyment. Society progresses by developing and bringing forth into expansion the higher potentialities of its members. However, GBV is a limiting hindrance to human development as it hinders women from realising their full potential. Key principles in human development include: health, knowledge/education and access to resources. All these elements are limited for women who experience GBV as opportunities are hard to reach.

Most governments acknowledge that women contribute toward development from a household level, community and national level. Gender-based violence affects household well-being. The majority of the women are productive members of the household, carrying out domestic duties. Domestic duties can be defined as duties carried out at the household level to make sure that basic needs of members are met. GBV has adverse effects on agriculture, income, health and education, all which affect the wellbeing of the household (Mwije 2014:3). Low/poor household production has further implications such as food insecurity and malnutrition and, most importantly, is increased poverty (feminised poverty) described by the isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness of the victim (Mwije 2014). For example, women who experience gender-based violence become less prolific in the public sphere. In other words, low production contributes to national production deficits. Furthermore, women who are engaged in low production earn less, which, in turn, affects consumption and spending and, nationally, contributes to low level demand (Morrison, Buvinic and Shifter 2003:107). On the other hand, gender-based violence also affects how children perform at school and, in turn, affects future productivity and capacity and revenue on national investment of schooling (Morrison, Buvinic and Shifter 2003:107).

Gender-based violence has negative impacts on community development. Examples of GBV incidences at community level include child abuse, social control, abandonment, displacement, dishonour and stigmatisation (UNFPA 2005). All these, carry a negative impact on both the victim

and perpetrator, community, socio-economic and political development (Mwije 2014). Furthermore, women who are abused, fail to engage in community participation because of the effects of GBV and often exclude themselves from community projects.

GBV has serious impacts on national development. For example, GBV is a fundamental human rights issue that is central to the achievement of development, democracy and peace. Tables 4.6 and 4.7 illustrates how GBV affects national development and the socio-economic costs imposed by GBV.

**Table 4.7 Asset-Vulnerability and Violence**

|   |
|---|
| <p>Violence erodes:</p> <p><b><u>Labour</u></b> as an asset when it limits access to jobs;</p> <p><b><u>Human Capital</u></b> as an asset when it limits access to education and health facilities by both users and providers;</p> <p><b><u>Social Capital</u></b> as an asset when it reduces trust and cooperation between community-level social organisations;</p> <p><b><u>Household relations</u></b> as an asset when it limits the capacity of households to function effectively as a unit;</p> <p><b><u>Productive assets</u></b> when it destroys housing – the urban poor's most productive asset.</p> |
|---|

**Source: Moser and Van Bronkhorst (1999:5)**

In Table 4.7, Moser and Van Bronkhorst (1999) outline the economic costs of violence that individuals, government and society incurs. The costs of violence are captured at the micro to macro-level and have the capacity to erode labour, human capital, social capital, and household relations and productive assets. All these factors are very important when it comes to micro and macro development.

In Table 4.8, Morrison, Buvinic and Shifter (2003) illustrate the socio-economic costs of violence and I have divided them into four categories namely: direct monetary costs, non- monetary costs, economic multiplier effects and social multiplier effects. Direct costs focus on the value of goods and services utilised as a response to gender-based violence, for example, treating victims and making various services available to them (counselling and safe accommodations for abused women). And, on the other hand, the response to perpetrators of violence has direct costs that include: expenditure on police judiciary system (prison, detention and other court expenses), and GBV prevention programming (Morrison, Buvinic and Shifter 2003:109) Although there is scarce data on the direct costs of GBV in Zimbabwe, the Newsday (2016) reports that the estimated aggregate cost of GBV in Zimbabwe is around \$2 billion dollars annually.

**Table 4.8 Socio-Economic Costs of Violence: A typology**

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Direct monetary costs       | Value of goods and services used in treating or preventing violence: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Police</li> <li>• Criminal justice system</li> <li>• Medical</li> <li>• Psychological counselling</li> <li>• Damage to physical infrastructure (housing etc.)</li> <li>• Social services</li> </ul>   |
| Non-monetary costs          | Pain and suffering: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased morbidity</li> <li>• Increased mortality via homicide and suicide</li> <li>• Abuse of alcohol and drugs</li> <li>• Depressive disorders</li> </ul>   |
| Economic multiplier effects | Macroeconomic, labour market, intergenerational productivity effects: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decreased labour market participation</li> <li>• Reduced productivity on the job</li> <li>• Lower earnings</li> <li>• Increased absenteeism</li> <li>• Intergenerational productivity impacts via grade repetition &amp; Lower educational attainment of children</li> <li>• Decreased investment and savings</li> <li>• Capital flight</li> <li>• Decreased tourism</li> <li>• Decreased government revenue</li> <li>• Impact on policy-making by distorting government spending</li> </ul> |
| Social multiplier effects   | Impact on interpersonal relations and quality of life: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intergenerational transmission of violence</li> <li>• Erosion of human capital</li> <li>• Erosion of social capital and the social fabric</li> <li>• Reduced quality of life</li> <li>• Erosion of state's credibility</li> <li>• Reduced participation in democratic process</li> </ul>  |

Source: Morrison, Buvinic and Shifter (2003:108)

Nonmonetary costs can include the health effects experienced by both victims and perpetrators such as depression, suicidal attempts, increased morbidity and mortality, alcohol and drug abuse. The negative health outcomes that come as a result of gender-based violence are devastating. Economic multiplier effects of violence refer to decreased labour market participation, reduced productivity on the job, lower earnings, and increased absenteeism and intergenerational productivity impacts. All these factors affect women's participation in a meaningful life and development. This does not only affect women, but children who have witnessed and experienced gender-based violence. Finally, social multipliers of violence refer to intergenerational transmission of violence (this is evidenced in



the cycle of violence and social learning theory), erosion of human capital and erosion of social capital and the social fabric and reduced quality of life (Morrison, Buvinic and Shifter 2003:109). These factors are detrimental to human development and national development and pro-active strategies should be employed to reduce the cost of GBV on the society.

#### **4.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

The chapter examined the causes of gender-based violence and provided factors like gender socialisation, ideology of patriarchy, socio-cultural norms and values and individual level characteristics to explain the gender-based violence phenomenon. Feminist theories, cycle of violence, power and control, resources and the ecological framework theory were used to explain the causes of gender-based violence in the family, community and society level. Throughout this examination it was evident that there is no one cause of gender-based violence, but that an array of factors can give a comprehensive explanation of the GBV phenomenon. I concur with Carlson's (1984:571) analysis as he writes, 'it is futile to attempt to demonstrate that one or two theories are correct, whereas others are wrong, when there are factors at many levels that play a causal role in domestic violence'.

The chapter went on to look at the impact of gender-based violence on health and development. Various health outcomes were examined and how they were associated with forms of GBV such as IPV. These included HIV and STIs, unwanted pregnancies, induced abortion, birth weight and premature birth, alcohol abuse, depression and suicide, injuries and deaths from homicide. In exploring the link between gender-based violence and development, the chapter explained how GBV had negative impacts on a household's well-being, community development and national development. The socio-economic costs of GBV were also indicative of how GBV affects human development of victims and also the national development. In summary, the chapter examined the causes and consequences of gender-based violence.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **EXISTING MODELS OF GBV INTERVENTION**

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter provides a broad overview on violence prevention, particularly, prevention of gender-based violence as examined by other studies. The chapter pays attention to gender-based violence prevention literature that has a bias toward young people in an attempt to create an awareness among young people that violence is non-justifiable and should not be accepted in any circumstance. This chapter starts by looking at violence prevention and then describes the risk and resiliency factors for violence. It provides a review of what is known about prevention strategies and responses to gender-based violence so as to facilitate the development of an appropriate intervention in this current research. This is done through a qualitative meta-synthesis of interventions with a bias towards gender-based violence.

#### **5.2 VIOLENCE PREVENTION**

Violence prevention is the focus for various stakeholders in the society (i.e. researchers, governments and various professionals). Violence prevention is often from the public health perspective which means it is multi-sectorial, engaging private and public sectors like health, education, criminal justice, social services, businesses and civil society organisations (Butchart and Mikton 2014:26). Therefore, efforts to tackle violence are aimed at various risk factors for violence, ranging from broad social determinants. Risks factors for violence are entrenched within various ecological levels.

Violence prevention means ending violence by reducing the risk factors for violence and encouraging resiliency factors (Sethi et al 2004). The public health approach highlights three different levels of violence prevention: primary prevention in an attempt to stop violence from taking place. Harvey, Garcia-Moreno and Butchart (2007:5) define primary prevention as decreasing the number of new cases of violence by getting involved before any violence occurs. The effect of primary prevention is determined through comparing the frequency of victimisation and perpetration. This type of violence prevention approach is different from other approaches, which attempt to reduce violence after it occurrence. Primary prevention is based on the identification of risk and resiliency actors and takes action to deal with those factors. Primary prevention can come in various forms, but the common denominator is transforming gender-related attitudes and stereotypes at the individual level, among both men and women, and at the societal level (Seftaoui 2009).

Secondary prevention includes immediate responses after the occurrence of violence to minimise the impacts of violence, whereas tertiary prevention is long-term treatment and support for victims of violence to avert serious effects. Inasmuch as the public health approach is evident in this study and violence prevention is based on it, I also connect violence prevention with the conflict transformation approach. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, the gender-based violence phenomenon was likened to a conflict or intimate terrorism and, therefore, looking closely, there is a changing nature of conflicts. Conflict transformation plays a role in violence prevention by engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, discourses and, if necessary, the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict (Mial 2004). The approach also acknowledges that conflicts are changed cautiously, through a sequence of smaller or larger transformations as well as particular measures by engaging diverse actors. In other words, gender-based violence can be transformed through different levels with the engagement of various actors (multi sectorial approach). Lederach (1995:25) writes:

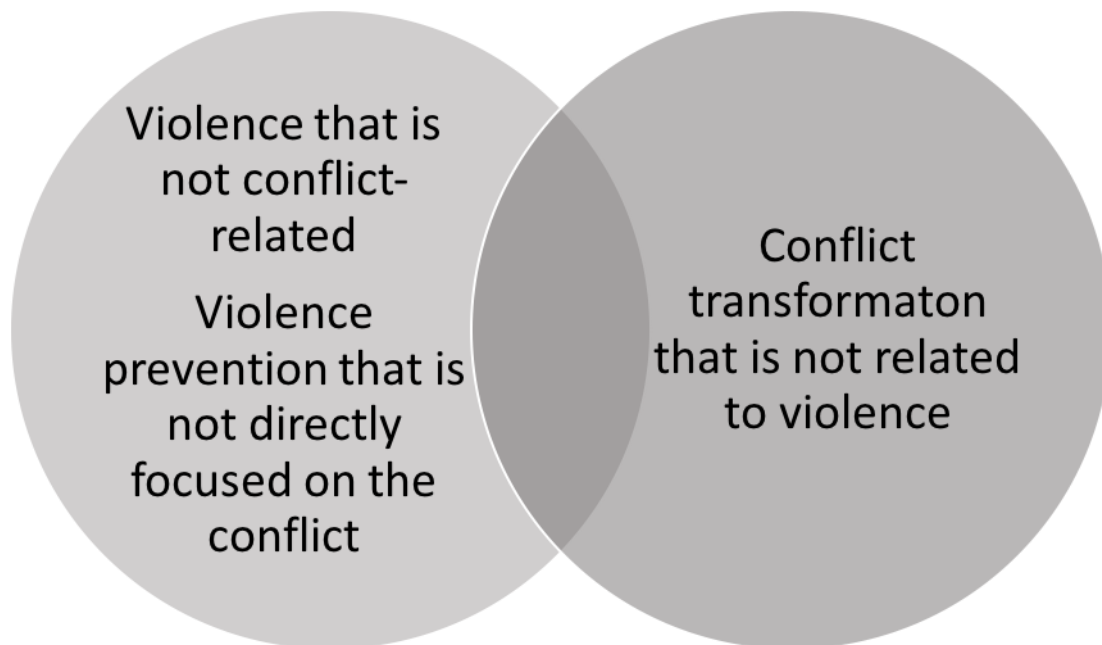
Conflict transformation must actively envision, include, respect and promote the human and cultural resources from within a given setting. This involves a new set of lenses through which we do not primarily, see the setting and the people in it as the problem and the outsider as the answer, rather we understand the long term goal of transformation as validating and building on people and resources within the setting.

Gender-based violence has life-destroying aspects and forms, stemming from contradictions in the structure of the society. GBV becomes manifest in attitudes and behaviour and, therefore using conflict transformation helps to understand the dynamics of GBV and the development and assessment of the intervention. In other words, this can be viewed as conflict transformation mediating gender-based violence. Contemporary conflicts occur at different levels (i.e. the global, regional, societal and individual level) and conflicts generally depend on the background from which they emerge. However, because there is some violence that is viewed as non-conflict based, for example, child abuse, sexual assault, and the like, gender-based violence prevention initiatives have not in these cases adopted conflict transformation. Conflict transformation theory has the capacity to adequately address the interplay of causes and risks factors for violence at different levels. According to Harders (2011:134) “conflict transformation aims to address the social root causes of collective violence by creating human security, catering to basic human needs and supporting justice and reconciliation”.

Violence prevention is possible through the use of conflict transformation, a promising approach to foster change in the society, and primary prevention. In other words, there is an overlap of interventions. Borrowing from the scholarship of Cohen, Davies and Aboelata (1998), conflict resolution and violence prevention have the same aim, which is how to prevent violent conflict. However, in place of conflict-resolution, I put conflict transformation, which is more clearly defined

than conflict resolution. In this context, violence prevention and conflict transformation are approaches that complement each other. They can be best described using a Venn diagram to highlight their interests, similarities and unrelated areas (see Figure 5.1).

**Figure 5.1 Overlap between violence prevention and conflict transformation**



Adapted from Cohen, Davies and Aboelata (1998).

However, reducing violence relies heavily on primary prevention and the preventive strategy that is implemented is often based on education, from which both conflict transformation and violence prevention base their interventions. This is why some intervention programmes incorporate conflict resolution skills as fundamental components in violence prevention programmes (Cohen, Davies and Aboelata 1998:7). Inasmuch as education is a fundamental preventative strategy, it is not enough. Norms and expectations held by society, reinforced by different institutions such as schools, family, religion, media and work, should be addressed, therefore promoting nonviolent solutions.

It is important to note that violence prevention from a public health perspective has a four- step process that facilitates solution formulation:

- (1) definition and measurement of violence;
- (2) identification of risk and protective factors and development of interventions based on these factors;
- (3) evaluation of interventions to ascertain the impact; and

- (4) dissemination of ‘good’ strategies to make sure they are adopted worldwide to prevent violence (Graffunder et al. 2004:6).

In this current study, I adopted a systematic strategy to merge a violence prevention and conflict transformation-approach to address violence. Cross fertilisation between conflict transformation and violence prevention strategies will help in spreading the message of zero tolerance to violence and promote a culture of peace. The use of the conflict transformation approach in this study serves the purpose of building a culture of peace and mutual respect by challenging the social constructions and masculinity in the society that young people subscribe to. This is to help young people develop gender practices that move to more egalitarian/democratic gender relations (especially for boys). Connell (2001:16) maintains that egalitarian or “democratic gender relations are those that move towards equality, nonviolence and mutual respect between people of different genders, sexualities, ethnicities and generations”. Therefore, young people, particularly boys, have to be engaged in GBV issues so as to discourage the use of violence that has become part of an everyday culture. A violence prevention approach, on the other hand, in this context, is used to address risk factors for violence and come up with a sustainable violence-prevention intervention. Figure 5.2 illustrates the systematic approach used in this study to address gender-based violence by combining conflict transformation and violence prevention strategies.

**Figure 5.2 Systematic approach towards violence prevention**

| <b>Current status</b>  | <b>→</b> | <b>More systematic approach</b>                              |
|--|----------|--|
| Absence of an overall strategy   | →        | Creation of an overall strategy: linkages between the fields |
| Education seen as prevention   | →        | Multifaceted activities: spectrum of prevention              |
| Conflict transformation fosters resiliency; violence prevention tends to focus on risk factors | →        | Risk and resiliency factor emphasis                          |
| Singular approaches  | →        | Comprehensive approach                                       |
| Attention to issues as they arise  | →        | Attention to norms   |

Adapted from Cohen, Davies and Aboelata (1998)

### **5.3 RISK AND RESILIENCY FACTORS**

Violence is complex and in order to prevent it there has to be an understanding of risk and resiliency factors for violence. Risk and resiliency factors can be located at different levels of the ecological model. Risk factors can be described as factors that increase the likelihood of an individual to perpetrate violence, Tharp et al. (2013:134) suggest that risk factors are factors that are possessed by those who perpetrate violence. Resiliency factors are those factors that restrain individuals from perpetrating violence and the understanding of resiliency factors is detrimental to violence prevention (CDC 2016). According to the Prevention Institute, resiliency factors are characteristics that foster the healthy development of families, schools and communities, and build capacity for positive relationships and interactions.

#### **5.3.1 RISK FACTORS FOR VIOLENCE**

There are many factors that interact to increase the person's risk of perpetrating violence. These can be individual, relationship, community and societal factors (see Table 4.4). In a review of risk factors for gender-based violence, identified by Tharp et al. (2013:139), the individual level included multiple sexual partners, early initiation of sex, exposure to pornography, deviant sexual behaviour, psychological and antisocial disorders, substance abuse, acceptance of violence in general and traditional gender roles, power and control.

On the relationship level, factors include family characteristics such as parental mental health, exposure to family violence, family relationships such as parental conflicts, negative attitudes and behaviour (Tharp et al. 2013:136). Community and societal factors include high levels of unemployment, acceptability of violence, social marginalisation, poverty, cultural norms and values and income inequalities (Sethi et al. 2010 and Lazarus et al. 2011). In observing these risk factors for violence, it is clear that no one particular risk factor can be identified to fuel gender-based violence.

#### **5.3.2 GENDER RELATED THOUGHTS, ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS AS RISK FACTORS FOR VIOLENCE.**

This study pays attention to gender-related thoughts, attitudes and beliefs as key risk factors for the perpetration of gender-based violence. These can be identified as traditional patriarchal gender role attitudes that guide an individual's beliefs about suitable role-related actions for men and women as well as boys and girls. These risk factors are associated with adolescent and adult intimate partner violence, and in this current study a target for primary prevention.

Reyes et al. (2016) suggest that gender role attitudes can be understood as spanning from traditional to egalitarian. However, the majority of African societies live in patriarchal structures and carry out

traditional gender roles. For example, traditional gender role attitudes require men to be ultimate decision makers and women to be passive, home-makers and caregivers. Research suggests that men who subscribe to traditional gender role attitudes are more likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence because these attitudes come with the pressure that men should have power; at times violence becomes a way of exerting power and dominance. Drawing from the scripting theory (Byers 1996), men and boys who subscribe to these attitudes are more likely to use or conform to gender-typed social scripts that affirm male toughness, aggressiveness, sexual stamina, and no show of emotion (Eaton and Rose 2011). According to Lee et al. (2010), men and boys who subscribe to traditional gender role attitudes may be 'combative' in romantic relationships because of the assumption that women want to challenge their dominant positions. This combative approach affects gender relations and causes men and boys to turn to their gender-typed social scripts to guide their romantic relationships. However, these may lead to belligerent attitudes towards women and increase intimate-partner violence.

Based on research evidence and theoretical assumptions, traditional gender role attitudes are linked to perpetration of violence by men (McCauley et al. 2013, Reed et al. 2011, and Tharp et al. 2013). The current study targets gender role attitudes as a means to prevent gender-based violence, because, at the adolescence stage, this is where gender role attitudes and standards of violent-dating interactions develop/appear and are authorised. However, Poteat et al. (2011) argues that normative beliefs that reinforce violence perpetration are the ones that determine whether endorsement of traditional gender role attitudes lead to abusive behaviour. In other words, what is meant by Poteat and colleagues is that normative beliefs may play a regulatory role in behaviour, depending on what an individual holds as acceptable behaviour. Therefore, a strong correlation between gender role attitudes and violence perpetration may exist among boys who maintain normative beliefs that abet aggression. According to a study by Reyes et al. (2016), on gender role attitudes, the study found out that gender role attitudes work hand in hand with injunctive norms to escalate risk of intimate partner violence and dating violence among young people. The study also showed that descriptive normative beliefs were a high indication that IPV was likely to happen.

Personal injunctive normative beliefs can be defined as what an individual believes to be right or wrong, what acceptable behaviour is and what it is not. Whilst descriptive normative beliefs can be defined as what an individual believes is regarded to be normal behaviour in their community. It can be described as 'perceived normalcy or perceived prevalence' using the words of Reyes et al. (2016:3). In other words, injunctive norms suppress behaviour whereas descriptive norms are the yardstick (Hertzog and Rowley 2014; Schultz et al. 2007; Paluck, Ball, Poynton, Seiloff 2010; and Neville 2015). Reyes et al. (2016) suggest that in order to prevent gender-based violence effectively, there is need to challenge young people's beliefs about acceptability of violence and sometimes

instilling egalitarian gender role attitudes. This helps in neutralising adverse traditional gender roles and cultivating a culture of peace and zero tolerance to violence.

Studies in Zimbabwe point out that traditional patriarchal gender role attitudes which are based on the theoretical assumptions of patriarchy are the leading cause of gender-based violence (Hindin 2003; Viki, Chiroro and Abrams 2006; Fidan and Bui 2016; Nkomo 2014; Uthman, Lawoko and Moradi 2009). Taking into consideration the above, it is crucial that gender role attitudes should be a central component in addressing gender-based violence in Zimbabwe. Youth perpetrated violence takes place as a result of complex interactions between risk and resiliency factors in different contexts which influence their personal injunctive norms and behaviour (Resnick, Ireland and Borowsky 2004). Individuals who experience risk factors more than resiliency factors are more likely to engage in violent behaviour (Foshee et al 2011, Martinez-Torteya 2009, Youngstrom, Weist and Albus 2003, and Bernat et al 2012).

#### **5.4 RESILIENCY FACTORS FOR VIOLENCE**

Resilience factors are those characteristics that provide protection for the individual or community. In other literature those are referred to as protective factors. Martinez-Torteya et al. (2009:563) assert that protective factors are “characteristics that enhance adaptation whereas the terms vulnerability and risk are used for the factors that increase the likelihood of maladaptation”. Research indicates that existence and dearth of resilience factors in the society are heavily associated with outcomes (Werner and Smith 1992). Resilience factors help individuals overcome risk factors for violence. Traditionally, the entire focus of violence prevention has been risk factors and how to address them. However, focusing more on resilience factors to challenge risk factors is more effective in reducing violence.

Conflict transformation emphasises on the use of resiliency factors to come up with sustainable solutions to violence. The resilience approach has gained momentum in the conflict resolution and peace building fields as it emphasises on local /community strengths and capabilities, development of prevention plans, early warning systems and pays attention to risk factors and community response (Velthuisen 2014). The assumption is that once communities are capacitated on how to weather violent shocks, it is possible to prevent conflict and develop sustainable means of post conflict community recovery. Resilience provides the community the opportunity to address or prevent violence and this is the essence of peacebuilding work.

Resilience factors are important to this discussion as they offer a crucial move from just thinking and addressing risk factors for violence. In other words, the concept of resilience recognises that



communities constantly come up with coping mechanisms/adaptive strategies to prevent and manage violence. McCandles, Simpson and Meroney (2015:7) note that there might be challenges when it comes to resilience, as sometimes it presents negative forms of resilience, which is “resilience that hinders positive absorption, adaption and transformation and which instead might reinforce downward cycles of conflict and crisis”, it is important to note that resilience has varying meanings moulded by various experiences and interests of distinct social group. McCandles, Simpson and Meroney 2015: 9) emphasises that “a youth perspective for example, or gendered lens, each offer distinctive understanding of what positive and negative resilience might mean in practice, how contested these notions may be, where resilience might inhibit rather than foster real change and equity”. Jütersonke and Kartas (2012:2) argues that,

The idea here is that conceiving of the world as social or natural “systems” allows one to think about continuous, intrinsic change that is often at too slow a pace to be easily recognizable. Some degree of “adversity” is actually required by a system in order to function properly in the long-term. So-called “systems resilience” thus aims to study the ways in which the functioning of the household, community or ecosystem can be maintained in the event of a disturbance – in other words: to what extent the component parts of a dynamic, constantly changing system can absorb a shock without experiencing overall system failure.

This means that although resilience may be accepting of violence it works on how to cope and move away from that situation. However despite the perceived pitfalls, resilience emphasises the importance of understanding how the local community view the causes of violence and also encourages and respects community participation, innovation and collective action. Resilience thinking uses existing local resources, strategies, strengths, assets and capabilities to manage or change the circumstances that compromise peace and evoke violence. For example, reorienting dialogue with young people to discuss strengths, capacities or skills to manage conflict and resilience factors can lead to a transformative impact on young people. Therefore, conflict transformation emphasises resilience factors to develop interventions that build on local capacities. In this context, the study sought to build local capacity of young people to reduce gender-based violence. Focusing on resilience factors fosters preventive rather than corrective/reactive approach to preventing violence and peacebuilding.

Reyes, Kelcey and Diaz Varela (2013:13) pauses a very important question that is: what does it mean to take a resilience approach and how does it relate to transformation of gender-based violence? Reyes, Kelcey and Diaz Varela (2013:13) respond to this question by maintaining that, resilience goes beyond just ‘coping with’ or “recovering from” violence. It is transformative and seeks to address the accord between gender and violence. The resilience approach offers a means to interconnect with the difficulty of transformation in three different fields: emphasis on risk and existing assets (strengths, capabilities, resources); emphasis on individual and group agency for change; and also, institutional

and social responsibilities to support groups at risk and eliminate the causes of violence, emphasis on capacity building, empowerment, social justices and inequalities. Therefore, in this context, resilience approach centres on the looming varieties of gender norms, violence and action research. This is guided by the goal of transforming the causes of gender-based violence that harm, mortify and prevent young people from reaching their potential.

Cohen, Davies and Aboelata (1998:11) argue that “conflict resolution is an activity that fosters resiliency by its very nature, offering individuals a sense of mastery, self-control, options and capacity to self-determine.” Table 5:1 outlines resilience factors against gender-based violence that have been gathered from literature (Hawkins et al 2009; WHO 2010; Foshee et al 2011; Blum and Ireland 2004; Borrowsky, Taliaferro and McMorris 2013; Foshee et al 2015; Decker et al 2015; Tharp et al 2013; and Child Welfare Information Gateway 2014).

Table 5.1 shows different possible resilience factors that can protect young people against gender-based violence. The wide range of possibilities include: school success/achievement; religiosity; individual ability to connect and interact effectively with others; ability to proactively respond to challenging circumstances and plan life in ways that head off adversity, self-regulation; ability to control/manage emotions and behaviour; ability to solve problems and self-efficacy in conflict situations at the individual level. School success serves as a protective factor for young people because they are less likely to report being engaged in aggravated assault by young adulthood (Hawkins et al 2009). They write that religiosity also serves to protect young girls from simple assault and aggravated assault. At the relationship level, these included family connectedness, caring adults, caring friends/ peers and support from other groups. At the community level, protective factors included community connectedness, school connectedness, school safety, neighbourhood safety, access to social support and experiencing a sense of belonging. Finally, at the societal level, resilience factors included policies and legislation that address violence, inequality and citizen participation, social protection and safety nets, household income and socioeconomic status, youths self-perceived resources employment, apprenticeship/training and gender role attitudes that foster gender equality, nonviolence and respect. It is evident that all these levels play a very important role in resilience.

Cohen, Davies and Aboelata (1998) maintain that it is important to focus on resilience factors in order to prevent violence. The growing recognition of resilience factors as important aspects of violence prevention work is inescapable. Violence prevention is a prerequisite for security and peace. Adger et al. (2014) and Black (2016) contend that security is a fundamental human right and security is a requirement for the well-being of all individuals. Inasmuch as security is a requirement for the well-being of the population, it is a prerequisite for peace.

**Table 5.1 Possible resilience factors for the prevention of gender-based violence**

| Ecological levels | Examples of resilience factors  |
|-------------------|---|
| Individual        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Individual ability to connect and interact effectively with others</li><li>• Ability to proactively respond to challenging circumstances and plan life in ways that head off adversity</li><li>• Self-regulation: ability to control/manage emotions and behaviour, e.g. ability to solve problems and self-efficacy in conflict situations.</li><li>• Like school</li><li>• School success/achievement</li><li>• Religiosity</li></ul> |
| Relationship      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Parent connectedness</li><li>• Caring adults</li><li>• Caring friends, positive peer norms</li><li>• Caring teachers</li><li>• Participation in sports and other physical activities</li></ul>  |
| Community         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Community connectedness</li><li>• School connectedness</li><li>• School safety</li><li>• Neighbourhood safety</li><li>• Access to social support</li><li>• Experiencing a sense of belonging</li></ul>  |
| Societal          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Policies and legislation that address violence, inequality and citizen participation</li><li>• Social protection</li><li>• Household income and socio economic status</li><li>• Youths self-perceived resources employment, apprenticeship/training</li><li>• Gender role attitudes that foster gender equality, nonviolence and respect.</li></ul>   |

Bahun and Rajan (2016: xvi) writes that:

The concept of human security provides an alternative framework to traditional concepts of national security and approaches security in an integrated way; it views peace, security, equality,

human rights and development as interrelated. The broad framework puts an emphasis on both protection and empowerment, seeing victimisation and agency as two parts of reality, each of which needs to be addressed often simultaneously.

In other words, gender-based violence is an archetype for human insecurity. Violence prevention at the epicentre of society, in the families and daily life, is crucial in paving the way for human security and, in turn, peace. Peace messages are important and promote nonviolent means of dealing with conflict. One way of creating a culture of peace and preventing violence is through peace education. In the words of Schmidt and Friedman (1988 cited in Mishra 2013:65) peace education is defined as: “holistic, it embraces the physical, emotional, intellectual and social growth of children within a framework deeply rooted in traditional human values, it is based on a philosophy that teaches love, compassion, trust, fairness, cooperation and reverence for the human family and all life on our beautiful planet”. Fountain (1999:6) defines it as “the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully, and create the conditions conducive to peace whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, inter-group, national or international level”.

Therefore, the focus of this study is to build peace by addressing gender role attitudes of young people and use resilience and conflict transformation in gender-based violence interventions.

## **5.5 GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE INITIATIVES META-SYNTHESIS**

This section reviews what is known or what works in preventing gender-based violence. In the current study, gender-based violence initiatives are any interventions or projects that are developed to reduce GBV. It is important to analyse existing models of gender-based violence prevention initiatives because it enables researchers to have a starting point when developing prevention interventions. Successful primary prevention of GBV requires an understanding of what works so as to develop and implement effective strategies and prevent GBV. DeGue et al. (2014:348) assert that it is important to know what works or identify best existing practices so that violence prevention practitioners are able to select and implement ‘good’ practices that yield positive outcomes.

In order to ascertain what works, the study made use of meta-synthesis to identify prevention programmes or initiatives that would inform what works in GBV prevention, particularly when working with young people as the population. The goal of the meta-synthesis was to identify and summarise existing best practices on GBV primary prevention strategies. By conducting this meta-synthesis, the study was able to identify and categorize interventions/initiatives that seemed to have indications of effectiveness and those that are less effective, so as to select and implement GBV

prevention strategies that have potential for success. Murray and Stanley (2014:175) describe meta-synthesis as “a comparable process for managing and reporting findings from multiple qualitative research studies. A meta-synthesis approach involves systematically finding, reviewing, appraising and bringing together findings of multiple qualitative research studies”. Looking at the epistemology of meta-synthesis, it can be used in different paradigms, for example, the transformative world view, of which the current study assumes the transformative paradigm. In other words, it fits within the transformative paradigm.

According to Hoon (2013:523), “meta- synthesis is defined as an exploratory, inductive research design to synthesize primary qualitative case studies for the purposes of making contributions beyond those achieved in the original studies”. Hoon (2013:259) asserts that there are steps in conducting a meta-synthesis which include:

- framing the research question;
- locating relevant research;
- inclusion criteria;
- extracting and coding data;
- analysing on a case specific level;
- synthesis on a cross study level;
- building theory from meta-synthesis; and
- discussing.

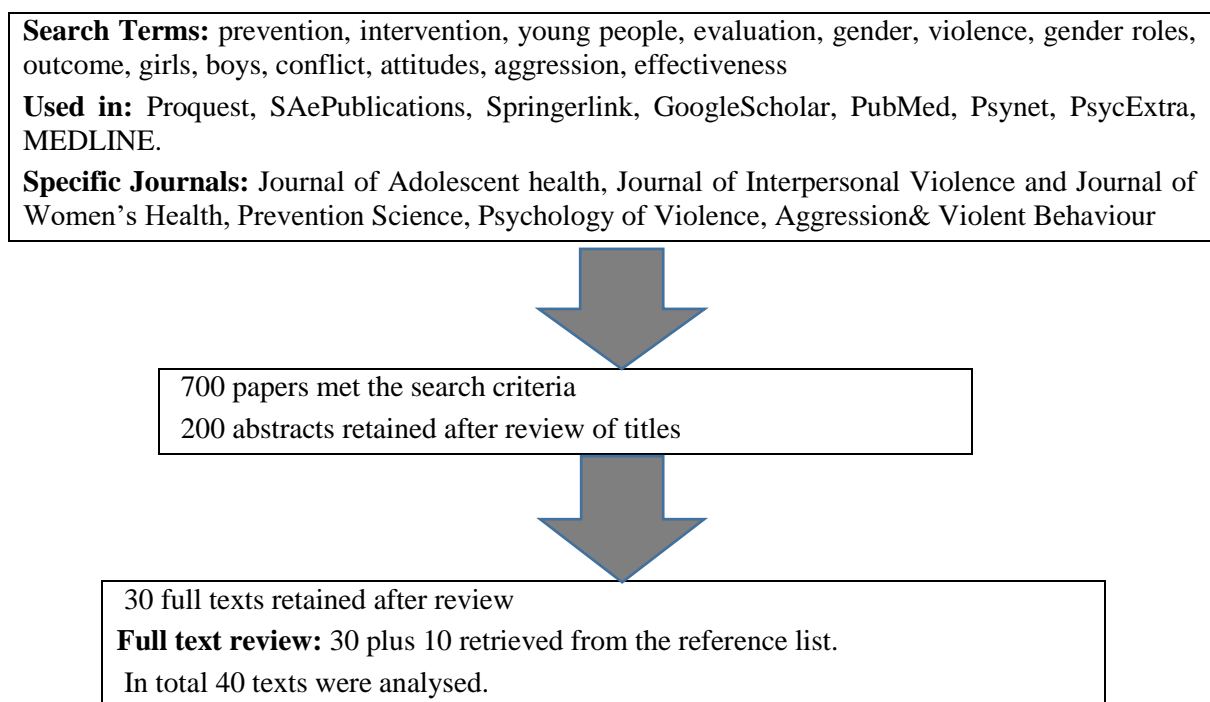
These steps were utilised in this study. This review adopted an ecological sentence-synthesis championed by Banning, Webb et al. (1966) and Dezin (1978). This method of meta-synthesis emphasises on building an evidence base of affective strategies by synthesizing various evidence in an attempt to identify what initiatives work, for which particular outcomes and for which type of population (Barnett-Page and Thomas 2009). The ecological sentence synthesis highlights the interlinked relationships between behaviour, individuals, environment, outcomes, theory, and interventions (Banning n.d. and Banning 2013).

To single out the studies meeting the selection criteria for the ‘what works’ in GBV review, I first conducted searches of the following databases between April and August, 2015: Psynet, PsycExtra, PubMed, ERIC, MEDLINE, Google Scholar, Proquest, SAePublications, and Springerlink. The search description included the following terms: prevention, intervention, young people, evaluation, gender, violence, gender roles, outcome, girls, boys, conflict, attitudes, aggression, and effectiveness. I searched journals such as *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, *Journal of Adolescent health*, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *Journal of Women’s Health*, *Prevention Science*, *Psychology of Violence*. These searches were conducted to find out recent works in these areas that may not have been picked

up by the databases and also identify evaluations and reports that are not yet published. The searches singled out over 700 papers, from which 200 abstracts were retained after reviews of titles, then 30 full texts were retained for analysis (see Figure 5.3 for the review procedure).

Studies were eligible for inclusion if they embraced primary interventions/programmes that addressed gender-based violence, published online or print. Materials included in the analysis were journal articles, reports, book chapters, theses/dissertations and unpublished manuscripts. The review excluded papers/texts that addressed secondary and tertiary prevention, as the main aim of meta-synthesis was to gather evidence on primary prevention of gender-based violence. The review also excluded studies that administered different interventions for different intervention groups, which means these programmes were giving comparisons between two interventions in one study. Because the aim was to identify what works in gender-based violence prevention and, particularly, for the youth population studies that did not focus on these, outcomes pertinent to GBV prevention were excluded. Studies that had one intervention or that used a single group pre-post design or single intervention group were included in the study so as to identify the outcomes after the intervention.

**Figure 5.3 Review Procedure**



The review considered studies that had qualitative methodologies to determine the effectiveness of the programmes. In identifying what works in gender-based violence prevention, I focused on the following types of prevention programmes: awareness raising campaigns, peer training and community workshops, gender transformative programming, social marketing and edutainment, parenting programmes and school based programmes.

### **5.5.1 AWARENESS RAISING CAMPAIGNS**

This is the most common strategy for addressing gender-based violence in low and middle income countries. Awareness campaigns are at the centre of prevention efforts and can engage the general public to do away with negative societal attitudes and acceptance of gender-based violence. This is to make sure that the message of non-tolerance of GBV goes out to the public. Awareness-raising campaigns can narrow their messages depending on the groups that are being targeted. Awareness raising campaigns can take different forms such as:

- (1) public awareness;
- (2) global campaigns;
- (3) regional-level campaigns;
- (4) national level campaigns and
- (5) local level and localised campaigns.

Public awareness campaigns are utilised to evoke public discussions about GBV and challenge negative social norms associated with it. The most promising or those that seem to be effective are those that make use of mainstream media and communication strategies. Public awareness raising campaigns have the capacity to influence the public through the use of research results, like prevalence rates, statistics and economic costs of violence. Public campaigns may be conveyed through various media (radio, television, drama, internet, posters, t-shirts and brochures).

Global campaigns are usually run throughout the whole world and often such campaigns are organised by UN Women. These global campaigns set the pace of gender-based violence worldwide. They contribute information and technical resources via the internet or through local organisations. Regional- level campaigns involve region member states and encourage member states to designate national focal points or install national create an enabling environment for local and localised interventions, but they lack intensity and theory to transform social norms and behaviour. Against this point, I move that, although awareness raising campaigns may have a number of setbacks, campaigns should continue throughout to maintain and increase the public's general level of awareness.

Despite extensive use of awareness-raising measures on GBV in Africa and in Zimbabwe in particular, they are rarely evaluated and neither the outcomes nor impacts of these campaigns are assessed. The major challenge is with machinery to address gender-based violence, for example, the SADC protocol on gender and development. National-level campaigns involve interventions orchestrated by individual governments to prevent GBV. Finally, local-level or localised awareness raising campaigns includes efforts by municipalities, civil society and non-governmental organisations.

Although awareness-raising campaigns are often considered to be critical, research shows that levels of awareness fluctuate throughout time due to external variables. Therefore, Heise (2011:15) argues that awareness-raising campaigns are not very effective in transforming social norms and behaviour. However, they do assist in initiating debate and evaluating awareness-raising initiatives is the multiplicity and complexity of causes of GBV as well as the factors contributing to the elimination of GBV. Designing evaluation frameworks for awareness-raising campaigns is very important and should be taken into consideration and funds must be available for that cause. According to Fulu, Kerr-Wilson and Land (2014), awareness-raising campaigns have been shown to change attitudes and beliefs that normalise GBV among the general populace and inform/ educate the public of GBV issues, and build the capacity of the public. Although these type of interventions have recorded some success they are not enough to achieve sustainable change in GBV.

#### **5.5.1.1 Stop the bus! I want to get on campaign**

The Musasa project adapted the stop the bus! I want to get on campaign under the theme, *Demanding Implementation, Challenging obstacles: End Violence Against Women* in 2007 (Editors 4 Change Ltd., 2008). The aim of the campaign was to help destroy and address social attitudes and policies that tolerate and maintain GBV. The Musasa project used multi-level approaches in conducting the campaign, as it included road shows, a gender bus and a one-stop-shop that provided services such as family planning, counselling and legal advice. Objectives of the campaign included: raising awareness on Zimbabwe's Domestic Violence Act; challenging the silence on GBV; providing a platform where women can access services; to provide a platform of engagement with communities on the need to report cases of GBV; to provide on-the-spot counselling to women in the communities; to facilitate task forces to plan and implement 16 days' commemorations and produce a documentary of events for the 16 days commemorations.

The campaign had positive outcomes and impacts which include: communities taking to task the police for being gender insensitive when addressing reported cases of GBV; an increase in reported cases of GBV, particularly domestic violence, reported to the police and the Musasa project during and after the awareness campaign; the number of sexual abuse incidences went down in the Budiriro community in comparison to the previous months of August and September, 2007; there was an increase in requests from communities for training and awareness-raising activities, especially targeting working men (identified as a group that was absent during the campaign).

Qualitative evaluation was conducted for this campaign. It made use of six focus-group discussions. The evaluation found that 83 per cent of the people reported awareness of GBV and the Domestic Violence Act recommended there be increased awareness on GBV matters and counselling at the



community level to facilitate peace initiatives. However, there was no clear theory underpinning the *stop the bus! I want to get on* campaign.

#### **5.5.1.2 4ps Campaign on Zero Tolerance to Domestic Violence**

The 4ps campaign on Zero Tolerance to Domestic violence (2011) is an awareness raising campaign which was developed by the Government of Zimbabwe to popularise GBV and the Domestic Violence Act in 2011. Its emphasis was on *prevention, protection, programmes and participation* to end domestic violence. The campaign was informed by the African UNITE to end violence-against-women campaign which was a regional component of the UN Secretary General's Global UNITE Campaign (2011). This came after the realisation that, while the Domestic Violence has provisions that protect women and men, there is still wide-spread ignorance, of this, which makes the implementation of the Act void.

Although the 4ps campaign (2011) did not have a specific theoretical framework, however, based on the rationale of the intervention, it resembles the change theory. According to Rodgers (2014:1), the change theory “explains how activities are understood to produce a series of results that contribute to achieving the final intended impacts. It can be developed for any level of intervention – an event, a project, a programme, a policy, a strategy or an organization”. The 4ps campaign was based on the social and community mobilisation in addressing gender-based violence. The 4ps campaign was considered to be successful because it increased public awareness on forms and types of domestic violence, there was an increase of cases reported, it strengthened multi-sectorial responses to GBV and there was a positive response from traditional and religious leaders to initiate the transformation of attitudes and norms that fuel GBV (Zimbabwe Government Beijing Review Report n.d.).

Although these benefits of the awareness campaign have been mentioned, there has never been formal evaluation of the outcomes of this awareness-raising campaign. To date, there is little evidence of the 4ps campaign being a success. Table 5.2 gives a summary of the awareness-raising campaigns that have been discussed above.

