



**COMMUNITY BASED PATHWAYS TO THE PREVENTION OF GENDER BASED  
VIOLENCE IN MINING COMMUNITIES.**

**Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in  
Public Administration – Peace Studies**

**in the Faculty of Management Sciences at**

**the Durban University of Technology**

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19.11.21  
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## DECLARATION

This is to certify that the work entitled '*Community-based pathways to the prevention of gender-based violence in mining communities: Case of Makusha, Shurugwi, Zimbabwe*' is entirely my own and not of any other person. I declare that where I have used the work of others, the work has been properly cited and is in the reference list. The work of this thesis has not previously been submitted in any form to the Durban University of Technology or to any other institution for assessment or for any other purpose.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_  
Everjoy Magwegwe

I hereby approve the final submission of this thesis.

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SEPTEMBER 2020

## **DEDICATION**

I humbly dedicate this research work to my very supportive mother and my daughter, pretty little Miss Kaylyn.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude from the bottom of my heart to my supervisor, Dr Sylvia Kaye, for all the assistance throughout this study, continuous academic collaboration, and fellowship. The knowledge, insights, priceless support, and the guidance that she showed throughout this research journey has made me a better researcher and peaceful being and for that I will forever be grateful. Your support was exceedingly astonishing and if not for you, I wouldn't have completed this research.

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Finally, to the Lord Jesus – Victory belongs to you.



## ABSTRACT

Cases of gender-based violence are on the increase in mining communities in Zimbabwe. Gender-based violence has been identified as a major impediment to achieving gender equality and overall sustainable development. Strategies for addressing gender-based violence face particular challenges in mining areas where, for most women, there is little or no access to safe shelters, counselling services, or the judicial system. The Government of Zimbabwe and civil society policy and programmatic efforts to reduce GBV have largely been ineffective for the country as a whole, let alone for marginalised, closed communities such as mining communities. The study was limited to Makusha, a mining community in Shurugwi (Zimbabwe), where mine workers from different mining companies are resident. Several scholars have noted that community-driven initiatives tend to be more effective in reducing GBV. In light of the foregoing, the study sought to develop community-based pathways to the prevention of GBV in a mining community in Zimbabwe. The study integrates the Social Learning Theory, propounded by Akers (1998), to understand the individual, and the Ecological Model as a way of scrutinising human development by looking at the individual being, the surrounding environment, and the relationship between the two. Allport's Contact Theory (1954), which states that bringing people together from different background or groups has the ability to reduce prejudice, and the study are anchored on the Conflict Transformation Theory, which hypothesises that methods for transforming social conflicts need to be produced within their context and be considerate of local conditions.

This study is informed by a critical/advocacy-emancipatory paradigm. Qualitative participatory action research methodology was employed to examine the prevalence, forms, patterns, and factors contributing to gender-based violence. Data for the study was generated through focus groups, interviews, observations, and forum theatre drama acts. The study findings revealed that gender-based violence in Makusha, is engraved in cultural patriarchal views and behaviours perpetuating injustice and powerlessness in women's and girls' lives. Poverty, a lack of economic and employment opportunities, and tolerance for criminality and harassment are predominant causes that lead to and perpetuate a prevalent community history of violence and prejudice. The community developed interventions which included self-help initiatives, family clubs, the neighbour's keeper initiative, social media platforms, sporting initiatives, as well as women empowerment strategies through forum theatre. Through the evaluation, it was noted that the pathways had made progress in strengthening the relationships of the community members of Makusha, as most community members were able to actively participate in activities designed to prevent gender-based violence in the community.

## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

ASM	Artisanal Miners
BCC	Behaviour Change Communication
BSAC	British South African Company
CBOs	Community-Based Organisations
DUT	Durban University of Technology
ECP	Emancipatory Critical Paradigm
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
ESD	Empowerment Self-Defence
EST	Ecological Systems Theory
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FIFO	First In First Out
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IEC	Information, Education and Communication Material
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOM	International Organisation of Migration
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
KII	Key Informant Interview
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
MTERP	Mid-Term Emergency Recovery Programme
MWAGCD	Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
RBZ	Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SLT	Social Learning Theory
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
STERP	Short-Term Emergency Recovery Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VAW	Violence Against Women
WAG	Women's Action Group
WHO	World Health Organisation

WAVE	Women Against Violence Europe
ZELA	Zimbabwe Environmental Lawyers Association
ZIMASCO	Zimbabwe Mining and Smelting Company
ZIMASSET	Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation
ZIMRA	Zimbabwe Revenue Authority
ZMDC	Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZWLA	Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

### 1.1 Introduction

The study sought to find community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence in mining communities. Cases of gender-based violence are on the increase in mining communities in Zimbabwe. The study was developed in Makusha, a mining community in the Shurugwi district of the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe. The prevention of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) and, in particular, Violence Against Women (VAW), is one of the most fundamental prerequisite pathways in achieving peace and sustainable development. However, for women in resource towns such as mining communities, access to services that include counselling, legal platforms (judicial system), as well as safe shelters are highly limited and it has been proven difficult to develop strategies for addressing gender-based violence (Medie 2019). Women and girls are first and foremost citizens who should be accorded the same rights and privileges as men and boys (Solotaro and Pande 2014), hence the underlying principle of the study was to incorporate thoughts on the ways in which violence against women and girls in marginalised communities make transgressions and develop sustainable community-based pathways that seek to empower women and the local populace at large. The background of the study, the context of the research (mining communities), the statement of the research problem, the research objectives, theoretical framework, the rationale of the study, as well as the overall outline of the thesis are discussed in this chapter.

### 1.2 Background of the Study

The concept of gender-based violence is dynamic and difficult to grasp as no two cases of individual experiences are exactly the same. Gender-based violence is a ubiquitous and often unrecognised human right violation, and it refers to any harm perpetrated against a person's will on the basis of gender (Castañeda *et al.* 2020). Gender-based violence can also be described as “a scope of brutal acts usually perpetrated by man against women, because of women's subordinate status in the society, and frequently serves to hold this inconsistent parity” (Medie 2019: 2). In this way, it may be stated that gender-based violence is a method for maintaining the prejudiced status quo, asserting social control and buttressing the subjugation of women.

This study focused on finding community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence in mining communities in Zimbabwe. Violence against women in the extractive industry community sector has been reported but has nevertheless, been scantily documented throughout the world (Hinton *et al.* 2013). Depending on the nature, sexual, physical, economical, or emotional violence, gender-based violence is the broad term used to describe violence that occurs as a result of unequal power imbalances between two genders or among genders, within different societies, and in relationships (Shakil 2016; Muluneh *et al.* 2020). These observations indicate that gender-based violence is multi-dimensional, complex, and that it varies from generation to generation, remaining a topical issue with no end in sight.

GBV in mining communities is explained by high incidences of alcohol consumption and illicit drug abuse, due to the fact that men have greater access to cash through artisanal mining, being employed by mining companies, and having service jobs in the community that surround mining companies (Simataus 2009; Hinton *et al.* 2006; Perks 2011). The World Bank (2016) also mentions that violence in mining communities is attributed to the inequalities that exist between men and women which increases women's poverty levels. It has also been documented that women are susceptible to chronic poverty because of the unequal distribution of income, capital assets, inequities in political power, and the inability to access education and information (Hinton, Veiga and Beinhoff 2003). Perhaps that which is most worrisome for women residing in marginalised mining communities is the violent and volatile community which is dominated by men and also the fact that they hold positions in lower-paying jobs as well as at times having no control of their income within the home.

Research and evidence on the effects of gender-based violence developed over the years show that most of the forms of violence experienced by women occur at the hands of familiar people (Hindin, Kishor and Donna 2008; United Nations 2012; Palermo, Bleck and Peterman 2014; Thomson *et al.* 2015; Medie 2019; Muluneh *et al.* 2020), hence this is why gender-based violence is referred to as the 'tip of the iceberg or silent pandemic' as most survivors hesitate to report or talk about their experience. GBV is made invisible as part of everyday life or as part of family or private life. According to Nathan and Sarkar (2011), deeply rooted social norms give rise to GBV and make it a personal matter, a matter not to be mentioned outside of the family doors or even inside the circle of relatives.