**Table 5.2 Examples of awareness raising campaigns.**

| Initiative  | Target Population                    | Content & structure                | Initiative activities & strategies   | Gender Perspective | Theoretical framework | outcome                             |
|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Stop the bus! I want to get on campaign             | General public<br>Both men and women | Awareness raising, advocacy        | By stander approach, awareness raising, road shows, role plays, gender bus and one-stop-shop   | Gender neutral     | No specific theory    | Qualitative focus group discussions |
| 4ps campaign on zero tolerance to domestic violence | General public both men and women    | 12-month awareness campaign on GBV | Awareness raising, tackle harmful cultural practices, community participation, provision of services and in and out of school youth outreaches | Gender neutral     | Change theory         | No evaluations                      |

### 5.5.2 PEER TRAINING AND COMMUNITY WORKSHOPS

This is also a common strategy used in addressing gender-based violence and it usually deals with small numbers or groups. The primary focus of small group workshops and training is to change norms and behaviour surrounding violence (Heise 2011). How it is delivered, to which group and time allocated for engagement, differs based on the group. However, the major constraint has been how to progressively mobilise and maintain the participation of participants, especially men and boys (Flood, 2011 and Barker, Ricardo, and Nascimento 2007). These types of interventions are based on reliable formative research and grounded by theory and then entrenched into bigger programmes to maintain the engagement of participants and that of the intervention itself. The major criticism of this type of intervention, is that some of the training and community workshops are once-off without or with little follow-up and are delivered by ill-trained staff. The proliferation of once-off interventions are rampant in Africa (Heise 2011). Peer training and community workshops are effective when dealing with young people because they are empowering and engage their attention and provide role models (Weisz and Black 2010).

#### 5.5.2.1 Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP)

Alternatives to violence project (AVP) was developed in 1975 in the USA and is a participatory learning programme that offers training in nonviolent conflict resolution. AVP deals with all types of violence and emphasises that the strategies it provides, works in various conflict situations. Therefore,

AVP can be applied in different contexts and for different populations. AVP documentation explains that:

Because we believe that a life lived with dignity and self-respect, and the opportunity for self-actualisation, is the birth right of every person. We believe that only when this birth right is made real, for all of us, will we have a just and peaceful world (AVP Britain: 3).

AVP makes use of experience-based workshops to develop conflict-resolution skills among individuals. It uses a bottom-up approach and is comprised of practical learning self-development, self-awareness, team-building, communication, and conflict transformation skills. AVP is based on a sequence of workshops that usually take up to two to three days, it entails both basic and advanced training for facilitators' workshops. The basic workshop focuses on conflict-handling skills and emphasises affirmation, communication, co-operation and creative-conflict management (AVP 2010). The advanced workshop focuses on aspects such as fear, anger, communication, bias awareness, power and powerlessness and forgiveness. The agenda is set by the group under training. The training for facilitators focuses on team-building and leadership skills.

Although AVP does not exactly state its theoretical framework, it appears to be developed within the conflict-transformative theoretical framework. In providing conflict transformation skills, individuals are capacitated to develop good interpersonal relationships, learn more about themselves and seek for helpful means of living their lives (AVP 2010:4). Social change theory is also evident in the AVP process.

On the other hand, qualitative evaluation of AVP found evidence of effectiveness and reported in most cases positive outcomes for participants. Evaluations have been conducted through use of questionnaires and non-thematic analysis. There is considerable quantitative and qualitative evidence that AVP is successful in transforming violence (Tomlinson 2007). According to Walker (2011), AVP is supported by academic theory and research findings. Walker (2011:2) further asserts that evaluation on workshops, conducted in 2010-2011, revealed that 91 per cent of the participants reported that workshops were helpful in their personal development which was made possible through the building blocks of AVP:

- 1) self-esteem and self-awareness
- 2) communication skills, with emphasis on listening;
- 3) the capacity for trust and co-operation; and
- 4) responding to conflict, violence and problem-solving.

Walker (2011:2) provides a rationale for the building blocks as supported by research. Walker argues that a high and stable self-esteem leads to low levels of aggression. There is a relationship between the inability to communicate well, low levels of empathy and violent behaviour. Thus, training individuals in communication skills has the capacity to reduce levels of violent behaviour. For there to be security and co-operation within interpersonal relationships, there is need for high levels of trust. It is viewed as a major factor when it comes to social capital and also acts as a trigger, resulting in positive social participation. Aggressive behaviour is linked to poor problem-solving skills, therefore, initiatives designed to enhance problem-solving skills tend to be effective in scaling down violent behaviour.

#### **5.5.2.2 Stepping Stones**

Stepping stones is a small-group intervention developed to enhance sexual health through participatory learning and enforcing critical reflections. Its focus is on building knowledge, risk awareness and gendered communication skills, HIV, violence and relationships. Stepping stones is based on Paulo Friere's philosophy and its workshops address a variety of issues and has been adapted and conducted in over 40 countries. Duration of stepping stones is usually 50 hours of intervention in 10 to 12 weeks, divided into 15 sessions (Jewkes et al 2008). Stepping stones has had quantitative and qualitative evaluations and these evaluations have revealed that, when implementation of this intervention is good, it has the capacity to deepen knowledge and create positive change in an array of attitudes and beliefs (Shaw, 2002 and Wallace 2006). Qualitative evaluations have revealed that there are positive shifts in how men and women interact.

##### ***Stepping Stones (South Africa)***

Stepping stones intervention was conducted in the Eastern Cape, South Africa in 2006-2008, and has had rigorous evaluations conducted to ascertain its effectiveness. Stepping stones was reported to be effective in lowering HIV-risk factors like genital herpes and intimate-partner violence perpetration (Jewkes et al 2008). The evaluation revealed that there has been a 38% per cent decrease in male perpetration of sexual intimate-partner violence. This information was gathered after a 24 months follow-up, The same results were obtained for women. The qualitative evaluation showed that self-reported experiences of intimate partner violence for women as compared to men were lower, and these could have been hampered by power dynamics in relationships, economic dependence (Jewkes and Morrell 2012). See Table 5.3 for the summary of this intervention.

##### ***Stepping Stones and Creating Futures***

This is an adaptation of stepping stones conducted in South Africa and was merged with *Creating Futures*, a local livelihoods-strengthening intervention (Jewkes, Nduna and Jama 2010 and

Misselhorn et al 2014). Stepping Stones and Creating Futures is a peer-facilitated group intervention made up of eleven three-hour periods with same-sex groups of 20 individuals. The intervention is based on the sustainable livelihoods theory. The theory illustrates what type of development interventions are devoted to poverty reduction and which should focus on creating sustainable livelihoods for the poor (DFID 2000 and Chambers, and Conway 1992).

This intervention was evaluated using a quasi-experimental study to examine the effectiveness of enhancing livelihoods, lowering HIV-risk behaviour and reducing various forms of IPV among young people living in informal settlements. A time series design was used and there was a one year follow-up (Gibbs et al 2012). Evaluation findings revealed that women's experience of sexual-intimate partner violence went down significantly. However, this impact was not evident with the men. Evaluation also showed that men and women had a positive shift of gender attitudes, particularly men who scaled down controlling behaviour in their relationships. This was measured through the use of scales tests in other interventions in South Africa (Dunkle et al 2004 and Jewkes et al 2010). Shai and Sikweyiya (2015) assert that the evaluation of the findings of positive change in social norms and their association to sexual intimate partner violence, show a significant impact of the intervention. See Table 5.3 for the summary of the interventions discussed above.

**Table 5.3 Examples of peer training and community workshops**

| <b>Intervention Name</b>             | <b>Intervention Aim</b>   | <b>Target</b>  | <b>Implementation Method</b>  | <b>Evaluation design</b>  | <b>Outcomes</b>   |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|---|---|---|
| Stepping Stones                      | Promote sexual health, improve psychological wellbeing and prevent HIV  | Community based programme, peers of teens and young adults         | Stepping Stones draws from the social learning theory; employs participatory approaches e.g. drama role-playing, group work and discussions, and critical reflection; and engages separate gender groups, but combine these for peer group sessions at intervals during programme implementation  | Community cluster RCT to test the effectiveness of the programme in reducing HIV, HSV2 incidence, and improved gender relations and sexual behaviour, over two years                                      | Reduction of about 33% in the incidence of HSV-2 (0.67, 0.46 to 0.97; P=0.036); that is, Stepping Stones reduced the number of new HSV-2 infections over a two-year period by 34.9 (1.6 to 68.2) per 1 000 people exposed, Significantly improved the number of reported risk behaviours in men: lower proportion of men reporting perpetration of IPV across two years of follow-up Less transactional sex and problem drinking at 12 months |
| Stepping Stones/<br>Creating Futures | Reduce HIV risk Behaviour and victimisation and perpetration of different forms of IPV and strengthen Livelihoods | Young people (18 years and older) residing in informal settlements | Stepping Stones and Creating Futures draw from the social learning theory; employ Participatory approaches e.g. drama role-playing, group work and discussions, and critical reflection; and engage separate gender groups, but combine these for peer group sessions at intervals during programme Implementation.<br>Creating Futures mainly draws from sustainable livelihoods theory and practice | A proof of concept study using a shortened Interrupted time-series design with two data collection points at baseline that were two weeks apart, follow-up interviews 28 weeks and 58 weeks post baseline | Significant reduction in women's experience of SIPV in the prior three months – 30.3% to 18.9% (p = 0.037)<br>Significant improvement in gender attitudes among both men (50.8 vs. 52.89, p= 0.007) and women (53.7 vs 55.29, p=0.01)<br>Significant reduction in controlling practices in their relationships among men – more equitable relationships at 12 months follow-up (19.4 vs 21.74, p<0.001)                                       |

Source Shai and Sikweyiya (2015)

### **5.5.3 GENDER TRANSFORMATIVE INTERVENTIONS**

Gender transformative strategies are used to transform norms, attitudes and behaviour around gender-based violence. This section reviews the effectiveness of these types of interventions. Gender transformative approaches can be described as programmes that:

Encourages critical awareness among men and women of gender roles and norms, promote the position of women, challenge the distribution of resources and allocation of duties between men and women, and or address the power relationships between women and others in the community such as service providers or traditional leaders. (Rottach, Schuler and Hardee 2009:8).

Many of the interventions using this approach have usually worked with single-sex groups (i.e. men and boys or women and girls). However, there has been a shift towards working with both sexes from the same community. This is largely because of the realisation that, in order to transform gender role attitudes, it is important to work with both parties. For example, if the ‘men are missing’, it is impossible to eliminate gender norms that perpetuate gender-based violence. According to Greene and Levack (2010), this shift can be summarised as a gender-synchronised approach, expanding programmes to accommodate a wider group of participants from both sexes. This provides the opportunity to deconstruct negative gender norms and role attitudes and create a new way of thinking, which is positive femininities and masculinities. According to WHO (2007:4), gender transformative interventions are more likely to be effective at transforming male attitudes and behaviour.

Below, I review in depth a programme that appears promising in gender-based violence prevention.

#### **5.5.3.1 YOUTH4YOUTH: EMPOWERING YOUNG PEOPLE IN PREVENTING GBV THROUGH PEER EDUCATION**

*Youth4youth* is a programme that was conducted in Greece from 2011-2013. The aim of the programme was to challenge and prevent gender-based violence among young people by creating an enabling environment for young people to share their attitudes towards violence, assessing their acceptance of violence and also empowering them to actively participate in creating a violence-free environment for themselves and their peers.

The *youth4youth* programme was informed by the gender equality and rights concept from the gender transformative approach. The target population was young people accessed from four different schools. Participants totalled 699 (402 girls and 297 boys) between the ages of 15-20 (Sotiriou, Ntinapogias and Petroulaki 2011). The project comprised of our experiential workshops over 34 hours of teaching, with 87 secondary students who participated in the workshops and 28 awareness-raising workshops over 33 hours of teaching .and 61 secondary students participated in this.

A pre and post-evaluation design was used to ascertain the effectiveness of the programme. There was no qualitative evaluation for this project. The evaluation of this project found the following:

- Participants were able to go beyond toughness and aggression in describing masculinity and also go beyond compassion in describing femininity.
- Participants' attitudes about male and female behaviour changed significantly.
- Participants' general perception of violence were changed to a less stereotypical direction.
- Attitudes related to romantic relationships were transformed to a less stereotypical direction.
- There was an increase in the mean ratings from pre to post-questionnaires, indicating that participants' attitudes were transformed towards a less tolerant position towards violence.
- Participants were now able to identify or acknowledge possible actions against gender-based violence.
- In general, participants displayed attitudes that were less stereotypical towards violence.
- To summarise, the project was successful because stereotypes in intimate relationships and acceptance of gender-based violence was transformed after the intervention. The project was successful in challenging gender- role attitudes and tolerance of violence among young people and inviting them to practice self-respect.

#### **5.5.4 SOCIAL NORMS MARKETING AND EDUTAINMENT**

Social norms marketing and edutainment interventions focus on transforming norms and behaviours. They creatively use the media and communication strategies to accentuate social-change messages in the community. It is evident that GBV is driven by negative social norms that increase and maintain gender inequalities and gendered violence. The way forward is to target social norms in violence-prevention initiatives. The advantage of using such strategies is that they are cost-effective and they do not warrant the same amount of organisation as in face-to-face individual or group trainings (Paluck et al 2010:7).

Literature assessing the impact of social marketing and edutainment are limited, especially those aimed at reducing gender-based violence (Paluck 2010:21). Research found that most social-marketing interventions are not driven by any theoretical framework or research and do not have evaluations done for them to determine the effectiveness of the intervention.

##### **5.5.4.1 SOUL CITY (SOUTH AFRICA)**

The current study identified Soul City as one of the most effective interventions with a rigorous evaluation conducted to determine the utility of the programme. Soul City is the most well-articulated intervention focusing on gender norms through weekly TV dramas. This programme was produced by the *South African Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication*, an organisation



whose aim is to address HIV transmission and violence and alcohol abuse (Soul City Institute for Health and Development 2015). The organisation had Soul City as the major edutainment initiative together with soul buddyz (an edutainment project targeting adolescents).

Paluck et al. (2010) and Heise (2011) assert that Soul City has 10 seasons and each season was run in a year, with 13 one-hour episodes of television drama, 45 fifteen-minute drama episodes on the radio, 3 booklets disbursed at the end of each series, and awareness campaigns on related topics. Soul City was guided by the social-norms theory. The social-norms theory illustrates contexts in which people wrongly perceive that the attitudes and behaviours of others in the community are different from what they believe when in fact they are the same (Berkowitz 2005:2). Miller and McFarland (1991) termed this pluralistic ignorance.

The review of Soul City focuses on series four because this series placed an emphasis on GBV. In series four, the intervention highlights that positive injunctive norms render negative descriptive norms destructive and less powerful. Soul City creates new injunctive norms to replace old ones by illustrating acceptable ways of responding to GBV issues. According Lilleston et al (2017:123)

injunctive norms describe the extent to which individuals feel pressured- through either perceived social benefits or sanctions- to engage in a certain behavior. What is commonly referred to as social norms can reflect behaviors, attitudes, beliefs, and moral judgments about what behaviors are right”.

It also challenged the culture of silence as many people treat gender-based violence as a private matter. Soul City series four evaluations made use of national surveys prior to airing the series and conducted a baseline survey nine months after. The baseline survey engaged 2,000 participants and had a total of two random samples, and 500 interviews were held (Paluck et al 2010). An evaluation was also conducted on the collaboration between Soul City and *National Network on Violence Against Women*. Findings from the surveys revealed that people who were following the programme were more likely to practice injunctive norms. The survey also revealed self-reported awareness of domestic violence, sexual harassment and laws against domestic violence. In general there were positive outcomes associated with the Soul City intervention. Table 5.4 gives a summary of the Soul City intervention.

| <b>Program Name</b>                          | <b>Target Behaviour/ Attitude</b> | <b>Target Audience</b> | <b>Social Norms Marketing Methodology</b>  | <b>Centrality of Social Norms Marketing</b> | <b>Study Methodology Details</b>   | <b>Results</b>  |
|--|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|---|--|---|
| Soul City (Soul City Institute South Africa) | HIV transmission and violence     | General                | Edutainment: soap opera on TV, radio, and print. Series 10 (March 2009) addressed alcohol abuse and violence, Series 7 included manhood and masculinity, Series 5 included rape; Series 4 focused on reducing GBV (esp. DV as a central message); Series 3 included violence and alcohol misuse. | Central                                     | Two main components of Series 4 evaluation: (1) Multi-staged, stratified national random sample – baseline conducted in June 1999, post intervention in February 2000 (n=2000). Limitations of national survey data: retroactive, data collection close in time to intervention; not always able to interview survey respondents alone; not gender-matched questioner and respondent. (2) Sentinel site studies - (one rural, one urban), longitudinal panel survey of given sample (n=500) (pre, post, two intermediate), studies included surveys, qualitative interviews, and focus groups, and were paired with data collection from service providers and police, local media monitoring, interviews with "opinion leaders." Limitations of sentinel site data: research effect; high rates of lost participants (144 of 500 in urban site; 27 of 500 in rural site). | Traffic to hotline is highest on the day show aired), but higher than capacity on all days except Tuesdays and "calls declined when Soul City went off the air". Participation in public protests (3% of survey population) correlated with exposure to SC (by level - up to 5 sources of SC); also anecdotal reports of pot-banging as community expression of intolerance for DV (behaviour modelled on Soul City), but samples were too small to study effectively; exposure to Soul City significantly correlated with willingness to attend community meetings and workshops on GBV in future; improved attitudes on acceptability of GBV, esp. DV, correlates with exposure to Soul City. |

**Table 5.4 a summary of Soul City intervention** Source: Paluck et al (2011)

### **5.5.5 PARENTING PROGRAMMES**

Parenting programmes are very common in high-income countries and most have had evaluations conducted for them, unlike in medium to low income countries. These types of programmes focus on improving the growth of the child in terms of health and development, reducing child abuse and preventing violence in the adolescence stage. Long-term evaluations are not present to find out whether these children go on to perpetrate intimate partner violence in their adulthood. Heise (2011:38) suggests that parenting programmes improve parenting skills and reduce intimate-partner violence in the long run. Research shows that parenting programmes have the capacity to enhance positive interaction between the parent and the child (Barlow et al 2006, Dretzke et al 2005). Research shows that parenting programmes have the capacity to prevent child abuse (Mikton and Butchart (2009). Research evidence shows that these types of interventions can prevent children from future perpetration of intimate partner violence (Piquero et al 2009).

#### **5.5.5.1 SINOVUYO CARING FAMILIES PROGRAMMES**

The current study reviews evidence from the *Sinovuyo Caring Families* (Lachman et al. n.d.) programme implemented in South Africa, to determine the effectiveness of parenting programmes in addressing gender-based violence. The Sinovuyo programme concentrates on lowering the risk of child maltreatment for children coming from high-risk families. Its target is children between the ages of 2-9 years and teenagers between the ages of 10-17 years. This is a small group intervention and its aim is to improve parent-child interaction using active social learning, which involves role play, home exercises, modelling, experiential activities, group discussions and problem-solving. Stress reduction techniques and social support are other ways of improving parent-child interaction. The intervention has two group populations, the parent-child programme (2-9 ) deals with helping participants with regulating emotions and managing positive behaviour in a 12 week duration. For the parent-teenage programme (10-17), it also runs on the same principles as the parent-child intervention.

The theoretical framework guiding this intervention is the social learning theory. The evaluation findings of the parent-child programme revealed that there was an increase in positive parenting in the intervention group in comparison to the control group (Ward et al 2014). For the parent-teenage programme, evaluation findings revealed that parents had reduced the use of violence in disciplining their children for bad behaviour (Ward et al. 2014). However, for this programme, because long-term follow-ups have not been done, the impact on intimate partner violence cannot be established. Rather, the prevention of intimate partner violence is based on theory that there is a possibility to reduce intimate partner violence in the long run. Tables 5.5 illustrates a summary of the Sinovuyo programme.

**Table 5.5 summary of the Sinovuyo intervention**

| Intervention Name                      | Intervention Aim  | Target   | Implementation Method  | Evaluation design  | Outcomes   |
|--|---|--|--|--|--|
| The Sinovuyo Caring Families Programme | Improve the parent–child relationship, emotional regulation, and positive behaviour management approaches | Young children, covers the 2–9 years age group<br>.....<br>Teens aged 10–17<br>Years | Social learning and parent management training<br>.....<br>Social learning and parent management training principles, with group-based parent, adolescent, and joint parent adolescent Sessions. Utilises a collaborative learning approach, with activity-based learning, role-play and home practice | A quasi experimental study to test the effectiveness of the intervention<br>.....<br>A quasi experimental study, the findings of which have been taken into a bigger RCT | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improvements in positive parenting behaviour in the group that received the programme, as compared with a group of parents who did not receive the programme</li> <li>• High attendance rates (75%)</li> <li>• High participant satisfaction</li> <li>• Culturally acceptable and faithfully implemented by the paraprofessional community facilitators</li> </ul><br>.....<br>Reductions in parents' use of violent and abusive discipline, and in adolescent rule-breaking and aggressive behaviour |

Source: Shai and Sikweyiya (2015)

### 5.5.6 SCHOOL-BASED PROGRAMMES

The aim of school-based programmes is to prevent violence in the schools and also make use of the schools as a means of preventing gender-based violence. In other words “schools are a logical venue within which to offer violence prevention efforts” (Tutty et al 2005:11). School-based violence prevention initiatives are usually targeted at young people and grounded by the precept that education can increase or improve awareness and knowledge, impart skills and empower young people. Gender-based violence takes place in the private sphere (family, romantic relationships) and also in the public sphere (school and community). Therefore, schools can take up the challenge of educating young people on non-violence.

Tutty et al. (2005:11) provides the rationale for concentrating on schools as a place for violence prevention, which include:

1. schools are a fundamental social-learning environment for young people and a place where social nonviolent skills can be learnt;
2. school success is a precursor to adjustment and productivity in the future;
3. school culture has changed from being a safe learning environment;
4. helps young people solve their own conflicts;
5. early intervention can help people to unlearn violence and learn about nonviolence; and
6. violence can be addressed within the school curriculum. Generally school-based programmes address gender norms and gender role attitudes before they are deep-seated in young people. Such initiatives are crucial in discontinuing patterns of gender inequality and violence.

#### **5.5.6.1 PREPARE (SOUTH AFRICA)**

*Prepare* is a school-based violence programme focusing on HIV prevention aimed at lowering sexual risk behaviour and intimate-partner violence among adolescents. Dekoker et al (2014) and Lundgren & Amin (2015) note that the *Prepare project* is one of few adolescent programmes addressing IPV and also with positive results on reported IPV. Mathews et al. (2016: 1838) asserts that in sub-Saharan Africa *Prepare* is one of two projects that has been conducted among adolescents.

The intervention was comprised of 21 lessons that had an aim of promoting young people's motivation and skills and also concentrated on gender and power, risk-taking and support, self-assertiveness and communication, decision-making, relationships and violence. The programme focused on establishing a caring and supportive school environment through engaging students, parents, teachers and security personnel to create a violence-free environment (Mahlangu, Gevers and De Lannoy 2014).

The programme was based on social-change theory. The evaluation was conducted using a random controlled trial (RCT) in the Western Cape to ascertain the effectiveness of the programme. The evaluation found that intimate-partner violence among young people had gone down significantly (Shai and Skweyiya 2015).

According to Mathews et al. (2016:1838) their evaluation found that there was a high frequency of intimate partner violence victimisation at baseline and after the intervention there was a significant reduction in IPV victimisation rates in both intervention and control group. Mathews et al 2016 also note that the considerable impact on IPV victimisation was observed among individuals with high education session attendance in comparison to the control group. Table 5.6 provides a summary of the PREPARE intervention programme.

**Table 5.6 summary of PREPARE intervention programme.**

| Intervention name | Intervention Aim   | Target                          | Implementation method  | Evaluation design  | Outcomes  |
|-------------------|--|---------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Prepare           | Reduce sexual risk behaviour and intimate partner violence, which contribute to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (STIs) | Young adolescents (12–14 years) | Draws on psychological and behaviour change theory to identify the individual and social determinants that underpin sexuality, intimate partner violence and sexual violence | An RCT to evaluate the effects of the intervention on sexual risk behaviour and intimate partner violence, and to assess the extent to which norms, attitudes and experiences of IPV influence sexual risk behaviour | Significant reductions in IPV among young teenagers |

Source: Shai and Sikweyiya (2015)

### 5.5.6.2 SKHOKHO SUPPORTING SUCCESS

*Skhokho Supporting Success* is a versatile, gender-transformative intervention whose intention is to prevent intimate partner violence among young people (Shamu et al 2016:19). The programme works with high school students during class periods and after school programmes; high school teachers and school staff in general, by means of skills-building workshops; and also parents and guardians of the young people by providing weekend workshops. All these groups are engaged in the programme to reinforce relationship-building skills, which may include: (communication and conflict resolution, positive discipline strategies, supportive style of interaction and risk-minimisation strategies); and promote stress management and mental health. In-school workshops were facilitated by school teachers whereas, out-of-school workshops were facilitated by external facilitators (Mahlangu, Gevers and De Lannoy 2014).

A clustered RCT within an 18-month follow-up was used for the evaluation of the programme. Findings from the evaluation showed that there was a high uptake of the programme, improved parenting helped lower stress levels and improve communication with young people and young people reported better interaction between their parents and themselves (Dartnall and Gevers n.d). Table 5.7 provides a summary of the Skhokho programme.

**Table 5.7 summary of Skhokho intervention programme.**

| Intervention Name          | Intervention Aim                  | Target                                | Implementation method  | Evaluation design   | Outcomes  |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|---|
| Skhokho Supporting Success | Prevent IPV among young teenagers | High school learners aged 13–14 years | Classroom sessions facilitated by educators teaching Grade 8 life orientation classes; high school educators and school staff through skill- building workshops; and parent–child weekend workshops facilitated by external facilitators, with teens and their parents or caregivers attending separate sessions and engaging in dialogues at the end of each day’s workshop | Qualitative pilot evaluation of the effectiveness of the intervention in strengthening parent–child relationships and prevent IPV among teens Currently underway is a cluster RCT with 18-month follow-up among learners in 2014–2015 | Parents reported: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The new techniques of positive discipline helped reduce their stress levels</li> </ul> Teenagers reported: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Appreciation of open discussions with parents</li> <li>• Less harsh discipline by parents</li> </ul> |

Source: Shai and Sikweyiya (2015)

## 5.6 OVERALL OF SYNTHESIS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE PREVENTION INITIATIVES

The review focused on 10 programmes that addressed violence according to the levels of the ecological model. Most of the interventions had young people as the target-population and attempted to address violence by engaging the participation of young people. Although there were qualitative evaluations for the programmes under scrutiny, they were, however, limited. For example, local initiatives were lacking in terms of non-availability of formal evaluations. The review highlighted the similarities in interventions that were targeted at young people. For example, all focused on empowering young people through skills development in conflict resolution, problem-solving and social skills. Programmes with parenting components focused on both the adult and young persons, of which were multi-faceted programmes with the aim to intercept the cycle of violence for young people. The review also indicated the importance of addressing gender norms, gender role attitudes and mobilisation of injunctive norms of young people to prevent gender-based violence.

## **5.7 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER**

This chapter looked at violence prevention with a particular emphasis on primary prevention as it is better to be proactive than reactive. Risk and resilience factors were described and the importance of resilience in violence prevention was explained thoroughly. Conflict transformation was described as a fundamental component of violence prevention and could be cross-pollinated with strategies of violence and operationalised into gender-based violence work to come up with better and more comprehensive strategies/ interventions to prevent violence and promote peace. This was then followed by a review of what works to prevent gender-based violence. Here a number of programmes were reviewed to determine their effectiveness in reducing GBV. The utility of the review is to help develop and implement promising interventions to address GBV.



## **CHAPTER 6**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter will discuss the research design and methodology adopted in this research. This chapter focuses on the basic and philosophical aspects of action research, since this study is conceived as action research. The attempt is to ascertain the rationale of the action-research design in this study. Although the study is predominately based on action research, quantitative and qualitative methodology are utilised. The basic aspects of the analysis and presentation of both qualitative and quantitative data will be discussed in detail in this chapter. The primary aim of this study was to explore GBV in Zimbabwe and design an intervention which will reduce its prevalence. This research methodology was used to fulfil the following specific research objectives:

- To document the nature, extent and trends of gender-based violence (GBV) in Zimbabwe.
- To review the literature on the causes and consequences of GBV, with particular reference to Southern Africa.
- To review attempts that have been made to tackle GBV with particular respect to Southern Africa and their effectiveness.
- To explore the attitudes of youth in Zimbabwe, concerning GBV.
- To design and implement a training programme and subsequent campaign using youth to reduce GBV and undertake a preliminary evaluation of its outcome.

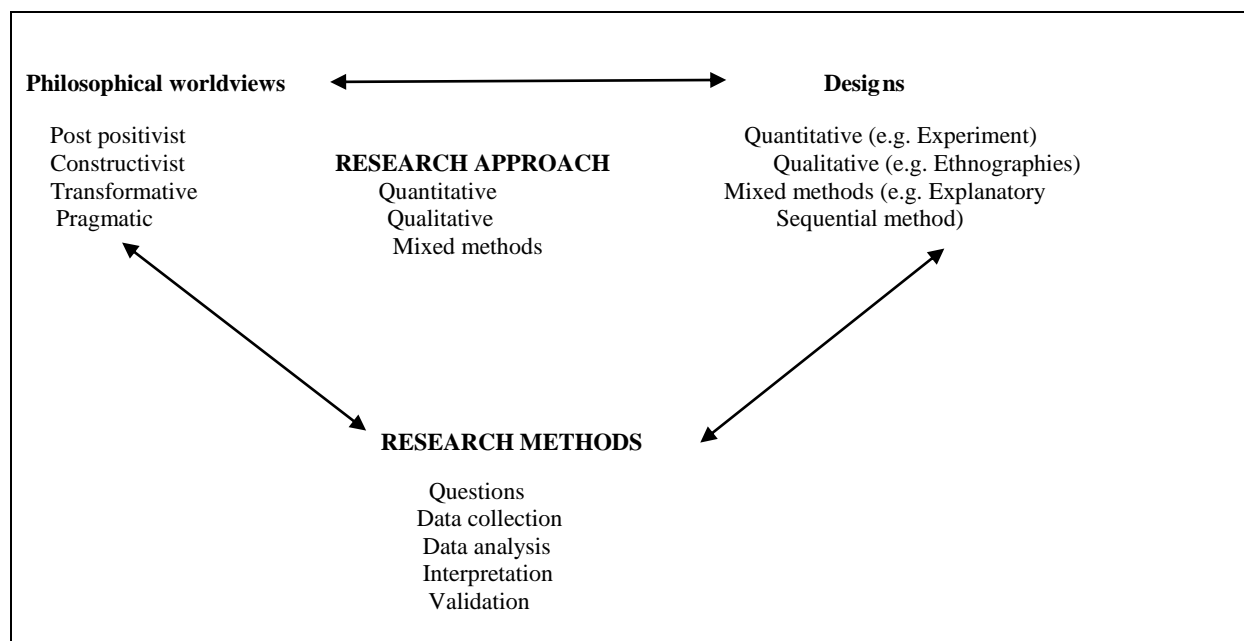
#### **6.2 ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE STUDY**

The fundamental set of ideas and beliefs that steer the action of the research can be referred to as epistemologies and ontologies. In the analysis of Creswell (2014:6), epistemologies and ontologies are universal philosophical views about the world and the essence of research. According to Christ (2013:111), at times epistemologies and ontologies can be referred to as paradigms and paradigms are “a unified foundational set of philosophical and methodological premises that constitute a framework that guides the practices of a particular discipline”. A research design is informed by the

epistemological and ontological assumptions held by the researcher. Figure 6.1 below illustrates the intersection of epistemological and ontological assumptions of research, the research design and methodology.

This research is grounded on transformative epistemological and ontological assumptions. Mertens (2007:212) is of the view that the “transformative worldview is related to philosophical assumptions that provides a framework for addressing inequality and injustice in society, usually culturally competent”. Mertens (2010), and Creswell (2014: 11) suggest that reality/actuality is moulded by social, political, cultural and economic principles that assert that power and entitlement as leading elements in life. This study puts emphasis on inequalities rooted in gender, sexual orientation and socio-economic factors that lead to unbalanced power relations, as per the focus of the transformative world view. The transformative world view allows for the use of participatory and action-inclined research that makes it possible to effect individual, social and societal transformation. Adopting transformative-mixed methodology research paradigm compliments and maintains the action-oriented research used in this study. Christ (2010:649) merges the two paradigms and calls it action oriented transformative mixed methodology research.

**Figure 6.1 Model of the intersection of epistemological and ontological assumptions of research, research design and methods**



Source: Creswell (2014:5)

### **6.3 RESEARCH DESIGN**

As has been highlighted in the introduction, the design of this study is based on action research. According to Mouton (1996: 175) “the research design serves to plan, structure and execute the research to maximise the validity of the findings”. It offers a pathway from the key philosophical themes to the design of the research and collection of data.

### **6.4 ACTION RESEARCH**

Action research is usually linked with practical, but small-scale studies. It is concerned with real life issues, the kind that arise as part and parcel of reality. The practicality of action research has been its major characteristic and its orientation is geared to transform issues. Denscombe (2014:122) argues that, other than seeking to learn the societal problems that emerge in everyday life, research has to be meaningful and aim at changing the situation for the better rather than “change” being given as a recommendation. Another key characteristic of action research is its emphasis on research being a process and going through its cyclical nature. However, underpinning this, is the importance of results of the research and the impact and evaluation of the results. With this commitment to a process of research, there is also a commitment to engaging the people who are directly affected by the study in the research life-cycle (i.e. in the design, implementation, and evaluation of research) so as to boost their participation as associates in the research as opposed to being subjects.

Denscombe (2014:122) summarizes action research to be characterised by the following key themes:

- Practical in nature: it is designed to address real life issues and challenges in various settings.
- Change-oriented: because of its practical nature. Change or transformation of these problems is important in the study.
- Research being a cycle: it involves the use of findings from the research which are used to instigate possible change, which is implemented together with the collaborators and evaluated as way of fostering further research.
- Participation: the participation of people affected is very important and should be meaningful, in other words, it should be hands-on.

Mertler (2006:10) defines action research as “any systematic inquiry conducted by teachers, administrator’s counsellors or others with vested interest in the teaching and learning process or environment for the purpose of gathering information about how their particular community operates.” Gomm (2004: 292) suggests the utility of action research “is to provide opportunities for people to learn from doing the research. What people are supposed to learn from doing the research is not how to do research but about themselves and their situations”. This view point is also shared by

Kemmis and McTaggart (2015:454) that, in action research the participants become researchers in their own right. Gomm (2004:292) and (McNiff 2016:18) further assert that action research brings about increased community cohesion, and increased empathetic relationships between practitioners and clients. Arbitrarily action research bears educative effects. In other words the major goal of action research is to increase participants' awareness and capabilities, so that participants are able to take control of issues that affect them.

Using the scholarship of Zuber-Skerrit (1996:4-5), the utility of action research is to improve the information that people have and practise. This means there are times the collaborators rely on the primary researcher for facilitation. Zuber- Skerrit (1996) argues that the primary researcher has the major goal of fostering participation and boasting deliberate action among the participants. Although action research encourages technical and practical advancement, it emphasises on the individual improvement and transformation.

As mentioned earlier, action research is practical in nature and its motivation is of solving societal problems. According to earlier proponents of action research, Lewin (1946:35) it is not enough for research to just produce articles only,. However, a its practicality does not really differentiate it from other research approaches. Somekh (1995:34) asserts that action research is an integrated process where both the key researcher and participant are closely involved from the onset. Action research is weaved into the notion that transformation is desirable. This is so in the sense that the process of change can be used as a learning curve. McNiff (2016: 18) concurs with this notion by highlighting that action research enhances learning in order to foster action. Although change in action research may not be anticipated to be on a macro level, however, the change in this context, is seen as an important improvement of knowledge. Since change is at a micro level, research focuses on self-development and encourages individuals to want to better themselves and, at same time, offers a level of reflection. The present study is an action research with young people and the aim is to encourage young people to be actively involved in reducing GBV by creating an environment free from violence for themselves.

#### **6.4.1 THE PROCESS OF ACTION RESEARCH**

Action research is an ongoing process. According to Mills (2011), cited in Mertler (2013:4), there are four basic steps that action research moves through:

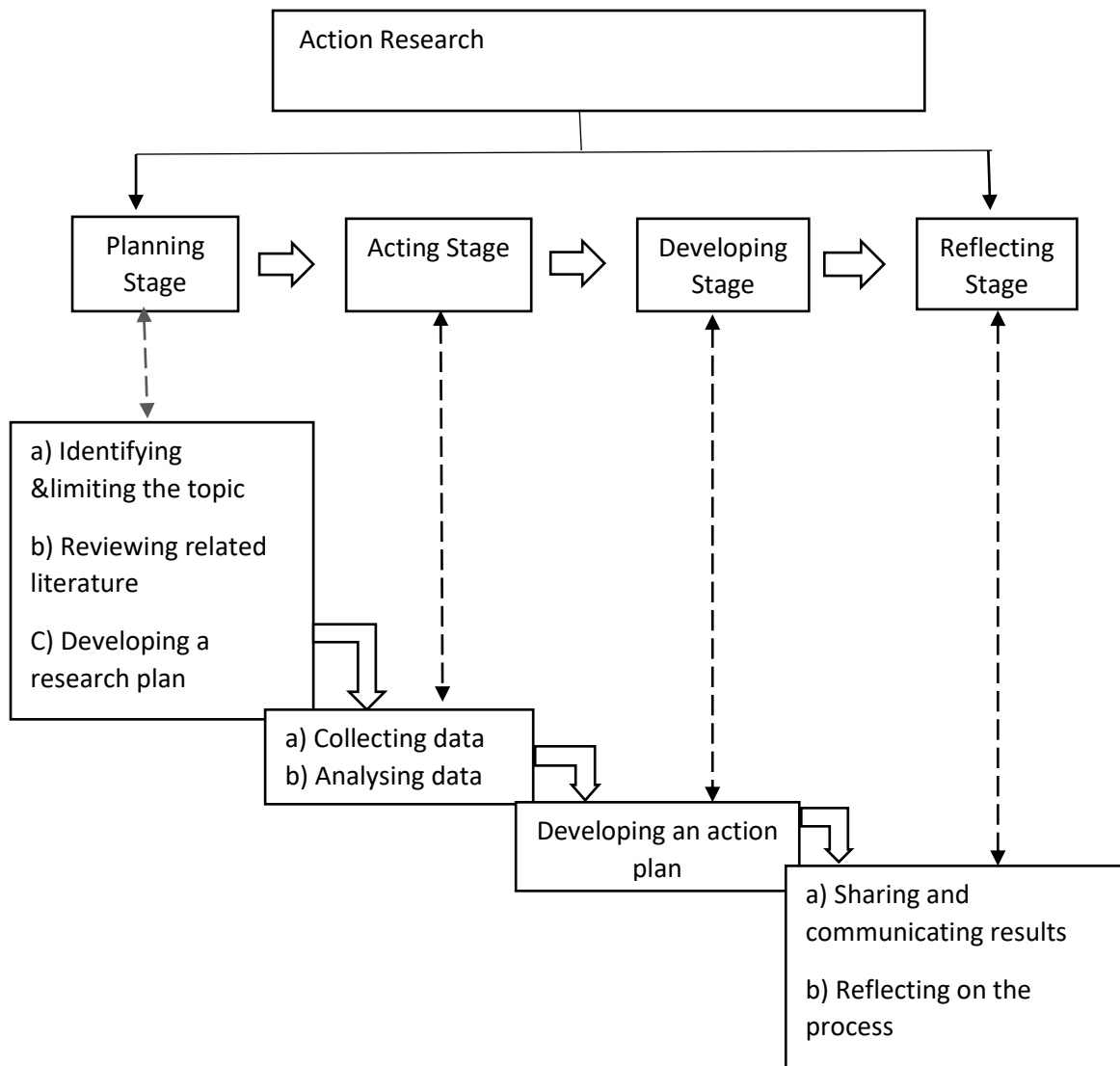
- Identifying an area of focus
- Collecting data
- Analysing and interpreting data
- Developing a plan of action

However, Mertler and Charles (2011) describe the action research to include four broad stages which are the planning stage, acting stage, developing stage and reflection stage. These stages have subsidiary steps that explain the broad stage. As depicted in the Figure 7.2, the planning stage is comprised of three steps that are primarily in the planning phase before the implementation of the project (i.e. identifying and limiting the topic, reviewing related literature and developing a research plan). The second phase, the acting stage, includes two steps, collecting data and analysing data. The third phase, the developing stage, is composed of coming up with an action plan. This is where the changes and improvements can be done for future activities. The final stage, the reflection stage, includes two steps, sharing and communicating results and reflecting on the process. The cyclical nature of action research suggests that this type of research is not a horizontal process and to say action research has a clear path is an oversight. Mertler (2013) asserts that the researcher constantly repeats the implementation and evaluation phases and revises again. Parsons and Brown (2002:8) concur with Mertler and describes the action research process “as one of observing -doing- observing-adjusting then doing it again”. Generally practitioners design, implement, gather information and analyse it for the purpose of monitoring and evaluating the project and alterations are made to improve the project and the possible replication of the project in similar contexts (McNiff 2016:19). I embrace this process by applying it to the current study. As the study went through the action process, monitoring and evaluation of the project were taking place, and, finally, the outcome evaluation of the project.

Action research differs from other methodologies of research because the community is engaged in data collection. Action research includes practical activities such as workshops or gatherings where the researcher and collaborators dialogue and exchange ideas. The use of workshops is part of applied methodology. The study adopted this strategy and will be discussed at length later in this chapter. McIntyre (2008) and Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011:51) are of the view that through action research a space for dialogue is created between researcher and collaborators/participants. The highlight of action research is the use of participatory methodologies. Normally, in other research methods, the researcher is the expert and participants just follow the lead. Grundy and Kemmi (1988:7) argue that people affected by the research are partners of the research, together with the primary researcher and that these are equal partners in action research.

Since participation is an important part of action research it, therefore, makes the process of research democratic. Denscombe (2014:125) asserts that the primary researcher/ expert seizes to have control over the research process, rather than the research partner/ practitioner gains control. In other words, it becomes a collaborative arrangement between the expert and the participants in the research. Gathering from the work of McNiff (2016), action research has been the choice of methodology in this research because of the need to encourage others /young people to think and act critically

**Figure 6.2 Process of Action Research**



Source: Mertler (2013:37)

## 6.5 MIXED METHODOLOGY

Action research accommodates all types of data because of a wide range of techniques that can be employed with it. According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2003) and Johnson (2005), there is an advantage of collecting different types of data or variables in the research study, because this makes it possible for the triangulation of data by the researcher. The merging of varied research techniques or methods is a field approach of collecting data and can be referred to as mixed methodology approach, triangulation approach and sequencing of methods (Mertler 2013:103 & Tashakkori and Teddlie

2010). In simpler terms, mixed methodology is the use of qualitative and quantitative methods of collecting data. Tashakkori and Creswell (2007: 4) assert that:

*Mixed methods research refers to the use of quantitative and qualitative methods as shown in its definition as research in which the investigator collects analyses data integrates findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches and methods in a single study or program or program of enquiry.*

According to Mertler (2013: 103) the mixed-methods approach is “*the combination of both types of data trends to provide a better understanding of a research problem than one type of data isolation*”. Creswell (2005) argues that an action research approach is similar to a mixed methods approach because, more often, action research makes use of both quantitative and qualitative data. Creswell (ibid) suggests that the point of departure with these two methods, action research and mixed-methods approach, is the purpose of research. The purpose of research for a mixed-method approach is simply to gain understanding of the research problem, whereas the purpose of action research is to deal with problems and come up with solutions for the problem with the engagement of the local community.

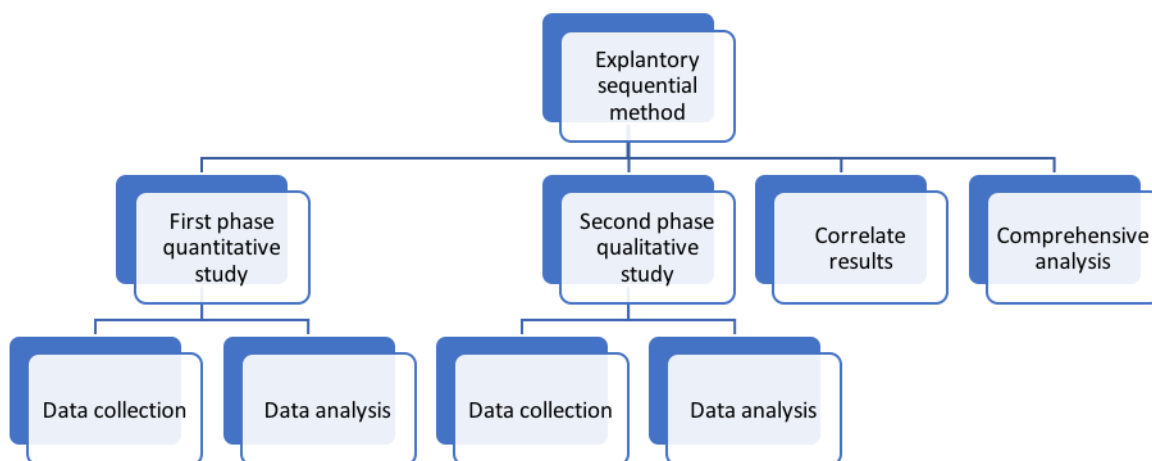
Mixed methodology is a complicated approach to employ because both qualitative and quantitative methodology have different paradigms from which they operate, appropriate for particular settings and research purposes. In this study mixed methodology is utilised, moving from quantitative research to qualitative research. Quantitative data was analysed from the survey questionnaires, administered by the researcher and national representative surveys in Zimbabwe. In order to gain better understanding of young people’s views on gender based violence and interpret quantitative data from the surveys, I conducted qualitative research with the young people. Hennick, Hutter and Bailey (2011:55) highlight that, when using mixed methodology and having started with quantitative research proceeding to qualitative research, the utility of qualitative research is to explain the findings and outcomes of the quantitative study, to gain understanding and interpret particular progression in responses or behaviour as highlighted by the questionnaire, to find out why and how these behaviours and perceptions come about and, finally, to contextualise the behaviour under study.

The discussion above notes that because the study will move from a quantitative to qualitative study, the strategy used will be explanatory sequential mixed methods. Creswell (2012:5) suggests that explanatory-sequential mixed methods is when quantitative research precedes qualitative research. The quantitative data/results is analysed and then the results are explained in detail using qualitative research. However, this strategy is not without challenges, because of the unequal sample sizes of the two phases. Figure 6.3 illustrates how the study, utilising the sequential approach, will proceed.

Denscombe (2014:146) suggests that mixed methodology approach bears three key qualities that differentiates it from other techniques in social research. These include:

- The use of both qualitative and quantitative data in the same study so as to bring together elements that are treated as bipolar variables.
- Its centrality on triangulation. It emphasises and explains the role of triangulation.
- It is a pragmatist approach. In other words, mixed methodology has a problem- solving orientation and gives attention to the research problem and research questions. Proponents of mixed-methods approach suggest that it is an important process in deciding which methods to use. There is an advantage in using methods with different paradigm grounding. However, only if the use of these methods comes up with practical findings addressing the statement of the problem.

**Figure 6.3 Mixed research Model for this study**



### 6.5.1 THE RATIONALE OF THE USE OF MIXED METHODS APPROACH

Drawing from a body of literature on mixed-methods approach, Bryman (2015), Collins et al. (2006) Greene et al. (1989) Rocco et al. (2003) and Creswell (2014), it is clear that mixed methodology is used for a number of reasons.

#### **Better Accuracy**

Using mixed methods improves the accuracy of findings, because there is the involvement of different methods and techniques to examine the same problem. It allows the researcher to juxtapose findings



from either method. Greene et al. (1989:259) suggests that “this use of mixed method approach seeks convergence corroboration, correspondence of results from the different methods”.

By triangulating methods it is possible to ascertain the impact of a particular research method. Mixed methods help in coming up with research instruments. In this study the use of mixed methodology became a means of developing research instruments. For example, a questionnaire was used in a survey and qualitative data was gathered through the use of focus-group discussions to ensure validity of the questionnaires that produced quantitative data. Denscombe (2014) surmises that the mixed methods approach is a good research strategy because it improves the accuracy of findings and it helps researchers select/develop the appropriate research instruments so that bias in research methods can be eliminated.

### **A Comprehensive Picture**

Using multiple methods can improve the findings of the study by giving a comprehensive picture of the topic under study. The advantage of this approach is that data collected from both quantitative and qualitative research is used for complementary purposes. When data from different research methods is combined it gives a clear or fuller picture of the topic than one method approach would. Using mixed methods is a means of seeing the topic under study from different perspectives and, therefore, getting a comprehensive view on the topic of study.

### **Coming up with Analysis**

In the context of mixed methods, the different instruments can be used to complement each other or to inform each method. For instance, using another alternative research method, builds on the findings that have been produced by the other research method. In other words, the purpose of an alternative method is to develop a further explanation of the data collected by the initial method. The alternative method is brought into the picture so that it can analyse or deal with the emerging issues highlighted in the findings from the initial method.

### **Sampling Aid**

Mixed method approach can be used as a means of choosing a sample of individuals for the alternative method. For example, in this study the use of the survey questionnaire gave me the background information on the selection of young people to take part in the focus group discussions and, as well, as the action group meetings/ discussions. Collins et al. (2006) is of the view that qualitative research that comes after quantitative research serves the purpose of selecting the right people to participate and also sieving out individuals who will not be appropriate to take part in the study.

## 6.6 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

Using the scholarship of Bryman (2015:149), quantitative research is described as "entailing the collection of numerical data a deductive view of the relationship between theory and research, a preference for a natural science approach and for positivism in particular and an objectivist conception of social reality".

Creswell (2003:18) suggests that quantitative research is "employing strategies of inquiry such as experimental and surveys and collect data on predetermined instruments that yield statistical data". Figure 6.4 below illustrates the process and nature of quantitative research design.

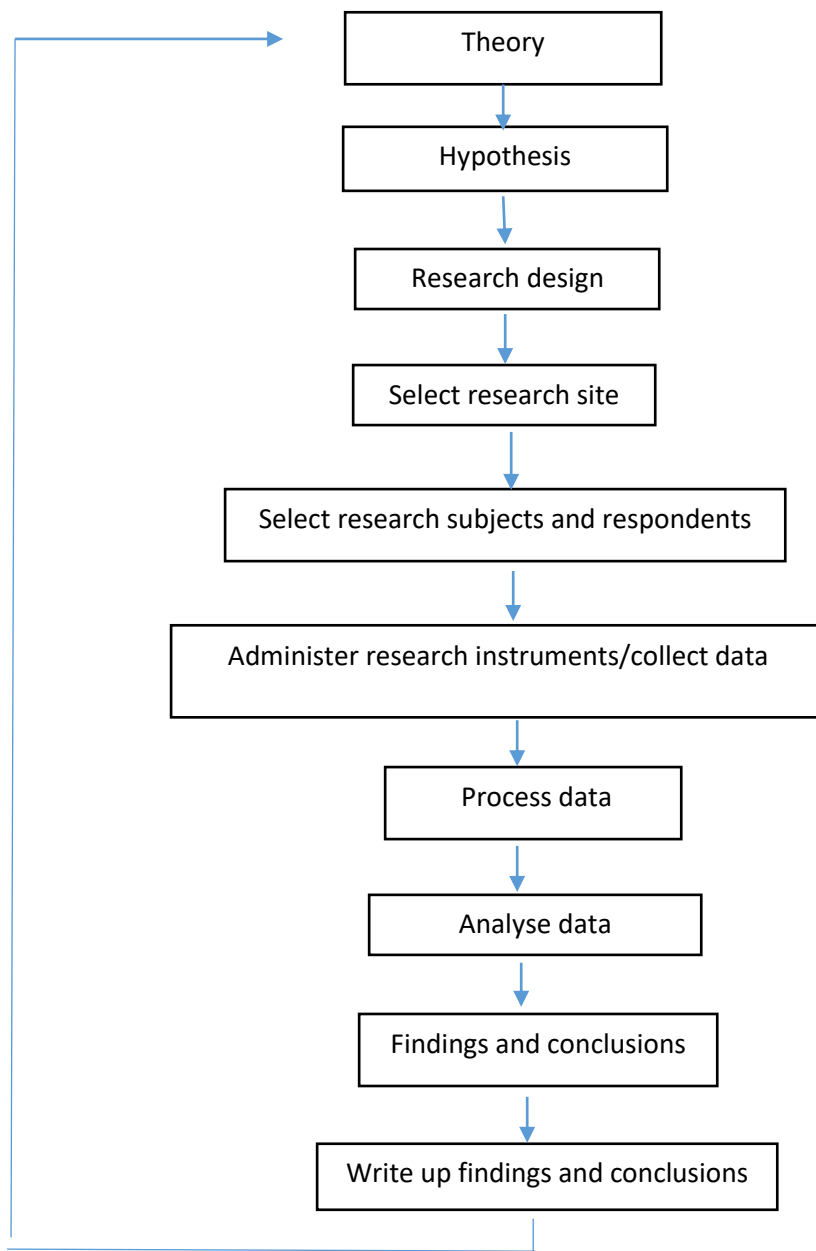
The quantitative study was designed to identify reliable and accurate and valid analysis or measurement of how young people describe the nature and extent of gender-based violence (i.e. sexual, physical and emotional violence) in Zimbabwe. The survey research strategy was employed in this quantitative stage of the study. Saunders et al. (2012) asserts that there is a relationship between surveys and the deductive approach. They are useful for exploratory and descriptive research. They serve the purpose to describe reality. In this case the survey was used to establish young people's knowledge on GBV, their attitudes and behaviours and also determine the patterns of risk factors for abuse as well solutions to reduce gender-based violence. The quantitative study was essential in achieving the objectives of the research, particularly:

- To explore the attitudes of youth in Zimbabwe concerning GBV.
- To design and implement a training programme and subsequent campaign using youth to reduce GBV and undertake a preliminary evaluation of its outcome.

In addressing these research objectives the survey questionnaires were also able to respond to the following sub themes:

- present local data on youth attitudes towards GBV
- present local data on youth exposure to GBV
- establish how youth conceptualise GBV
- establish elements related to various attitudes to GBV amidst youth
- review elements that affect attitudes towards GBV and the risks related to being a victim or perpetrator of GBV
- develop solutions on how to address GBV.

**Fig 6.4 The process and nature of quantitative research design**



Adapted from Bryman (2015:150)

The type of survey used was a cross-sectional survey and it was designed to draw a picture of what young people in different geographic locations think about GBV issues. Cross-sectional surveys are descriptive and exploratory in nature as they seek to describe behaviour or attitudes (Govender, Mabuza, Ongunbanjo and Mash 2014). According to Saunders et al. (2012) surveys allow the researcher to gather quantitative data which can be analysed quantitatively through the use of descriptive and inferential statistics.

## 6.7 POPULATION AND SAMPLING

A total of 75 young people between the ages of 14-18 in two secondary schools, urban and rural respectively, in the second capital of Zimbabwe, Bulawayo, participated in the survey. They were given questionnaire to complete. Sampling was conducted via stratified sampling and purposive sampling. Stratified sampling falls under probability sampling and this means each and every person in the population has an opportunity to take part in the study (Acharya, Prakash, Saxena and Nigam 2013:330). Stratified sampling means an entire population is divided into separate and distinct subpopulations or strata. This method informed the urban and rural sample for this study, the assumption being that urban and rural youth had different experiences. The stratified sample procedure was used because of the challenges in getting an adequate population frame. According to Palinkas, Horwitz et al. (2015:37), it is difficult to obtain a single frame that covers the whole population, therefore, stratified sampling procedure provides the researcher the opportunity to use separate frames in various forms, which may be put together to cover the whole population.

Purposive sampling was also employed in this study, meaning that I deliberately selected which representative urban and rural schools in Bulawayo would take part in the study. The schools selected for the study have similarities due to the fact that they fall under the Bulawayo metropolitan. The chosen schools both have relatively low-level pass rates and both serve huge communities with signs of high poverty, unemployment and social exclusion. However, for the rural school, all these indicators are much more severe. The purpose of selecting different schools in different areas was to unearth any differences that might exist geographically in terms of attitudes and engagement in GBV issues. The selected schools provided a typical random sample of the population with regard to geography, socio economic categories and age and gender.

The whole sample was comprised of school-going youth (n=75) and where accessed through their respective schools. The sample broadly reflects that it had a bias towards-school going youth and did not cater for young people not in school. This could pose a limitation to the study.

In designing the questionnaire for the secondary students, age was determined by the form/ or school year, rather than the absolute age. This means that high school students in the first school year throughout the sixth school year could participate in the study. Therefore, the population covered was that of high-school students. The school samples were examined through where their location was. For example, the urban school served a large local community and as well as the rural school. In most instances, students have to walk over 10km to get to school.

## **6.8 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN**

The questionnaire was developed based on comparable survey-questionnaires administered in the UK, United States, Australia, Swaziland, Tanzania and Kenya, and on literature reviews emphasising significant attitudes to investigate (such as male entitlement, dominance and female passivity).

The GBV questionnaire was designed to collect information on different themes such as violence, masculinity/ femininity, gender roles and relations, typologies of violence and tolerance of different forms of violence against women, causes of violence and conceptualisation and awareness of GBV. The choice of question strategy was the combining of closed-ended questions and open-ended questions. Easterby-Smith et al. (2012:239) argue that there are five principles in designing a questionnaire and these include: the use of clear language, expression of one idea in each question, use of simple language, deter from using negatives and deter from the use of leading questions, for example questions that give a clue to the expected answer. The GBV questionnaire comprised ten questions with the last four being open-ended questions. The open-ended questions serve as an exploratory method, and as a tool to identify the views that people have on certain issues to provide understanding to the particular issue. Saris and Gallhafer (2014:99) in their work argue that opened-ended questions are better than closed questions because individuals can allow their own thoughts to be heard and expressed rather than being fixed in a structure of the inference of the researcher. However, the limitation that comes with the open-ended questions is that the responses have to be coded. The closed question serves a quantitative purpose and are used as a way to prepare the responder for open-ended questions. The analysis of Saris and Gallhafer (2014) showed that closed questions may be difficult to construct in the sense that they require that they should be "complete". In other words, the responses should be exhaustive and categories of responses should be clear. In this study the ordinal scales were used as the category of responses provided. The GBV-survey questionnaire was conducted in the respective schools.

## **6.9 PILOT TESTING**

In order to make sure that the survey action runs smoothly the survey questionnaire, together with the sample design, must go under a pilot test. Pilot testing of the survey questionnaires encompasses an examination of the questionnaire. Brooks, Reed and Savage (2016:52) assert that pilot testing involves "developing and testing adequacy of research instrument, assessing the feasibility of a full scale study/survey, identifying logistical problems which might occur using proposed methods, determining the resources needed for the planned study, assessing the proposed data analysis techniques to uncover potential problems, training a researcher in as many elements of the research as possible".

A pilot study was conducted in both the rural and urban school,. A sample of 10 students from each school was used to test the survey questionnaire. However, before the pilot study was done on the sites, an off-site test was done. I tested the questionnaire on my friends and colleagues after giving them a brief background on the study/survey. Grounded by the results gathered from both the on-site and off-site test which included: question clarity; length of the survey questionnaire; sequence of the questions; lucidity of instructions issues, additional adjustments were done.

## **6.10 DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS**

A survey questionnaire is a quantitative data collection method that can be used to gather data on any desired topic. Driscoll (2011:164) suggests that questionnaires are a good method of collecting data about people's attitudes, behaviours and beliefs. The data-collection method used was the self-completion of survey-questionnaires approach. Given that the topic was sensitive, self-completion questionnaires were more appropriate. Self-completion is a broad category therefore to be more specific hand delivered questionnaires were used in this study, meaning that I had some form of interaction with the respondents. Because of hand delivering the questionnaires, I was able to recover all (75) of the administered questionnaires.

Reiterating the type of interaction, my research assistant and I stood in front of the respondents and read out loud the questions in the questionnaire and explained where it needed to be explained. This enhanced the response rate and minimised incidences of questionnaires with gaps from unanswered questions. However, because this was a self-completion questionnaire, it did suffer from quality problems. For example, some forgot to tick age or sex. Although very low, a record of non-responses in particular questions was registered. According to (Rowley 2014:320), the presence of the surveyor produces a better response rate than the mail survey. It presents with it some personal interaction and respondents may feel obliged to finish the questionnaire, given that there is good interaction between the surveyor and the respondents.

Another crucial component of the questionnaire was the survey days and locations. At the time and day that was agreed on prior to the administering of the survey questionnaires, the researcher and assistant went to the urban school and conducted the survey during the normal school periods. The same procedure was done at the rural school. However, at this school the survey questionnaires were administered during the extra curricula activities school period.

## 6.11 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

The second stage of the study was comprised of qualitative research methodology. As noted by Hennick, Hutter and Bailey (2011:9, qualitative research goes beyond just the utilisation of qualitative techniques. However the characteristics that set aside qualitative research is that it is based on the interpretive approach in the sense that it gives meaning and understanding to a particular subject. Mertler (2006:92) suggests that qualitative research is " narrative data, in other words the data themselves are words, these 'words' may appear in the form of interview transcripts and observational notes, journal entries, transcripts of audio or video tapes and collected using a variety of techniques". Qualitative research is applicable in various contexts. The utility of qualitative techniques is to give in-depth data of the study-issues that affect the study population and the circumstances that surround them. Figure 6.5 illustrates the key themes of Qualitative research. As proposed by Denzin and Lincoln, (2011:13), qualitative research is "a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world, they turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to self. Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them".

According to Creswell (2013), there are plenty of frameworks for qualitative study: they have evolved and they continue advancing. As highlighted by Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls and Ormston (2013:16), advancement in qualitative research has been seen through the development of action research because of its user-led approach advantages, although it has its challenges associated with tokenism (Cook 2012). The present day study as mentioned earlier also employed action research so as to actively involve the participants/ young people in the research. Suffice to say, user- led research/ action research addresses the power imbalance between the research and research population, and brings about positive change for the research population.

The qualitative study was undertaken as part of the entire research. Using Marshall and Rossman's (2014:100) point of justifying the use of qualitative research, in the current study, qualitative research served the following purposes, to act as means of measure for the data gathered in phase one of the study (survey questionnaires), and to come up with information that will inform the development of the educational workshop on GBV, which is one of the objectives of the research. The qualitative study (questions and discussions) was steered by the review of literature.

**Figure 6.5 Key themes of Qualitative research**

### **COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH**

- Aims and objectives that are directed at providing an in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world of research participants by learning about the sense they make of their social and material circumstances, their experiences, perspectives and histories.
- The use of non-standardised, adaptable methods of data generation that are sensitive to the social context of the study and can be adapted for each participant or case to allow the exploration of emergent issues.
- Data that are detailed, rich and complex (again the precise depth and complexity of data may vary between studies).
- Analysis that retains complexity and nuance and respects of uniqueness of each participant or case as well as recurrent, cross-cutting themes.
- Openness to emergent categories and theories at the analysis and interpretation stage.
- Outputs that include detailed descriptions of the phenomena being researched, grounded in the perspectives and accounts of the participants.
- A reflexive approach, where the role and perspective of the researcher in the research process is acknowledged. For some, researcher reflexivity also means reporting their personal experiences of 'the field'.

Source: Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls and Ormston (2013:4)

## **6.12 QUALITATIVE SAMPLING**

### **6.12.1 Purposive Sampling**

Non-probability sampling was used to determine the population of the study. According to Uprichard (2013), non-probability sampling attempts to deduce conclusions about a larger population under study through a selected sample or subset of the population. Non-probability sampling in most cases is not backed up by statistics because it is not supported by the statistical theory of inference as it is in probability sampling. Non-probability sampling is common in qualitative-collection methods, for which statistical inference is not desired (Bricks, 2015). The most popular types of non-probability sampling techniques are opportunistic and purposive sampling. This study employed purposive sampling based on the scholarship of Schutt (2006:348) who suggest that it is used in both qualitative and mixed methods approach, "purposive sampling involves an iterative process of selecting research subjects rather than starting with a predetermined sampling frame. Akin to grounded theory, the selection process involves identifying themes, concepts and indicators through observation and reflection". In other words, non-probability sampling was employed in this study to improve generalizability using a representative data to reinforce data collected using purposive methods (Barrat, Ferris and Lenton 2015: 6).



The target group for the qualitative study was the same as that for the quantitative study, which involved young people from the ages of 14-18. The participants in the qualitative study were selected directly from the group of young people who took part in the survey questionnaires. This meant I could reach my targeted sample quickly and at whatever proportion.

## **6.13 DATA COLLECTION METHODS**

### **6.13.1 Focus Groups**

Krueger and Casey (2014), Stewart and Shamdasani (2014), Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls and Ormston (2013) are all of the view that the use of focus groups is to gather rich and in-depth data. Gomm (2004:170-173) asserts that focus groups highlight three crucial methodological issues, that I concur with. Firstly, focus groups raise issues of representativeness of the group and the generalisation of results. It is of essence that each member has the chance to speak and share their views (Mills 2003). Secondly, focus groups consist of discussions with a focus on a certain subject spear-headed by the researcher. Through the research of Chiu and Knight (1999) and Kitzinger and Farquhar (1999), it is highlighted that, because participants are urged to be vocal it creates a space whereby they can influence each other through their views and in some instances focus-group discussions make it easier for some individuals to voice their opinions if backed by the group. This second methodological component also encompasses the action research. This is so because action research uses the same concept of group discussions. These discussions form part of the transformation process and here groups of people are able to articulate what changes they want to see and effect and how they are going to commit themselves to the process. Thirdly, the researcher plays the role of the facilitator, by setting the tone of the discussion through use of set issues or questions for the discussion.

Two focus group discussions (one at each school) were conducted with young people who volunteered to be part of the discussions and contribute their view point to the study (see Table 6.1 for participation criteria). Focus groups were made up of 12-13 students (that is there were 12 participants at the urban school, six boys and six girls and 13 participants at the rural school, six girls and seven boys). In total, twenty-five young people participated in the focus groups. The focus-group discussions lasted an hour and focused on providing an opportunity to contextualise data from the questionnaires and gather in-depth information. The focus group discussions took place at the respective schools during the time agreed upon with the school authorities. The groups were made up of young people who knew each other already. These discussions were tape-recorded with their permission and participants were guaranteed of anonymity. Despite tape-recording the sessions, the research assistant made written notes as the sessions went on and I focused on moderation of the discussions. Robson and McCartan (2016:302) approves that it is a good tradition to take down notes of the session, although it may be recorded.

The focus group discussions were designed to promote conversation among young people. The thematic areas in the discussions included young people's understanding of violence, gender-based violence, the causes and effects of gender-based violence and attitudes towards gender-based violence.

**Table 6.1 participation selection criteria**

| Method       | Participants  |
|--------------|---|
| Focus groups | Participants were students of the respective schools (rural and urban schools) and were of different age groups. However they were between the ages of 14-18 . Participants included both boys and girls and were known to each other. Participants in the focus groups were volunteers who had responded to the questionnaire, although a few had not participated in answering the questionnaire. |

### **6.13.2 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS**

Document analysis is a method of collecting data in qualitative research and is sometimes used in mixed-methods research (Merriam and Tisdell 2015:162). Girbish (2012:15) uses the phrase-document collation and asserts that document analysis “includes any information from newspapers, radios, TV DVD, films, videos, internet chat rooms, policy documents, clinical case histories, photos, drawings, books.....in short any information that can shed light on your research”. Bowen (2009:28) suggests that the rationale for using document analysis is triangulation means. I drew upon multiple sources of evidence, in an attempt to provide convergence and corroboration through triangulation. Patton (1990) is of the view that triangulation assists the researcher to avoid allegations of bias, by having used one method and one source. Document reviews in this study were used to address the following objectives of the study:

- To document the nature, extent and trends of gender-based violence (GBV) in Zimbabwe.
- To review the literature on the causes and consequences of GBV, with particular reference to Southern Africa.
- To review attempts that have been made to tackle GBV with particular respect to Southern Africa and their effectiveness.

Documents on these issues provided supplementary research information and also provided a means of following the trends in GBV programming, particularly programming with a youth-mainstreaming lens. Various documents were accessed and compared to identify GBV solutions that have worked in different contexts. This was done through a literature search to identify relevant sources using key words in various databases and search engines. According to Mertens (2014:387), document reviews or analysis is important in qualitative research because the researcher is able to depend on documents to acquire needed background of the context and insights into the topic. Central to document analysis is establishing the context and depth of the document, also identifying for what purpose the document has been written and the author of the document,(Robson 2011).

## **6.14 EDUCATION TRAINING INTERVENTION**

In the analysis of Hanson (2015), gender training is characterised by informal adult workshops and is a means of developing individual and organisational capacity to react to structural inequalities in connection to gender. Within the framework of peacebuilding, gender training workshops serve to create awareness of how violence affects both men and women so that solutions are developed.

Hanson (2015:129) further asserts that for there to be community re-building with a focus on gender equity, gender-training workshops need to incorporate a transformational-learning lens. GBV is tied to abstractions of masculinity, femininity and sexual discrimination and therefore, further deliberation in notions like masculinity as a form of dominance or violence, copious and various conceptualisations of women and girls and crucial pedagogies of intervention, are necessary. A feminist lens provides an opportunity to examine the heterogeneity that prevails among women and men and how power and control are built up in various contexts of conflict. Together with insights from conflict resolution as proposed by Fisher (1997:331), which suggests that, “training as interactive conflict resolution often involves generic activities to impart concepts and skills as well as focused experiences to induce intergroup understanding and cooperation”. In an endeavour to come up with crucial pedagogies of intervention in this context, the study suggests the education training intervention can address GBV issues in Zimbabwe, because all forms of education afford each and every person with the values and skills necessary for a peaceful life with others (Read 2012:13).

Continuing from the earlier discussion in 6.13.1 of methodological issues surrounding focus groups, I highlighted that focus groups are used in action research as, here, the participants are able to communicate and express what change they want and how. In other words, focus groups form part of the transformation. However, what should be noted is that this type of focus group is different from the normal focus group which serves as a data collection instrument only. Robson and McCartan (2016:304) argue that “focus groups don’t vote on decisions, plan programmes or decide on course of

action”, but rather there are other group activities that are incorporated in the study such as brainstorming. In other words, in this study, brainstorming was an activity used in the group discussions. Brainstorming being an activity “used to generate and select solutions for developing ideas about aspects of a project rather as a research method itself” (Robson and McCartan 2016:304).

After completing the focus group discussions, volunteers from the friendly discussions were asked to participate in the action-oriented component and be part of the action group, to inform the education workshop (see Table 6.2 for the participation selection criteria). All participants volunteered to be in the action groups, therefore, the study had one action group from each school. Note the action group took the form of “focus groups” and the action groups both had four sessions to discuss how the workshop would be conducted. In other words, the action group was involved in programme design, implementation and evaluation which revolved around these thematic areas: programme content (what was the education intervention going to teach), how was the information going to be delivered/ taught and who was going to deliver/teach.

These sessions lasted about 30-60 minutes and were recorded and transcribed. In every session there was a recap of the issues discussed and agreed upon to make sure that everyone was on the same page.

**Table 6.2 participation selection criteria**

| Method        | Participants  |
|---------------|---|
| Action groups | Participants were students from the respective schools (urban and rural schools) and were between the ages of 14-18 . Participants included both boys and girls and they were known to each other and in different classes and forms. The action groups were made up of volunteers emanating from the prior focus groups. |

## 6.15 SUBJECTIVE OUTCOME EVALUATION

Evaluation of the intervention was carried out to address the last objective of the study:

*To design and implement a training programme and subsequent campaign using youth to reduce GBV and undertake a preliminary evaluation of its outcome.*

Outcome evaluation measures people-centred outcomes and outcomes can take the form of short-term outcomes (changes in knowledge, skills or attitudes), intermediate (changes in behaviour) and long-term (changes in condition or status). Generally outcome evaluations attempts to answer the following

questions: is the programme making a difference?; did it work? And, did the programme achieve what it anticipated to change? According to Shek (2014:550) subjective outcome assesses the views of the primary stakeholders (participant in the project and implementers of the project) on the quality and effectiveness of the project. For instance participants may be asked of their satisfaction levels of the project. Shek (2014:550) further asserts that subjective-outcome evaluation application has wide application in youth service context in both clinical and non-clinical fields.

The rationale for using subjective-outcome evaluation in this study is that participants in the intervention are the most appropriate people to evaluate the intervention (Rodin and Rodin 1973). Evaluation philosophies such as participatory evaluation, support the involvement of the primary participant in evaluation. For example, it encourages self-evaluations and non-complex methods modified to the culture of participants and discloses the results of the evaluation (Sartorius 2000). Another strength of subjective evaluation is that it provides a full picture of the findings, which makes it easy for both the researcher and participants to comprehend the outcomes of the programme (Brigitte, 2003:3). However, subjective-outcome evaluations are based on much more information as opposed to publicly-verifiable information. This is the probable strength of subjective evaluation. Brigitte (2003:3) further argues that non-verifiable information provides precise measures as opposed to verifiable information. Although subjective-outcome evaluation faces a great deal of criticism, Shek (2010) argues that subjective outcomes are tallied with and can identify the objective outcomes.

In the present study, due to the fact that there were two interventions and at two different locations, using subjective-outcome evaluation was the best way to investigate the implementation and outcomes of the *Gender Based Violence Prevention Education Programme*. In order to come up with a full picture of the programme's impressions and participants' experiences, a mixed method was used to gather evaluation data. Brigitte (2003:3) asserts that subjective-outcome evaluations more often employ both quantitative and qualitative data which tend to hinge on the experiences of the primary participants.

At the end of the workshops the participants completed a short questionnaire based on how they felt about the workshop and whether they had learnt anything. In addition to the questionnaires, a small-focus group discussion was held with 12 students (five girls and seven boys). The discussion lasted about forty-five minutes and the aim was to find out their feelings about the programme, their opinions on the content and how it was delivered. The evaluation process used a participatory approach so as to involve the participants in considering who institutes the evaluation process and gains from the results. The evaluation of the programme was based on the basic principles of participatory evaluation: participation (giving the people affected by the study the opportunity to voice the impacts of the project), negotiation (between young participants, researcher and research

assistant on how and when data gathering was going to be done, and how results would be disseminated and the cause of action); learning (determining any cumulative knowledge by participants) and flexibility (modifying the evaluation to suit local conditions and the participants. Participatory approach in the evaluation was used for its “emphasis on collective inquiry, analysis and reflection in findings to create the conditions for shared learning that links forward into action and future planning” (Evaluating Socio Economic Development, Sourcebook 2, 2003). The strength of participatory approach lies in its ability to express the intricacy and fullness of the impact of the programme by using creative, generative tools and techniques rather than standardised techniques of assessment (Minkler and Wallerstein 2011).

## **6.16 DATA ANALYSIS**

Since the study used the explanatory-sequential method, data was also analysed in stages. Data from the quantitative stage was analysed using SPSS v16. Basic descriptive methods were used to analyse the data. Descriptive statistics were utilised to assist the researcher to explain and give comparison of the chief characteristics of the gathered data in quantitative terms (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2003: 351 and Carlson and Winqvist 2013). Description of young people’s attitudes towards violence and GBV in particular, was accomplished through descriptive statistics and the numeric findings were presented together with more formal analysis to provide readers with an overall sense of the data being analysed.

Frequencies were used to come up with tables of counts for single variables. In other words, frequencies were utilised to determine the number of times respondents made a particular response to a question and were also used for the purpose of data cleaning. This is in the event that responses did not tally with the total number of the sample (Babbie et al 2002: 298; Maree 2007: 184; Zikmund 2003: 403). The frequencies made it possible to analyse findings and reach conclusions.

For stage two, the qualitative analysis, data was analysed to further explain and interpret the quantitative findings. Thematic analysis was used to analyse data from the focus-group discussions. Data from the focus group discussions were reduced to meaningful groupings or themes (Grbich 2012: 62). According to Braun and Clarke (2006:79) thematic analysis is “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data”. The data-analysis process, as propounded by Braun and Clarke, was followed and figure 6.6 illustrates the thematic data analysis process.

After the second stage, quantitative and qualitative data was integrated in order to explain the findings of the research, thereby producing comprehensive findings of the study. Table 6.3 summaries the data analysis of the study.

**Table 6.3 summary of data analysis of the study.**

|   |
|---|
| <p><b>THEMATIC ANALYSIS</b></p> <p><b><u>Familiarising with data</u></b><br/>Transcribing data, reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.</p> <p><b><u>Generating initial codes</u></b><br/>Coding interesting features of the data systematically across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.</p> <p><b><u>Searching for themes</u></b><br/>Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.</p> <p><b><u>Reviewing themes</u></b><br/>Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and the entire data set, generating a thematic map.</p> <p><b><u>Defining and naming themes</u></b><br/>Ongoing analysis for refining the specifics of each theme and the overall story that the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.</p> <p><b><u>Producing the report</u></b><br/>The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a report of the analysis.</p> |
|---|

Adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006:87)

**Table 6.4 process of data analysis in this study**

| Phase   | Procedure   | Product   |
|---|---|---|
| Quantitative data collection                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Population-based cross-sectional survey (N=75)</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Numeric data</li> </ul>  |
| Quantitative data analysis                                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Data screening (frequencies, percentages).</li> <li>SPSS v16</li> </ul>                                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Descriptive statistics</li> </ul>  |
| Case selection<br>Focus group<br>Protocol<br>Development      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Purposefully Selecting based on Multiple response</li> <li>Developing Focus group questions</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Focus group protocol</li> </ul>  |
| Qualitative data collection                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Focus group discussions</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Audio recordings</li> </ul>  |
| Qualitative data analysis                                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Thematic analysis</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Codes and themes</li> <li>Similar and different themes and categories</li> </ul> |
| Integration of quantitative findings and qualitative findings | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Interpretation and explanation of quantitative findings and qualitative findings</li> </ul>            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Discussion</li> <li>Implications</li> <li>Future research</li> </ul>             |

## **6. 17 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY**

The integration of quantitative and qualitative data has the capacity to improve the quality of the study (Creswell and Clark 2011). The use of mixed-method approach comes with the benefit that each form of data can be used to determine the validity of findings. In this study the qualitative data was used to determine the validity of quantitative findings. Zohrabi (2013:254) asserts that using multiple methods of collecting data and from varied sources can enhance the validity and reliability of the information and its analysis. This study triangulated data from the survey and focus-group discussions in order to increase the dependability and trustworthiness of the data. Burns (1999:160) is of the view that “validity is an essential criterion for evaluating the quality and acceptability of research.” Generally, researchers use different instruments to collect data. This, however, means that the quality of the instruments has to be good in order for them to yield valid and reliable results (Fraenkel and Wallen 2003:158).

For the quantitative study, the survey questionnaire was designed in way that would ensure the dependability of the findings. This was done through the use of both closed and open-ended questions in the questionnaire. Zohrabi (2013:255) suggests that, if an instrument is well designed (in this case the questionnaire) and containing closed and open-ended questions and administered in the best possible way, this can enhance the validity and reliability of the findings. The questionnaire was pre-tested and considerable modifications made to ensure the reliability of the instrument and the focus groups verified the data collected from the questionnaire. To ensure the validity of the focus group, a recap of the discussion was done so that participants would check if their responses were correctly captured.

The participatory-mode of research also augmented the validity and reliability of this study. The engagement of young people in the action research allowed me to share ideas with them . The varied ideas and views brought about by the youth were constructive and useful and therefore enhanced the validity of the research. Acknowledging the utility of participatory methodology, I shared the results of the survey with the participants as a means of engaging them in all phases of the research and this would also inform our discussions in the action groups. Using the scholarship of Lynnh (1996:62), participatory methodologies are very important because they allow the researcher “to arrive at evaluation conclusions as a result of a consensus among persons from different perspectives in relation to the program”. In summary, the triangulation of all these different methods augmented the validity and reliability of this study.



## **6.18 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Ethics are the basis for carrying out effective and meaningful research. According to Marianna (2011:4) “research ethics involve requirements on daily work, the protection of dignity of subjects and the publication of the information in the research“ Powell et al. (2012:13-29) and Marianna (2011:4-6) suggest that key ethical issues involve informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, protection of the participants (do no harm) and incentives. The study addressed ethical issues as highlighted in this segment.

Ethical approval was provided by the ethics committee of the Durban University of Technology. Written authority from the Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe to interview young people in school was received. School Principals issued consent to survey students, conduct focus groups and action groups in their school and contacted parents to inform them about the survey in general terms and provide them with the choice to withdraw their child from the study.

The participants were informed about the purpose of the study, the merits, the participant’s rights and the research processes involved in the research. Participation was voluntary, therefore no incentive was provided for participation, and participants were informed they could drop out of the study with no explanation. In order to guarantee confidentiality and anonymity of the information presented in this study, pseudonyms were used. Even for the schools, their names were not disclosed and only the description of urban and rural were given. Moreover, I am certain that the meagre description of the two schools provided cannot be identified with any particular school in Bulawayo.

## **6.19 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter described the research philosophy, design, and research methodology. It elaborated extensively on how data was collected and interpreted. The chapter also explained the action-research process, how information was built up until the intervention stage. Subjective-outcome evaluation was also explained in this chapter and its utility. The following chapter presents the research findings.

# **CHAPTER SEVEN**

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

### **7.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of the findings and interpretation of both quantitative and qualitative data. The intention of this study was to obtain an indication of young people's attitudes towards violence, particularly gender-based violence and come up with ways of mainstreaming youth's ideas in the fight against gender-based violence. The main aim of the study was to analyse youth participation in GBV issues. This section will present the results from the survey questionnaire and focus-group discussions done prior to the GBV-education workshops.

### **7.2 SURVEY DATA**

The questionnaire was made up of 10 questions that were categorised by different themes. The themes included questions that covered demographic data, violence, masculinity, gender roles and relations, types of violence and perceived seriousness of the forms of violence, awareness of GBV, attitudes towards GBV, perceived causes of GBV, acceptability of GBV, sources of information about GBV and perceived strategies to reduce GBV. These are all in this section.

#### **7.2.1 DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE SAMPLE**

A total of 75 questionnaires were administered in both schools and there was a 100 per cent return-rate of the questionnaires, the first phase of the research meant to collect quantitative data. Given that the topic was sensitive, self-completion questionnaire were more appropriate. This mode of data collection came with internal quality problems, for example, they may have forgotten to tick age or sex. Although very low, a record of non-responses to particular questions was registered. However, those questionnaires that suffered from quality problems were included in the analysis. These were included in the analysis as non-responses were treated as 'I don't know' responses which was also a plausible response.

From a total of 75 questionnaires, girls made up a total of 53 per cent (40) and boys made up 47 per cent (35) of the participants. The average age of the participants was 15. Generally, the age distribution leaned towards the 15-16 age group with 64 per cent. Those under the age group of 15

made up 13 per cent and participants 17 and over made up 23 per cent. These numbers can be explained by the fact that most of the sampled participants were taken from school forms that were not writing national examinations that is, Form 3s.

All of the young people (n=75) were accessed through the two schools mentioned earlier and the questionnaire was administered in both schools. Hand-delivered questionnaires were used in this study (see Appendix A).

**Table 7.1 Age distribution of the sample**

| Age   | Number of respondents |       | Female (n) | Male (n) |
|-------|-----------------------|-------|------------|----------|
| 14    | 10                    | 13.3% | 6          | 4        |
| 15    | 25                    | 33.3% | 16         | 9        |
| 16    | 23                    | 30.7% | 11         | 12       |
| 17    | 9                     | 12%   | 3          | 6        |
| 18    | 8                     | 10.7% | 4          | 4        |
| Total | 75                    | 100%  | 40         | 35       |

**Table 7.2 Distribution of respondents according to environment**

| Socio demographic variables | Number of respondents | Percentage |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Urban                       | 36                    | 48%        |
| Rural                       | 39                    | 52%        |

## 7.3 ANALYSIS PER RESEARCH THEME

In this part young people's views on GBV are investigated. Views connected to the following themes were examined: violence, masculinity, gender roles and relations, types of violence and how young people regard seriousness of violence, young people's conceptualisation of gender-based violence and causes, awareness of gender-based violence, sources of information about GBV and perceived strategies to reduce GBV.

### 7.3.1 VIOLENCE

Gender-based violence research has given much attention to what young people think about existing definitions of violence in an attempt to come up with violence-prevention programmes. This study focuses on how young people conceptualise violence and what circumstances drive tolerance and use of violence. The questions asked in this thematic area of violence were centred on capturing young people's views of what violence is, tolerance of violence and rationale for engaging in violent

behaviour. In order to elicit the views and expressions of young people about violence, young people were asked the following questions:

1. Is there ever a good reason to hit someone, unless if it is in self-defence?
2. For people to take notice of you, should you raise your voice?
3. Does violence mean physical injuries only?
4. Although it is wrong, for one to get their way, should they frighten somebody by promising to hit them?
5. Is it okay, if someone provokes you, to hit them?

It can be noted that the questions asked move away from the serious acts/behaviour of physical violence that generally gather the same reaction from people. Rather, the questions focus on unusual yet ‘simple’ conflict areas. Table 7.3 shows that young people’s attitudes toward violence are a bit elusive and conflicting. Most of the young people did not condone violence, both boys and girls considered violence to be physical. The study revealed differences in young people’s conceptualisation of violence.

**Table 7.3 shows young people’s views on violence**

|                       | Strongly agree | Agree | Total agree | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Total disagree | I don’t know |
|-----------------------|----------------|-------|-------------|-------------------|----------|----------------|--------------|
| <b>Question one</b>   |                |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n= 40)        | 12.5%          | 47.5% | 60%         | 12.5%             | 15%      | 27.5%          | 12.5%        |
| male (n=35)           | 34.3%          | 37%   | 71.3%       | 8.6%              | 5.7%     | 14.3%          | 14.3%        |
| Overall Total         |                |       | 65.7%       |                   |          | 20.9%          |              |
| <b>Question two</b>   |                |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 5%             | 7.5%  | 12.5%       | 40%               | 37.5%    | 77.5%          | 10%          |
| Male (n=35)           | 11.4%          | 22.9% | 34.3%       | 25.7%             | 20%      | 45.7%          | 20%          |
| Overall Total         |                |       | 46.8%       |                   |          | 61.6%          |              |
| <b>Question three</b> |                |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 27.5%          | 17.5% | 45%         | 25%               | 25%      | 50%            | 5%           |
| Male (n=35)           | 28.6%          | 31.4% | 60%         | 17%               | 11.4%    | 28.4%          | 8.6%         |
| Overall Total         |                |       | 52.5%       |                   |          | 39.2%          |              |
| <b>Question four</b>  |                |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 10%            | 5%    | 15%         | 40%               | 35%      | 75%            | 10%          |
| Male (n=35)           | 17%            | 20%   | 37%         | 42.9%             | 8.6%     | 51.5%          | 11.4%        |
| Overall Total         |                |       | 26%         |                   |          | 63.3%          |              |
| <b>Question five</b>  |                |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 5%             | 22.5% | 27.5%       | 32.5%             | 40%      | 72.5%          | 0%           |
| Male (n=35)           | 11.4%          | 17%   | 28.4%       | 25.7%             | 40%      | 65.7%          | 5.7%         |
| Overall Total         |                |       | 28%         |                   |          | 69.1%          |              |

Looking at affirmative responses by the participants (combining strongly agree and agree) and non-affirmative responses (combining strongly disagree and disagree), the majority of participants agreed

with the statement, *“There is never a good reason to hit someone, unless if it’s in self-defence”*. 60 per cent of girls and 71.3 per cent of boys showed some violence-affirming behaviour. Overall 65.7 per cent of the young people revealed that they may overlook relative violence depending on the situation and may exude violent behaviour. Generally, boys were seen to be more pro-violent than girls, as they recorded a higher Figure (71.3 per cent) than the girls. There was, however, a 13.4 per cent of recorded “I don’t know” responses by all participants.