The World Health Organisation (WHO 2012) stated that women and girls experience violence during the course of their lives in different ways and contexts that risk women's health, limit their participation capabilities in society, and cause extraordinary human suffering. USAID (2016) further mentions that gender-based violence impacts significantly across the lifetimes



of individuals as well as that it has direct and oblique costs to households, communities, and economies, which can span over several generations. The manifestation of gender-based violence is often multifarious, and its perpetration embeds inequalities in a recurring manner.

Mining communities all over the world are diverse, dynamic, and distinct and, as such, their traditions/culture vary and change over time from mine to mine as well as region to region (Hinton *et al.* 2003). Mining communities tend to be heterogeneous and unique engaging in specific roles throughout the world. Gualnam (2008) views mining communities as areas which include mine workers, domestic communities of migrant people, artisanal mining groups, as well as the communities at the doorsteps of large mining initiatives. The immediate neighbourhood of a mine project is made up of community(ies) that might or might not be involved in direct mining activities, however, for the purposes of this research, mining communities will be taken to mean home communities, that is, residential areas only.

Generally, mining communities are associated with unfavourable social situations, inclusive of poverty, unemployment, poor housing and infrastructure, prostitution, and an excessive inflow of unaccompanied migrant labour and residents to dynamic cultures. People from different parts of the countries travel to reside where there is a mining boom resulting in a mining culture which increases acts of aggression by men towards women. Hinton (2010) is also of the opinion that incidences of rape, violence, and excessive crime rates in mining communities has been as a result of lawlessness and the absence of police services which was common in many mining societies.

Violence affects both males and females, however, an estimated one third of women and girls are subjected to various forms of violence throughout their lifetime which prevents them from asserting their roles as individuals with human rights throughout the world (Solotaroff and Pande 2014). This fact in itself indicates the imperative to action. It is of significance to note that the nature of violence varies due to the differences in culture, traditions, histories, institutional policies, political environment, as well as the economic resources available (Thomson *et al.* 2015). This makes it very complex to eradicate, hence prevention pathways and initiatives may contribute to its reduction.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

The Government of Zimbabwe and civil society policy and programmatic efforts to reduce GBV have largely been ineffective in mining communities as most societies have limited external influence and are closed at the local level. The Police Victim Friendly Unit in Shurugwi reported

receiving 23 to 30 cases of gender-based violence in a month (ZRP log book 2017). Records at the clinic in Makusha (case in point) show that three to seven women are treated or counselled every week for trauma related to gender-based violence. Most women in mining areas find it difficult to obtain solutions for addressing gender-based violence as there is little or no access to secure safe shelters, counselling services, or the judicial system (Cronje, Reyneke and van Wyk 2013). Zimbabwe has made strides in the enactment of several gender-responsive laws and policies, however despite this, gender-based violence remains a concern and an impediment to women's active participation in development.

There is limited research on the topic of gender-based violence within the fields of class, age, and geographical location. Pain (2015: 64) notes that the effects of extractive industries are fairly well-explored, however, the research on local economic activities, the experiences of women in mining communities vis-à-vis these numerous acts passed to date, and social effects are scarce. Hence there is inadequate research on gender-based violence in the mining areas to this effect. It is therefore critical to create change through directing efforts at the mindset and behaviour change. Shannon *et al.* (2006) note that community-driven initiatives tend to be effective in reducing gender-based violence. In light of the foregoing, this study sought to develop community-based pathways for the prevention of GBV in a mining community in Zimbabwe.

## **1.4 Aim of the Study**

The aim of the study was to develop sustainable community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence in mining communities.