When asked about their views on this statement *“for people to take notice of you, you should raise your voice”*, 34.3 per cent of the boys and 12.5 per cent of the girls agreed to this statement, making an overall figure of 23.4 per cent of the participants that agreed to the statement. However there was a high correlation of participants who disagreed with the statement 77.5 per cent girls and 45.7 per cent boys making a total of 61.6 per cent of the young people against the statement. 15 per cent of the responses were I don’t know responses.

A significant number of participants, over half (52.5 per cent) acknowledged that violence goes beyond physical injuries as compared to 39.2 per cent who disagreed with the statement. Boys recorded a higher percentage of 60 per cent of those who agreed in contrast to 45 per cent of the girls who shared the same view. The number of participants responded that violence occurs only when physical injuries was very high, with girls recording the highest figure, 50 per cent.

When asked about their views about this statement *“although it is wrong, for one to get their way, they should frighten somebody by promising to hit them”*, 15 per cent of the girls agreed to this, whereas 75 per cent of the girls disagreed with this statement. 37 per cent of the boys were of the affirmative whilst 51.5 per cent disagreed with this statement. Overall, 26 per cent of young people agreed that, although it was not right threatening to hit someone, it would get them what they wanted, whilst 63 per cent of the young people refuted the statement.

When asked about their feelings about this statement, *“If someone provokes you it’s okay to hit them”*, 27.5 per cent of the girls and 28.4 per cent of the boys agreed with this statement, making a combined figure of 28 per cent of young people who are agreed to this. However, there was a high correlation of young people who disagreed with the statement. 72.5 per cent of the girls and 65.7 per cent of the boys disagreed with the statement. This means that 69 per cent of the young people did not agree with notion that it was okay to hit someone even if they provoked it. These results are interesting, looking at the responses to the first statement on violence, *“there is never a good reason to hit someone, unless if it’s in self-defence.”* well over half, 65.7 per cent of the young people agreed to this statement. These findings point to the fact that young people’s attitude towards violence is sometimes very elusive.

### 7.3.2 MASCULINITY

Predominant narratives of masculinity that legitimise and sanctify tyranny of aggression, strength and power have been highlighted as a factor associated with GBV (Heise and Fulu 2014). Research reveals that in order to gain understanding of the perpetual acceptability of GBV, it is important to appreciate how young people view the role women and men play in intimate relationships. Young people's perceptions on masculinity were explored here in the form of five questions/statements. The purpose of this segment was to examine the connection between masculinity and violence.

1. Men are aggressive and cannot control their temper
2. Guys who fight are respected more
3. Men need respect
4. A man should always be respected by his wife and children
5. It is natural for a man to be violent

**Table 7.4 shows young people's views on masculinity.**

|                       | Strongly agree | Agree | Total agree | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Total disagree | I don't know |
|-----------------------|----------------|-------|-------------|-------------------|----------|----------------|--------------|
| <b>Question one</b>   |                |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n= 40)        | 20%            | 25%   | 45%         | 30%               | 7.5%     | 37.5%          | 17.5%        |
| male (n=35)           | 28%            | 42.9% | 70.9%       | 5.7% %            | 8.6%     | 14.3%          | 14.3%        |
| Overall Total         |                |       | 58%         |                   |          | 25.9%          |              |
| <b>Question two</b>   |                |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 2.5%           | 5%    | 7.5%        | 52.5%             | 35%      | 87.5%          | 5%           |
| Male (n=35)           | 25.7%          | 8.6%  | 34.3%       | 45.7%             | 20%      | 65.7%          | 0%           |
| Overall Total         |                |       | 20.9%       |                   |          | 76.6%          |              |
| <b>Question three</b> |                |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 32.5%          | 52.5% | 85%         | 5%                | 2.5%     | 7.5%           | 7.5%         |
| Male (n=35)           | 60%            | 34.3% | 94.3%       | 0%                | 0%       | 0%             | 5.7%         |
| Overall Total         |                |       | 89.7%       |                   |          | 3.8%           |              |
| <b>Question four</b>  |                |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 45%            | 42.5% | 87.5%       | 7.5%              | 2.5%     | 10%            | 2.5%         |
| Male (n=35)           | 74.3%          | 22.9% | 97.2%       | 0%                | 0%       | 0%             | 2.6%         |
| Overall Total         |                |       | 92.4%       |                   |          | 5%             |              |
| <b>Question five</b>  |                |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 2.5%           | 5%    | 7.5%        | 52.5%             | 32.5%    | 85%            | 7.5%         |
| Male (n=35)           | 11.4%          | 20%   | 31.4%       | 51.4%             | 14.3%    | 64.7%          | 2.6%         |
| Overall Total         |                |       | 19.5%       |                   |          | 75.4%          |              |

Looking at affirmative responses by the participants (combining strongly agree and agree) and non-affirmative responses (combining strongly disagree and disagree), the majority of participants, 58 per cent agreed that men were unable to control their temper. Boys recorded a higher percentage of (70.9 per cent) of young people who agreed to this statement and 45 per cent of the girls were for the

statement. However 37.5 per cent of the girls responded in the non-affirmative side with 14.3 per cent of the boys sharing the same sentiments. There was also significant number (15.9 per cent) of respondents who said they did not know.

When asked about their views on this statement *“guys who fight are respected more”*, 34.3 per cent of the boys were in agreement and only 7.5 per cent of the girls shared the same perception. Overall 20.9 per cent of the young participants agreed to the statement. There was, however, a high correlation of participants who disagreed with the statement, 87.5 per cent of the girls and 65.7 per cent of the boys did not agree with the statement. The overall majority (76.6 per cent) of the young people did not agree with statement. The figures show that the majority of the young people believe that displaying violent behaviour does not earn one respect. Girls recorded a high number of respondents that were against the statement.

Masculinity is associated with access to status, power and perceptions of privilege and violence (Seidler 2013) For example, in the survey data, 85 per cent of the girls agreed with the statement *“Men need respect”* and 94.7 per cent of the boys also shared the same views. This reflects that there was relatively not much of a difference in responses by gender. Overall 89.7 per cent of the respondents agreed to the statement. The majority of the respondents (92.4 per cent) agreed that *“men should be respected by their wives and children”*, 87.5 per cent of the girls agreed to the statement and almost all of the boys 97.2% per cent held the perception that men should be respected by their wives and kids. Overall, both boys and girls agreed to this statement, which reflects that power and status is of importance to men within the family institution. Against these findings, the workshop examined how masculinity was correlated to violence.

Young people were also asked if it was natural for men to be violent and there was a wide acceptance that men are not naturally violent with girls, recording a high figure of 85 per cent and boys 65.7 per cent. With the genders combined, 75.4 per cent of the young people disagreed to the statement that men are naturally violent. Respondents who answered affirmatively to the statement made up 7.5 per cent of the girls and 31.4 per cent of the boys. 18.7 per cent overall, making 19.5 per cent of the young people who agreed with statement.

Responses from these statements; *“men need respect”* and *“a man should always be respected by his wife and children”*, indicate a sense of hegemonic masculinity. According to Kim and Pyke (2015), hegemonic masculinity is masculinities that are relative to precedent precepts of social power. Skovdal et al. (2011) move that hegemonic masculinity characterises the ‘true man’ as strong, in control, thick-skinned, without fear and a breadwinner. Precepts of such masculinity justify a society governed by men and domination of men over women. Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997) argue that

men who comply with hegemonic masculinities are in a probable position to commit violence against women and other men.

### 7.3.3 GENDER ROLE AND RELATIONS

This section explores the central theme of gender roles and relations, focusing particularly on how young people view gender through their narratives about violence. Reviews of Literature clearly highlight that narratives of violence are a sign that hegemonic expectations of gender and gender roles and acceptable gender behaviour is part of young people's narratives of violence. An investigation of Zimbabwean young people's views on gender roles and relations is important in comprehending the basic causes of GBV. Table 7.5 shows young people's views on gender roles and relations.

The theme, gender role and relations had six questions which included:

1. As men are the head of the household must they be in charge in the relationship?
2. Should guys acknowledge that they are equal with girls?
3. Because, traditionally the husband is the head of family should this be upheld?
4. Should the man be in control of the finances in the relationship or home?
5. Should the woman endure violence for the sake of the relationship or family?
6. Should married women be the property of the husbands?
7. Should girls like a guy who is in control of the relationship?

Looking at gender role and relations, the boys held the perception that they should be heads of the household, with 77.2 per cent agreeing to the statement as opposed to 45 per cent of the girls sharing the same perspective that men should be in charge in relationships. Overall, the majority of the young people, well over half (61 per cent) agreed to the statement. There was, however, a low correlation of young people, 20.7 per cent, who disagreed with the statement. Girls recorded a high figure, 30 per cent, on the non-affirmative, whereas boys recorded 11.4 per cent. As for boys acknowledging that girls are and can take up the same things that boys do, this was not well received by the boys, with 54.3 per cent against this perception. Only 42.7 per cent of the boys agreed and 30 per cent of the girls also held the same perception. 52.5 per cent of the girls disregarded this statement "*Guys acknowledge that they are equal with girls*". Overall 53.4 per cent of the young people held the perception that girls have an unequal status as compared to that of boys.



**Table 7.5 shows young people's views on gender roles and relations**

|                       | Strongly agree % | Agree | Total agree | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Total disagree | I don't know |
|-----------------------|------------------|-------|-------------|-------------------|----------|----------------|--------------|
| <b>Question one</b>   |                  |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n= 40)        | 20%              | 25%   | 45%         | 20%               | 10%      | 30%            | 25%          |
| male (n=35)           | 48.6%            | 28.6% | 77.2%       | 2.8%              | 8.6%     | 11.4%          | 5.7%         |
| Overall Total         |                  |       | 58.6%       |                   |          | 20.7%          |              |
| <b>Question two</b>   |                  |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 15%              | 15%   | 30%         | 27.5%             | 25%      | 52.5%          | 17.5%        |
| Male (n=35)           | 25.7%            | 17%   | 42.7%       | 25.7%             | 28.6%    | 54.3%          | 2.6%         |
| Overall Total         |                  |       | 36.4%       |                   |          | 53.4%          |              |
| <b>Question three</b> |                  |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 45%              | 35%   | 80%         | 20%               | 15%      | 35%            | 10%          |
| Male (n=35)           | 45.7%            | 28.6% | 74.3%       | 8.6%              | 14.3%    | 22.9%          | 2.6%         |
| Overall Total         |                  |       | 77.2%       |                   |          | 30%            |              |
| <b>Question four</b>  |                  |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 2.5%             | 15%   | 17.5%       | 42.5%             | 30%      | 72.5%          | 5%           |
| Male (n=35)           | 14.3%            | 17%   | 31.3%       | 11.4%             | 31%      | 42.4%          | 14.3%        |
| Overall Total         |                  |       | 24.4%       |                   |          | 57.5%          |              |
| <b>Question five</b>  |                  |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 50%              | 22.5% | 72.5%       | 2.5%              | 17.5%    | 20%            | 7.5%         |
| Male (n=35)           | 14.3%            | 2.6%  | 16.9%       | 40%               | 28.6%    | 68.6%          | 14.3%        |
| Overall Total         |                  |       | 89.4%       |                   |          | 44.3%          |              |
| <b>Question six</b>   |                  |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 12.5%            | 20%   | 32.5%       | 37.5%             | 17.5%    | 55%            | 12.5%        |
| Male (n=35)           | 48.6%            | 31.4% | 80%         | 14.3%             | 5.7%     | 20%            | 0%           |
| Overall Total         |                  |       | 56.3%       |                   |          | 37.5%          |              |
| <b>Question seven</b> |                  |       |             |                   |          |                |              |
| Female (n=40)         | 15%              | 27.5% | 42.5%       | 2.5%              | 15%      | 17.5%          | 40%          |
| Male (n=35)           | 40%              | 22.9% | 62.9%       | 14.3%             | 5.7%     | 20%            | 17%          |
| Overall Total         |                  |       | 52.7%       |                   |          | 18.8%          |              |

For both boys and girls there was a consensus that men were traditionally the heads of the families and there was need to maintain that status quo. The majority (77 per cent) of the young people agreed with the statement with girls recording 80 per cent and boys 74 per cent. This meant that, generally, both boys and girls conformed to normative gender relations as compared to 29 per cent of young people who were in disagreement.

When asked “*the man must be in control of the finances in the relationship or home*”, 24 per cent (17.5 per cent of the girls and 31.3 per cent of the boys) of the young people agreed to this statement, whereas there was a higher response in the non-affirmative, with 57.5 per cent (72 per cent of the girls and 42.4 per cent of boys) of the young people disregarding the statement. Despite the wide acceptance of normative gender relations and perception of the unequal status of women, there was a general disagreement from both boys and girls on the issue regarding men being in control of

finances. This may be triggered by their personal experiences or experiences from home that bring about this response.

The survey also revealed that there is high tolerance of violence among the girls as 72.5 per cent of the girls agreed that women should endure violence for the sake of the relationship or family as opposed to 16.9 per cent of the boys who agreed with the statement. At total of 44.7 per cent of the young people held the perception that *“woman should endure violence for the sake of the relationship or family”*, as compared to 44.3 per cent of the young people who disagreed with this statement. With these figures boys appear to be less tolerant of violence than the girls with 68.6 per cent of the boys against the perception that women should stay in a violence relationship for the sake of the relationship and family as compared to only 20 per cent of the girls.

It is highly evident that boys conformed to traditional norms with regards to this statement *“Married women are property of the Husbands”* 80 per cent boys agreed with this as compared to 32.5 per cent girls who held the same perception. The majority (55 per cent) of the girls and only 20 per cent of the boys disagreed with the statement. A significant number of the boys, 62.9 per cent agreed with the statement *“girls like a guy who is in control of the relationship”*, whereas 42.5 per cent of the girls also shared the same perception. However, 17.5 per cent of the girls and 20 per cent of the boys disagreed with the statement. There was also high uncertainty with the girls; they recorded 40 per cent of the *“I don’t know”* response, whereas boys recorded 17 per cent. Overall 52.7 per cent of the young people agreed with statement and 37.5 per cent disagreed with the statement.

### **7.3.4 YOUNG PEOPLE’S ATTITUDES ON FORMS OF VIOLENCE**

To assess the views of young people on the variety of violence-affirming behaviour, they were asked how serious certain violent behaviour was. In other words, participants were asked about forms of violence and their seriousness. The responses ranged from extremely serious, serious, not that serious and I don’t know. The results for responses of the level of seriousness of forms violence are presented in Table 7.6.

For the sake of analysis the responses have been grouped together. For example, extremely serious and serious have been put together. Responses were differentiated by gender. However, an overall percentage of young people’s responses on the questions were also provided. With regards to bullying, 70 per cent of the girls said it was a serious form of violence whilst 74.3 per cent of the boys agreed with this notion. However 25 per cent of the girls and 17 per cent of the boys thought bullying was not serious. There was also a record of 5 per cent of the girls and 8.6 per cent of the boys who said they did not know. Overall, 72 per cent of the young people regarded bullying to be serious, whereas 21 per cent rendered it not serious.

**Table 7.6 Attitudes on forms of violence**

|  | Extremely serious | Serious | Not serious | Don't know | Total |
|--|-------------------|---------|-------------|------------|-------|
| <b>Bullying</b>                          |                   |         |             |            |       |
| Female (n= 40)                           | 25%               | 45%     | 25%         | 5%         | 100%  |
| male (n=35)                              | 45.7%             | 28.6%   | 17%         | 8.6%       | 100%  |
| Total                                    | 35%               | 37%     | 21%         | 7%         | 100%  |
| <b>Fights between students at school</b> |                   |         |             |            |       |
| Female (n=40)                            | 27.5%             | 37.5%   | 32.5%       | 2.5%       | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)                              | 28.6%             | 37%     | 34.3%       | 0%         | 100%  |
| Total                                    | 28.1%             | 37.3%   | 33.3%       | 1.3%       | 100%  |
| <b>Rape/sexual assault</b>               |                   |         |             |            |       |
| Female (n=40)                            | 70%               | 20%     | 7.5%        | 2.5%       | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)                              | 57%               | 31.4%   | 5.7%        | 5.7%       | 100%  |
| Total                                    | 64%               | 25%     | 7%          | 4%         | 100%  |
| <b>Gender based violence</b>             |                   |         |             |            |       |
| Female (n=40)                            | 25%               | 52.5%   | 17.5%       | 5%         | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)                              | 31.4%             | 31.4%   | 17.4%       | 20%        | 100%  |
| Total                                    | 28%               | 42.7%   | 17.3%       | 12%        | 100%  |
| <b>Physical fights between siblings</b>  |                   |         |             |            |       |
| Female (n=40)                            | 22.5%             | 35%     | 32.5%       | 7.5%       | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)                              | 22.9%             | 40%     | 34.3%       | 2.9%       | 100%  |
| Total                                    | 23%               | 38%     | 33.4%       | 5%         | 100%  |

When asked about fights between students at school, there were no major differences between the girls and boys in their responses. 65 per cent of the girls acknowledged that fights between students at school were serious and 66 per cent of the boys also agreed that it was a serious form of violence. However, 32.5 per cent of the girls and 34.3 per cent of the boys said these schools fights between students were not serious.

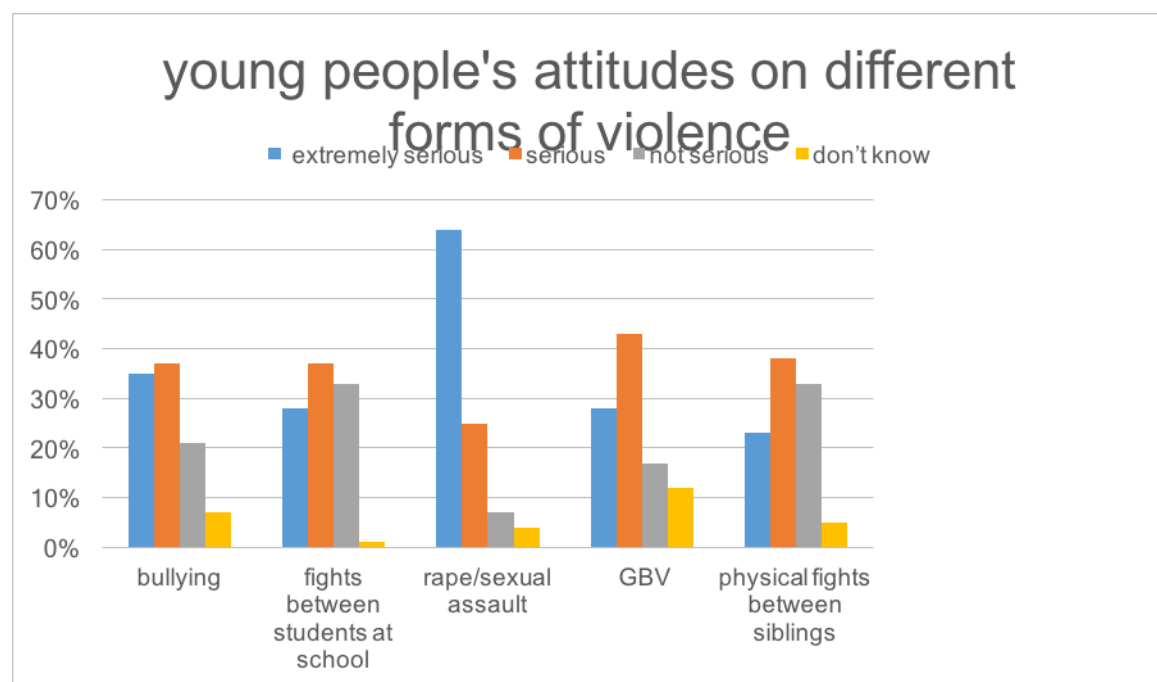
With regards to rape/sexual assault, there was a general consensus that this was a serious form of violence, with 90 per cent of the girls having holding the perception of high seriousness of rape/sexual assault and 88.4 per cent of the boys holding the same perception. Overall 89 per cent of the young participants agreed that rape/sexual assault was a very serious form of violence as compared to the 7 per cent that perceived this form of violence not to be serious.

When asked about gender-based violence and how serious it is an overall of 70.7 per cent of young people perceived it to be serious. When differentiated by gender, 77.5 per cent of the girls said GBV was serious as compared to 17.5 per cent of girls that said it was not serious. 62.8 per cent of the boys said GBV was serious as compared to 17.4 per cent that believed it was not serious. However, the

boys recorded 20 per cent of the ‘I don’t know responses and girls recorded 5 per cent of the same responses.

There was a slight difference in responses on physical fights between siblings, although they were both above half. Boys recorded a higher percentage of 63 per cent, whereas girls recorded 58 per cent. Overall percentage of young people who thought fights between siblings was serious was 61 per cent as compared to 33.4 per cent who did not see this as serious. Overall percentage of I don’t know responses was 5 per cent.

**Figure 7.1 shows young people’s attitudes on different forms of violence**



### **7.3.5 YOUNG PEOPLE’S EXPERIENCE OF FORMS OF VIOLENCE**

As highlighted before, young people provided their attitudes towards different forms of violence. However in this segment, young people’s experiences of different forms violence was examined. Participants were asked if they had experienced, or knew someone who had experienced violence. Different forms of violence were provided for them, as shown in Table 7.7. Their responses depended on how well they understood the different forms of violence that had been provided for them. Table 7.7 provides the responses of young people’s experiences of different forms of violence.

When asked about their experiences on bullying, a total of 27.5 per cent of the young people said they had experienced this type of violence as compared to 32 per cent of the young people who knew someone who had experienced bullying. There was, however, a high number (41 per cent) of

respondents who answered ‘no’, which means they neither did not experience any bullying or knew anyone who had experienced bullying. When differentiated by gender, 15 per cent of the girls reported having experienced bullying and 40 per cent of the boys also reported having experienced bullying. 35 per cent of the girls and 28.6 per cent of the boys reported to know someone who had experienced bullying. Girls recorded a very high percentage (50 per cent) of ‘no’ responses whereas boys recorded 31.4 per cent.

**Table 7.7 Young people’s experience of forms of violence**

|   | Yes I have gone through this | Yes, somebody I know has gone through this | No    | Total |
|---|------------------------------|--|-------|-------|
| <b>Bullying</b>                               |                              |  |       |       |
| Female (n= 40)                                | 15%                          | 35%  | 50%   | 100%  |
| male (n=35)                                   | 40%                          | 28.6%                                      | 31.4% | 100%  |
| Total   | 27.5%                        | 32%  | 41%   | 100%  |
| <b>Fights between students at school</b>      |                              |  |       |       |
| Female (n=40)                                 | 40%                          | 37.5%                                      | 22.5% | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)                                   | 20%                          | 54.3%                                      | 25.7% | 100%  |
| Total   | 30%                          | 46%  | 24%   | 100%  |
| <b>Rape/sexual assault</b>                    |                              |  |       |       |
| Female (n=40)                                 | 7.5%                         | 60%  | 32.5% | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)                                   | 5.7%                         | 40%  | 54.3% | 100%  |
| Total   | 7%                           | 50%  | 43%   | 100%  |
| <b>Gender based violence</b>                  |                              |  |       |       |
| Female (n=40)                                 | 12.5%                        | 25%  | 62.5% | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)                                   | 14.3%                        | 11.4%                                      | 74.3% | 100%  |
| Total   | 13.4%                        | 18.2%                                      | 68.4% | 100%  |
| <b>Physical fights between siblings</b>       |                              |  |       |       |
| Female (n=40)                                 | 40%                          | 37.5%                                      | 22.5% | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)                                   | 20%                          | 54.3%                                      | 25.7% | 100%  |
| Total   | 30%                          | 46%  | 24%   | 100%  |
| <b>Drunk fights in clubs or anywhere else</b> |                              |  |       |       |
| Female (n=40)                                 | 0%                           | 32.5%                                      | 67.5% | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)                                   | 3%                           | 34%  | 63%   | 100%  |
| Total   | 1.5%                         | 33.3%                                      | 65.3% | 100%  |

With regards to fights between students at school, a total of 30 per cent of the young people reported to have experienced this whilst 46 per cent reported to know someone who had experienced this. What is interesting about these figures is that girls had the highest percentage of people who had experienced fights between students. 40 per cent of the girls as compared to 20 per cent of the boys acknowledged this fact. This reveals that gender-based violence is violence by girls and sometimes

goes unrecognised because of the general perception that girls are the victims and these assumptions are validated by femininity, that girls are non-aggressive. A total of 24 per cent of the respondents said they did not know anyone who had experienced this neither had they personally experienced this.

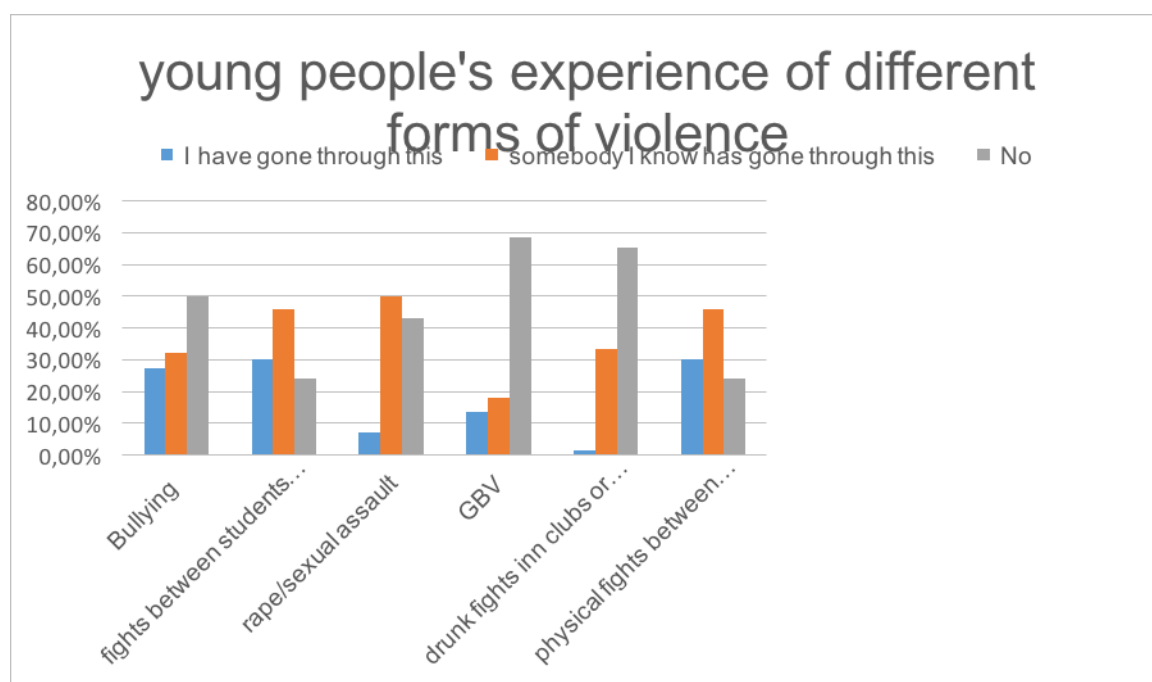
A total of 7 per cent of the young people acknowledged that they had experienced rape/sexual assault, with girls recording 7.5 per cent and boys recording 5.7 per cent. 60 per cent of the girls and 40 per cent of the boys recorded to have known someone who had experienced this, which came to a total of 50% per cent of the respondents who reported to know someone who had experienced rape/sexual assault. For the respondents who recorded a 'no' response, girls made up 32.5 per cent and boys 54.3 per cent.

Gender-based violence was another form of violence explored. 13.4 per cent of the participants reported to have experienced this as compared to 18.2 per cent who said they knew someone who had experienced some form of gender-based violence. With these low numbers given here one could hypothesise that the young people may have had a problem conceptualising the term gender-based violence, therefore, the low number of experiences recorded for both girls and boys and the high percentages of 'no' responses for both boys (74.3 per cent) and girls (62.5 per cent) respectively. A total of 68.4 per cent of the young people reported that they had never experienced GBV and neither did they know someone who had experienced this.

When asked about physical fights between siblings, 40 per cent and 20 per cent of the girls and boys, respectively said that they had experienced this form of violence. Subsequently, a total of 30 per cent of the respondents reported to have experienced sibling fights. A total of 46 per cent of the young participants was reported to know someone who had experienced this, with boys recording a high percentage of 54.3 per cent and girls 37.5 per cent. 24 per cent of the young people reported that they had never experienced this and neither did they know someone who had gone through this.

As for drunken fights in clubs or anywhere else, only 1.5 per cent of the young people reported to have experienced this and 33.3 per cent reported they knew someone who had gone through this. There was a high percentage of the 'no' response, with a total of 65.3 per cent of young people saying that they had never experienced that and neither did they know someone who had experienced that. This could be an indication that most of them are probably under age to be at the clubs, taking into consideration that the average age of respondents was 15 years .

**Figure 7.2 shows of young people's experience of forms of violence**



Overall, physical fights between students and physical fights between siblings had the highest number of occurrences, with 30 per cent (for both forms of violence) of the young people acknowledging that they had experienced these forms of violence.

### 7.3.6 YOUNG PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TO GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

In this part, young people's views on GBV are explored. Their broader views of what gender-based violence encompasses, definitions and causes are highlighted. Young people were given different scenarios which comprised of different types of violence, such as physical violence, emotional/psychological violence, economic/financial violence. The task for the young people, was to identify what GBV was and what constituted normal conflict, from the list of behaviours given in the questionnaire. However, the 'I don't know' response was also given as an option for the young people. Table 7.8 illustrates young people's conceptualisation of Gender-based violence.

Young people discern a variety of behaviours to be gender-based violence, for example when asked about their views on this statement, "Regular shouting at partner", 60 per cent of the girls and 51.4 per cent of the boys reported that this was GBV. In total 55.7 per cent of the young people perceived that regularly shouting at one's partner was GBV. However, a total of 22 per cent of the young people regarded this as normal conflict and 22 per cent did not know what to make of the behaviour.

Endless degrading and humiliation of partner, was perceived to be GBV, with 60 per cent of the girls and 57 per cent of the boys in agreement with the GBV status. Overall, a total of 58.5 per cent of the

young people viewed this behaviour as gender-based violence. Some of the young people's responses included 25.7 per cent who said they did not know and 15.7 per cent of the young people who thought of it as just normal conflict.

Banning a partner from seeing their relative/friends was seen as a form of GBV by the majority of the young people. A total of 57.9 per cent of the young people distinguished this behaviour as GBV, and when differentiating results by gender, 50 per cent of the girls and 65.7 per cent of the boys held the same perception that this behaviour was GBV. However a total of 24.8 per cent of the young people thought of this behaviour as just normal conflict, whereas 17.3 per cent of the young people did not know what to make of the behaviour.

A total of 58 per cent of the young people thought this behaviour, "not giving partner any money to use" was GBV. However, looking at the gender responses, less than half of the girls (47.5 per cent) said the behaviour was GBV and 68.6 per cent of the boys held the same perception. A total of 22.3 per cent of the young people not know what to make of the behaviour and 19.7 per cent thought of it as just normal conflict.

With regard to this behaviour "threatening to hit partner (*even though don't actually intend to hit*)", 90 per cent of the girls and 77 per cent of the boys perceived that this was GBV. In contrast 9.5 per cent of the young people did not know where to place the behaviour and only 7 per cent thought of it as just normal conflict. An overall total of 83.5 per cent of the young held the view that this behaviour constituted GBV.

"Insulting and making partner feel bad" had fairly high numbers of participants distinguishing it as GBV. Girls recorded a high figure of 80 per cent, whereas boys recorded 68.6 per cent. Overall 74.3 per cent of the participants held the same perception that this was GBV. In comparison with the young people who said it was just normal conflict, there was a total of 13.8 per cent and 12 per cent of those who said they had no idea of what kind of behaviour this could be.

With regard to this behaviour "*Hitting partner on some occasions because of a huge fight / misunderstanding*", there was a general consensus among the girls and boys as more than half of either group, held the perception that this type of behaviour was defined as GBV. Girls recorded 82.5 per cent and boys recorded 85.7 per cent in discerning the behaviour as GBV. There was a very low correlation of young people who said they did not know 10.6 per cent and 6 per cent of the young people who regarded it as just normal conflict.



**Table 7.8 Young people's conceptualisation of Gender-based violence**

|   | Don't know | Gender based violence | Normal conflict | Total |
|---|------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-------|
| <b>Not talking to partner for long periods of time</b>                              |            |                       |                 |       |
| Female (n= 40)  | 22.5%      | 27.5%                 | 50%             | 100%  |
| male (n=35)   | 17%        | 20%                   | 62.9%           | 100%  |
| Total   | 19.8%      | 23.8%                 | 56.5%           | 100%  |
| <b>Not showing any love or affection</b>  |            |                       |                 |       |
| Female (n=40)   | 35%        | 47.5%                 | 17.5%           | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)   | 17%        | 42.9%                 | 40%             | 100%  |
| Total   | 26%        | 45%                   | 29%             | 100%  |
| <b>Regular shouting at partner</b>  |            |                       |                 |       |
| Female (n=40)   | 27.5%      | 60%                   | 12.5%           | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)   | 17%        | 51.4%                 | 31.4%           | 100%  |
| Total   | 22.3%      | 55.7%                 | 22%             | 100%  |
| <b>Endless degrading and humiliation of partner</b>                                 |            |                       |                 |       |
| Female (n=40)   | 20%        | 60%                   | 20%             | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)   | 31.4%      | 57%                   | 11.4%           | 100%  |
| Total   | 25.7%      | 58.5%                 | 15.7%           | 100%  |
| <b>Banning partner from seeing their relative/friends</b>                           |            |                       |                 |       |
| Female (n=40)   | 17.5%      | 50%                   | 32.5%           | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)   | 17%        | 65.7%                 | 17%             | 100%  |
| Total   | 17.3%      | 57.9%                 | 24.8%           | 100%  |
| <b>Not giving partner any money to use</b>  |            |                       |                 |       |
| Female (n=40)   | 27.5%      | 47.5%                 | 25%             | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)   | 17%        | 68.6%                 | 14.3%           | 100%  |
| Total   | 22.3%      | 58%                   | 19.7%           | 100%  |
| <b>Threatening to hit partner (<i>even though don't actually intend to hit</i>)</b> |            |                       |                 |       |
| Female (n=40)   | 7.5%       | 90%                   | 2.5%            | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)   | 11.4%      | 77%                   | 11.4%           | 100%  |
| Total   | 9.5%       | 83.5%                 | 7%              | 100%  |
| <b>Insulting and making partner feel bad</b>  |            |                       |                 |       |
| Female (n=40)   | 12.5%      | 80%                   | 7.5%            | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)   | 11.4%      | 68.6%                 | 20%             | 100%  |
| Total   | 12%        | 74.3%                 | 13.8%           | 100%  |
| <b>Hitting partner on some occasions because of a huge fight / misunderstanding</b> |            |                       |                 |       |
| female (n=40)   | 15%        | 82.5%                 | 2.5%            | 100%  |
| male (n=35)   | 5.7%       | 85.7%                 | 8.6%            | 100%  |
| Total   | 10.6%      | 84%                   | 6%              | 100%  |
| <b>Hitting partner regularly (clapping etc.)</b>                                    |            |                       |                 |       |
| Female (n=40)   | 12.5%      | 82.5%                 | 5%              | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)   | 8.6%       | 71.4%                 | 20%             | 100%  |
| Total   | 10.6%      | 78%                   | 12.5%           | 100%  |
| <b>Forced sex with partner</b>  |            |                       |                 |       |
| Female (n=40)   | 12.5%      | 87.5%                 | 0%              | 100%  |
| Male (n=35)   | 11.4%      | 83%                   | 6%              | 100%  |
| Total   | 12%        | 85.5%                 | 3%              | 100%  |

A total of 84 per cent of the young people perceived this behaviour “*Hitting partner regularly (clapping etc.)*”, to be gender-based violence. Looking at the results by gender, 82.5 per cent of the girls and 85.7 per cent of the boys held the same perception that the behaviour was a definition of GBV as compared to an overall total of 6% per cent of the young people who said it was just normal conflict. On the other hand a total of 10.6 per cent of the young people did not know what to make of the behaviour, whether it was GBV or just normal behaviour or conflict.

“*Forced sex with partner*” had majority of the young people distinguishing it as GBV. 87.5per cent of the girls and 83 per cent of the boys held the same view that this type of behaviour defined GBV making an overall of 85.5 per cent of young people who agreed to this. There was, however, total of 3 per cent of the respondents who said it was normal conflict and 12 per cent of the participants who did not know what to make of the behaviour. Generally there was an agreement between the girls and boys about this behaviour being defined as GBV.

Overall the responses in this section reflect that there was some balance in the responses given by participants, in the sense that both boys and girls considered the majority of the behaviour given here as GBV. However, there was an exception of two behaviours, where both boys and girls did not regard this as GBV. With regard to this behaviour “*not talking to partner for long periods of time*”, 50 per cent of the girls perceived it as normal conflict as compared to 27.5 per cent of the girls who held the view that it was GBV. Boys who held the view that this type of behaviour was just normal conflict, was higher than that of the girls and was a total of 62.9 per cent as compared to 20 per cent of the boys who said this behaviour warranted to be distinguished as GBV. Overall 56.5 per cent of the respondents defined this behaviour as normal conflict and a total of 23 per cent defined it as GBV. On the other hand, 22.5 per cent of the girls said they did not know, together with 17 per cent of the boys. Overall, a total of 19.8 per cent of the young people did not know what to make of the behaviour.

“*Not showing any love or affection*” is another behaviour that had elusive views as neither responses; I don’t know, GBV and normal conflict had a total exceeding half. However of all the responses the highest reflected that most of the respondents perceived it as GBV, with 47.5 per cent girls and 42.9 per cent of the boys holding the same view that the behaviour defines GBV. Overall, 45 per cent of the participants said this was GBV as compared to 29 per cent of the young people viewed it as just normal conflict. Looking at the responses by gender, boys recorded 40 per cent and girls recorded 17.5 per cent making an overall total of 29 per cent of young people regarding it as normal conflict. On the other hand, 35 per cent of the girls and 17 per cent of the boys did not know, making an overall total of 26 per cent of young people who did not know whether the behaviour could be classified as GBV or normal conflict.

### 7.3.7 YOUNG PEOPLE’S PERCEPTIONS OF THE CAUSES OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Young people were asked what the potential causes of GBV were, in form of the question that follows: “Write what you think below. What are the causes of gender-based violence? Why do you think it happens?”

The eight potential causes listed below were developed from the responses given by the participants. In other words, the responses were put into themes that generated into the list in table 8.9. Young people’s responses reveal that GBV results came from different interactive factors. The majority of the respondents identified economic dependence of women from men as a cause of GBV with 16 per cent of the young people writing down this response. This was followed by alcohol and drug abuse. A total of 14.7 per cent of the young people perceiving it to be a cause of GBV.

Having multiple partners was another cause cited by the respondents. A total of 13.3 per cent of the young people raised this point. A total 12 per cent of the young people highlighted miscommunication/misunderstanding to be the cause of GBV. 10.7 per cent of the respondents perceived that “*one partner disrespecting the other*” could result in GBV, whereas another 10.7 per cent said they did not know the potential causes of GBV.

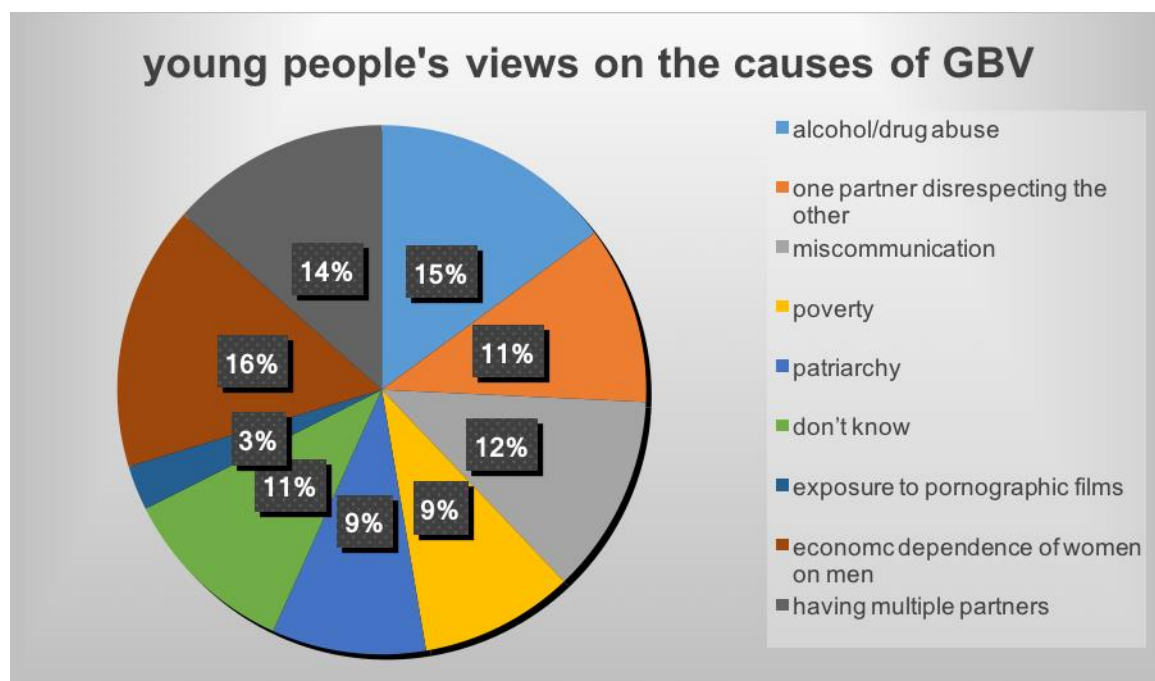
**Table 7.9 Young people’s views on the causes of GBV**

|                                     | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Alcohol and drug abuse              | 11        | 14.7%   |
| One partner disrespecting the other | 8         | 10.7%   |
| Miscommunication/misunderstanding   | 9         | 12%     |
| Poverty                             | 7         | 9.3%    |
| Having multiple partners            | 10        | 13.3%   |
| Patriarchy                          | 7         | 9.3%    |
| Economic dependence of women on men | 12        | 16%     |
| Exposure to pornographic films      | 2         | 2.7%    |
| Don’t know                          | 9         | 10.7%   |
| Total                               | 75        | 100%    |

Poverty and patriarchy were other causes mentioned by the young people, with both recording 9.3 per cent, respectively. Another perceived cause of GBV highlighted by the participants was exposure to pornographic films. Only 3 per cent had been reported to have mentioned this as a cause. There were various causes of gender-based violence highlighted by the young people however there was not much consensus as to the causes of gender-based violence. These responses can be attributed to that young people have got different conceptualisations of gender-based violence, and each of these different meanings inform what the causes of gender-based violence may be. From an ecological perspective it makes sense why these responses seem to be spread thin in different directions. One

single cause cannot be attributed to gender-based violence rather a mixture of factors. These causes mentioned here may be reflection of individual experiences that young people have seen or gone through. Hence the reason why there is no cause of gender-based violence that stands out.

**Figure 7.3 Young people's views on the causes of GBV**



### 7.3.8 TOLERANCE LEVELS OF GBV BY YOUNG PEOPLE

In this section, the researcher attempted to get indication of the attitudes toward the tolerance of GBV by young people. Previous research in Zimbabwe by ZIMSTAT, UNICEF AND CCORE (2012), a *National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents in Zimbabwe*, revealed that attitudes are the biggest stumbling blocks when it comes to the prevention of violence and abuse. The study highlighted that attitudes that justified violence were formed at the adolescence stage, for example, the study (NBSLEA), revealed that two-thirds of adolescents held the belief that it was okay for husbands to beat their wives depending on the situation. The current study's quantitative research substantiates this belief, realising that there were astoundingly high circumstances.

The respondents were asked the following question: are there any acceptable circumstances where it should be understandable when a person hits their partner? However, whilst the majority of the young people held the belief that physical violence against a partner was justifiable under certain circumstances, participants did not explain the extent at which physical violence was justified or give

acceptable circumstances when it was okay to beat up a partner. This was seen as a limitation in the research.

Table 7.10 shows the acceptability of physical violence by young people, with 67.5 per cent of the girls and 49 per cent of the boys agreeing that physical violence was justifiable under particular circumstances, whereas 15 per cent of the girls and 29 per cent of the boys disagreed with the statement; they believed that there are no circumstances that justify physical violence. Overall, a total of 58 per cent of young people were violence-tolerant and 22 per cent were not. On the other hand, a total of 20 per cent of the young people gave the “I don’t know” response.

**Table 7.10 Magnitude that young people justify GBV**

| <b>Are there any acceptable circumstances where it should be understandable when a person hits their partner?</b> | <b>Don't know</b> | <b>No</b> | <b>Yes</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|---|-------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| Female (n=40)   | 17.5%             | 15%       | 67.5%      | 100%         |
| Male (n=35)   | 23%               | 29%       | 49%        | 100%         |
| Total   | 20%               | 22%       | 58%        | 100%         |

### **7.3.9 AWARENESS ABOUT GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

Respondents were asked to list the places where you have heard about or seen Gender-based violence. The question intended to explore the extent at which participants were aware of GBV and which sources were they getting GBV information from. Table 7.11 shows the different information sources and the frequency. The majority (39 per cent) of the respondents mentioned to have heard about it, or seen GBV in TV shows or dramas. Respondents from the rural school were less likely to highlight news on the radio as their source of information. A total of 28 per cent of the respondents said they had got information through the radio news/ TV news. Newspapers was another source of information with 21 per cent mentioning it as their source of information. Only 7 per cent mentioned that they had heard about GBV through reading magazines, whilst another 7 per cent had heard about GBV through information campaigns.

**Table 7.11 Sources of information on GBV**

|  | <b>Female</b> | <b>Male</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|--|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| TV shows/ dramas                                   | 43%           | 34%         | 39%          |
| News Radio or TV                                   | 33%           | 23%         | 28%          |
| Newspapers   | 25%           | 17%         | 21%          |
| Magazines  | 10%           | 3%          | 7%           |
| In advertising/ information campaigns              | 3%            | 11%         | 7%           |
| School lessons                                     | 13%           | 6%          | 10%          |
| From friends talking about it                      | 13%           | 3%          | 8%           |
| From things that have happened in friends families | 5%            | 3%          | 4%           |
| From discussions in your own family/home           | 3%            | 9%          | 6%           |

A total of 10 per cent of young people mentioned to have heard about GBV in school lessons and 8 per cent learnt about it through friends just chatting about it. A small number (4 per cent) of participants mentioned that they had heard about gender based violence from incidences that had happened in their friends' families and 6 per cent from discussions in their own families.

### **7.3.10 STRATEGIES TO ADDRESS GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

In an attempt to be interactive, the questionnaire asked the participants how they would address or prevent gender based-violence, "In your own view what can be done to reduce gender-based violence". The responses that are shown in Table 7.12, were grouped responses. In other words, the responses provided by the young people were put into themes to reflect individual responses. There was a high number of non-responses in this question and some who had responded with, "I don't know." All the non-responses and the "I don't know" responses were grouped into one response which was "Don't know".

**Table 7.12 Strategies to address GBV**

|                             | <b>Female</b> | <b>Male</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| Don't know                  | 33%           | 23%         | 28%          |
| Enforcement of the Law      | 28%           | 23%         | 26%          |
| Having Love for one another | 0%            | 6%          | 3%           |
| Practising Respect          | 13%           | 31%         | 22%          |
| Having GBV trainings        | 28%           | 17%         | 23%          |
| Total                       | 100%          | 100%        | 100%         |

A total of 28 per cent of young people did not have an idea how they would reduce GBV with 33 per cent of girls and 23 per cent of boys responding in this manner. A total of 26 per cent of the young people suggested that the law should be enforced so as to reduce gender-based violence. When responses differentiated by gender, 28 per cent of the girls and 23 per cent of the boys suggested law enforcement. Having love for one another was a suggestion that came from the boys with 6 per cent of

the boys holding the belief that love treats all ills. However, the overall total of young people holding this view came to 3 per cent. Practising respect was another strategy suggested by the young people, 13 per cent of the girls and 31 per cent of boys suggest that if people are able to respect each other then there will be a reduction in GBV issues. As highlighted before, young people mentioned that disrespect directed at a partner causes GBV. Overall, a total of 22 per cent of young people suggested that learning and practising respect, has the potential to reduce GBV. Gender-based violence trainings was another suggestion given by the young people. An overall total of 23 per cent of the youth suggested that this would reduce GBV. Looking at the figures by gender, 28 per cent of the girls and 17 per cent of the boys suggested that GBV training needs to be done for the population to reduce the prevalence of gender-based violence. In comparison, girls seemed to be more interested in trainings than the boys.

#### **7.4 COMPARISON OF RURAL AND URBAN RESPONDENTS**

Gender-based violence is seen as a critical element in gender inequalities and gender-power relations in the world. McIlwaine (2013:65) suggests that “gender-based violence varies according to geographic scale as well as a range of other causal and contextual processes”. This section provides a comparative analysis between the attitudes of urban and rural youth on issues of gender-based violence. The two locations were chosen for the research in order to unearth any underlying geographic differences, in terms of young people’s attitudes and knowledge about GBV. Such comparative analysis are useful in terms of coming up with localised GBV interventions. The first three themes in the questionnaire which include violence, masculinity and gender roles and relations were used in the contrast between attitudes of urban and rural youth.

Location variance between the groups in the urban and rural sample revealed a couple of serious attitudinal variations/differences. However, these differences were of frequency rather than difference in type of attitude. The questionnaire responses were more or less the same between the urban and rural cohorts, which is an indication that the two cohorts had common values with regards to GBV issues. Table 7.13 shows local differences in responses across three themes. It should be noted that only affirmative responses to the questions are reflected here.

In the violence theme, a total of 79 per cent of young people in the urban cohort agreed with the statement “*There is never a good reason to hit someone, unless if it’s in self-defence*”, as compared to 50 per cent of the young people in the rural cohort. There was not much of a difference between the boys and the girls in the urban cohort regarding the statement as all were above half with boys recording 86 per cent and girls 71 per cent. However, for the rural cohort, the girls were seen to be pro-violent as 54 per cent of girls agreed with the statement compared to 46 per cent of boys who held the same perception.

**Table 7.13 Local differences in responses for urban and rural cohort.**

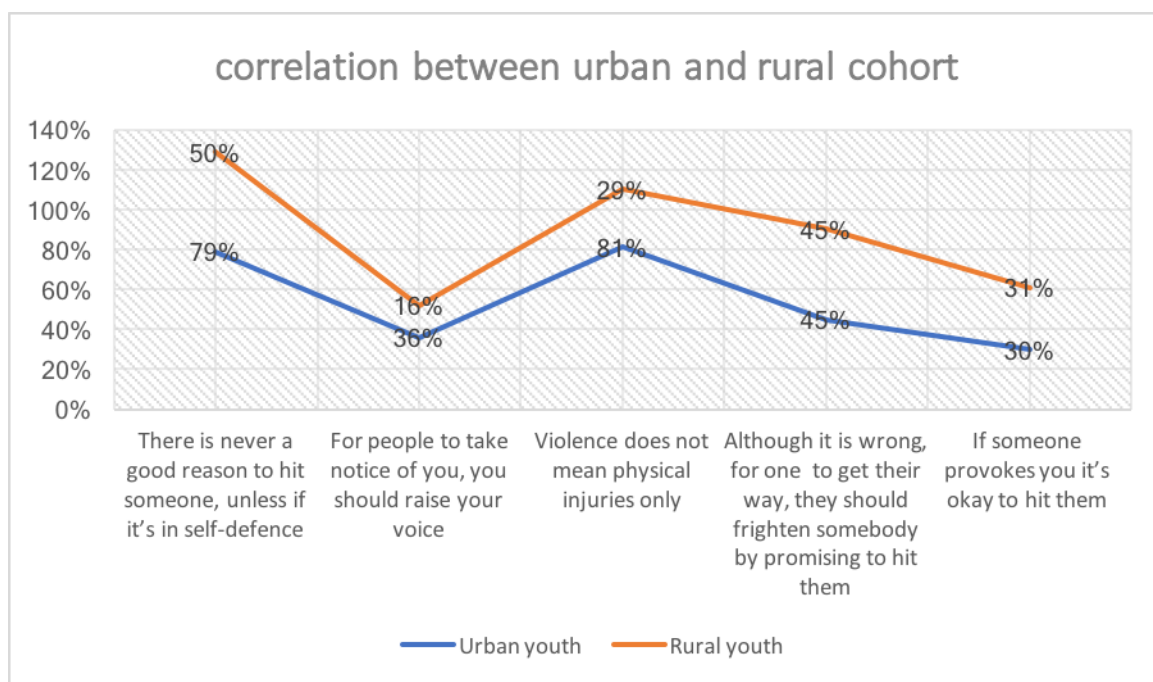
| <b>VIOLENCE</b>  | <b>URBAN PARTICIPANTS</b> |                         |                                     | <b>RURAL PARTICIPANTS</b> |                         |                                      |
|--|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
|  | <b>BOYS<br/>(n=22)</b>    | <b>GIRLS<br/>(n=14)</b> | <b>OVERALL<br/>TOTAL<br/>(n=36)</b> | <b>BOYS<br/>(n=13)</b>    | <b>GIRLS<br/>(n=26)</b> | <b>OVERALL<br/>TOTAL<br/>(n= 39)</b> |
| There is never a good reason to hit someone, unless if it's in self-defence                            | 86%                       | 71%                     | 79%                                 | 46%                       | 54%                     | 50%                                  |
| For people to take notice of you, you should raise your voice  | 36%                       | 36%                     | 36%                                 | 31%                       | 0%                      | 16%                                  |
| Violence does not mean physical injuries only  | 82%                       | 79%                     | 81%                                 | 31%                       | 27%                     | 29%                                  |
| Although it is wrong, for one to get their way, they should frighten somebody by promising to hit them | 46%                       | 43%                     | 45%                                 | 62%                       | 27%                     | 45%                                  |
| If someone provokes you it's okay to hit them  | 23%                       | 36%                     | 30%                                 | 39%                       | 23%                     | 31%                                  |
| <b>MASCULINITY</b>   |                           |                         |                                     |                           |                         |                                      |
| Men are aggressive they cannot control their temper  | 59%                       | 29%                     | 44%                                 | 92%                       | 54%                     | 73%                                  |
| Guys who fight are respected more  | 55%                       | 7%                      | 31%                                 | 0%                        | 8%                      | 4%                                   |
| Men need respect   | 91%                       | 93%                     | 92%                                 | 100%                      | 81%                     | 91%                                  |
| A man should always be respected by his wife and children  | 100%                      | 93%                     | 97%                                 | 92%                       | 85%                     | 89%                                  |
| It is natural for a man to be violent  | 50%                       | 14%                     | 32%                                 | 92%                       | 65%                     | 79%                                  |
| <b>GENDER ROLE AND RELATIONS</b>   |                           |                         |                                     |                           |                         |                                      |
| Men are the head of the household and must be in charge in the relationship                            | 82%                       | 43%                     | 63%                                 | 85%                       | 46%                     | 66%                                  |
| Guys acknowledge that they are equal with girls  | 50%                       | 57%                     | 54%                                 | 30%                       | 15%                     | 23%                                  |
| Traditionally the husband is the head of family and that should be upheld                              | 77%                       | 71%                     | 74%                                 | 39%                       | 19%                     | 29%                                  |
| The man must be in control of the finances in the relationship or home                                 | 68%                       | 36%                     | 52%                                 | 0%                        | 15%                     | 8%                                   |
| The woman should endure violence for the sake of the relationship or family                            | 18%                       | 64%                     | 41%                                 | 15%                       | 77%                     | 46%                                  |
| Married women are property of the Husbands   | 77%                       | 57%                     | 67%                                 | 85%                       | 19%                     | 52%                                  |



There was a general consensus between cohorts with regards to this statement “*for people to take notice of you, you should raise your voice*”, a total of 36 per cent of the urban youth and 16 per cent of rural youth agreed to this statement. However, there was a high correlation of youth that disagreed with the statement.

This statement, “*Violence does not mean physical injuries only*”, had some controversy with 81 per cent of the urban youth acknowledging that violence goes beyond physical violence, compared to 29 per cent of the rural youth who held the same perception. With this statement, “*although it is wrong, for one to get their way, they should frighten somebody by promising to hit them*”, both cohorts held the same perception, as 45 per cent of urban and rural youth, respectively, agreed with the statement. Both cohorts seemed not to condone violence when only 30 per cent of urban youth and 31 per cent of rural youth agreed to this statement, “*If someone provokes you it is okay to hit them*”.

**Figure 7.4 correlation between urban and rural cohort showing similarity in responses on violence theme.**



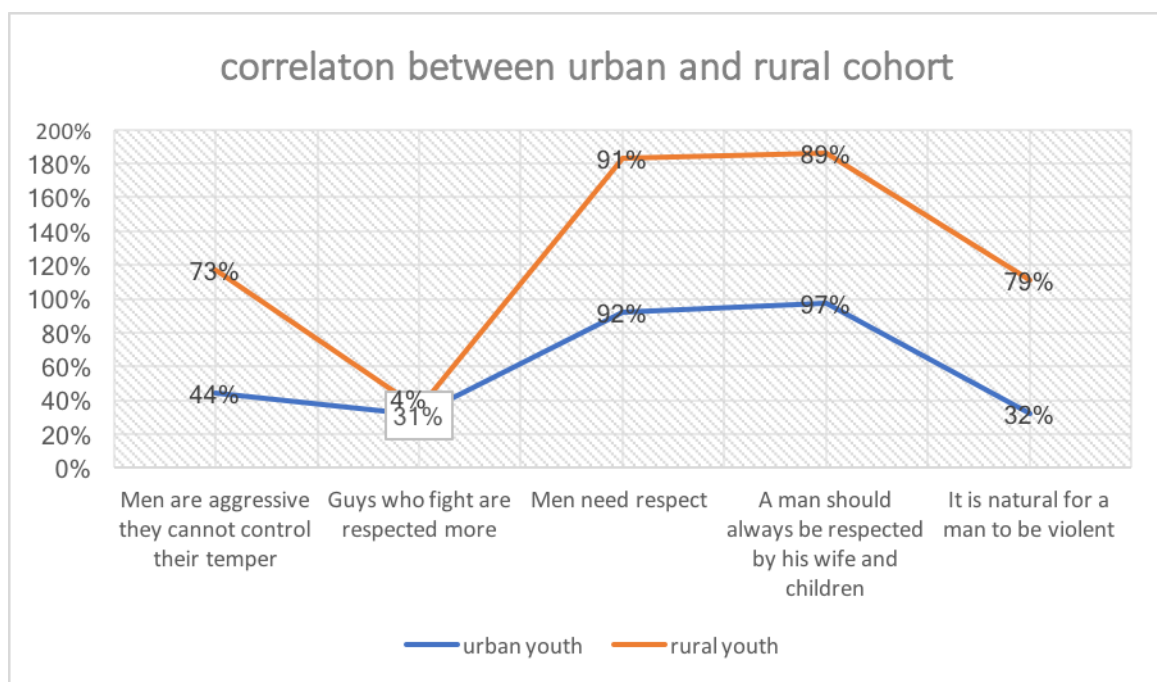
Moving on to the second theme, masculinity, the rural youth agreed with the statement that “*men are aggressive and they cannot control their temper*”. The overall total of rural youth was 73 per cent when responses differentiated by gender. 92 per cent of the boys agreed compared to 73 per cent of the girls. These responses highlighted that they may not question violent behaviour because of the assumption that aggression is a natural thing for men and they cannot control their temper. 59 per cent of urban boys agreed with the statement, whereas 44 per cent of the girls also held the same

perception. However, a total of 44 per cent of urban youth were in the affirmative with regards to the prior statement. This highlights some difference in responses pertaining to men and aggression. A total of 31 per cent of urban youth and 4 per cent of rural youth agreed to this statement, *“Guys who fight are respected more.”* These figures highlighted that the majority of the young people did not associate violent behaviour with masculinity. Therefore, the similarity in the responses.

With regards to this statement, *“Men need respect,”* there was similarity throughout the responses for both boys and girls of the two cohorts. From the urban cohort 91 per cent of the boys and 93 per cent of the girls agreed with the statement. From the rural cohort of the boys (100 per cent) and 81 per cent of the girls agreed to the statement. Therefore, a total of 92 per cent and 91 per cent of urban and rural youths, respectively agreed to this statement. The same high levels of similarity was experienced with this statement, *“a man should always be respected by his wife and children”*. From the urban cohort, all of the boys (100 per cent) and 93 per cent of the girls agreed with the statement. From the rural cohort, 92 per cent of the boys and 85 per cent of the girls agreed to the statement.

This statement, *“It is natural for a man to be violent”*, generated some differences in responses from the participants. Although 50 per cent of the urban boys agreed to the statement, the overall total of urban youth that agreed to this statement was 32 per cent. On the other hand, the rural cohort held the perception that it was natural for men to be violent, with 92 per cent of the boys and 65 per cent of the girls agreeing to the statement.

**Figure 7.5 correlation between urban and rural cohort showing similarity in responses on masculinity theme.**



Looking at the questions that are meant to address the gender role and relations theme, the boys from both cohorts had similarity in response to this statement, *“men are the head of the household and must be in charge in the relationship”*. 82 per cent of the urban boys and 85 per cent of the rural boys agreed with the statement. On the other hand, girls from the two cohorts had similarity in response to the statement, with below half of the girls being on the affirmative side. Urban girls recorded 43 per cent, whilst rural girls recorded 46 per cent. The overall total of urban young people who agreed to the statement was 63 per cent whereas 66 per cent of the rural youth held the same perception.

There were some major differences when it came to this statement; *“Guys acknowledge that they are equal with girls”*. There was a positive reaction from the urban cohort because both girls and boys responded affirmatively to the statement. Boys recorded 50 per cent and girls recorded 57 per cent, making an overall total of 54 per cent of urban youth who think girls are equal to boys and can do anything. The rural cohort had different views regarding this statement as only 30 per cent of the boys and 15 per cent of the girls were on the affirmative side. A total of 23 per cent of the rural youth were recorded to have agreed with the statement, meaning the majority of the youth in the rural cohort disagreed with the statement.

Differences were noticed in terms of response to this statement, *“Traditionally, the husband is the head of family and that should be upheld”*. The urban cohort had similarities between the boys and the girls as more than half answered affirmatively. Boys recorded 77 per cent whilst girls recorded 71 per cent. The overall total of urban young people who agreed to this statement was 74 per cent. Both boys and girls in the rural cohort recorded percentages below half, with only 39 per cent of the boys and 19 per cent of the girls agreeing with the statement. Overall, a total of 29 per cent of rural young people were on the affirmative side. This indicates that the majority of the young people in the rural cohort disagreed with this view.

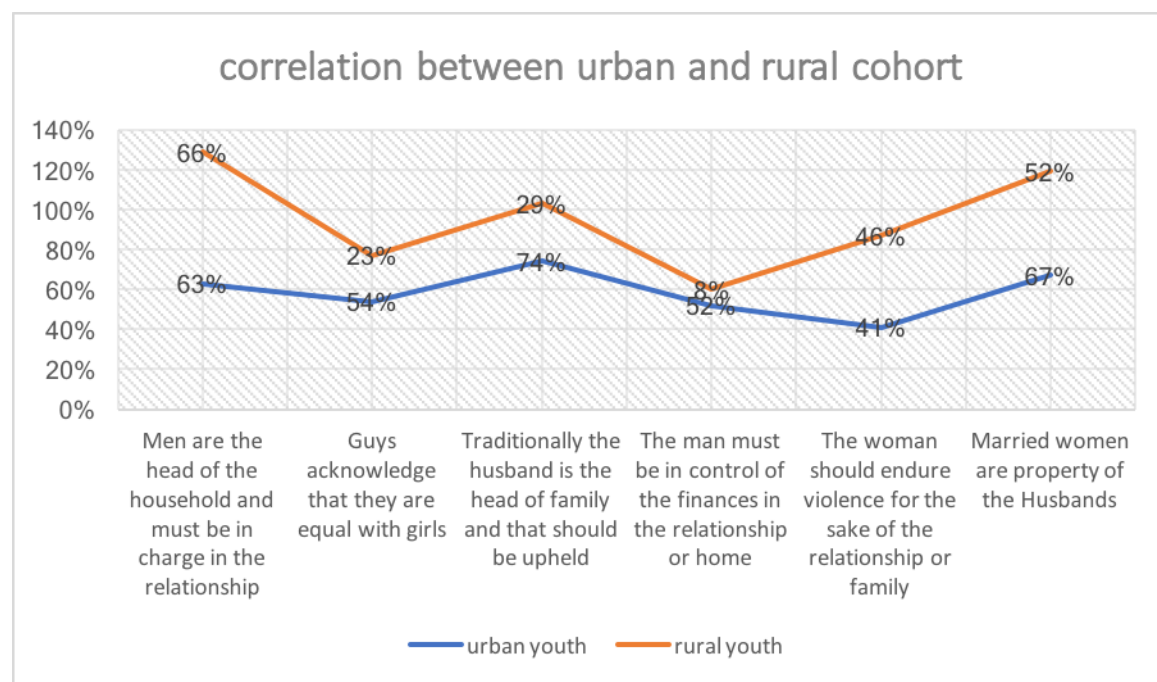
A total of 52 per cent of urban youth agreed with this statement, *“The man must be in control of the finances in the relationship or home”*, whilst 8 per cent of the rural youth agreed with the statement. Looking at the responses by gender 68 per cent of the urban boys and 0 per cent of the rural boys agreed to this statement. On the other hand, 36 per cent of the urban girls and 15 per cent of the rural girls agreed with the statement. The differences in percentage was very significant, indicating a difference in views between the urban and rural cohort.

There was similarity in response to this statement, *“the woman should endure violence for the sake of the relationship or family”*. The girls recorded high percentages (64 per cent urban girls and 77 per cent rural girls) agreeing. The boys from both cohorts had similar responses, with 18 per cent of the urban boys and 15 per cent of the rural boys agreeing with the statement. However, the overall total of

urban youth that agreed to the statement was 41 per cent and 46 per cent of the rural youth who held the same perception.

There was a high similarity in responses between the boys from both cohorts regarding this statement, *“married women are property of the husbands”*, with 77 per cent of the urban and 85 per cent of the rural boys agreeing with the statement. There was a difference in response with the girls, with 57 per cent of the urban girls and only 19 per cent of the rural girls agreeing with the statement. However, the overall total of urban youth that agreed with the statement was 67 per cent and 52 per cent of the rural youth held the same perception. Figure 7.6 shows the similarity in response between the rural and urban cohort on gender role and relations theme.

**Figure 7.6 the correlation between urban and rural cohorts showing similarity in responses on gender role and relations theme.**



## 7.5 FINDINGS FROM THE QUALITATIVE STUDY (FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS)

This section presents the findings of the qualitative study undertaken as a part of the entire research. As mentioned earlier in the methodology chapter, the qualitative study served to act as a means of measure for the data gathered in phase 1, the survey questionnaire, and comes up with information that will inform the development of the educational workshop on GBV.

The researcher had planned to have single-sex group-discussions which constituted six participants, for open discussions, but, because of individual constraints faced by the schools, focus groups were mixed and included boys and girls. There was one focus-group discussion in each school. The urban school had twelve participants, six boys and six girls and the rural school had 13 participants, six girls and seven boys. In total twenty-five young people participated in the focus-group discussions and the discussions comprised of people who knew each other.

The thematic areas in the discussions included young people's understanding of violence, gender-based violence, the causes and effects of gender-based violence and attitudes towards gender-based violence. These were in the form of the following questions:

1. What do you understand by the term violence?
2. How would you define gender-based violence?
3. What sort of behaviour can 'count' as gender-based violence?
4. What are the causes and effects of gender-based violence?
5. What are your attitudes towards violence in general and violence against women in particular?

### **7.5.1 UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE**

Young people were asked about their understanding of violence in general as a means of introducing the subject and setting the mood for discussion about gender-based violence. Violence means different things to different people. Young people defined violence differently, perhaps because of different experiences. Violence was defined by giving particular behaviours as examples of violence. The criteria of violence provided by young people included acts performed by both adults and young people, and, especially acts of physical violence (beating, injuring with intent, and killing) and acts of sexual violence (rape). It was clear that these were the forms of violence known to the participants, being direct violence.

*Violence is fighting between two or more people (Girl G1)*

*Physical fights and arguments in family (Girl G2)*

*Violence is when parents or relatives abuse their children by beating them up (Boy G1)*

*Rape is violence (Girl G2)*

*Violence is bullying (Boy G2)*

*Corruption by big people especially government people and politicians making the simple person on the streets suffer to me that is violence (Boy G1)*

*Violence is the opposite of building. Especially us young people we just destroy and destroy. What I mean by destroying is that instead of airing our problems properly we decide to do things that harm other people like steal, kill and cheat. All this is destroying at its best and that is violence. One thing I have realised is that we boys torment our communities with the things that we do, the violence we cause in our communities. Life can be stuff but I don't know how this violent behaviour can be dealt with (Boy G2)*

*Harming or hurting people is violent behaviour, so to me violence can be explained as anything that hurts and harms the next person in any way. For example if I hit any of my fellow students that is violence, if I am not treated well at home by the people I live with, say for example they don't give me food at times, to me that is violence (Boy G2)*

*Violence is what grown men do, they beat their wives and children because they can, and they rape innocent girls because can and most times they know that they are going to get away with it. Instead of supporting their families they drink away all their money and when they are drunk all hell breaks loose (Girl G2)*

Other forms of violence, mentioned in passing, included corruption, particularly by the state, on citizens. This indicated that, to some extent, young people could pick up the difference between direct violence and indirect violence. Participants perceived that people engaged in violent behaviour so that they could get what they want, thereby manipulating and controlling 'victims.' The majority of the young people acknowledged that violence was wrong, saying it was 'bad' and it was, for 'cowards'. However, there were contradictions in responses, some believed it was necessary in certain circumstances, especially in self-defence and protection and created a machismo persona.

### **7.5.2 UNDERSTANDING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

The purpose of the question was to find out the experiences of and views of young people on GBV issues. However, this was a tricky task given the age group at hand (14-18), who may not have been at ease to speak about their own experiences of GBV in their own romantic relationships. Gender-based violence was defined in terms of violence in relationships, families, extended families between girlfriends and boyfriends and husband and wife. Taking a step back and looking at the survey responses, it can be noted that there were similarities in the conceptualisation of GBV. As the discussions progressed, participants were able to comment and give views towards the issue. However, all responses were not "personalised" in the sense that it appeared GBV was alien and only happened elsewhere, but not in their homes, schools and own relationships. To ascertain participants' experience of GBV, I asked whether the following things happen in their immediate surroundings: physical fights between siblings, physical fights between students, scolding, corporal punishment and school and at home. Then it rang a bell with the participants and myself that this may indicate that the

term GBV does not resonate with young people and that there is need to simplify the terms used so that they are better understood.

There was an acknowledgement that gender-based violence goes beyond just physical and sexual violence, but that it also included emotional and psychological violence. The discussion did bring to light that gender-based violence could be mal- on-male and female-on-female violence and family violence.

*Gender-based violence is violence between married couples especially if women do not do roles assigned to them, men may beat their wives up for not doing all these things (Boy G2)*

*Because she is wearing my ring I have the right to discipline her in a way I see fit. How can that be called gender-based violence. I think these are just normal conflicts that happen between married couples. However men only discipline to a certain extent but if it is over bound perhaps then we can say there is gender-based violence (Boy G1)*

*It is violence between a man and woman, if especially the woman is unemployed and the man feels entitled to treat the woman any how (Girl G1)*

*Am not really sure but gender-based violence is any violence done to another person regardless whether you are a boy or girl. As far as I am concerned anyone is capable of violent behaviour (Girl G2)*

*It's hard to really explain what GBV, but I guess almost every one experiences it, why, because, I was just thinking probably when I get married I have to change my behaviour it terms of minimising the friends I have especially boys and perhaps have and have one or two girlfriends only. Suppose if I continued being friends with a lot of guys that will be potential for serious conflict (Girl 1)*

*I hear this term a lot of the times but I am not really sure what they mean about it, but from my own thinking, I think it has to do with domestic violence between husband and wife and even those older couples that stay together even though they are not married. All I know there are laws that protect women from their abusive partners (Girl 2)*

*Gender-based violence is violence perpetrated by men against women (Girl 2)*

When asked what behaviours would count as GBV, the types of gender-based violence mentioned by the young participants were rape/sexual assault, bullying, beatings, incest, insults/verbal abuse.

### **7.5.3 CAUSES OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE, VIEWS BY YOUNG PEOPLE.**

In line with the questionnaire findings, the majority of young people identified poverty, lack of education, infidelity, promiscuity, jealousy, disrespect, tradition, alcohol abuse, and mimicking violent behaviour as causes of gender-based violence. From the highlighted causes it is clear that young people understood gender-based violence from the perspective of gender norms, values and

beliefs, which create and reinforce unequal power hierarchies between men and women. However, there was a sense of pointing fingers and blaming women for violence. The majority of the boys felt that women cause gender-based violence. Most of the boys gave perpetrator-based explanations. For example, financial stress was a trigger to violent behaviour and sometimes violent behaviour becomes compensatory behaviour for men not being able to carry out their traditional productive-gender roles, like being the breadwinner.

Alcohol abuse and being disrespectful to the other partner and cheating (especially if the wife/girlfriend was cheating) were some of the causes highlighted by the young participants. However, there was an emphasis on infidelity on the women's part and minimal talk of the man being unfaithful, with comments coming from the girls that men cheat and boys are 'players' as it is somewhat in their nature'. Observations on this topic were that boys felt that women needed to be disciplined (beaten up) if they were found cheating, or even divorced. However, if a man were caught cheating women needed to accept that things like this happen and men, depending on the circumstances are allowed to cheat.

*Because violence is the only thing you see and know, growing up at home, that behaviour sometimes becomes part of you (Boy G1)*

*Who can tolerate a wife or girlfriend that cheats they need to be taught a lesson (Boy G2)*

*Sometimes women provoke violence against themselves they just talk too much and don't know when to stop (Boy G1)*

*The fact that women sometimes earn more than their partner gets, it becomes a problem for the man and decides to be physical in order to show the woman who is in control (Girl G2)*

*I think drinking causes a lot of problems in the home. Men who drink a lot of alcohol tend to be very violent and beat up their wives and children (Girl G1)*

*Men are naturally violent and beating up their wives for small mistakes (everyone makes mistakes for goodness sake) can be seen as something small or just natural (Girl G2)*

*I think sometimes boys just get jealous of their girls friends for no apparent reason, and that jealousy drives them crazy and they begin to have weird thoughts of what their girls friends could be up too especially bad things and they snap and start behaving abusively towards their girlfriends. I don't know how I can explain this but in isiNdebele sikubiza sithi yibukwele. Ubukwele bamadoda kwenza babe lodlame ebantwini abathandana labo. (Girl 1)*

*There are no jobs, there is nothing here, surviving is a hustle, men are under enormous pressure and have stress so that they are able to provide the most basic stuff for their families, and women continue to put pressure on men for them to provide. At the end of the day the men snaps because of the stress. (Boy G 1)*

*Gender-based violence happens because there are no jobs here in Zimbabwe. Life is just very tough, then people decide to drink and abuse drugs because they are*



*trying to forget their troubles and when they get home the fights start. The wife is busy reporting we don't have this we don't have that, all that nagging you end up using power and force to silence it. (Boy G 1)*

*Girls bring all this against themselves really, they agree on things that they can't do for example they can come to your house and when you are there in your bedroom their change their mind. What's a guy to do there? The girl will end up being physically and sexual violated (Boy G2)*

*Because men want to be in control and place themselves above women they abuse women to instill fear in them and break them so that they control them properly. (Girl G2)*

The responses also highlighted an awareness that there is a cycle of violence and experiencing violence in the family setup or within the home that affects the child in the sense that they are at risk of being perpetrators in the future. The same can be said for children who have been abused in the home as most of them continue to be victims in the future. The social-learning theory validates the cycle of violence. Once violent behaviour is learnt, it is internalised and becomes a part of one's behaviour.

Most of the girls pointed to the man as the driver of gender-based violence. Issues focused on a man's urge to be control and dominate the relationship and keep women as trophies, instead of individuals with equal capacity. In those cases where a woman has become able to earn an income and, sometimes, an income higher than that of her partner, in some cases, a man might feel threatened and resort to violent behaviour so as to fulfil his 'masculinity'. In most cases, it is observed that incidences of GBV include issues of power, control and authority by men over women and these emanate from traditional values and norms. These findings are similar to those in the study by Damba, Lunga and Musarurwa (2013:3) in peri-urban communities of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe whereby women in the study revealed that, **"in spite of their education and professional status, they were still obliged to hand over their salaries to their husbands at the end of each month and felt unable to exert meaningful control over their own finances"**. However, in some cases, such as in India, research has shown that cases of intimate-partner violence (IPV) do go down when women have an income to sustain the household. The UN (2011) asserts that the implication of men not being able to provide for their families or being unable to fulfil the breadwinner role, is that they become emasculated and society does not regard them as "real men". This, in turn, leads to a lack of social identity and, consequently, interpersonal violence. For young people in Zimbabwe, given the high unemployment rate, violence may present itself as an opportunity to recover and assert their lost masculinity and manliness.

Young people identified the effects of gender-based violence to include mental health illness, depression, pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections and HIV, dropping out of school, failing in school, low self-esteem physical injuries, death, broken homes and lack of trust in relationships.

*Violence can cause emotional disturbances that, in turn, lead to someone becoming mad (Girl G1)*

#### **7.5.4 ATTITUDES TOWARDS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN**

Attitudes towards gender-based violence were mixed, with the majority of the young participants highlighting that violence was wrong but, at the same time, justified, depending on the contexts in which violence occurred. Justifications were made by boys on the issue of rape of women, expressing that women dress in a way that provokes men. There was a pattern of victim-blaming that emerged from the discussion, in sense that men would not do what they do if they have not been provoked/pushed by women. However, girls, retaliated against these perceptions and posed some difficult questions. For example, “for those men who rape and sexually assault children/ infants, who has provoked them?” As the discussion got heated some of the girls held the same perception as the boys, that, sometimes, women deserve it because of their talkative and enraging natures. These findings indicate that in the discussions the young people had high tolerance for violent behaviour.

Another pattern which emerged from the discussions was female on male violence. It was acknowledged to happen within the homes because of its salient nature. Girls expressed that women were raping/ sexually assaulting young children, particularly boys. When the discussion veered off to relationships, about there being women who hit their husbands, the observation was that majority of the boys said that in circumstances like that, men usually allow women to be physical so that they may be able to vent their anger. There was a sense of denial that women could be actual perpetrators of violence,. This may be due to the fact that traditionally men who come out and speak of being abused by their wives are seen to be weak and are a disgrace to manhood. Therefore, that it was why there are only a few cases that are reported of female-male violence. Most of them go unreported because of the fear of stigma or simply because they do not take the violence seriously.

*I mean if you girls wear these things that you are wearing, exposing your body and so on, you are arousing men. When you get raped you start crying (Boy G1)*

*These days even grown women are doing despicable things and making young boys sleep with them, that is rape (Girl G2)*

*Some women can go on and on poking their husbands just provoking them, at the end of the day their husbands will retaliate, slap them or something and the report them to the police when they are the ones who started it. (Girl G1)*

*Women deserve it really. (Boy G1)*

*Sometimes it is necessary, because some women get way over their heads and forget that they are women. Sometimes they need to be reminded. (Boy G1)*

*The government should do something about it, those who are perpetrating gender-based violence on others need to feel the pain of their wrong doing (Girl G2)*

*I think people who perpetuate gender-based violence make that choice, it depends with the person, it is a personality issue and then maybe other factors (Boy G2)*

*I think this is a helpless issues I mean, despite all the government laws people still go on to perpetrate violence against women. There is nothing that can be done about this issue, nothing really.*

Another finding from the focus group discussions was a sense of gender power dynamics, in the sense that boys felt they were in a position of power to administer disciplinary action on women, supposing women failed to fulfil what was expected of them. Violence perpetrated by men against women was seen as a result of gender inequality and male perceptions of male entitlement, control, obedience, ownership and possession and regulation. This is why young boys go on to blame violence on women because of their understanding of gender relations.

## **7.6 DISCUSSION**

Similar to other regional and international research, Zimbabwean youth attitudes on violence and gender-based violence are complex, elusive and conflicting. Although young people spoke negatively about violence and gender-based violence, in some circumstances violence was viewed as acceptable and justified.

Majority of the boys and girls (52 per cent) considered that violence is more than physical injuries. This means that young people had an idea of the types of violence. It is encouraging that young people were able to identify different forms of violence. From their definitions of violence and gender-based violence, young people showed an understanding that violence goes beyond just physical violence and encompasses psychological, emotional, structural and cultural violence. It was noted in the focus group discussions that violence and pro-violent behaviour, for example threatening other individuals with violence had major effects on victims. One participant in the focus group shared that;

*Sometimes words are difficult to swallow, they are difficult to get over cause they hurt really bad. They touch the inner you, unlike being beaten Haa...!, that is better, the pain goes away for example in school teachers give us physical punishment all the time, but that's easy to get over and the day continues, you have even forgotten what happened in the last period of class. (Boy G 2)*

However survey data reveals that even if there is a high number of young people (39.2 percent) who think violence goes beyond physical injuries, there is still a worrying number of young people who think that for it to be named, 'violence' there has to be physical injuries, if not, it does not warrant the term 'violence'.

Survey and focus group data showed that young people support violence because of social normative factors. For example gender comparison emerged as a significant predictor on a couple of measures in the survey. This emerged in an unexpected manner as boys were significantly more likely to present with violence supportive attitudes than girls. However girls did assert themselves as pro-violent. Young people's expressions of violence painted a picture of tolerance and acceptance of violence and gender-based violence. Tolerance of violence by young people suggests that interventions that address gender-based violence, should be administered from a "violence prevention" perspective.

A majority of the young people engaged in this study accepted men were at the forefront of perpetrating violence against women in Zimbabwe. However there was acknowledgement of the fact that women too are perpetrators of gender-based violence. As one participant in the focus group discussions stated:

*These days even grown women are doing despicable things and making young boys sleep with them, that is rape. (Girl G2)*

The young people in this study were inconsistent in their opinions on whether violence is an issue. Although there was obvious condemnation of violence in certain circumstances, there was a continued acceptance of violence hovering around, because not all violence was seen as problem. Their contradictory and diverse views on violence is indicative of the definitions and understandings of violence and understandings of gender relations in peculiar circumstances, whereby violence by men is viewed as natural.

A study by Burton et al (1998), found that almost half of young people considered it acceptable for a boyfriend to behave aggressively towards his girlfriend in certain circumstances. Moreover, three quarters of the boys and over half of the girls in the study reported that the woman in many cases was to blame for the violence perpetrated against her by her boyfriend. McCarry's (2010) study with young people revealed that violence was acceptable and tolerated more if it was perpetrated by men within heterosexual relationships, there was a hidden expectation that men should, in the name of masculinity and gender role expectations. With regards to acceptance and tolerance of gender-based violence by young people, Sundaram (2013) in her study revealed that gender norms known to young people are the ones responsible for the perceived acceptability of violence. Acceptability of violence is determined by young people's conceptualisation of suitable and normative gender behaviour.

Lacasse and Mendelson (2007) suggest that conservative gender attitudes are linked to the acceptance of violence.

In the questionnaire they are able to identify GBV from a list of behaviours given, and the majority of the young people acknowledged all behaviours listed in the questionnaire as GBV. Young people's responses relating to a list of forms of violence and their seriousness also reflected their level of tolerance for violence, for example bullying, fights between students at school, rape/sexual assault, GBV, physical fights between siblings were all found to be serious. Focus group discussions revealed that some types of violence were viewed as just normal conflict. One participant from the focus group discussions stated that "fights at home with my brothers is nothing to write home about, it is part of growing up, its playing, just goofing around, in fact it's part of making each other stronger I don't see how this can be equals gender-based violence". This indicates that young people engaged in this study gathered from traditional notions about how men are supposed to behave, this justifying violence between men. In this case violence was acceptable because its use was meant to shape and emphasise expected male gender behaviour.

After exploring young people's attitudes towards gender-based violence, both survey questionnaires and focus group discussions, revealed that young people hold conservative attitudes often closely related to patriarchal and traditional norms. Furthermore, young people hold stereotypical attitudes when it comes to specific gender roles, for example, in the focus group discussions it was highlighted that women should do what is expected of them, in other words, stick to their gender roles. Failure to execute these roles leads to violence being perpetrated against them. Whereas, in the survey questionnaires, the majority of the boys agreed to the statement that men are the heads of the household and should be in charge of the relationship. And also the majority of the boys disagreed with gender equality when asked if girls could do the same things that boys do. According to a study conducted in Tanzania, by Sommer, Likindikoki, and Kaaya (2013) both boys and young men were against the increased advocacy for gender equality and favoured more traditional gendered norms about women must do, and may do within the society as well as what men should do. The study revealed that these expectations of who should do what was characterised as the cause of intimate partner violence. Flood (2010: 2) notes that "men with more conservative attitudes towards gender have worse attitudes towards violence against women – they are more likely to condone, excuse, or justify this violence than other men".

However, regarding the gender roles of males and females the majority of the young people acknowledged that:

- (1) men are the head of the household and must be in charge of the relationship;
- (2) husbands are head of the family and this belief must be upheld; and

(3) married women are the property of the husbands.

In general, both boys and girls held gender role attitudes that boys were better than girls in various aspects of life. This revealed that they had well-established gender stereotypes. In other instances it seems as if gender stereotypes were more common among boys. For example, the majority of the boys agreed to the statement that married women are the property of the husband. They were also seen as pro-violent, for example, they showed violent-affirming behaviour in the violence theme compared to the girls. In some instances, girls seemed to provide conservative responses and were found to be more tolerant toward violent behaviour compared to the boys. For example, the majority of the girls agreed to the statement that women should endure violence for the sake of the relationship or family. A surprising finding was the high degree of disapproval from the boys, 68.6 per cent disagree with the previous statement compared to 20 percent of the girls who were in disapproval of the statement. This is indicative of that although men make up the majority of gender-based violence perpetrators not all men approve of this behaviour. However, Flood (2010: 2) argues that “a silent majority of men disapproves of violence, but does little to prevent it. Of most concern, significant numbers of men excuse or justify violence against women. The silence, and encouragement, of male bystanders allows men’s violence against women to continue”.