## **1.5 Objectives**

The objectives of the study were:

1. To identify and analyse factors contributing to gender-based violence in mining communities in Zimbabwe
2. To examine the forms and prevalence of GBV in mining communities
3. To identify and evaluate strategies used in the prevention of gender-based violence
4. To develop community-based interventions to prevent gender-based violence
5. To evaluate the effectiveness of the interventions as tools in bringing about peace and social change in mining communities

## 1.6 Theoretical Framework

The study integrates the social learning theory, propounded by Akers (1998), to understand the individual being's nature. The theory suggests that it is through learning that people observe the actions of others. The response patterns that an individual exhibit to a particular motivation, either learned through experience or observation, determine whether to duplicate such actions. The social learning theory helps one to understand how an individual exposed to violence or abusive situations during childhood usually perpetuates a cycle of violence.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) created the Ecological Model as a way of scrutinising human development by looking at the individual being, the surrounding environment, and the relationship between the two. This model explains that the reasons why a person will become abusive and violent or that a specific community records more cases of violence than other communities is not a result of a single factor but rather the social ecological system which surrounds them. The ecological model frames an investigation into the nature of mining communities and how they relate to the mining activities and how these activities contribute to behaviour. The use of the social ecological model is imperative in understanding gender-based violence in its various forms as it helps to identify factors that can either put an individual at risk of becoming a victim/survivor or perpetrator and protect them.

Allport's contact theory (Allport 1954) states that bringing people together from different backgrounds or groups has the ability to reduce prejudice. Conflict in mining communities is inevitable because the societies are home to a heterogeneous group of people. Community-based initiatives are directed by philosophies borrowed from the contact theory as it is made possible to create platforms that support and encourage networks that are non-competitive and discriminatory which will result in peaceful and sustainable outcomes to violence.

This thesis is anchored on the conflict transformation theory (Lederach 2003). The hypothesis of the model is that methods for transforming social conflicts need to be produced within their context and be considerate of the local conditions. The underlying assumption of the theory is that conflict generates lifestyles and through conflicts, people react, revolutionise, and change. Lederach's (1995) theory emphasised building sustainable peace and transforming social conflict based on a contextual and grassroots-based approach. Lederach (2003) states that conflict transformation seeks nonviolent solutions from those in the conflict in an effort to maintain long-term peace and does not only aim not to resolve the immediate problem but also to interrogate the causes of the conflict and to understand them.

## 1.7 Prevalence of Gender-Based Violence

It has been approximated that approximately 27 of 30 countries in the world that exhibit inequitable gender indices are found in Africa (Muluneh *et al.* 2020). Statistics on gender-based violence in the world show that African countries are ranked among the highest globally affected by gender-based violence. Muluneh *et al.* (2020) note that over forty-four percent (44%) of women aged between 15 and 49 years in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) countries have experienced some form of gender-based violence. Physical, sexual, economic, and emotional violence have been common forms of abuse experienced by women and girls in SSA countries. McClosby *et al.* (2016) note that gender-based violence in Africa, to some extent, reflects the legacy of conflict and the subjugation of women marked by colonialism and decades of White minority rule in many societies (Palermo *et al.* 2014).

Zimbabwe, like any other country in the world, is affected by the different forms of violence within its borders. Gender violence in Zimbabwe manifests in complex and difficult ways that exhibit ghoulish traditions, inequality, and a lack of knowledge regarding the violence against women (Morrison, Ellsberg and Bott 2014). Chuma and Chazovachii (2012) note that violence against women does not only terrorise women and destroy their lives physically but also damages the social fabric critical for human beings to realise their potential.

Ninety-nine percent (99%) of women and girls in Zimbabwe have reported cases of gender-based violence within the private sphere. Prevalence rates of GBV occur against the overall national trend of increasing rates of GBV over the years. In 2017, 21 girls were raped every day in Zimbabwe (ZimStat 2017) which translated to one woman being abused every 75 minutes and in 2013, 5,717 cases were recorded, and 7,000 cases were recorded between 2014 and 2015 (Sunday Mail 2017). In another report, it was recorded that 35% of women who had been married between the ages of 15 and 49 had experienced some intimate partner violence (physical or sexual violence) at the hands of their husband/partner (Sunday Mail 2018). It is worth highlighting that intimate partner violence in the domestic setting is the most common form of gender-based violence. GBV is relatively common throughout Zimbabwe but varies in prevalence between areas. Between 2011 and 2017, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) (2017) reported that more than 8,200 survivors of sexual violence had received care from the organisation, and in most cases, the perpetrators were known by the child and the family.