Research findings also highlighted that young people upheld negative masculinities and femininities, for example, focus-group discussions revealed that violence perpetrated by men against women was seen as a result of gender inequality and male perceptions of male entitlement, control, obedience, ownership and possession and regulation. Sommer, Likindikoki and Kaaya 2013, Jewkes et al. (2009) and Rani et al. (2004) assert that hegemonic masculinity in any culture has the capacity to support notions of manhood that involve aggression and violence instead of forms of conflict resolution. One participant from the focus group discussions stated that:

*Because she is wearing my ring I have the right to discipline her in a way I see fit. How can that be called gender-based violence. I think these are just normal conflicts that happen between married couples. However men only discipline to a certain extent but if it is over bound perhaps then we can say there is gender-based violence (Boy G1)*

Whereas the survey questionnaire revealed that responses from these statements; “men need respect” and “a man should always be respected by his wife and children”, indicates a sense of hegemonic masculinity. When looking at the responses from the survey and focus-group discussions it can be noted that masculinities are an on-going construct (Schofield, Connell, Walker, Wood and Butland 2000). They are not a permanent construct and they are subject to change over time and location (Canham 2009, Messerschmidt 1993, Morell 1998, Everitt-Penhale and Ratele 2015). Young people’s narratives of masculinity legitimised aggression, strength, power and authority. This is indicative of that young people assume that men behave in a certain way to affirm their masculinities and is

however acceptable for men. Negative masculinities and femininities are upheld by both boys and girls. Despite the wide acceptance of masculinity, there was a general consensus that men were not naturally violent. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005:832) assert that violence is a big issue and a result of masculinity. However, men are not naturally violent and only a subdivision of the male population turn to violence when they encounter a masculinity crisis. This is echoed by survey data, where 75.4 percent of young people stated that men are not naturally violent. According to Longwood (2006) and Courtenay (2000), it is all about 'nurture than nature', in the sense that men's violent behaviour emanates from how boys/men are socialised, therefore, violent behaviour is a learnt phenomenon. Violence In most cases it was used as a problem-solving technique, self-defence and, sometimes, as a coping mechanism or an assertion of masculinity. Although majority of the boys outlined instances of violence connected to gender norms in the society, such as boys having a need to prove their strength and manhood and husband's feeling of ownership and the need to be obeyed, however the root causes of violence seemed to be linked to the notions of power, dominance and control. This suggests that there is a need to promote indigenous positive role models from the adult population, both men and women to help young people and their communities to unlearn social norms and behaviours that perpetuate gender-based violence.

The young people I engaged in this study considered causes of gender-based violence to include; alcohol and drug abuse, poverty/ financial stress, cheating, disrespect, patriarchy, economic dependence of women on men and misunderstanding, pornography and mimicking of violent behaviour. As noted from the survey data that there was no outstanding cause of GBV. The responses were varied across participants. This could be indicative of different individual experiences and understandings of gender-based violence by young people. Community dialogues held by ACORD (in Adjumani, Northern Uganda, with young men between the ages of 13-20 years, revealed youth perspectives of the causes of gender-based violence in their community similar to the ones that have been indicated in this current study. Causes of gender-based violence included;

- Use of abusive language by females towards males, causing males to retaliate, for example, by beating the female.
- Jealousy and gossip about relationships causing anger and physical violence.
- Disappointment from relationships and the females moving on to other relationships with other males, annoying the ex-boyfriends.
- Community fights which are created by some youth. The fights occur when a boy is courting a girl and she is married off to an older man

According to a study by Mosavel, Ahmed and Simon (2012:325) conducted in South Africa there is a presentation of similar themes to this study with regards to the causes of gender-based violence. Poverty and unemployment were common causes of GBV, in this study participants stated that,

*There are no jobs, there is nothing here, surviving is a hustle, men are under enormous pressure and have stress so that they are able to provide the most basic stuff for their families, and women continue to put pressure on men for them to provide. At the end of the day the men snaps because of the stress. (Boy G 1)*

*Gender-based violence happens because there are no jobs here in Zimbabwe. Life is just very tough, then people decide to drink and abuse drugs because they are trying to forget their troubles and when they get home the fights start. The wife is busy reporting we don't have this we don't have that, all that nagging you end up using power and force to silence it. (Boy G 1)*

Participants had a clear description of how poverty and unemployment is connected to social problems, particularly gender-based violence in Zimbabwe. The capacity of these young people to recognize the causes of GBV and issues surrounding GBV and impacts on the society suggests that preventive programs need to make use of a more systematic approach (see chapter five) within which to address the GBV issue. The data showing the prevalence of gender-based violence and its interrelation with poverty are similar with those of various research (Dickson-Tetteh and Ladha 2000; Jewkes and Abrahams 2002; Dunkle et al 2004; Seedat et al 2009).

The causes of violence indicated here reflect a link between macro and micro levels and social ecological model is a theoretical framework that can enhance understanding on the causes of GBV. My findings suggest that the context of gender-based violence occurs amid cultural constructions of entitlement, power and authority of men of which women are supposed to submit and these study reveals the need to critically involve young people in the discussion of traditional gendered relations. Although Zimbabwe has good legislation surrounding gender-based violence it is important to change the gender relationships and adopt the feminist perspective, that is move away from 'power over' women to 'power with' women, however for this to work there is need for the inclusion of both genders (Mosavel, Ahmed and Simon 2012:327). A dominant masculinity exists in Zimbabwe, that attempts to overpower and abet an unchecked sexuality (femininities and masculinities), therefore there is need to 'unscrew masculinity' in the words of Ratele (2006) and change this dominant paradigm to a paradigm that advocates for gender equality.

There is a relationship between gender-based violence, particularly IPV, or dating violence and gender role and relation attitudes. Reyes et al. (2016) suggest that traditional gender role and relation attitudes increase the risk of perpetration of violence and acceptance of violence. Gender role and relations come with risks such as "gender inequities, power inequalities, inflexible gender roles or stereotypes, conflict emerging from expected role fulfilment, a normative view of dominant forms of masculinity, challenges relating to masculine identity and family honour associated with masculinity



beliefs and traditional cultural directives and expectations of men” (Taliep 2015:22). The majority of the participants demonstrated high belief in traditional gender roles and relations and these facilitated a social environment that allows for gender-based violence (Fleming et al 2015). In most cases, violence against women is closely related with gender norms and gender inequalities.

Findings regarding modeling of abusive behaviour are consistent with those of other studies. Sommer, Likindikoki and Kaaya (2013) suggests that boys model violent behaviour in their daily lives in different settings, such as school, home and with peers. Because in the homes violence is used as a method of resolving conflict and in schools used as method of maintain order young people especially boys model that behaviour. Rakovec-Felser (2014: 63) suggests that young people usually imitate individuals with intimate and frequent contacts and higher social power. Furthermore boys are more likely to model male adult aggressive behaviour, as propounded by Bandura. One participant in the focus group discussions stated that “because violence is the only thing you see and know, growing up at home, that behaviour sometimes becomes part of you”. Generally perceived reasons for the occurrence of gender-based violence by young people was consistent with those of previous studies (Sikweyiya et al 2016; Brown 2016; Valls, Puigvert, and Duque 2008; Mosavel, Ahmed and Simon 2012; Okello and Hovil 2007; McCarry 2010).

Findings from both survey questionnaires and focus group discussions highlight a lack of knowledge among young people of injunctive norms that work against the urge of perpetrating violence or that give reasons for nonviolence. There was also a sense of helplessness among the young people that there was nothing that could be done to reduce the prevalence of gender-based violence. Sundaram’s (2016) study with young people between the ages of 14-16 years revealed that young people were of the view that violence was a highly individualised act, and that gender norms influenced young people’s views of whether violence was preventable.

Finally, this study suggests that it is not enough to tell young people that violence is wrong, because that will not stop them from accepting it. Young people has vastly different conceptualisations of violence that influences their views on gender relations considerably. The findings presented here suggest that prevention programmes for young people must tackle gender norms and expectations – what is normal, expected and appropriate for men and women to do, to challenge young people’s acceptance, tolerance and legitimisation of different forms of violence. I strongly believe that school-based violence prevention, that includes teaching on gender stereotypes, gender relations, positive masculinity and femininities and gender- based violence stands a chance because it is preventative work done early in young people’s lives.

## **7.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

Overall, a level of awareness of the disturbing impacts of violence in general and gender-based violence in particular, was present among the young people. It also revealed young people's attitudes towards gender stereotypical roles and behaviours, with regards to gender relations between men and women, especially in intimate relationships, of which some gender role attitudes remain traditional/conservative while some are a bit egalitarian. The research was different in its centralisation of young people's conceptualisation of violence. Both findings from the questionnaire and focus-group discussions revealed that the gender roles, norms and stereotypes form a corpus of aptitudes of what constitutes violence and the tolerance surrounding violence. The findings of this research bears some similarity with other studies that have focused on young people and gender-based violence. Das et al. (2014), Decker et al. (2015) and Bell and Stanley (2006). In light of the findings, it is important that the themes of violence, masculinity/femininity and gender role and relations be an essential part in addressing gender-based violence in Zimbabwe because results show that both boys and girls (especially boys) hold traditional gender role attitudes that perpetuate GBV. The extent to which young people will engage in violent behaviour or learn violent behaviour is dependent on how risk factors and protective factors affect each other and how much work we are willing to do towards GBV prevention. I suggest that such topics are targeted in GBV prevention with young people.

# **CHAPTER 8**

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION:**

### **PLANNING, DESIGNING AND EVALUATION OF THE INTERVENTION**

#### **8.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter will narrate the planning, development and subjective-outcome evaluation of the Gender-Based Violence Prevention Education Programme (a violence prevention intervention), which focused on conflict transformation, gender issues and gender-based violence in order to prevent youth from growing up with beliefs and attitudes empirically proven to be a precedent of GBV and promote egalitarian relationships based on equality and respect. This chapter starts by giving a summary of the results in the review of literature in Chapter 5, which was carried out to discover what works in gender-based violence prevention, with a specific focus on the promotion of understanding and the skills needed to fight harmful attitudes that create an enabling environment for gender-based violence and its legitimisation. The review on violence-prevention interventions paved way for the development of the *Gender-Based Violence Education Training Workshop*. The chapter will also outline the action-research groups' involvement strategies used to come up with the intervention and action-planning meetings leading up the implementation of the workshops.

The planning, development and evaluation of the intervention was the final stage of this research and the methodology of this stage was based on action-research principles. This final stage was based on the following two research objectives:

- Research Objective 3: To review attempts that have been made to tackle GBV and their effectiveness, with particular emphasis on Southern Africa.
- Research Objective 5: To design and implement a training programme and subsequent campaign using youth to reduce GBV and undertake a preliminary evaluation of its outcome.

#### **8.2 PLANNING AND DESIGN OF THE INTERVENTION**

The design process constituted a number of activities, of which the review of what works in GBV prevention (full version in Chapter 5) was the first one, then followed by the designing of the Gender-

Based Violence Prevention Education Programme through interpretation of recommendations given by young people in the action groups, for the reduction of gender-based violence.

### **8.2.1 SUMMARY OF WHAT WORKS IN GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE PREVENTION**

In order to develop a sound intervention, it is important to consider existing interventions. According to Senn et al 2013) and Craig et al. (2012:589) there are fundamental steps that need to be followed when designing and evaluating any type of intervention. These scholars emphasise that first and foremost, it is important to find out about existing similar interventions and how they have been evaluated. Although there has been vast gender-based violence programmes all over, there has been a handful of practical responses that have worked. Key to this review was to identify effective initiatives to address gender-based violence and discover a take-off point for adopting good and tested approaches. In identifying knowledge on GBV interventions, the researcher looked at programmes that intended to address violence, in general and gender-based violence, dating violence (DV), intimate-partner violence (IPV) and gender-based violence in the schools.

This study made use of meta-synthesis to analyse findings from other studies, particularly those that leaned towards prevention interventions. Schreiber et al. (1997:314) assert that meta-synthesis “is bringing together and breaking down of findings, examining them, discovering essential features and, in some way, combining phenomena into a transformed whole” In other words, basic meta-synthesis is the ‘combining’ of qualitative data to come up with fresh analysis of the research area. I chose to use meta-synthesis because it is a calculated and systematic way of interpreting data across different qualitative researches. Levack (2012:390) concurs with the latter and asserts that it is a technique that involves “systematically identifying, examining, comparing, and interpreting findings from multiple-published qualitative studies on specific topics”. Brotherson and Summers (2011) are of the view that meta-synthesis is a technique that allows researchers to single out a research question and then go on to look for, examine, evaluate and bring together the qualitative information to deal with it. The purpose of this study is to describe and use to advantage existing good interventions, to promote proactive strategies and empower youth to be actively involved in developing an environment free from violence for themselves, as well as their peers.

In a bid to establish which interventions work and with which particular populations, and in which context, information centred on the theoretical framework was synthesised. Focusing on the theoretical framework enabled me to define relevant ideas and constructs in the review, question, direct the sampling method, determine the basis for interpreting the findings and contribute to the definition of the phenomenon of study. Also drawing from the scholarship of Banning (2013:1), in a comprehensive meta-synthesis, there has to be triangulation of the following components: an analysis

of theory (meta-theory), an analysis of method (meta-method) and an analysis of findings (meta-analysis). Therefore, this means that theory and methods play a fundamental role in meta-synthesis.

The analysis looked at prevention in GBV programmes. Prevention, as defined by WHO (2002:15), constitutes three stages:

- primary prevention (stopping violence from occurring);
- secondary (immediate responses after violence has occurred to limit its consequences) and
- tertiary (longer-term treatment and support for victims of violence to prevent further adverse effects).

Prevention programmes have variations, however. Transforming gendered attitudes and stereotypes at an intrapersonal and societal level, among men and women, is at the centre of their focus. This study focused on young people, taking notice that violence is a learnt behaviour and an outcome of socialisation. Therefore, interventions that involve youth are effective and good prevention techniques, as young people play an important role in societal transformation/change. This review focused on projects that constituted prevention efforts with a bias towards educational programmes that aim to discourage violent behaviour and model alternatives, specialized projects for youth who have experienced violence or are at risk for violence and participatory projects that engage youth as activists. These types of projects are not exhaustive. However, these have been identified as crucial strategies for working with young people in the prevention of gender-based violence (Shai and Sikweyiya 2015), (Coady and Cameron 2008), (Capaldi and Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2012), (Michau, Horn, Bank, Dut and Zimmerman 2015) and (De Koker et al 2014).

The review approached gender-based violence using a gender analysis. For example, projects that taught boys and girls about violence and non-violent behaviour, as well as information on equality and the good associated with mutual respect, were used. Other programmes focused on girls and their empowerment through raising their self-esteem and also negotiation skills, on the other hand, teaching boys communication skills as an alternative to violence. The programmes reviewed contained school-based awareness-raising campaigns, peer trainings and community workshops, social-norms marketing and edutainment, parental- programme components and also had some qualitative evaluation. However, some of the projects, particularly local projects, did not have any qualitative evaluation done on them.

It was noticeable that, for the local projects, there was a lack of theory underpinning the interventions. Three of the projects that were reviewed did not have a clear theory that underpinned the intervention. For those programmes that had an underpinning theory to guide the interventions, theories included feminist theory, attachment theory, social-learning theory, conflict-transformation theory,

experiential-learning theory, participatory-learning and action and social-change theory. The review brought to light that programmes that engaged young people, used the following approaches: conflict resolution, educational and experiential strategies, mostly education about gender and gender-based violence, and social action skills. Methodology used in these interventions included drama, role plays, educational workshops, community outreach and mobilisation, group education and community campaigns. Most of the interventions reviewed had a gender component, particularly paying attention to gender-based social norms and values. The review had specific interest in school-based programmes, peer trainings and community workshops, the focus of these programmes being concentrated on developing gender relationships, thereby creating an environment free from violence.

Of the interventions reviewed most were South African-based projects (a total of six), two were from Zimbabwe, one from the USA and one from Europe. The two projects from Zimbabwe focused on GBV prevention by awareness-raising targeted at the general public, with the use of mainstream media. Regarding young people, four programmes focused on reducing IPV among them, with the age group of the target population ranging from 12 upwards, were used. Of these programmes, some were school-based. One of the programmes reviewed focused on conflict transformation and aimed at any type of population, young or adult, urban or rural. Of all the programmes reviewed, one focused on parent- child relationships, targeting children between the age groups of 2-9 and 10-17. In summary, all the reviewed programmes were targeted at both female and male participants and suitable for both urban and rural populations (see Appendix C for reviewed programmes).

There were a few qualitative evaluations of the programmes that were reviewed; these evaluations did indicate some positive outcomes of the programmes. Findings from the programmes that focused on young people revealed that there was an increase in awareness of GBV issues among young people, increased knowledge about patterns of violence among the general public, improvement in gender attitudes, and empowered young people with skills and confidence to become agents of change (Shai and Sikweyiya 2015; Fellmeth et al 2013 and Heise 2011). With regards to programmes that had a parent-child component, findings revealed that parents reduced their use of violent and abusive discipline towards their children. Evaluations of these interventions also indicated improvement in good parenting and adopted new techniques by parents to discipline their children positively (Shai and Sikweyiya 2015:36).

Evaluation results from the social norms of marketing and edutainment, indicated that there was positive change in the men and women towards the reduction of violence (Stanley et al 2016; Flood 2015; Mataba 2016 and Heise 2011). Keller et al. (2010) and Heise (2011) suggest that individuals who took part in these projects/interventions gained knowledge on GBV and understanding of the

negative impacts of violence. The programmes that appeared to be more effective are those that included men and that had multi-level approaches.

This review of what works in preventing violence and GBV, provided the platform to develop the gender-based violence-prevention education-programme intervention. Seftaoui (2009:6) asserts that reviews of what works in prevention of violence “is not a template for the development of new projects but rather a starting point for adapting effective and tested approaches”.

**Table 8.1 A thumbnail of the reviewed programs of what works in gender-based violence prevention**

| INITIATIVE   | COUNTRY                                     | SOURCE   |
|--|---|--|
| <b>Awareness raising campaigns</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Stop the bus! I want to get on campaign</li> <li>4ps Campaign on Zero Tolerance to Domestic Violence</li> </ul>                    | Zimbabwe<br><br>Zimbabwe                    | <a href="http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/AdvocacyEducationTools/stopthebus_womankind_oct2008.pdf">http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/AdvocacyEducationTools/stopthebus_womankind_oct2008.pdf</a><br><br><a href="http://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/en/countries/afrika/zimbabwe/2011/4ps-campaign-on-zero-tolerance-to-domestic-violence">http://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/en/countries/afrika/zimbabwe/2011/4ps-campaign-on-zero-tolerance-to-domestic-violence</a> |
| <b>Peer Training and Community Workshops</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP)</li> <li>Stepping Stones</li> <li>Stepping Stones and Creating Futures</li> </ul> | USA<br><br>South Africa<br><br>South Africa | <a href="http://www.avpusa.net/publications/OK/OK.pdf">http://www.avpusa.net/publications/OK/OK.pdf</a><br><br>Jewkes et al. (2008)<br><br>Jewkes, Nduna and Jama (2010) and Misselhorn et al. (2014)  |
| <b>Gender Transformative Interventions</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Youth4Youth: Empowering Young people in Preventing GBV Through Peer Education</li> </ul>                                   | Greece                                      | Sotiriou, Ntinapogias and Petroulaki (2011)  |
| <b>Social Norms Marketing and Edutainment</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Soul City</li> </ul>  | South Africa                                | <a href="http://www.soulcity.org.za/">http://www.soulcity.org.za/</a>  |
| <b>Parenting Programmes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sinovuyo Caring Families Programmes</li> </ul>  | South Africa                                | <a href="https://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/conferences/2015-VACiLaMIC/JLachman%20DevelopmentofParentingProgramme%20slides%20March2015.pdf">https://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/conferences/2015-VACiLaMIC/JLachman%20DevelopmentofParentingProgramme%20slides%20March2015.pdf</a>  |
| <b>School-Based Programmes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prepare</li> <li>Skhokho Supporting Success</li> </ul>   | South Africa<br><br>South Africa            | <a href="http://www.svri.org/forums/forum2015/presentations/PREPARE.pdf">http://www.svri.org/forums/forum2015/presentations/PREPARE.pdf</a><br><br>Shamu et al. (2016)   |

### **8.3 THE GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE EDUCATION TRAINING WORKSHOP INTERVENTION**

Following the meta-synthesis of what works in preventing gender-based violence, this section describes the Gender-Based Violence Education Training Workshop intervention in its preliminary phase, its design emanating from the empirical evidence outlined above. The Gender-Based Violence Education Training Workshop intervention is conceptualised as a school-based programme to prevent GBV. It is an educational programme that encourages the transformation of rigid gender-role attitudes and norms associated with gender-based violence. The programme carries a message that is beneficial to all young people, regardless of whether they go on to commit GBV. The idea of starting the programme at high school is crucial because, at this stage, children are able to unlearn and learn new positive behaviour including a culture of nonviolence.

The Gender-Based Violence Education Training intervention is designed to intervene on a cognitive level to eliminate the beliefs and attitudes that have been highlighted as causes of gender-based violence, such as rigid gender-role attitudes and rigid gender-socialisation. According to (Reyes et al 2016 and Finn 1986), both men and women are prone to subscribe to rigid gender roles which puts them at risk of being a victim or perpetrators of gender-based violence. That is why this intervention is administered to both boys and girls. The intervention design targets young people between the ages 13-18, in addressing the following factors that cause GBV:

- (1) gender norms and roles, often imparted on individuals through gender socialisation that emphasises masculine and feminine gender roles;
- (2) attitudes and myths affirming the use of violence against women;
- (3) poor conflict resolution and problem-solving skills; and
- (4) GBV myths and stereotypes.

The intervention material targets each of these factors. Activities for this intervention are adapted from AVP and Youth4Youth manuals.

The Gender-Based Violence Education Training programme is a primary prevention intervention and its aim is to challenge the descriptive norms that perpetuate GBV and encourage positive injunctive norms, improve communication and conflict resolution skills, challenging traditional gender constructions, promote safe, caring and nonviolent school environments, encourage egalitarian relationships and respect among young people. Furthermore, the intervention was based on gender equality, conflict transformation, and participatory-learning approaches. The intervention is comprised of four sessions held on one day.



The workshop was delivered to young people between the ages of 14-18 in two secondary schools in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, urban and rural, respectively. The schools selected for the study have similarities due to the fact that they are under the Bulawayo metropolitan. The chosen schools both have relatively low-level pass rates and both serve huge communities where there are signs of high poverty, unemployment and social exclusion. However, for the rural school, all these indicators are much more severe. Although the figures on the prevalence of gender-based violence in Bulawayo are not comprehensive, Bulawayo province has the least number of gender-based violence incidences in the country (Morna and Chingamuka 2013). It can be argued that even the available statistics do not indicate the magnitude of the problem.

The programme was set up in an effort to reach the youth population through a school-based programme that would address gender-based violence issues and prevention. Kinsman, Romer, Fursternberg and Schwarz (1998), CDC (2007; 2009d) assert that school based efforts are very significant because the targeted young people are already participating in dating and sexual activities that are a setting for gender-based violence. A holistic approach was used by the programme to address gender-based violence. This involved enriching young people's knowledge and conceptualisation of gender-based violence and its causes, particularly how gender norms and inequality fuel the problem; creation of an enabling environment for young people to share experiences and examine how they are affected by violence; providing young people the opportunity to acknowledge they need to be respected and valued and vice versa; imparting youth with skills and confidence to be transformers in their areas by reducing GBV and encouraging the schools to take up the role of preventing GBV among young people by promoting qualities such as respect and equality in their relationships. The programme was designed in a way that young people would learn through experience and become empowered. Experiential learning, argued by Kolb (2014), is an effective approach to teaching and learning that is grounded on indisputable reality, best lessons are learnt through experience. First-hand experience and action within context are the epicentre of learning. The programme made use of a range of exciting and lively, experiential and reciprocal methodologies such as role play/drama, group discussions, buzz groups and brainstorming sessions, which allow for participation and a shared ownership of the programme.

### **8.3.1 COLLECTIVE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERVENTION**

When permission was granted to me by the gatekeepers of the schools, I went to the schools and the senior teachers of each school invited the students to listen to my proposal about engaging them in an action research to understand young people's views about gender-based violence and come up with a prevention programme that addresses gender-based violence. The senior teachers of both schools

reminded me, as well as the students, that the decision was up to them if they were interested in participating in the project. Given a situation that the students were not interested in participating in the project, the senior teacher would respect their choice not to and I would have to explore other possibilities.

My proposal was successful and I began the research as research partners with the students. It is important to note that when the students bought into the research it was possible for me to administer the survey questionnaires and also carry out the focus group discussions, of which these stages were part of the explanatory-sequential method (see Chapter 6). Findings from the survey questionnaires and focus group discussions informed the design of the workshops that were run by local invitation. They comprised educational workshops involving boys and girls in a school setting, which addressed understandings of masculinity, gender relations and gender-based violence. However, before the educational workshops could take off, there was need for a clear number of students to be part of the action group or become collaborators in the research.

With the action group (description given below), we began the participatory action research with the aim of gaining an in-depth insight into young people's views on gender-based violence and their experiences of GBV in their various urban and rural settings and coming up with an action-project/programme, that would establish and encourage youth-led initiatives for preventing GBV. Although there may be different ways of coming up and carrying out participatory action research projects (Zuber-Skerritt, 2016), however, at the core of action research, are the following principles, as stated by McIntyre (2000:128), "(1) the collective investigation of a problem, (2) the reliance on indigenous knowledge to better understand that problem, and (3) the desire to take individual and/or collective action to deal with the stated problem". In other words, using the scholarship of Robertson (2000), Herr and Anderson (2014), (McNiff 2016) and Trainor and Bouchard (2013), these can be summarised as: reciprocity, reflection on reality and reflexivity in action research. These principles can only be encountered through "collective investigation, education, and action throughout the research process" (McIntyre 2000:128).

The participatory action research in this study is inspired by Paulo Freire (1970), Heron (1996) and other feminist researches who bring together research, education and action in the bid to foster individual and social change. In this context, the young people, or, rather, the action group, became participants in the research, not merely as subjects, but as researchers in their own right, tapping from individual, community and collective experiences, so as to come up with tangible solutions for addressing problems associated with GBV. The engagement of young people from the two schools was important so as to intentionally create a space whereby collaboration could take place and, at the same time, take opportunity to examine and discuss individual, school and community concerns. On

the other hand, this afforded me the opportunity to make use of the indigenous knowledge from the young people and draw from individual and collective assets, gifts and talents. Full participation was reached because of the evidence of young people being able to mobilise, organise and implement individual or collective action.

In order to avoid a number of constraints going into the process of action research with the young people from different schools, I had to develop a preliminary framework on how to go forward in the bid to have dialogue with the action group and colleagues.

Before going into detail about the action project, I will introduce the research team and a brief description of the participants in the action group. The research team was made up of three individuals, one graduate student, a youth-programme facilitator and myself. The ratio of gender in the team was two females and one male. The rationale of the research team was to help administer survey questionnaires to urban and rural cohorts, help in conducting focus group discussions jotting down important points whilst I conducted the discussions and also assist in delivering the workshops in other words the research team operated as another set of eyes and ears to highlight observations I could have perhaps missed. The male research assistant was chosen so as to have a male figure and make the topic interesting for the boys, as most of the time when the topic of gender-based violence crops up, it is said to be a women's issue hence boys really don't pay attention. However, unfortunately along the way the male research assistant left the group due to some personal reasons and I remained with the female youth programme facilitator as my research assistant. As a research team we met regularly to discuss the research project, our personal reactions and the experiences we had during the course of the action process, either as individuals or as a team. These meetings were very important because they allowed us to do some checks and balances, in the manner of asking questions, going over ideas and clarifying them and just working through difficult situations that arose from the research. We went through these meetings successfully because of the field notes that we had and our individual diaries in which we jotted down our observations and responses to different situations throughout the research. In addition to that, the diaries served as an event-book where we recorded the dates, places and times when different assignments were supposed to take place and serve as a place to brainstorm ideas.

Fassinger and Morrow (2013), Plowman (2015) and Leitch and Day (2000) suggest that the self-reflective paradigm is of great importance, therefore, as the primary researcher, I paid attention to the similarities and differences that were present between the participants in the project and myself. The paradigm also made me keep in mind how my own personal experiences and senior role in the research would influence my decisions regarding various aspects of the research process. The question that constantly lingered in my mind was, "how can we help young people to be part of the

fight to prevent GBV?” As the dialogues progressed, it was evident to me that, although I had a question that would guide the discussions, participants did not always respond the way I assumed they would and it was also clear that our action project was supposed to focus on aspects that influence violence in their surroundings.

When the research process began in mid-August 2015, initially, there was supposed to be one action group from each school and the number of participants that had been pegged for the action group was 10 young people (five girls and five boys) from each school. However, this was not so, because when the invitation to the students to be part of the action group went out to the students who were part of focus group discussion, there was an overwhelming response from both schools. The focus group discussions was comprised of 12 to 13 participants (i.e. 12 participants, 6 boys and 6 girls from the urban school and 13 participants, 6 girls and 7 boys from the rural school). When I extended an invitation to both groups, all of the participants wanted to be part of the action group, thereby slightly exceeding the proposed number. Looking at the urban-action group, all of the participants live within walking distance from the school and were ranged from the ages of 15-18. The participants were a mixed group in terms of ethnicity (i.e. Ndebele and Shona), although all of them understood isiNdebele because this is a compulsory vernacular language in that part of the country. The urban action group was made up of 6 girls and 6 boys.

As for the rural action group, the majority of the participants lived far away from the school and would walk for approximately 10 kilometres, perhaps more, to get to school. However, there was the exception of three boys who lived exceedingly far from the school. These were offered make-shift boarding facilities and they would go back to their homes on Friday after school was out. Participants ranged from the ages of 14-18 and were identified to be all Ndebele. The rural-action group was made up of 7 boys and 6 girls.

The family set-up of the participants included participants either living with either biological parents, or either a biological parent and siblings, some siblings and a grandmother and some with relatives, aunties and uncles and siblings. For all of the participants, English and isiNdebele was the primary language spoken in schools and mostly isiNdebele was spoken at home, apart from a few that spoke Shona at home.

### **8.3.2 DESIGN OF THE PROJECT**

The designing of the action project was anchored on four objectives that included:

- (1) gathering information about young people and their surroundings (i.e. school, home and community);

- (2) engaging with youth in creative and interactive activities that foster greater understanding of how they conceptualise GBV issues;
- (3) collaborating in coming up with an education workshop in order for the young people to show their perceptions of GBV through drama, song and poetry; and
- (4) engaging with young people to create youth-initiated interventions that promote an environment free-from-violence and relationships based on tolerance, respect and equality.

During the course of the research, the research team forged relationships with the school personnel, however, did not lose focus on the target population 14-18 students doing Form One up to Form Six.

Once the action groups had been established, there were four meetings that were held with each of them. The meetings were similar to the focus group discussions (see Chapter 6). Moreover, they took the form of dialogues, whereby we discussed issues surrounding the GBV topic, for example discussions were centred on what the young people (action group) considered as essential in order to influence change in terms of information, resources and support, what can be done to reduce gender-based violence, what can be appealing to the youth population with regards to GBV prevention. To be more precise, these meetings were held to plan and develop the intervention. The meetings that we had for both the urban and rural school was to get suggestions on what to include in the action-project/ intervention /education workshop and discuss how the workshop would go. These sessions lasted about 30- 60 minutes and were recorded and transcribed. In every session there was a recap of the issues discussed and agreed upon to make sure that everyone knew exactly what was going on.

The action-planning meetings for the workshop included both the research team and action group and the aim of these meetings was to provide a brief overview on GBV issues and implications to the youth population and to share the relevant findings from the survey questionnaires and the focus group discussions (outlined in Chapter 7). The participants were given the opportunity to comment on the findings. Another aim was to hear the opinions and ideas from young people on how GBV could be reduced. Thereafter, I engaged the action groups in an exercise and asked them what type of action/ intervention would appeal to them. Table 8.2 shows responses that emerged from this exercise.

**Table 8.2 Youth Perceived action to reduce GBV**

1. Counselling for both victims and perpetrators
2. Involvement of police
3. Involvement of NGOs
4. GBV programmes in the schools
5. Training opportunities (peer education)
6. Edutainment focusing on GBV issues.
7. More involvement of the social welfare
8. Youth development programmes ( especially for school leavers or drop outs)

These responses highlighted that young people wanted more information about GBV, wanted more activities that are directed to them, the young people. Most of GBV literature suggests that interventions aimed at the young people are very crucial in preventing violence (Finkelhor et al 2014; Storer et al 2016 and WHO 2010). Suffice to say that the intervention that the action group and research team were planning was very much relevant and appropriate.

The programme design, implementation and evaluation revolved around these thematic areas:

- programme content (what was the education intervention going to teach?);
- how was the information going to be delivered/ taught and who was going to deliver/teach.

In terms of the content of the gender-based violence prevention education programme, the action group discussions revealed that there was a need for a clear conceptualisation of gender-based violence, to identify the forms of GBV, its causes and effects. In other words, defining what gender-based violence is, was the first point of take-off. Because the action group comprised of the participants in the focus group discussions, their responses highlighted a lack of knowledge and discord about issues surrounding gender- based violence and most of their responses were influenced by their gender norms. With this information, the research team produced content for the programme, based on what the participant's highlighted as key themes and also on the themes that were produced from the survey questionnaire and focus group discussions. The rationale for engaging the young participants in discussing possible content for the workshop is that sometimes boys and girls may have different opinions as to which topics are relevant to them, depending on their experiences. Stanley, Ellis and Bell (2011) argue that there is a risk when it comes to programmes that teach on GBV prevention, especially when it comes to the gender dimensions (gender inequality and power)

because some feminist approaches paint a negative picture of the boys and that message could be one-sided.

With regard to how the content was going to be delivered, the young participants suggested the incorporation of drama, song and poetry to convey the workshop messages, together with training provided by researcher and co-facilitator. With the urban school it was rather challenging because participants were not keen on participating in the delivery of the workshop, but were more comfortable with using an approach familiar to them (teacher-student approach). Faced with the challenge of making content responsive to young participants, the researcher and co-facilitator engaged the young participants from the rural school in performing/ role play that they had prepared for their own workshop at the urban school. However, what was common in the discussion of how the workshop was going to be delivered, was a bias towards fun, practicality and effective participation. CRG Research (2009) highlights that there are challenges in delivering materials in a way that will be welcomed or understood by young people because of differences in the preference of learning styles. For example, research has revealed that some young participants do not like being asked to do role plays or dramas, whereas others jump at the opportunity of the requirement to do role plays. The use of practical and interactive sessions was agreed on, for example, the use of games, co-operative activities and group discussions. Stanley, Ellis and Bell (2011) suggest that boys may prefer kinaesthetic activities, whereas girls may prefer group discussions.

The final stage that was discussed in the action-group sessions was who would deliver the gender-based violence prevention education workshop. Participants felt comfortable with the researcher and co-facilitator conducting the programme, which enabled them to be free to contribute without worrying whether their responses were correct or not. However, teacher presence helped with the mobilising of the young participants and ensuring the co-operation of participants. CRG Research (2009:25) argues that “the delivery and success of the project is to a large part determined by the ability of the workshop leaders to effectively engage, manage and communicate with the students.” This highlights that it is very crucial as to how a programme is delivered.

#### **8.4 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WORKSHOP**

When the design of the programme was completed, implementation of the workshops was done in both schools. 25 young people from the rural school participated in the programme, whereas 18 young people participated from the urban school, making a total of 43 participants, ranging from 14-18. This was a challenging process because of the practical constraints within the individual schools and because the action research was conducted at the onset of school examinations.

The programme was designed to involve 20-25 young participants because of the interactive nature of the activities. In order to gain significant success it is best to deliver the workshop to a small group not exceeding 25 participants. This gives everyone a chance to share and be involved in the activities. The idea was to have an equal number of boys and girls in the workshops. However, this was not the case. Since two schools were involved, the first education workshop was held at the rural school and was delivered by the researcher and co-facilitator/ research assistant with experience in youth training, alongside young participants who made up the action group and who took up the responsibility of delivering a drama production, composing songs and poetry, all which had messages of gender-based violence and how it affected them as young people. Pana and Lesta (2012) suggest it is important to have two facilitators so that there is a variety in facilitation styles and this also increases the likelihood of more participants to be engaged in the programme. Due to the sensitivity of some topics in the workshop, it also helps to have two facilitators as one can attend to participants who need some time out of the group and to talk on a personal level. The only limitation encountered in the implementation of the workshop was that both facilitators were female and had to address a mixed group of participants. Pana and Lesta (2012) and Lesta (2010) suggest that male facilitators tend to be recognised and perceived to be more credible by male participants. Therefore, having both female and male facilitators paints the picture that both men and women have an equal role and responsibility in preventing GBV.

A subsequent workshop was delivered at the urban school and was facilitated by the researcher and co-facilitator/research assistant and the young participants from the rural school responsible for the drama production, in an effort to create some interaction among young people and peer education. Weisz and Black (2010), Sloane and Zimmer (1993) and Milburn (1995) argue that with peer-education people are willing to change their attitude and behaviour if a person with the same circumstance or concerns reaches out to them. All prevention-education programmes/ workshops were one-day workshops.

The workshop-programme activities are outlined in Table 8.3 and activities or sessions were designed to build on the knowledge gained in the prior sessions. I go on to give a narrative of how the GBV-education workshop were conducted.



**Table 8.3 Outline of workshop activities.**

| AFFIRMATION<br>& CONFLICT<br>RESOLUTION<br>SESSION ONE  | GENERAL THEME<br>OF ACTIVITY          | ACTIVITY NAME   | CORE OR<br>FOLLOW UP<br>ACTIVITY | DURATION |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|----------|
|   | Affirmation                           | Adjective name game<br>Affirmation exercise:<br>what does your name<br>mean to you? | Core activity                    | 20min    |
|   | Brainstorm                            | What is GBV   | Core activity                    | 20min    |
|   | Communication                         | Sharing a conflict I<br>resolved non-violently                                      | Core activity                    | 30min    |
|   |                                       |   |                                  |          |
| GENDER<br>NORMS<br>SESSION<br>TWO                       | Differences between<br>gender and sex | Gender and sex  | Core activity                    | 20min    |
|   | Gender norms                          | Gender in an box  | Core activity                    | 60min    |
|   | Gender norms                          | Target shooting   | Follow up                        | 30min    |
|   | Empowerment activity                  | It's my right   | Follow up                        | 20min    |
|   |                                       |   |                                  |          |
|   |                                       |   |                                  |          |
| GBV IN THE<br>SCHOOL<br>ENVIRONMENT<br>SESSION<br>THREE | Types of GBV                          | Types of GBV  | Core activity                    | 30min    |
|   | GBV in the school<br>environment      | Scenarios of GBV in<br>school   | Core activity                    | 50min    |
|   | Empowerment activity                  | Vote with your feet   | Follow up<br>activity            | 30min    |
|   |                                       |   |                                  |          |
|   |                                       |   |                                  |          |
|   |                                       |   |                                  |          |
| GBV IN<br>ROMANTIC<br>RELATIONSHIPS<br>SESSION FOUR     | Myths and realities<br>about GBV      | Myths and realities about<br>GBV  | Core activity                    | 35min    |
|   | GBV in romantic<br>relationships      | Role play   | Core activity                    | 60min    |
|   | Empowerment activity                  | Bystander interventions   | Follow up<br>activity            | 25min    |

The GBV education workshops were held at the rural and urban school on the 17 and 23 of November 2015, respectively. The four areas of focus: affirmation and conflict resolution, gender norms, gender-based violence in the school environment and gender-based violence in romantic relationships were introduced in the training workshop.

### **Session One: Introductions**

In both the rural school and the urban school I introduced myself and the co-facilitator and narrated our relationship and the work we were doing. However, I made a special introduction of the action group who had helped organise the workshop and who were students from the school and that some participants happened to be in the same class as these action group members. The core facilitator, Petronella, welcomed the participants and asked them to introduce themselves. Before we could begin the business of the day, the participants agreed on ground rules that would guide the proceedings of

the workshop. Harper-Whalen and Morris (2007) emphasise on the importance of ground rules in workshops. The list below outlines some of the agreed-upon ground rules:

- Respect for each other's opinions;
- Listen to each other;
- Speak through the chair;
- Don't laugh at other peoples' responses;
- Speak loudly;
- Everyone is equal in the group;
- Freedom to ask questions without fear;
- Confidentiality

Ground rules sought to provide a free and enabling environment for participants to contribute their views without feeling shame or embarrassment. The session on affirmation and conflict-resolution permitted the participants to learn about the communication skills the exercises were designed for. These discussions allowed participants to build strong communication skills, conflict-resolution skills and peer advocacy to reduce and prevent gender-based violence among themselves and in the future.

### **Session two: Gender norms**

In this session the activities and exercises were aimed at bringing out the differences between biological sex and the social construction of gender. In this session participants were able to explore gender norms and stereotypes that are socially constructed and reinforced by the society. Practical questions were asked in the sessions for example, what it means to be a boy or a girl in the society. Masculinity and femininity were explored and beliefs on these aspects were challenged. In discussing gender stereotypes, participants were asked to search for the negative impacts where rigid gender norms affect both boys/men and girls/women. Understanding the connection between gender socialisation and gender inequalities and power hierarchies, was a very important part of this session because participants were able to explore and understand how the legitimisation of gender norms plays a role in gender-based violence. This session gave the participants a platform to acknowledge they did not have to conform to gender norms and gender stereotypes.

### **Session three: Gender-based violence in the school environment**

In the session, participants had to identify forms of violence in their school. For example, in one exercise they had to list types of punishments in their school and identify whether any of these punishments could be categorised as gender-based violence and also have comprehension of why these behaviours constitute gender-based violence. Here GBV was explored, its forms and its causes. The aim of this session was for participants to understand the impact of abuse and develop a feeling of

empathy for those who had experienced it and that violence/abuse is the perpetrator's choice not the fault or the responsibility of the victim. Looking at hierarchies of power, participants had to understand the connection between GBV individuals and the abuse of power. Techniques for challenging school mates/peer's attitudes and actions that support GBV in the school were identified. Participants also shared various ways of dealing with GBV incidences and were encouraged to come up with ideas on how they could make their schools a safer environment by standing up against GBV with support from their teachers.

#### **Session four: Gender-based violence in romantic relationships**

More often young people tend to minimise the violence that happens in their own relationships or, in most cases, they do not acknowledge it to be abusive behaviour. This may be so because most GBV interventions, for example, media, public awareness campaigns, target adult populations and GBV among adults. In this session participants identified and disqualified the common myth about GBV and the danger-warning signs of GBV in romantic relationships. Participants also discussed the difference of how boys and girls are affected by GBV and how, sometimes, violence in relationships can be tolerated. Reasons why GBV may not be challenged were also discussed. Participants explored ways in which they could safely respond to GBV incidences in romantic relationships and how they could protect themselves from GBV in romantic relationships.

After the implementation of the workshop, participants were engaged in an evaluation process to determine the immediate outcomes of the project. At the end of the workshops the participants completed a short questionnaire based on how they felt about the workshop and whether they had learnt anything. In addition to the questionnaires, a small focus group discussion was held with 12 students (five girls and seven boys). The discussion lasted about forty-five minutes and the aim was to find out their feelings about the programme, their opinions on the content and how it was delivered. The evaluation process used a participatory approach so as involve the participants in considering who institutes the evaluation process and gains from the results. The evaluation of the programme was based on the basic principles of participatory evaluation: participation (giving the people affected by the study the opportunity to voice the impacts of the project), negotiation (between young participants, researcher and research assistant on how and when data-gathering was going to be done, and how results would be disseminated and the cause of action); learning (determining any cumulative knowledge by participants) and flexibility (modifying the evaluation to suit local conditions and the participants. Participatory approach in the evaluation was used for its "emphasis on collective inquiry, analysis and reflection in findings to create the conditions for shared learning that links forward into action and future planning" (Elbakidze, Angelstam, Sandström and Axelsson 2010:6). The strength of the participatory approach lies in its ability to "capture the complexity and

richness of programme effects through the use of creative, generative tools and techniques than standardised techniques of assessment” (Elbakidze, Angelstam, Sandström and Axelsson 2010:6).

## **8.5 ACTUAL FINDINGS FROM THE EVALUATION OF THE GBV PREVENTION EDUCATION PROGRAM**

This section reports on the findings derived as part of an action project involving young people from an urban and rural school in Zimbabwe. Questionnaires and focus group discussions were used as tools to evaluate the gender-based violence education programme delivered in the two schools. Evaluation was conducted with young people between the ages of 14-18 to explore their opinions about the GBV-education programme (of which the principle aim of the project was to contribute to the long-term reduction of GBV) delivered at their school.

The strategy used to evaluate the project was a subjective-outcome evaluation because of its ability to help me examine the implementation and outcomes of the GBV-prevention education programme. In other words, subjective-outcome evaluation served the purpose of describing the perceptions of participants of the GBV-education programme. Subjective evaluation is common in youth-services settings and there are advantages of using subjective-outcome evaluation as a method of programme-evaluation (see chapter on methodology). The evaluation process of the workshop was divided into two parts. For the first stage, participants were asked to respond to an evaluation form (subjective-outcome evaluation form) just after the completion of the GBV-education workshops. A total of 25 participants from the rural school and 18 participants from the urban school responded to the evaluation form, overall making it 45 participants.

Prior to the collection of data, the research team explained the purpose of the evaluation and emphasised on the importance of confidentiality to the participants. It was explained to the participants that they were free to not engage in the evaluation process or withdraw from the process. The evaluation forms were self-administered, although the research team took time to read each question aloud to the participants. The evaluation form, adapted from Youth4youth (2012), Appendix D, was utilised for the purpose of measuring the perceptions of participants towards the GBV education programme. The evaluation measured the following areas:

- How participants perceived the overall project (i.e. looking at how the programme was designed, how it was delivered and its relevance.
- How participants perceived the facilitators (i.e. facilitators’ preparation, knowledge, delivery-mode and attitudes towards participants.
- How participants viewed the content delivered.

- Whether participants learnt anything from the programme.
- Whether participants had things they appreciated the most in the programme.
- Whether participants had suggestions regarding areas that needed improvement.

Overall the outcome evaluation measures included perceptions about the programme, perceptions about the facilitator and perceptions about the effectiveness of the programme. In summary the subjective evaluation measured (eg, process, program, and effectiveness).

After collecting the data, the research team placed the data in an EXCEL file and analysed it. Descriptive statistics were utilised to examine the perceptions of the participants. Numbers and percentages were used to show the participant's perceptions about the programme. Only those who reported positive ratings (i.e. ratings from 3 to 5 on a 5-point scale) on the outcome-evaluation measures mentioned above were shown in Table 8.3. Table 8.3 shows quantitative findings based on the closed-ended questions that are presented in the present paper (see Appendix D)

Looking at the first outcome measure, 83.5 per cent of the participants had positive responses toward the program. To be more precise, 91 per cent of the participants revealed that the programme had fulfilled their expectations and 93 per cent of the participants felt that the topics discussed were interesting. The majority of the participants responded positively when it came to the second outcome-measure, "Participant's perception on program facilitators", with 94 per cent having been satisfied with the programme facilitators and how the programme was delivered. For instance, 88 per cent of the participants reported that the facilitators were well prepared and 100 per cent said the workshop encouraged them to actively participate and contribute ideas. The Table also reveals that participants responded positively with regards to the programme's effectiveness. 83.3 per cent of participants perceived the programme to be effective. More specifically, 93 per cent of the participants acknowledged that the programme had helped them recognise GBV incidences.

The subjective-outcome evaluation of the gender-based violence prevention education programme examined participant's views on three broad outcome measures that is:

- (1) participants' subjective view of the programme;
- (2) participants' subjective view about programme- facilitators and
- (3) participants' view on the programme's effectiveness.

The findings from this subjective-outcome evaluation provide important insights into the implementation of the gender-based violence education programme. The participants of gender-based violence education programme generally had positive perceptions of the programme and its content,

the programme-facilitators and how the programme was delivered and also perceived the programme to be successful in providing information on GBV issues to young people and also providing an enabling environment whereby young people could share their experiences and come up with ideas to make their environment violence-free.

In summation, the research gave the general picture of the implementation and subject-outcome evaluation of the gender-based violence education programme from the participants' perspective. The evaluation was able to highlight the worth of the GBV-education programme by the fact that the majority of the young participants had positive reviews about the programme. The present study suggests that subjective outcome evaluation findings may yield useful information regarding program effectiveness in youth work settings.

In addition to quantitative feedback, participants were also invited to provide qualitative comments on what aspects of the GBV education program were most useful to their learning. Therefore the second part of the evaluation included the use of focus group discussions. The focus group was conducted at the rural school with young people to evaluate the GBV-prevention education programme they received in their school. The participants from this school were chosen due to their availability. In the focus group discussions, young people's views on what they enjoyed and did not enjoy about the programme were explored and suggestions on how the programme could be improved were discussed.

The focus group discussion was held with 12 participants (six girls and six boys). The theme of the discussion followed a similar theme to the action process, which focused on, programme content, delivery of the workshop and participation. These were not very far from the outcome measures used in evaluation by subjective questionnaires. Focus group discussion questions included:

1. To what extent did the workshop contribute to enhancing your knowledge and understanding of gender stereotypes and gender-based violence?
2. What is the most important thing that you have learnt?
3. Mention at least three aspects that you have particularly enjoyed about the training and why?
4. Which part of the workshop did you enjoy the least and why?

Responses from the discussions seem to indicate that the workshops contributed immensely in providing young people with new knowledge about gender-based violence and gender stereotypes. The workshop had high influence in young people's understanding of the relationship between gender norms and GBV.

**Table 8.4 Participants views on the outcome measures**

|   | (N)<br>Positive<br>Response | (%)<br>Percentage | (N)<br>Negative<br>Response | (%)<br>Percentage | (N) Total |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| <b>Participant's perception about the program</b>   |                             |                   |                             |                   |           |
| 1. The training fulfilled my expectations   | 39                          | 91                | 4                           | 9                 | 43        |
| 2. The topics discussed were interesting  | 40                          | 93                | 3                           | 7                 | 43        |
| 3. The topics discussed addressed issues that concern me in my everyday life  | 33                          | 77                | 10                          | 23                | 43        |
| 4. Would you like to participate in other similar workshops in the future   | 39                          | 91                | 4                           | 9                 | 43        |
| 5. Would you recommend such workshops to a friend   | 42                          | 98                | 1                           | 2                 | 43        |
| 6. Do you think that such workshops should be Conducted by teachers as part of the school curriculum  | 22                          | 51                | 21                          | 49                | 43        |
| <b>Total mean score</b>   | 35.8                        | 83.5              | 7                           | 16.5              | 43        |
| <b>Participant's perception on program facilitators</b>   |                             |                   |                             |                   |           |
| 1. The training methods used in the course promoted my active engagement  | 39                          | 91                | 4                           | 9                 | 43        |
| 2. The training activities stimulated my learning   | 43                          | 100               | 0                           | 0                 | 43        |
| 3. The training encouraged active participation and expression of ideas successfully  | 43                          | 100               | 0                           | 0                 | 43        |
| 4. I enjoyed the activities I participated in   | 38                          | 88                | 5                           | 12                | 43        |
| 5. Trainers were well prepared  | 38                          | 88                | 5                           | 12                | 43        |
| 6. Enough time was devoted to each session  | 40                          | 93                | 3                           | 7                 | 43        |
| 7. There was adequate time allocated for discussion questions   | 43                          | 100               | 0                           | 0                 | 43        |
| <b>Total mean score</b>   | 40.6                        | 94                | 2.4                         | 5                 | 43        |
| <b>Participant's perception of program effectiveness</b>  |                             |                   |                             |                   |           |
| 1. The theoretical aspect of the course was satisfactory  | 41                          | 95                | 2                           | 5                 | 43        |
| 2. To what extent did the workshop contribute to enhancing your knowledge and understanding of gender stereotypes and gender-based violence | 31                          | 72                | 12                          | 28                | 43        |
|   | 39                          | 91                | 4                           | 9                 | 43        |
| 3. Would you like to participate in other similar workshops in the future   | 40                          | 93                | 3                           | 7                 | 43        |
| 4. Workshop has helped you recognise incidences of gender-based violence  | 38                          | 88                | 5                           | 12                | 43        |
| 5. Workshop helped you recognise if your relationships are healthy or not   | 39                          | 91                | 4                           | 9                 | 43        |
| 6. Workshop helped you understand when your own behaviour may become unhealthy  | 41                          | 95                | 2                           | 5                 | 43        |
| 7. Workshop helped you to know what you should do if you or someone you care about is being abused  | 18                          | 42                | 25                          | 58                | 43        |
| 8. To what extent do you now feel ready and more capable to take action against incidences of GBV   | 35.8                        | 83.3              | 7                           | 16.6              | 43        |
| <b>Total mean score</b>   |                             |                   |                             |                   |           |

Positive view = rating of 3 or above on a 5-point scale; negative view = rating below 3 on a 5-point scale

The findings from the focus group are similar to those of the questionnaire as 91 percent of the participants acknowledged that the workshop contributed to the enhancement of their knowledge and understanding of gender stereotypes and gender-based violence.

*The information was simplified and because, fun ways made it easy for us to understand, especially discussing in groups then presenting in front of everyone. (Girl A)*

*Some topics were more interesting than others, for example when we learnt about boys and girls (Gender norms), this was interesting. But again it depends with individuals preferences. (Boy A)*

*I didn't know that gender stereotypes were in the first after gaining some knowledge on gender stereotypes, it became clear to me that a simple thing like who should be doing what and what time, as in what women should do and what men should is a potential cause of gender-based violence (Boy B)*

*The workshop helped me a lot as it opened my eyes to what gender-based violence is, how interesting that anyone can easily become, a victim and a perpetrator, women are affected by this and also the men are affected (Girl B)*

*This was a great workshop, it helped me to see that, the way we view each other as individuals or as boys and girls contributes to how we see gender-based violence we determine the seriousness of gender-based violence (Girl C)*

*I would say this workshop has contributed a lot towards me understanding a couple of things surrounding gender-based violence. When we spoke of all these weird words like gender norms, gender stereotypes, gender roles, I was lost but after getting the gist, I realised that some of the things that I thought were true and could not be disputed turn out to be gender stereotypes and many are times not true (Boy C)*

*Hmmm.... Out of 10, I would say 8, this is how much this workshop contributed to my understanding of gender-based violence issues (Boy D)*

*I am confident that I now can define what gender-based violence is unlike before when I was mumbling searching for the right words in an attempt to describe gender-based violence. Thumbs up to the workshop for improving knowledge (Boy E)*

*I came into this workshop with a bunch of things I considered normal for example when the facilitator gave an example of gender stereotype in the form of this statement 'boys do not do housework and they do not have the responsibility of taking care of children' I was surprised*



*because to me it was normal, but what we were supposed to understand is that everyone is an individual and can do anything, these rules and restriction creates friction between men and women (Boy F)*

*The workshop helped a lot in terms of giving us necessary information about gender-based violence (Girl D)*

*It was an eye-opening experience after the workshop I had a better understanding of gender-based violence and gender stereotypes (Girl E)*

*The workshop was very good I was able to understand these things, gender stereotypes and gender-based violence because it was simple to follow unlike when you are in the classroom (Girl F)*

Young people were asked about the most important thing they learnt in the workshops. The responses that were mentioned include:

*Types of gender-based violence (Girl A)*

*Boys and girls are equal regardless of our differences (Boy A)*

*Respect is very important in relationships because it minimises unnecessary conflicts or misunderstandings (Girl B)*

*The gender stereotypes associated with gender-based violence (Boy B)*

*The causes of gender-based violence (Girl C)*

*Young people have a role to play in reducing gender-based violence in our community (Boy C)*

*The true and false of gender-based violence (Girl D)*

*How to treat others and to deal with violent behaviour (Boy D)*

*It is good to affirm yourself and others around you it cultivates positivity (Girl E)*

*Communication is very important it has the potential to fix things or make them worse (Boy E)*

*Behaviours that constitute gender-based violence and the ability to tell apart a healthy relationship from an unhealthy one (Girl F)*

*Gender-based violence is simply not acceptable (Boy F)*

The participants were also asked what they enjoyed most about the workshops and why they enjoyed it. It is evident that the participants enjoyed different activities in the workshop. Their responses included:

*Affirmation..... Because it was funny how some of us were doing the opposite thing and giving ourselves negative adjectives the facilitators had us do it again until we learnt how to affirm ourselves (6 participants)*

*Drama.....because the group that performed the drama were so good and their piece was entertaining as well as educative. It shows that also young people can spread the message on nonviolence (12 participants)*

*Vote with your feet..... Because it was refreshing, entertaining, and energetic and yet we learnt something whilst playing at the same time (12 participants)*

*Gender box.....because we were able to discuss and exchange ideas in small groups and in front of all the participants just hearing the different perspectives was interesting (10 participants)*

*Myths and Realities..... because it showed me that sometimes that the things we believe are true are actually far from being reality (11participants)*

The focus group also highlighted that, the way the workshop was delivered, was preferred by most of the participants. They reported that it was engaging, exciting and thought-provoking. The use of games and group discussions and presentations was favoured more than having the facilitator speak for a long time. These findings are also reflected in the subjective-outcome evaluation through the use of questionnaires, whereby the majority of the participants (94 per cent) perceived that the programme-facilitators were well-prepared and delivered the workshop in an interesting and captivating manner.

*It was different from the way we learn in class, where its either you are right or wrong, there is no time to be silly and play games. (Boy B)*

*It's funny how one can learn something about themselves through playing games (Girl B)*

*Having different people conducting the workshop other than our teacher was fun because we could be ourselves. It was just nice to have different people than the teachers we are used to and see throughout the whole learning year (Girl C)*

With regards to the question, which part did you enjoy the least and why. The responses included:

*I wish we had more time for the workshop and not be rushed on other subjects (8 participants)*

*Filling questionnaires is tiring after going through the workshop all of a sudden you need to complete questionnaires (4 participants)*

*The workshop was too long (2 participants)*

However, despite all the responses here, the focus group discussions indicated that participants felt privileged to be part of the workshop as students revealed that the environment enabled them to participate in issues that were relevant to everyday life enabling the young people to contribute their views freely. The workshop was centred on the participation of young people and the young participants were given that space to lead in discussions and activities.

*Taking part in formulating the workshop, then along with my other colleges, coming up with drama and songs, I felt important and part of the intervention (Boy D)*

*It was really nice being part of the workshop as it was my first time to be part of such a learning environment that is not uptight (Girl A)*

*I wish this could go on for ever because being part of the action group and workshop was like a project to me different from the school extra curricula activities that we have, I enjoyed it (Girl B)*

*Participating in this workshop has made me feel so empowered (Girl C)*

The overall response that came from the students was, having such workshops was fun, yet at the same time informative. They went on to highlight that if such interventions/workshops were part of school curriculum that would be beneficial because these were life issues. When asked if they would recommend the workshop to other students in their schools they all agreed. Thus, the findings outlined in this study, have a high relevance and implications for the design of gender-based violence prevention programmes, particularly for youth development.

## **8.6 DISCUSSION**

The first session aimed to introduce and familiarise young people with concepts of affirmation and communication and brainstorm on the meaning of gender-based violence. The participants were taken through interactive and experiential activities to improve communication skills and cultivate respect for self. The exercises in this session were meant to develop skills and attitudes for dealing with

conflict, like understanding and believing in oneself, respect for others, communicating and controlling strong feelings of anger. The affirmation exercise seemed to be confusing at first for the participants, but once they got the hang of it, they started to enjoy it. Affirmation exercise assisted participants to have better listening skills and share what is good or positive about one another.

The session aimed to build self-respect among participants, because if individuals have respect for self it is easier for them to believe that they need to be treated with respect and care and also that they can make a difference, of which this can be very difficult for some people. This session was important as it tried to open up the minds of young people and make them realise that committing to nonviolence meant that they did not deserve violence and were not the ones to be blamed for violence perpetrated against them, especially gender-based violence.

Other key lessons in this session were a) think before reacting and b) self-awareness. Violence regardless of the form it takes can be an instantaneous rash response, therefore nonviolence needs careful consideration. Emotions are part and parcel of relationships and conflict, therefore adopting problem-solving techniques is crucial. Underpinning this session was relationships founded on respect and care, because violence is less likely to occur in such relationships. Finally self-awareness was another key lesson as it encourages an individual to respond well to conflict, because one is aware of their communication style and other people around react, self-awareness has a unique way of dealing with latent conflict. "Communication for social change plays a critical role in promoting violence prevention work. Effective communication helps to build awareness and understanding of gender-based violence, and drive social change toward a more peaceful and non-violent future". According to a study by Wolfe et al. (2003), their major findings were that alternatives to relationship aggression, healthy communication and conflict resolution skills and gender-based expectations incorporated into training programme was effective in reducing the occurrence of physical and emotional violence and signs of emotional distress. Other studies have also evidence of the positive effects of relationship education, communication and conflict resolution skills of young people (Antle et al 2011).

However, this session seemed to have a great influence on the participants, although they had appeared confused at first. They showed a willingness to participate and embrace the activities. Although some had challenges in coming up with adjectives for the name game and affirm themselves they were given time to think and share something positive about themselves. Overall this session boosted the morale and self-confidence of participants, which helped throughout the workshop.

The second session went on to introduce and enlighten young people on the notions of gender roles, gender norms and gender stereotypes. The participants were educated using experiential and

interactive activities so that they could recognise the difference between sex and gender, examine the expectations of being a boy or girl in their community, find out how gender stereotypes are constructed, recognise that gender roles and gender stereotypes are social constructs and that they are changeable, examine the effects of gender roles and stereotypes in their lives and how it fuels gender-based violence and finally defy gender stereotypes and realise that they have a right to live in a violent free environment.

Participants had no problem keeping up with this session, they followed it very closely. Activities such as the ‘gender in the box’ was the major highlight as participants demonstrated a lot of excitement and vivid participation. This allowed them to discuss gender roles and stereotypes that were borne by both girls and boys. The responses clearly painted the picture of Zimbabwean society expectations of what it means to be a man and to be a woman. Outstanding representations of men and women are outlined in table 8.4 below.

**Table 8.5 young people’s perceptions of the notions of femininity and masculinity**

| <b>Notions of Femininity</b>   | <b>Notions of Masculinity</b>   |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Beautiful</li> <li>• Mature</li> <li>• Modest</li> <li>• Shy</li> <li>• Humble</li> <li>• Religious</li> <li>• Ethical</li> <li>• Courteous</li> <li>• Well-mannered</li> <li>• Does not use foul language</li> <li>• Should be well groomed</li> <li>• Dress modestly, not in short, tight and revealing clothes</li> <li>• Must be faithful to their husbands/partner</li> <li>• Must be educated</li> <li>• Must have a job but carry themselves well at that job</li> <li>• Must not be wasteful, know how to run a household under a budget</li> <li>• Should have respect</li> <li>• Must be caring</li> <li>• Must never refuse husband’s advances and should be able to satisfy husbands conjugal needs</li> <li>• Be confident</li> <li>• Should raise children to be well-mannered</li> <li>• Should be patient</li> <li>• Should be good wives.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Should fulfil his responsibilities (take care of his wife and children and extended family)</li> <li>• Should be a man of his word</li> <li>• Should be strong</li> <li>• Should be handsome</li> <li>• Should be well educated</li> <li>• Should have money</li> <li>• Should respect women</li> <li>• Should be innovative</li> <li>• Should not show weakness</li> <li>• Should always be the head in a relationship</li> </ul> |

In general, men were expected to be well educated, strong, with money and providers for the family, whereas women were expected to be respectful, dress modestly, take care of the children, their husbands and themselves. As it can be noticed women had a long list of things they were expected to do compared to men. It is also evident from these notions of femininities and masculinities that young people characterise men and women according to societal expectations, this is indicative of that young people have well-established gender norms and gender stereotypes, which they assert through conformity with the patriarchal/traditional way of making sense of reality. Participants began to realise that some of the notions they had outlined were not attainable, they understood that all these characteristics were meant to put individuals in boxes. After this it was easier for them to understand gender norms, gender roles and gender stereotypes. They also understood that agents of socialisation (family, school and friends) played a role in reinforcing these attitudes and expectations.

Overall, young people participating in this exercise aroused some energy as they went into groups and discussed, and in those groups volunteers emerged to share the results of their discussions. There was a slight veer off in gender expectations, particularly for girls from traditional to egalitarian for example they were expected to be educated, be employed and be confident. This is indicative of that gender norms, gender roles and gender stereotypes are changeable as time moves on, whereby some characteristics that were unacceptable for women have become acceptable, the same applies to men.

I agree with the World Health Organisation's analysis that:

The relationship between gender and violence is complex. The different roles and behaviours of females and males, children as well as adults, are shaped and reinforced by gender norms within society. These are social expectations that define appropriate behaviour for women and men (e.g. in some societies, being male is associated with taking risks, being tough and aggressive and having multiple sexual partners). Differences in gender roles and behaviours often create inequalities, whereby one gender becomes empowered to the disadvantage of the other. Thus, in many societies, women are viewed as subordinate to men and have a lower social status, allowing men control over, and greater decision-making power than, women (2009:3)

The third session introduced young people to various types of violence and enlighten them on gender-based violence particularly within the school environment. Participants were educated through experiential and interactive activities so that they could conceptualise gender-based violence, describe the types of gender-based violence, understand the causes of gender-based violence (particularly understand how gender roles, gender norms and gender stereotypes contribute to gender-based violence), explore what can be done as a response to gender-based violence in the schools and what role they can play in addressing GBV.

In this session young people outlined different behaviours associated with GBV in the schools and they also acknowledged the causes and effects of these behaviours. Violence among young people seemed to be normalised however, that was challenged and they were made to realise GBV was present in their interactions and had consequences. However, the most important themes that emerged from participants' discussions is that violence serious regardless of its form and that victim blaming and justification was wrong. What was noted is that individuals needed to be respected whether they conformed to social expectations or not. Their response to GBV was that, affected individuals should not be silent about it, rather they should let a friend, a teacher or someone who they trust. Also people who witness violence for example, those who witness someone being bullied, they need not be silent about it. However, it was hard to get over the fact that most of the young people had blamed the victim for the violence perpetrated against him/her and expresses that people get abused because they behave in a certain way or that they allow it. This took us back to the social expectations that had been discussed in session two, as a reminder of not boxing individuals.

The last session introduced and enlightened young people on GBV in intimate relationships. Participants were educated through experiential and interactive activities so that they could tell apart the myths and realities of GBV, recognise unhealthy relationships, examine their own responses to GBV in romantic relationships, examine the reasons why it is difficult to challenge GBV and come up with ways of responding to GBV in intimate relationships in a way that young people remain safe.

Young people were engaged in an activity to identify myths and realities about GBV in intimate relationships. Young people were reminded that victims were not to be blamed for violence perpetrated against them, rather it was the perpetrator's choice to commit violence. They were also reminded that GBV takes different forms. All these reminders served as reflections for participants so that they constantly remembered key messages of the workshop. The discussions also highlighted that young people's relationships were not exempt from GBV and the signs of GBV were visible in their own relationships they should respond cautiously and talk to someone. The concept of bystanders was brought into the discussion reiterating that those who witness violence have a role to play in supporting victims of GBV. Flood (2010:2) argues that "silence and encouragement of bystanders, particularly men, allows men's violence against women to continue".

The activity of myths and realities of GBV appeared to be effective in defying deep-rooted myths associated with violent behaviour. Even though young people had managed to identify some common myths associated with violence some statements were not identified correctly as they believed the myths to be true. Majority of boys and some of the girls in the workshops argued that girls provoke violence by the way they dress. This brought about the justification of violence and victim blaming.

The participants were reminded that violence was choice of the perpetrator. These reminders were done so that participants would understand that violence no matter what circumstance was unacceptable.

The drama/ role play followed and was reported to be the most enjoyable and effective activity throughout the workshop. The role play had been prepared beforehand by the rural action group because there were reservations of doing an impromptu role play. The play highlighted that anyone can suffer from GBV and anyone can perpetrate GBV, even young people. The role play was coupled with song and poem all that had a message on gender-based violence. The key message was of this session was that GBV is entrenched in young people's lives and often goes without condemnation, but only blaming of the victim. Hence being able to identify behaviours associated with GBV would assist participants recognise whether their relationships were healthy or not. Session four proved to be lengthy and the time allocated to it was limited. However, the key points that emerged from this session are that young people harboured gender stereotypes that prevented them from taking some GBV instances seriously, and the constant debate on victim blaming kept on resurfacing. In a nutshell the session attempted to address healthy and unhealthy relationship behaviour, communication and conflict resolution skills, together with general problem solving learnt in session one. In analysing this session and perhaps the entire programme, this training educates young people to establish and maintain healthy relationships as well as stay clear from and end unhealthy relations.

In the light of these findings it could be considered that the *Gender-Based Violence Education Training Workshops* succeeded in revealing the benefits of affirmation, being true to oneself, respect for self and others, constructive communication in difficult situations and the recognition that conflict management skills are already embedded in individuals. The workshops were also able to challenge the deep-rooted gender stereotypes and acceptance of GBV among young people extending the invitation to them to practice self-respect and stand up against GBV.

Overall, participants appeared to be happy and satisfied with the workshops. The young people commended the facilitation as it was actively engaging and topics were relevant. What stands out of these workshops is that young people acknowledged having learnt how to identify gender stereotypes, types of GBV, causes and impacts of GBV and GBV behaviour even in their own relationships and that after the workshops, they had the capacity to take a stand against GBV issues.

On the basis of the experiences I gained from the development and implementation of the action project, this initiative would do better if it was a continuous project done every year within the schools than just a once off project, because once off projects are forgotten about in no time at all.



Because of the action research methodology employed in this study my assumption is that both action groups will continue to facilitate the life of the project or come up with other projects to address GBV in their communities. I would also suggest that the duration of the workshops be increased as my co-facilitator and I had troubles keeping to the time and participants were rushed in some instances. The sessions of the workshops could be spread out within the school system, for example, have a day allocated for each session. In this context the workshops were one-day workshops of which this was a limitation to the study. Based on available sources, I have not come across an existing programme in place, particularly in school structures that deals with gender-role socialisation for young people as a means of primary prevention of gender-based violence. There is sufficient usefulness of the current project. Moreover, as an educational initiative that challenges expectations or rigid gender roles, gender norms and stereotypes, *Gender-Based Violence Education Training Programme* bears a message that is beyond doubt valuable to all regardless of whether participants are at risk of committing GBV or not.

However, the study did face limitations, because there was no follow up data. While participants reported the immediate gains in knowledge, skills and positive attitudes. Sustainability of these improvements/ gains over time is a major consideration. There is need to tie the immediate outcomes to long term outcomes such as reduction GBV. Another limitation was that the measure of skills was subjective, in other words measure of skills was self-reported. Participants may have exaggerated their level of knowledge gained (i.e. good communication, conflict resolution skills, gender stereotypes, masculinities and femininities, healthy relationship behaviour). Nevertheless their belief in challenging and avoiding GBV is an act of behavioural intention. Other studies reveal that there is a strong link between behavioural intention and current/actual behaviour (Josephson and Proulx 2008).

In summary, because the *Gender-Based Violence Education Training Programme* targets young people in addressing factors acknowledged to contribute to GBV such as: rigid gender-role socialisation, acceptance of traditional masculine and feminine gender roles, pro violent behaviour such as wife beating, bullying and poor conflict resolution skills makes this initiative unique and promising in the fight against gender-based violence.

## **8.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter outlined the results of the design, implementation and evaluation of the Gender-based violence prevention education programme, which focused on understanding masculinity, gender relations, gender attitudes, gender-based violence and exploring ways to foster and facilitate local change. All guided by the principles of action research. This chapter started with a summary of what

works in GBV prevention so as to identify promising practices in gender-based violence prevention. This was followed by the results of the action-research process to develop the action project/intervention and the findings of the actual evaluation of the intervention were presented. The next chapter focuses on my reflections on action research which was an anchor of this study.

## **CHAPTER 9**

# **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: REFLEXIVE DISCUSSION ON ACTION RESEARCH PROCESS**

*“The capacity to reflect on one's own strength and weaknesses, to learn from constructive criticism, and to practice critical reflection by monitoring one's own work performance and interpersonal interactions is essential to the ability to learn from experience and is the cornerstone of the journey to becoming a lifelong learner.”*

(Judith McNamara & Rachel Field 2007)

### **9.1 INTRODUCTION**

The previous chapter presented on the design, implementation and evaluation of the Gender-Based Violence Prevention Programme. This was based on one of the aims of the study which was the design, implementation and evaluation of the action project/intervention. However, I felt the study would be incomplete without evaluating or reflecting on the action-research process used in the study to develop a subsequent intervention. I have chosen to write a reflection of this research as a means to demonstrate the feasibility and drawbacks of working with young people collaboratively on a small scale to prevent gender-based violence. This gave me the opportunity to enhance understanding of the methodology and highlight its strengths and weaknesses. In this chapter I retrace the application of the action-research process and my reflection and discourse will highlight the principles of action-research- (reciprocity, reflexivity and reflection) and show how these have been present throughout the research process. This discussion is guided by my participation in the action-research process. Robertson (2000) suggest that action research is a complicated method of research and not a tidy process. Therefore, researchers are always faced with a basket of challenging experiences.

### **9.2 ACTION RESEARCH AND YOUNG PEOPLE**

From the onset, the research was based on a proactive approach in the sense that there was going to be provision of a training intervention/workshop to educate and empower young people on gender-based violence issues. The participants as a young population needed to be engaged in the fight against gender-based violence, therefore the action research methodology made it possible because it was

contextualised to suit young people so as to cultivate their participation in coming up with solutions for issues that affect them. This research was designed to investigate an intervention that allowed young people to plan, reflect and act. Unlike in traditional research, where the researcher is the principle and comes up with findings, in this research, young people were involved all the way in the action research. As I dealt with issues and problems facing them, I kept them involved, informed and interested. For example, the findings from the survey questionnaire and the focus group discussions were shared with them.

According to Bozlak and Kelley (2014:71), “traditional research has failed to engage youth as co-investigators in the research process, it has been conducted on (rather than with) youth excluding their subjective experiences and perception.” Therefore, this reveals that action research that engages young people is needed. In some literature action research that involves youth is referred to as *youth participatory action research* (YPAR). YPAR is a research method used by researchers who have the intention to treat young people as participants in the research rather than just as subjects to the study. Bozlak and Kelley (2014:72) suggest that YPAR is the most appropriate method “when young people’s voices need to be heard, as opposed to the adult as youth voice.”

For this study it was important for me to involve young people in local action in the attempt to prevent gender-based violence amongst themselves and the community at large and also to encourage the young people to envision future possibilities for themselves. I eventually realised that using youth-participatory research presented the youth the opportunity to be involved in GBV issues. Not only is it a good choice of method for academic researchers wanting to engage youth, but community based organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and government departments can effectively do the work of YPAR.

According to Bozlak and Kelley (2014), YPAR is constructed to come up with interventions to address consequential problems that face young people and simultaneously equip them with knowledge, skills and capabilities they require to make it in life. Similarly, the current study made use of YPAR to equip young people with knowledge, skills and foster their action/participation in violence prevention. The study provided a window of opportunity to regard with attention and represent an action strategy by young people.

### **9.3 RECIPROCITY IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS STUDY**

Maiter et al. (2008:306) assert that “reciprocity has important implications for the quality of relationships, outcomes, knowledge, significance, and consequences of participatory action research”. There are various definitions of reciprocity, Trainor et al. (2013:986) it is a “researcher-participant

relationship in which each contributes something the other needs or desires. Participants devote their time, effort, experiences and wisdom to inform and shape the researcher's study".

Sofaer (2014:457) defines reciprocity as

"a reason for researchers to benefit participants that does not depend on the contingent psychology of researcher or participant, unlike reasons based on participants' actual expectations of benefits or researchers' emotional engagement or friendship with participants".

Maiter further posits that:

"Reciprocity is a personalised form of exchange in which there is an expectation of return that takes place between people who have social bond, which is strengthened by the exchange. It reinforces egalitarian relationships ....." (Maiter et al 2008:307).

With these definitions it is clear that, in order for the action research to go well, there was need for reciprocity. Reiterating the processes in the action research, the purpose of the study was discussed with the participants and the invitation to be collaborators in the research was extended, along with the benefits of a reciprocal relationship. The participants were keen to be part of the study as they had never been involved in any research of this nature in the capacity of collaborators. They were prepared to support the study, highlighting the fact that there was lack of information and awareness of GBV in their schools and communities. In an attempt to familiarise them with the research topic, a lunch- meeting was held with the participants and, although the participants were known to each other, it gave them the opportunity to be acquainted with each other and also gave me the opportunity to build a relationship with these young people. For the participants, being part of the project certainly did give them a positive reputation.

In the course of the study, a culture of research ensued among the action group, in the sense that they were learning, exploring and sharing ideas on how the intervention would address gender-based violence issues. As the study progressed, the young people realised that they were part of the research process and their ideas influenced the direction of the intervention. At the same time I gained an understanding of the young people, their fears, and experiences at an individual, school and community level. I strongly believe that the action-research methodology made it possible for this to happen because the research study took place in a familiar setting, and the nature of action-research methods encouraged and allowed participants to research and come up with an action project.

However, the young people viewed me as the principle researcher, whereas they saw themselves as active participants. Although participants may have felt this way unconsciously, it proved to be a challenge for me, because it meant that I had to give up some power over the research and constantly remind myself that this was a collaboration with the young participants and created space for reciprocity to thrive. Maiter et al. (2008:319) suggests that “Committing time to develop reciprocal relationships means addressing power differentials and creating environments where meaningful exchanges can occur.” Lather (1986:263) suggests that ‘Reciprocity implies give-and-take, a mutual negotiation of meaning and power’, between the researcher and researched. However, I thought it to go beyond that, because participants formed a research team this meant that as a group they needed to spell out responsibilities and be committed to each other so as to come up with and agree to what type of intervention would appeal to other youth populations, for example, the students they would invite to become part of the gender-based violence prevention education workshops.

Because the study operated within a cycle of action research I had to create a system of feedback at every stage of the study in order to attain a reciprocal relationship between the young people and myself. Within the action groups I constantly reiterated the importance of their participation and their position as “transformers” or change agents in the issues of gender-based violence. My presence in the action-group sessions prompted the young people to reflect on their ideas for the intervention and also my presence served as a tool to steer their behaviour to positivity and manage the group dynamics.

There were significant benefits of reciprocity in the study. As suggested by Maiter et al. (2008) the key principle of reciprocity is the essence of what is exchanged and the effect of that exchange. Participants benefited from different aspects of the project and the project gave them the platform to improve their knowledge and skills, and, most importantly, to make substantial contributions to the prevention of gender-based violence. There was a mutual exchange in the project. Being part of the project, I was able to gain professionally, and this is in terms of academic papers and the chance to sharpen my skills in the design and management of action-research projects, particularly youth-participatory action research. On a personal level, I had the opportunity to learn more about the young people, to whom, in most cases, GBV-prevention programs are not directed. And, also, relationships were forged that will be of use in future collaborations.

## **9.4 REFLECTION**

Reflection in the study was a very important tool for both the participants and researcher, because it helped the research move forward in terms of providing ideas and information. Using the scholarship of Kemmis (1985:141) “reflection is not purely internal, psychological process it is action oriented

and historically embedded.” He say that, “when we stop to think to reflect we do so in order to take stock of something that has happened, in order to prepare ourselves for action or usually to do both” (Kemmis, 1985:141).

As I was reflecting on the methodology, I borrowed Kemmis’ (1985:140) principles on reflection, listed below:

1. Reflection is not a purely internal, psychological process, it is action-oriented and historically-embedded.
2. Reflection is not a purely individual process, like language, it is a social process.
3. Reflection serves human interest; in turn, it is a political process.
4. Reflection is shaped by ideology; in turn it shapes ideology.
5. Reflection is a practice which expresses our power to reconstitute social life by the way we participate in communication, decision-making and social- action.
6. Research methods which fail to take into account these aspects of reflection are, at best, limited and, at worst, mistaken. To improve reflection, the study of reflection must explore the double dialectic of thought and action, the individual and society.
7. A research programme for the improvement of reflection must be conducted through self-reflection: it must engage specific individuals and groups in ideology-critique and participatory, collaborative and emancipatory action research.

Reflection was used as a resource to create opportunities for participants’ collaboration in the gender-based violence prevention education programme. The programme involved providing participants a voice in the power to select and development of the action-project/ intervention with specific emphasis on the ‘what, how and who’. The participants were seen as a reflective and self-reflective community of researchers. The participants had the task to research and discover what they wanted to constitute the content of the intervention and how it was to be delivered and who was to deliver it. In the case of rural participants this meant they also had to research so that they could come up with a meaningful drama, songs and poems. Whilst they rehearsed their production, the participants did highlight the fact that it was helpful for the researcher to be present to maintain the collaboration among the participants and enforce some sort of leadership among the participants. However, most importantly, they valued my input in terms of the constructive criticism gave them. In other words, participants saw my role as leader and expert and relied on me to steer the action groups.

Following this, participants were questioned on the knowledge they had on gender-based violence, for example, as far the definition of gender-based violence was concerned, some had mixed responses and were ambiguous. This meant that things they did not know would be included in the programme.

However, as the primary researcher, there were other issues that the participants did not pick up and that I felt would be of benefit in the programme, such gender roles and stereotypes, which, in most cases, have a bearing in GBV issues. In the discussions with the action groups, since we had highlighted the need to do a review of what the participants knew and did not know about the topic, it was imperative to ask them how the knowledge-transfer was to be done. Therefore, the agreement on the training-workshop type of learning environment, together with the use of song, drama and poetry by the rural action-group participants.

Taking a step back, the topic of GBV-prevention was a topic that all the participants could relate to. I, therefore, created an environment in which they could reflect on their own experiences by moulding the discussions on participants' absolute reflection on the prevention of GBV-topic participants' self-reflection on how they went about researching on the topic and here they were also given a chance to explore their insights about what they had discovered about the topic. I also factored in my own reflections on the methods used to come up with intervention. With every discussion participants were actively engaged in reflection and self-reflection. In other words, they were involved in the process of planning, acting, observing, reflecting and evaluating as a collective. By engaging the participants in participation and collaboration in the study, it was possible to reflect on the processes throughout the action project.

In order to make the process of reflection easier, participants in the action group and I kept diaries so that we could jot down the activities and progress with the action-project/intervention. The use of these notes made in the diaries provided a written record of activities and self-reflection about the action-research process. The use of diaries encouraged a culture of self-reflection. And borrowing the words of Beasley, (1981 cited in Boud, Keogh and Walker 2013:160), the use of diaries assists participants to become "reflexive spectators who reflect on their actions and transform their ideas and their future action in the light of reflection". Because study was practical for the participants and myself, it brought out the action researchers in everyone. There was a constant use of action research characteristics throughout the action project (planning stage, acting stage, developing stage and reflecting stage). However, this did take time to develop, it was not instant.

According to Waters-Adams (1994:207) "the process of action research can appear to enhance peoples' confidence in their practice, but on the other hand 'the act of making practice problematic can be very demoralising and it can raise so many issues of concern that confidence is severely damaged". I observed this with the action groups as the action groups responded differently towards the action-research process. The rural-school participants were very enthusiastic and willing to participate more in the action process whereas the urban participants need to be motivated more and were comfortable with the primary researcher calling the shots and them contributing what they could



to the school. There were eighteen participants in the workshop at the urban school. This can be alluded to the fact that action-group participants may have not been able to get into the role of collaborative researchers and use various skills for their benefit (goal setting, planning, observing, listening, reflection, evaluation and setting time frames). Unlike the urban participants, the rural participants were able to work collaboratively amongst themselves to bring something extra to the intervention. This, then, prompted me to ask the action group from the rural school to be part of the urban participants work shop as “facilitators” to foster peer education and to encourage them to understand that one person does have a voice and can contribute to the prevention of gender-based violence. As I went through this process of reflection I observed that, as a researcher, I am not able to command how the collective participation of action-research groups is going to advance.

## **9.5 REFLEXIVITY**

The process of reflexivity is very important in action research. Malterud (2001:483-484) states that “a researcher's background and position will affect what they choose to investigate, the angle of investigation, the methods judged most adequate for this purpose, the findings considered most appropriate, and the framing and communication of conclusions.” Reflexivity is seen as a role of the researcher. Stirling (2006:227) describes reflexivity as “the way in which the attributes of the subject help condition the representation of the object and how these representations themselves can help recondition the subject.” In other words, the view or attitude of the researcher moulds the whole research. According to Wittmayer and Schöpke (2014:489), taking up action research “includes being one's own research instrument. This instrument, oneself, can also change throughout the research process. Most action research includes a self-reflexive practice with regard to the one's own normative orientation and to internal and external power dynamics.” To some extent power dynamics were present in the action research and reflexivity was used to address the challenges. Robertson (2000) points out that all the data that is collected and interpreted goes through a filter which is represented by existing information on the topic, the researcher's beliefs, values and experiences. Robertson further asserts that reflexivity can be achieved through critical inquiry as it is helpful in developing the self-awareness of the researcher and participants. In this study reflexivity was achieved through reflections in the dialogical meetings (both of the research communities had meetings once a week) and use of journals.

In action research there are steps that encourage reflexivity and reflexive design. These include:

- 1) designing research that includes multiple investigators— this encourages communication and drives at the growth of complementary and divergent conceptualisations of the research and

creates a situation whereby the researchers' values, beliefs, views and assumptions can be disclosed and debated;

- 2) develops a reflexive journal—as mentioned earlier the participants and researcher kept diaries for the purposes of reflection. However, the use of diaries is still important when it comes to reflexivity in action research. This type of reflexive journaling helped me to make regular entries throughout the research process. I recorded methodological decisions and the reasons behind these decisions, the logistics of the research and reflection of my values and interests as the research went on. In other words, I recorded my personal feelings about the research. The use of journaling created an enabling environment for the team to reflect and space for the research participants to freely express their concerns and deal with them throughout the research; and
- 3) report research perspectives, positions, values and beliefs in manuscripts and other publications--- it is important to give a brief report about how the researcher's preconceptions, beliefs, values, assumptions, perception and position affected the study.

As I look back to the research it is very evident to me that it was beyond the bounds of possibility to observe from a distance or be an onlooker in the research, I had to be hands on. What I mean by being hands on is, although I was involved in the project, I had to go beyond and actively involve the young people/participants in the study and, at the same time, exert myself and experience. Acknowledging my involvement in the study and exerting myself in the study was very important because the research community (research collaborators) needed to be aware of my willingness and position in the research. The awareness given to the research community was made possible through the dialogical meetings we had together, and these meetings also elicited reflexivity. The research community was made aware of their obligations as researchers in order to keep them interested and involved in the study. Accordingly, research participants become more self-aware, and this attitude encouraged them to realise that they too had a position in the study. Wittmayer and Schöpke (2014:493) maintain that “Reflexivity makes it possible to re-adjust principles, goals and processes by inviting multiple interpretations in the common knowledge production process. It further gives the researcher the means to deal with the multitude of activities and roles that arise throughout the research practice.”

As the primary researcher I realised that academicians are not the sole custodians of knowledge. Knowledge can be generated by anyone even young people. Action research helped both research participants and researcher to be engaged in dialogical meetings and critiques essential in the development of the action project/intervention. The research participants realised that in the meetings they could raise awareness of things that were happening in their schools, for example, the issue of bullying. Participants, particularly those from the rural school began to brain-storm how they would make the school aware of the negative impacts of bullying whether it happened inside the school or

out. This highlights the emancipatory nature of action research (see Cammarota and Fine 2010 and Kinsler, 2010). Research participants from the rural school, featured messages of bullying in their drama production to show its negativity. In other words, as a researcher I was able to a certain extent play the change-agent role, in the sense that these research participants got thinking of how they would address problems in their school. However, I did face an immense challenge of integrating the change-agent role with urban research participants.

## 9.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has described the action research methodology used in this study to develop the *Gender-Based Violence Prevention Education Programme*. Action research can be used in data collection but, in this case, it was used by a community of researchers to come up with an intervention to address the prevention of GBV. A lot of awareness on gender-based violence can be achieved through the facilitation of critical-dialogical discussions. Action research can serve a number of purposes, which are, it can be done just for research and it can be done for action purposes which, in turn, may lead to the emancipation of the research participants (Robertson 2000). In other words, the study followed action research which aimed firstly, at collecting data on the GBV-prevention programme, then participants taking up a research of their own and, lastly, it concentrated on the outcome of the *Gender-Based Prevention Education Programme*. The research praxis adopted by the researcher spread throughout the research and there was a reciprocal relationship between the researcher and participants, which made it possible to reflect on the processes of research and reflection lead to the self-reflexivity for both the researcher and research participants.

Action research, with its distinct epistemology, is a methodology that cultivates the culture of learning and coming up with solutions and, therefore, is appropriate in youth research or research that involves young people. However, the use of action research does not go without challenges. Time constraints and coping with the workload that comes with it and merging action research (the theoretical and philosophical assumptions) with the actual practice.

# **CHAPTER 10**

## **CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS**

### **10.1 INTRODUCTION**

Gender-based violence is a pervasive problem that affects both men and women regardless of the form in which it presents itself, but it affects women and girls more. A lot of campaigns have been done in Zimbabwe to raise awareness of gender-based violence. However, without targeting the young population, the arising challenge is that, young people may see it as a problem that affects the adult population only. Although there is a dearth of research on young people and gender-based violence in Zimbabwe, initiatives from other countries have revealed that milestones can be reached if there is engagement of young people at arriving at solutions to reduce gender-based violence.

This can best be achieved through action research with youth. Cammarota and Fine (2010:6) maintain that “through participatory action research, youth learn to study problems and find solutions to them. More importantly they study problems and drive solutions to obstacles preventing their wellbeing and progress.” In other words, action research with young people serves as an integral, crucial strategy for the development of young people, pro- youth policy making and education surrounding the issue of violence, particularly gender-based violence.

What is needed is the development of gender-based violence initiatives that target young people and addresses violence in general, gender-based violence supporting beliefs, rigid gender norms, masculinity and rigid gender-role socialisation, so that young people grow up with an attitude that does not condone violence. This study is crucial in the area of violence prevention, particularly gender-based violence, as the intervention addresses the root causes of gender-based violence and, at the same time, adopts a pro-active measure by engaging young people in action research (all types of youth, whether at risk or not). It promotes the message of peace both in the private and public sphere.

The study objectives included:

- to document the nature, extent and trends of gender-based violence (GBV) in Zimbabwe;
- to review the literature on the causes and consequences of GBV, with particular reference to Southern Africa;
- to review attempts that have been made to tackle GBV with particular respect to Southern Africa and their effectiveness;

- to explore the attitudes of youth in Zimbabwe concerning GBV;
- to design and implement a training programme and subsequent campaign with youth to reduce GBV and undertake a preliminary evaluation of its outcome.

The primary research objective of the study was to explore GBV in Zimbabwe and design an intervention which will reduce its prevalence. This was done through the design and implementation of the *Gender-Based Violence Prevention Education Programme* and a preliminary evaluation of the outcomes of the intervention was done. The study was conceived as an action research and framed according to the conflict transform and gender feminist lens. Because it was an action research, participatory techniques were employed throughout the research. This means from planning, designing, implementation and evaluation of the intervention. The method used for the evaluation was subjective-outcome evaluation, mainly evaluating the following areas:

- How participants perceived the overall project (i.e. looking at how the programme was designed, how it was delivered, its relevance.
- How participants perceived the facilitators (i.e. facilitator's preparation, knowledge, delivery-mode and attitudes towards participants.
- How participants viewed the content delivered.
- Whether participants learnt anything from the programme.
- Whether participants had things they appreciated the most in the programme.
- Whether participants had suggestions regarding areas that needed improvement.

The data collected was analysed appropriately, that is, both quantitatively and qualitatively, by virtue of the study, using a mixed methodology. This included the use of thematic analysis, descriptive statistics and frequencies. Recuperating from what has been highlighted above t this chapter gives a summary of the principle findings of this research and its capability to prevent violence. Recommendations and limitations to the study follow. The chapter ends with suggestions for future research within the premise of violence-prevention through YPAR.

## **10.2 PRINCIPLE RESEARCH FINDINGS**

One of the major goals of this study was to provide data on the attitudes of young people with regards to gender-based violence. The findings profiled in chapter seven present such data. In summarising the findings of this study, the following important areas have been included: the nature, extent and trends of gender-based violence (GBV) in Zimbabwe; the causes and consequences of GBV, with particular reference to Southern Africa; attempts that have been made to tackle GBV with particular

respect to Southern Africa and their effectiveness; the planning, designing and evaluation of the intervention; the theory grounding the intervention and the use of action-research methodology in coming up with the action project/intervention.

### **10.2.1 NATURE, EXTENT AND TRENDS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE**

This summary represents the fulfilment of the objective that was intended to: *to document the nature, extent and trends of gender-based violence (GBV) in Zimbabwe*. From the review of the work of researchers such as Masshiri (2013), Morna and Chingamuka (2013), Mukanangana et al (2014) the study revealed that GBV constituted a wide variety of forms including but not limited to sexual threats, exploitations, domestic violence, sexual assaults, forced prostitution, female genital mutilation and other harmful traditional practices. The Zimbabwean context was found not any different from other parts of the world, as GBV retained a ‘normal’ nature regardless of all the measures to condemn it. The study also revealed that the Zimbabwean legal framework surrounding GBV was good, however, the incidences of GBV remain high. Zimbabwe has adhered to global policies such as the Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979; The UN General Assembly Act of 1993; Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Development, Equality and Peace, held in Beijing, China, in 1995; The Declaration on Gender and Development on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against women and Children of 1997; Commission on Human Rights Resolution 2003/45 on Elimination of Violence Against Women and SADC Gender and Development Protocol 2008 (Chuma and Chazovachii 2012). On the domestic front, the government has also made strides with the enactment of the domestic violence act of 2006, the sexual Offences Act of 2001 and the Criminal Law Codification and Reform Act of 2004 to provide for prosecution of offences relating to rape, marital rape, sexual violence and wilful transmission of HIV.

The study revealed that domestic violence is a compelling issue for women in Zimbabwe. Domestic violence disproportionately affects women, with 33 per cent of women having had violence perpetrated against them. Data from these national studies, 2005-2006 Zimbabwe demographic and health survey ZDHS, 2010-2011 ZDHS, 2015 ZDHS and the 2011 National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents Preliminary Report highlights that there are soaring levels of physical and sexual violence aimed at women and girls. Trends of GBV reported by 2005-2006, 2010-2011 and 2015 ZDHS suggest that it has gone up to 35 per cent. This study revealed that prevalent forms of GBV included: sexual violence with 1 in 4 women having had experienced sexual violence since the age of 15; physical violence, with 35 per cent of women in Zimbabwe having had experienced physical violence since the age of 15; emotional or psychological violence and socio-economic violence.

Overall the study found out that GBV in Zimbabwe remains a threat to the empowerment of women and girls, human rights, as well as peace and security. GBV is present in all spheres of life and can manifest itself through a cycle (physical violence, emotional/ psychological violence, sexual violence and socio-economic violence).

### **10.2.2 CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

This objective/chapter examined the causes and consequences of gender-based violence. The study found out that rigid gender socialisation, social and culture norms, patriarchy contributed to GBV. The theoretical explanations highlighted by this study for the occurrence of gender-based violence included: social learning (Bandura 1977); cycle of violence (Walker 1979); ecological (Bronfenbrenner 1977 & Heise 1998); resource based (Blood and Wolfe 1960); patriarchal (Smith 1990); reclamation model (Pleck 1995); power and control (Yllo & Straus 1990); learned helplessness (Seligman and Maier 1967); battered women syndrome (Walker 1979); conflict (Quinney 1970 & Turk 1977); gender socialisation (Harris 1995 & Henslin 1999); exchange (Homans 1974); attachment (Bowlby 1969); and stress approach (Farrington 1986 & Jasinski 2001).

The study found out that literature holds differing views on the causes of gender-based violence. The study therefore summarised the causes of GBV to include: traditional gender norms that encourage male superiority and entitlement; social norms that tolerate or justify violence against women; weak community sanctions against perpetrators; poverty and high levels of crime and conflict in society.

The consequences of GBV were highlighted in two parts, as the study found out that there were health consequences and development consequence. With regards to health impacts, gender-based violence was found to have long- lasting effects for women's reproductive health. According to WHO (2013:21) and Illangasekare et al. (2013) these may include: HIV infection, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), low-birth weight, premature birth, induced abortion, unwanted/unintended pregnancies, alcohol abuse, depression and suicide, injuries and death from homicide. With regards to development impacts, the study found out that GBV is a limiting hindrance to human development as it hinders women from realising their full potential. Key principles in human development include: health, knowledge/education and access to resources. All these elements are limited for women who experience GBV as opportunities are hard to reach. GBV has serious impacts on national development. For example, GBV is a fundamental human rights issue that is central to the achievement of development, democracy and peace.

### 10.2.3 ATTITUDES OF YOUNG PEOPLE

This section is based on the fulfilment of the study's objective to: *explore the attitudes of youth in Zimbabwe concerning GBV*. To ascertain the attitudes of young people toward gender-based violence, the study made use of different attitude statements based on these key thematic areas: violence, masculinity, gender roles and relations, types of violence and how young people regard the seriousness of violence, and young people's conceptualisation of gender-based violence.

This investigation revealed that young people's attitudes toward violence are a bit elusive and conflicting. Most of the young people did not condone violence, both boys and girls considered violence to be physical. However, boys were seen to be more pro-violent when compared to the girls. Tolerance of violence by young people suggests that interventions that address gender-based violence should be administered from a "violence-prevention" perspective. The study revealed differences in young people's conceptualisation of violence.

Looking at the narratives of young people on masculinity, the study revealed that masculinity is associated with access to status, power and perceptions of privilege and violence (Seidler 2013). For example, in the survey data, 85 per cent of the girls agreed with the statement "*Men need respect*" and 94.7 per cent of the boys also shared the same views. This reflects that power and status is of importance to men within the family institution. Against these findings, the workshop examined how masculinity was correlated to violence. Overall, there was relatively not much of a difference in responses by gender. However, the majority of the young people believed that displaying a violent behaviour did not earn one respect. Despite the wide acceptance of masculinity, there was a general consensus that men were not naturally violent. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005:832) assert that violence is a big issue and a result of masculinity. However, men are not naturally violent and only a subdivision of the male population turn to violence when they encounter a masculinity crisis.

The study also revealed a sense of hegemonic masculinity among the young people, particularly boys. According to Kim and Pyke (2015), hegemonic masculinity is masculinities that are relative to precedent precepts of social power. Skovdal et al. (2011) move that hegemonic masculinity characterises a 'true man' as strong, in control, thick-skinned, without fear and a breadwinner. Precepts of such masculinity justify a society governed by men and domination of men over women. Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997) argue that men who comply with hegemonic masculinities are in a probable position to commit violence against women and other men.

Looking at young people's narratives on gender roles and relations, the study revealed that there is high tolerance of violence among the girls, as 72.5 per cent of the girls agreed that women should endure violence for the sake of the relationship or family as opposed to 16.9 per cent of the boys who agreed with the statement. At total of 44.7 per cent of the young people held the perception that



*“woman should endure violence for the sake of the relationship or family”*, as compared to 44.3 per cent of the young people who disagreed with this statement. With these figures, boys appear to be less tolerant of violence than the girls with 68.6 per cent of the boys against the perception that women should stay in a violence relationship for the sake of the relationship and family as compared to only 20 per cent of the girls.

The study also revealed that, compared to the girls, boys conformed to traditional norms with regards to this statement *“Married women are property of the Husbands”*. The Majority of the participants demonstrated high belief in traditional gender roles and relations and these facilitated a social environment that allows for gender-based violence (Fleming et al 2015). In most cases violence against women is closely related with gender norms and gender inequalities.

With regard to young peoples’ attitudes towards forms of violence, the study revealed that the majority of the young people perceived different forms of violence to be serious, for example, bullying, fights between students at school, rape/ sexual assault, physical fights between siblings and GBV. They had an awareness of the forms of violence and by rating these forms of violence, gave evidence of the attitudes that young people harboured about violence. Of the young people aged 14-18, 28 per cent (both female and male) had experienced bullying; 30 per cent had experienced fights between students at school; 7 per cent had experienced rape/sexual assault; 30 per cent had experienced fights between siblings and 13.4 per cent had experienced gender-based violence. With regards to experience, the study revealed that both boys and girls had experienced some form of violence, however, the majority of the young people knew someone who had experienced some form of violence. It is important to use this knowledge as a departure-point in understanding how violence and conflict is spread in young people’s lives.

Young people discern a variety of behaviours to be gender-based violence. This is shown in the following instances: a total 55.7 per cent of the young people perceived that regularly shouting at one’s partner was GBV; 58 per cent of the young people viewed banning a partner from seeing their relative/friends was seen as a form of GBV; 58 per cent of the young people thought this behaviour, “not giving partner any money to use” was. An overall total of 83.5 per cent of the young people held the view that “threatening to hit a partner (*even though don’t actually intend to hit*) constituted GBV; “Insulting and making partner feel bad”; had fairly high numbers of participants, 74.3 per cent distinguishing it as GBV; A total of 84 per cent of the young people perceived this behaviour “*Hitting partner regularly (clapping etc.)*”, to be gender-based violence and “*forced sex with partner*” had the majority of the young people distinguishing it as GBV. 87.5 per cent of the girls and 83 per cent of the boys held the same view that this type of behaviour defined GBV, making an overall of 85.5 per cent of young people who agreed to this.

Young people's perceptions of the causes of violence included alcohol and drug abuse; one partner disrespecting the other; miscommunication/misunderstanding; poverty; having multiple partners; patriarchy; economic dependence of women on men and exposure to pornographic films. From the highlighted causes it is clear that young people understood gender-based violence from the perspective of gender norms, values and beliefs, which create and reinforce unequal power hierarchies between men and women. The findings of this study also indicate that young people have high tolerance levels for violence. For example, 58 per cent of the young people in this study acknowledge that violence was acceptable, depending on the circumstances. Disaggregating findings by gender, 67.5 per cent of the girls and 49 per cent of the boys agreed that physical violence was justifiable under particular circumstances.

The study observed that young people are not a homogenous group. They are different in significant ways, for example, they have different family structures and backgrounds and violence-patterns in those families. These differences affect the way young people respond to violence or their attitudes towards violence. It is clear that young people who are growing up in violence-filled families face a lot of difficulty in the sense that they are more at risk of becoming future perpetrators or victims of gender-based violence.

The research was different in its centralisation of young people's conceptualisation of violence. Both findings from the questionnaire and focus group discussions revealed that the gender roles, norms and stereotypes form a corpus of aptitudes of what constitutes violence and the tolerance surrounding violence.

#### **10.2.4 PLANNING, DESIGNING AND EVALUATION OF THE INTERVENTION**

In order to come up with a sound intervention, it was very important for the study to embark on a meta-synthesis to analyse findings from other studies, particularly those that leaned towards interventions. Schreiber et al. (1997:314) assert that meta-synthesis "is bringing together and breaking down of findings, examining them, discovering essential features and, in some way , combining phenomena into a transformed whole" In other words, basic, meta-synthesis is the 'combining' of qualitative data to come up with fresh analysis of the research area. I chose to use meta-synthesis because it is a calculated and systematic way of interpreting data across different qualitative researches. This was part of the fulfilment of the study objectives: *to review attempts that have been made to tackle GBV with particular respect to Southern Africa and their effectiveness and to design and implement a training programme and subsequent campaign with youth to reduce GBV and undertake a preliminary evaluation of its outcome.*

The analysis looked at prevention of GBV programmes. This review focused on projects that constituted prevention efforts with a bias towards educational programmes that aim to discourage

violent behaviour and model alternatives; specialized in projects for youth who have experienced violence or are at risk for violence; and in participatory projects that engage youth as activists. Ten projects were reviewed, however, some lacked in theory. But for those programmes that had an underpinning theory to guide the interventions, theories included feminist theory, attachment theory, social learning theory, conflict-transformation theory, experiential-learning theory, participatory learning and action and social-change theory. The review revealed that programmes that engaged young people, used the following approaches: conflict resolution, educational and experiential strategies, mostly education about gender and gender-based violence, and social action skills.

Methodology used in these interventions included, drama, role plays, educational workshops, community outreach and mobilisation, group education and community campaigns. Most of the interventions reviewed had a gender component, particularly paying attention to gender social norms and values. The review had specific interest in school based programmes, and of these programmes they concentrated on developing gender relationships, thereby creating an environment free from violence.

From these findings, the study was able to provide a foundation for the establishment of the *Gender-Based Violence Prevention Education Programme* through the review of promising practices. This review also showed that it was effective to combine conflict-transformation programmes and other violence prevention strategies to come up with a decent intervention. In order for the research to be successful there was need to know the population of interest. Sufficient information was obtained on the participants (see chapter 8).

The Gender-Based Violence Education Training programme a primary prevention intervention with the aim of challenging the descriptive norms that perpetuate GBV and encourage positive injunctive norms, improve communication and conflict resolution skills, challenging traditional gender constructions, promote safe, caring and nonviolent school environments, encourage egalitarian relationships and respect among young people was developed. The intervention was based on gender equality, conflict transformation, and participatory-learning approaches. The intervention was comprised of four sessions held on one day for each school.

The findings from this subjective-outcome evaluation indicated that participants of gender-based violence education programme generally had positive perceptions of the programme and its content, the programme-facilitators and how the programme was delivered and also perceived the programme to be successful in providing information on GBV issues to young people and also providing an enabling environment whereby young people could share their experiences and come up with ideas to make their environment violence-free.

### 10.2.5 THEORY UNDERPINNING THE STUDY

The theories underpinning this study included a triangulation of theories. Combining Galtung's theory of violence, Lederach's conflict transformation and the ecological framework which provided greater insights into the complexities of GBV than one theoretical perspective would. The adoption of Galtung's and Lederach's theories created an imperative analysis that illuminated the complex landscape of violence and, at the same time, provided the means to change/ transform that landscape. Conflict transformation is an antithesis for violence and how this framework makes it possible for the prevention of violence. Therefore, it is impossible to reduce GBV without transforming institutions as well as the mind-set. I contend that conflict transformation offers the theoretical tools with which GBV incidences can be reduced. The fundamental premise of the conflict-transformation theory was to address violent attitudes, violent behaviours and contradictions with the aim of reversing the cycle of violence. This was supposed to enable young people to have more egalitarian relationships based on equality and respect.

This ecological framework was particularly useful in the identification of levels being criticized and which are drivers of GBV. In other words, it gave the conceptualisation of the origins of GBV and also the conceptualisation of violence as a multidimensional phenomenon based on various factors. Attention was given to how these levels work and how they can become proposed solutions and be used in effective programming for GBV. In a myopic view the ecological model offered another way of thinking about violence.

The ecological model is important in conceptualising the multifaceted interactions of gender and power. This model stresses unequivocal variables within an individual's social environment and seeks to understand GBV through the interaction of these variables (Saffitz 2010). This portrayal of the intricate system of violence has advanced the study of GBV, by accentuating the different causal effects that add to the preservation of gender-based violence. The ecological model is extensively acknowledged as a conjectural foundation for programming research. Since the study revealed that gender roles, norms and stereotypes form a corpus of aptitudes of what violence involves and the tolerance surrounding violence. Young people's perceptions and attitudes were constructed by gender socialisation and what they believe is normal gender behaviour. Burgess and Crowell (1996) asserts that The ecology similarly embraces communications of standards and customs that members of society and social institutions buttress as proper behaviour for both men and women, as well as the tolerance of violence within diverse backgrounds. These customs and standards, as well as beliefs, are, in turn, shaped by structural factors such as religious institutions and ideology and the distribution of economic muscle (of which these are the same areas in which cultural violence is contained) between men and women that make an effort to delineate beliefs and norms surrounding the

phenomenon of violence and build women's opportunities for evading violent and non-egalitarian relationships. The ecological model came in handy in identifying and addressing these attitudes. In other words, the action project/intervention embraced the ecological model.

Although these were underpinning theories of the study, they also guided the intervention. A critical lens was used in the study, as the complex issue of violence-prevention and, more so, gender-based violence, should be dealt with through critical engagement.

### **10.2.6 ACTION RESEARCH WITH YOUNG PEOPLE**

This study used action research as a way of engaging young people in the fight against gender-based violence. A key factor in action research is that there is need for a reciprocal relationship between the researcher and the participant researchers. In this way both the agendas of the researcher and participant researchers can be fulfilled. In other words, they have a shared agenda.

The use of action research made sure that participants were able to deliberate on issues that affected them and issues they found important in addressing GBV. The study reveals that using action research made it possible to cement the relevance of the research and also come up with a successful-action project/intervention. This was possible through the active participation of participant researchers. This led to the sustainability and ownership of the research.

Action-research methodology fostered the improvement of information that participants had and the practice of participants. This means that as the primary researcher, I had to facilitate this process and encourage participation and deliberate action among the participant researchers. This methodology allowed the researcher to continuously engage young people throughout the research process. By engaging them in the research process they gained research and personal skills and, most importantly, they were able to make substantial contributions to the prevention of gender-based violence. There was a mutual exchange in the project and, being part of the project, I was able to gain professionally and also at a personal level. This study emphasised the importance of young people being part of the solution and that young people could be agents of change in their own communities. The use of action research on its own is an empowerment strategy for the people involved. This allowed young people to see themselves as change-agents.

Action research was relevant in this research given the backgrounds of the two schools. The schools had similarities due to the fact that they were under the Bulawayo metropolitan and both schools had relatively low -level pass rates and both served huge communities with signs of high poverty, unemployment and social exclusion, however, for the rural school all these indicators were much more severe, (it is a double tragedy for the rural school). Arbitrarily, action research bears educative and emancipatory effects. In other words, the major goal of action research is to increase participants'

awareness and capabilities, so that participants are able to take control of issues that affect them. It gave participants, especially rural participants, the feeling that they were worth something in life and could be pace-setters as well as change-agents and transform their communities.

Although strengths were recorded, there were a couple of limitations in using action-research methodology, for example, setting the boundary between being a researcher and friend/ big sister within the action groups, time constraints and coping with the workload that comes with it and merging action-research (the theoretical and philosophical assumptions) with the actual practice. Power relations and group dynamics did emerge and at a certain point, I found myself using conflict management and resolution strategies to neutralise the groups. The values of trust and effective dialogue are indispensable when conducting action research.

### **10.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

- Based on the findings of this study, it is recommending that researchers, who want to deal with the challenges youth face, must adopt youth-participatory action research because of its nature and advantages with young populations.
- We should not doubt that marginalised populations like youth can transform societies. Therefore, interventions need to capitalise on working with young people rather than working on them.
- A lot of researchers have highlighted that there is need to promote interventions that address gender role and relationship issues, masculinity/femininity as a strategy to prevent violence, particularly, gender-based violence. Only a few interventions have been doing this, meaning that, mostly this has been a recommendation of researchers. Taking into consideration that there is a paucity of effective interventions that deal with this problem and addressing young people as a population, it is crucial that there is the development of more interventions, especially broad communication campaigns with a focus on gender roles and relations. And those strategies that appear to be promising, should be tested and implemented on a wider scale.
- Campaign messages that are derived from appropriate research are needed and schools, communities and mainstream media should be used as delivery mechanisms.
- There is need for national campaigns that expand from adult gender-based violence campaigns to the development of education campaigns that have young people at the centre. In other words, campaigns designed for young people. Once these education campaigns have

been developed, service-delivery mechanisms, such as schools, need to hold training programmes.

- Based on the findings of this research, young people had relatively high misconceptions about gender-based violence and, therefore, the schools have a role to play in the prevention of gender-based violence. For instance, schools have a very important role in implementing such programmes as the *Gender-Based Violence Prevention Education Program*, successfully. There is need for more school-based programmes addressing gender-based violence.
- Those addressing gender-based violence from the fields of social work, particularly government departments and Non-governmental organizations dealing with anti-violence projects should turn their efforts to school-based programmes such as *Gender-Based Violence Prevention Education Program*, that seek to prevent GBV by using a more systematic approach that has cross fertilisation between conflict transformation and violence prevention strategies.
- GBV intervention programmes should intervene early to disrupt the development and reinforcement of gender stereotypes and promote positive masculinities and femininities.
- Most importantly, there is a need for the education department to adopt interventions such as the *Gender-Based Violence Prevention Education Program* which is a universal approach that can reach all children nationwide, school initiatives are well placed to address GBV. Furthermore the department must introduce appropriate education campaigns and materials that may be included in the school curriculum in subjects like social studies, and guidance and counselling, dealing with gender role and relations, gender equality and gender-based violence.
- Lastly, no form of violence is justifiable, therefore, workshops or campaigns should be packaged or delivered within the context of peace messages or, “no to violence” messages.

## 10.4 CONCLUSION

Gender-based violence in Zimbabwe is a pervasive problem that affects both men and women, regardless of the form it presents itself in, but it affects women and girls more. Although there is a dearth of research on young people and gender-based violence in Zimbabwe, initiatives from other countries have revealed that milestones can be reached if there is engagement of young people in coming-up with solutions to reduce gender-based violence. In order to develop appropriate strategies to deal with GBV, this study made use of the conflict-transformation theory and ecological-model making in a multi-faceted approach.

The findings and implications of this study reveal that prevention programmes do not emanate from a vacuum, rather they need to be developed with the input of the community. It should be a bottom-up approach, whereby participants steer the direction of the intervention. Taliep (2015:341) reiterates that in violence-prevention one cannot “isolate individuals from the various systems within which they are embedded, from the structural conditions within they are surrounded, from the social interaction within which they exist- all these together interact to generate violence”. This confirms the utility and efficacy of action research in developing an action/intervention to address the gender-based violence among young people.

This study goes further than just gathering information, but develops and evaluates an intervention that deals with the prevention of violence with young people. The findings from the study reveal that working with young people is helpful in fostering positive forms of masculinity and femininity, respect and equality. Lastly, planning interventions requires researchers to take into consideration many of the factors such as the drivers of violence that include social disadvantage and prior exposure to violence, just to mention a few. Interventions should focus on these key elements so as to direct meaningful efforts to the young people.



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## APPENDIX A: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

### Survey questionnaire for youth on Gender- based violence.

Thank you for participating in this survey. Your views are very important.

All that you are going to say is confidential.

There is no need to put your name because all of the responses are confidential and will not be linked to you.

Please read all the questions carefully and tick where it is applicable.

If you have any questions do not hesitate to ask the interviewer he/she will be in a position to explain everything. When you are done with completing the questionnaire please hand it back to the interviewer.

Thank you for participating in this survey.

### **Please tell us about yourself**

#### **Q1 Gender**

|        |      |
|--------|------|
| Female | Male |
|--------|------|

#### **Q2 Age**

|          |          |          |          |          |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 14 years | 15 years | 16 years | 17 years | 18 years |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|

**Q3 Now we would like to know your views on a number of various things. Read carefully and tick in the box that reflects your view and if not sure of how to answer tick in the “I don’t know” box. Please note for each statement that has been asked please tick one answer.**

|   | I Strongly agree | I agree | I disagree | I strongly disagree | I don’t know |
|---|------------------|---------|------------|---------------------|--------------|
| a) There is never a good reason to hit someone, unless if it’s in self-defence.                           |                  |         |            |                     |              |
| b) for people to take notice of you, you should raise your voice  |                  |         |            |                     |              |
| c) Violence does not mean physical injuries only  |                  |         |            |                     |              |
| d) Although it is wrong, for one to get their way, they should frighten somebody by promising to hit them |                  |         |            |                     |              |
| e) If someone provokes you it’s okay to hit them  |                  |         |            |                     |              |

|   |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| f) Girls like a guy who is in control of the relationship                       |  |  |  |  |  |
| g) Men are aggressive they cannot control their temper                          |  |  |  |  |  |
| h) Guys who fight are respected more  |  |  |  |  |  |
| i) Men need respect   |  |  |  |  |  |
| j) A man should always be respected by his wife and children                    |  |  |  |  |  |
| k) It is natural for a man to be violent  |  |  |  |  |  |
| l) Men are the head of the household and must be in charge in the relationship  |  |  |  |  |  |
| m) Guys acknowledge that they are equal with girls                              |  |  |  |  |  |
| n) Traditionally the husband is the head of family and that should be upheld    |  |  |  |  |  |
| o) The man must be in control of the finances in the relationship or home       |  |  |  |  |  |
| p) The woman should endure violence for the sake of the relationship or family. |  |  |  |  |  |
| q) Married women are property of the Husbands                                   |  |  |  |  |  |

**Q4 Below are examples of different kinds of violence. What is your view concerning these types of violence. How serious are they, what impact do they have on people who experience them.**

**Please tick one answer**

|                                | Extremely serious | Serious | Not that serious | I don't know |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|---------|------------------|--------------|
| Bullying                       |                   |         |                  |              |
| school fights between students |                   |         |                  |              |
| Rape/sexual assault            |                   |         |                  |              |
| Gender-based violence          |                   |         |                  |              |
| Physical fights among sibling  |                   |         |                  |              |



**Q5) Which types of violence below have you personally experienced? Personal experience can mean you know someone who has gone through a similar experience or you have experienced the violence yourself.**

**You can tick on more than one statement.**

|  | I have gone through this | I know somebody who has gone through this | No |
|--|--------------------------|---|----|
| Bullying                                 |                          |   |    |
| Drunk fighting in/clubs or anywhere else |                          |   |    |
| Rape/sexual assault                      |                          |   |    |
| Fights between students at school        |                          |   |    |
| Gender- based violence                   |                          |   |    |
| Physical fights among siblings           |                          |   |    |

**Q6) Gender based violence was one of the types of violence listed above. What do you think constitutes 'gender-based violence'?**

**You may not be sure what gender based violence is, but please go ahead and tell us which of the following scenarios below would constitute Gender based violence and those which are just normal conflicts between partners.**

**Please tick normal conflict or gender-based violence (GBV) for each**

|  | Normal conflict | GBV | I don't know |
|--|-----------------|-----|--------------|
| Giving partner silent treatment (not speaking to them)                       |                 |     |              |
| Showing hatred towards partner   |                 |     |              |
| Regular shouting at partner  |                 |     |              |
| Endless degrading and shaming of partner                                     |                 |     |              |
| Alienating partner from their relatives and friends                          |                 |     |              |
| Economic abuse   |                 |     |              |
| Frightening partner by promising to hit                                      |                 |     |              |
| Insulting and making partner feel bad  |                 |     |              |
| Hitting partner on some occasions because of a huge fight / misunderstanding |                 |     |              |

|   |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|
| Hitting partner regularly (clapping etc.) |  |  |  |
| Forced sex with partner                   |  |  |  |

**Q7) Write what you think below. What are the causes of gender-based violence? Why do you think it happens?**

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

**Q8) Are there any acceptable circumstances where it should be understandable when a person hits their partner?**

.....

.....

.....

.....

**Q9) have you heard of Gender based violence? Where have you heard about it? List the places you have heard about it**

.....

.....

.....

**Q10) In your or own view what can be done to reduce Gender-based violence.**

.....

.....

.....

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.....

.....

.....

## **APPENDIX B: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS**

Draft focus group discussion questions for the youth and gender-based violence.

1. What is violence?
2. How would you define gender-based violence?
3. What sort of behaviour can 'count' as gender-based violence?
4. What are the causes and effects of gender-based violence?
5. What are your attitudes towards violence in general and violence against women in particular?

Total length: 1 hour

## APPENDIX C: REVIEW OF WHAT WORKS IN GBV PREVENTION

| Intervention Name                           | Intervention Aim  | Target   | Implementation Method  | Evaluation design   | Outcomes  |
|---|---|--|--|---|---|
| Stepping Stones                             | Promote sexual health, improve psychological wellbeing and prevent HIV  | Community based programme, peers of teens and young adults         | Stepping Stones draws from the social learning theory; employs participatory approaches e.g. drama role-playing, group work and discussions, and critical reflection; and engages separate gender groups, but combine these for peer group sessions at intervals during programme implementation   | Community cluster RCT to test the effectiveness of the programme in reducing HIV, HSV2 incidence, and improved gender relations and sexual behaviour, over two years                                      | Reduction of about 33% in the incidence of HSV-2 (0.67, 0.46 to 0.97; P=0.036); that is, Stepping Stones reduced the number of new HSV-2 infections over a two-year period by 34.9 (1.6 to 68.2) per 1 000 people exposed, Significantly improved the number of reported risk behaviours in men: lower proportion of men reporting perpetration of IPV across two years of follow-up Less transactional sex and problem drinking at 12 months |
| Stepping Stones/<br>Creating Futures        | Reduce HIV risk Behaviour and victimisation and perpetration of different forms of IPV and strengthen Livelihoods | Young people (18 years and older) residing in informal settlements | Stepping Stones and Creating Futures draw from the social learning theory; employ Participatory approaches e.g. drama role-playing, group work and discussions, and critical reflection; and engage separate gender groups, but combine these for peer group sessions at intervals during programme Implementation. Creating Futures mainly draws from sustainable livelihoods theory and practice | A proof of concept study using a shortened Interrupted time-series design with two data collection points at baseline that were two weeks apart, follow-up interviews 28 weeks and 58 weeks post baseline | Significant reduction in women's experience of SIPV in the prior three months – 30.3% to 18.9% (p = 0.037)<br>Significant improvement in gender attitudes among both men (50.8 vs. 52.89, p= 0.007) and women (53.7 vs 55.29, p=0.01)<br>Significant reduction in controlling practices in their relationships among men – more equitable relationships at 12 months follow-up (19.4 vs 21.74, p<0.001)                                       |
| Soul City (Soul City Institute South Africa | Reduce HIV transmission and violence  | General  | Edutainment: soap opera on TV, radio, and print. Series 10 (March 2009) addressed alcohol abuse and violence, Series 7 included manhood and masculinity, Series 5 included rape; Series 4 focused on reducing  | Two main components of Series 4 evaluation: (1) Multi-staged, stratified national random sample – baseline conducted in June 1999, post intervention in February 2000 (n=2000).                           | Traffic to hotline is highest on the day show aired), but higher than capacity on all days except Tuesdays and "calls declined when Soul City went off the air". Participation in public protests (3% of survey population) correlated with exposure to SC (by level - up to 5 sources of SC); also anecdotal reports of pot-banging as   |

|  |   |  |  |  |   |
|--|---|--|--|--|---|
|  |   |  | GBV (esp. DV as a central message); Series 3 included violence and alcohol misuse. | <p>Limitations of national survey data: retroactive, data collection close in time to intervention; not always able to interview survey respondents alone; not gender-matched questioner and respondent. (2) Sentinel site studies - (one rural, one urban), longitudinal panel survey of given sample (n=500) (pre, post, two intermediate), studies included surveys, qualitative interviews, and focus groups, and were paired with data collection from service providers and police, local media monitoring, interviews with "opinion leaders."</p> <p>Limitations of sentinel site data: research effect; high rates of lost participants (144 of 500 in urban site; 27 of 500 in rural site).</p> | community expression of intolerance for DV (behaviour modelled on Soul City), but samples were too small to study effectively; exposure to Soul City significantly correlated with willingness to attend community meetings and workshops on GBV in future; improved attitudes on acceptability of GBV, esp. DV, correlates with exposure to Soul City. |
| The Sinovuyo Caring Families Programme | Improve the parent-child relationship, emotional regulation, and positive behaviour management approaches | Young children, covers the 2-9 years age group | Social learning and parent Management training                                     | A quasi experimental study to test the effectiveness of the intervention   | <p>Improvements in positive parenting behaviour in the group that received the programme, as compared with A group of parents who did not receive the programme</p> <p>High attendance rates (75%)</p> <p>High participant satisfaction</p> <p>Culturally acceptable and faithfully implemented by the paraprofessional community facilitators</p>      |

|   |  |                                       |   |   |  |
|---|--|---------------------------------------|---|---|--|
|   |  | Teens aged 10–17 Years                | Social learning and parent Management training principles, with group-based parent, adolescent, and joint parent adolescent Sessions. Utilises a collaborative learning approach, with activity-based learning, role-play and home practice   | A quasi experimental study, the findings of which have been taken into a bigger RCT   | Reductions in parents' use of violent and abusive discipline, and in adolescent rule-breaking and aggressive behaviour   |
| Prepare                                 | Reduce sexual risk Behaviour and intimate partner violence, which contribute to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (STIs) | Young adolescents (12–14 years)       | Draws on psychological and behaviour change theory to identify the individual and social determinants that underpin sexuality, intimate partner violence and sexual violence  | An RCT to evaluate the effects of the intervention on sexual risk behaviour and intimate partner violence, and to assess the extent to which norms, attitudes and experiences of IPV influence sexual risk behaviour                  | Significant reductions in IPV among young teenagers  |
| Skhokho Supporting Success              | Prevent IPV among young teenagers  | High school learners aged 13–14 years | Classroom sessions facilitated by educators teaching Grade 8 life orientation classes; high school educators and school staff through skill- building workshops; and parent–child weekend workshops facilitated by external facilitators, with teens and their parents or caregivers attending separate sessions and engaging in dialogues at the end of each | Qualitative pilot evaluation of the effectiveness of the intervention in strengthening parent–child relationships and prevent IPV among teens Currently underway is a cluster RCT with 18-month follow-up among learners in 2014–2015 | Parents reported:<br>• The new techniques of positive discipline helped reduce their stress levels<br>Teenagers reported:<br>• Appreciation of open discussions with parents<br>• Less harsh discipline by parents |
| Stop the bus! I want to get on campaign | Address social attitudes and policies that tolerate and maintain GBV   | General public Both men and women     | By stander approach, awareness raising, road shows, role plays, gender bus and one-stop-shop  | Qualitative evaluation: focus group discussions   | 83 per cent of the people reported awareness of GBV and the Domestic Violence Act recommended there be increased awareness on GBV matters and counselling at the community level to facilitate peace initiatives   |
| 4ps campaign on                         | Address social   | General public both                   | Awareness raising, tackle harmful   | No formal evaluation  | increased public awareness on forms and types  |

|   |  |                                   |  |  |  |
|---|--|-----------------------------------|--|--|--|
| zero tolerance to domestic violence   | attitudes and policies that tolerate and maintain GBV      | men and women                     | cultural practices, community participation, provision of services and in and out of school youth outreaches   |  | of domestic violence, there was an increase of cases reported, it strengthened multi-sectorial responses to GBV and there was a positive response from traditional and religious leaders to initiate the transformation of attitudes and norms that fuel GBV   |
| Alternatives to Violence (AVP)  | Conflict resolution and violence prevention                | General public both men and women | AVP workshops visible through in-depth qualitative research methods focused on (changing) perspectives of the individual in its context  | Interviewing participants and/or observing workshops<br>No formal evaluation   | manage strong feelings such as anger and fear<br>•deal more effectively with risk and threatening situations<br>•build good relationships with other people<br>•communicate constructively in difficult situations<br>•recognise the conflict management skills you already have<br>•be true to yourself while respecting other people<br>•understand why conflict happens<br>•approach conflict in a more creative and less reactive manner<br>•consider your own relationship to systems of violence |
| Youth4Youth: Empowering Young People in Preventing Gender-based Violence through Peer Education | prevent and combat gender-based violence among adolescents | students, aged 15-18 years old    | the Peer Educators' Training (Initial Awareness-Raising and Training for Peer Educators sessions), (b) the Awareness Raising Workshops facilitated by the Peer Educators and (c) the Students' Exhibitions | pre- and post-questionnaires, which were completed by participants, before and after the workshops<br><br>Valuable data regarding the evaluation of the Youth4Youth workshops were also collected via indirect measurements in regards to participants' satisfaction | Participants' attitudes about male and female behaviour changed significantly. Participants' general perception of violence were changed to a less stereotypical direction. Attitudes related to romantic relationships were transformed to a less stereotypical direction. There was an increase in the mean ratings from pre to post-questionnaires, indicating that participants' attitudes were transformed towards a less tolerant position towards violence.                                     |



## APPENDIX D: EVALUATION TRAINING GUIDE

Please rate the following from one to five where 1=strongly agree, 2=Disagree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree and 5=strongly agree

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| 1. The training fulfilled my expectations  | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 2. The topics discussed were interesting   | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 3. The topics discussed addressed issues that concern me in my everyday life   | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 4. Would you like to participate in other similar workshops in the future  | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 5. Would you recommend such workshops to a friend  | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 6. Do you think that such workshops should be Conducted by teachers as part of the school curriculum   | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 7. The training methods used in the course promoted my active engagement   | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 8. The training activities stimulated my learning  | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 9. The training encouraged active participation and expression of ideas successfully   | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 10. I enjoyed the activities I participated in   | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 11. Trainers were well prepared  | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 12. Enough time was devoted to each session  | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 13. There was adequate time allocated for discussion questions   | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 14. The theoretical aspect of the course was satisfactory  | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 15. To what extent did the workshop contribute to enhancing your knowledge and understanding of gender stereotypes and gender-based violence | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 16. Would you like to participate in other similar workshops in the future   | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 17. Workshop has helped you recognise incidences of gender-based violence  | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 18. Workshop helped you recognise if your relationships are healthy or not   | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 19. Workshop helped you understand when your own behaviour may become unhealthy  | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 20. Workshop helped you to know what you should do if you or someone you care about is being abused  | 1.2.3.4.5. |
| 21. To what extent do you now feel ready and more capable to take action against incidences of GBV   | 1.2.3.4.5. |

## **APPENDIX E: TRAINING EVALUATION FOCUS GROUP GUIDE**

5. To what extent did the workshop contribute to enhancing your knowledge and understanding of gender stereotypes and gender-based violence?
6. What is the most important thing that you have learnt?
7. Mention at least three aspects that you have particularly enjoyed about the training and why?
8. Which part of the workshop did you enjoy the least and why?

Total length: 1 hour