Women in Makusha have reported cases related to GBV. Most of the violence perpetrated in Makusha is usually against women and girls and often involves domestic issues. The

perpetrators are intimate companions/partners, members of the girls' households, and different close associates. Monthly reports of 23 to 30 cases of gender-based violence have been recorded by the Victim Friendly Unit (ZRP log book 2016). Of all the reported cases, 90% involves violence against women.

Records at the clinic in Makusha show that three to seven women are treated or counselled every week for trauma related to domestic violence, intimate partner violence, sexual abuse including rape cases, and psychological trauma. According to the health personnel at the local clinic, women in the community reported the effects of gender-based violence to include injury, the adoption of risk behaviours such as unhealthy eating habits and substance abuse, unintended pregnancy, abortion, unwanted children, and even death. The magistrate's court statistics also showed a very high increase in cases passing through the courts from Makusha. In 2014, 54 cases passed through the court and the statistics escalated to 103 in 2015 (Institutional records, 2016).

## **1.8 Prevention of Gender-Based Violence**

Violence prevention is usually the least-used anti-violence approach, although it is probably the best strategy to use for sustainable development (Ellsberg *et al.* 2014). Addressing underlying causes such as discrimination and gender inequality, which results in the lower status of women, are actions that contribute to the prevention of GBV (Pain 2015). Hence, gender-based violence prevention in any community must address the individual, social, cultural, and economic contexts. Prevention consists of elevating consciousness, disseminating information on gender-sensitive human rights methodologies, media and communications campaigns, and substantial efforts directed closer to building non-violent and gender-sensitive techniques (Drezin and Lloyd-Laney 2003: 39; WHO n.d.). All these strategies include finding appropriate approaches and powerful conversation channels.

Mkapa (2000) states that as scientists struggle to respond to worldwide challenges, they have distanced themselves from local ways of fixing issues. Local answers had even been discriminated against as hindering progress, being out-dated, being 'old wives' tales', or being simply old-fashioned. Hence, they disregarded its capability as a useful resource or even omitted the information that males and females, and families and groups had developed themselves for centuries. The President of Tanzania, Frannie Léautier, in 2004, concurred stating that African communities had always continually coped with changing environments and that societies not only have the know-how regarding the best practices, they additionally

have the knowledge on how to adapt to unfavourable environments, establishments, and regulations.

With all the above being stated, as a country, Zimbabwe has been committed to preventing violence against women as witnessed by a wide range of communication initiatives being harnessed to support elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and achieving gender equality, such as advocating for legal frameworks and using dialogue as a tool for changing social and cultural attitudes to remove barriers to women's participation in the wider society.

Zimbabwe has implemented the Beijing Platform for Action (United Nations 1995), putting in place national policies and instruments such as the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development, which launched the 4Ps Campaign in 2011, with the mandate of raising awareness on the prevention of, protection from, partnerships, and programming on domestic violence and gender-based violence. The National Gender Policy adopted in 2004, revised in 2013, aimed at women empowerment and promoting gender equality. Various policies and legislations which included the Domestic Violence Act of 2006 (Zimbabwe 2006), a national gender-based violence strategy, a national action plan on rape and gender-based violence, and the Standard Operating Procedures for Safe Shelters (2012) protocol in line with the provisions of the Beijing Platform were put in place as national strategies against the pandemic.

Protective legislation such as the Sexual Offences Act, which criminalises marital abuse, and the Criminal Law (Codification) Act were adopted to address the knowledge, attitudes, and practices of individuals, while advocacy and social mobilisation contributes towards the creation of an enabling social and political environment that can support behaviour change. It reiterates the fact that behaviour change and social change are interrelated and need to occur across communities to make a difference.

Zimbabwe further established the Victim Friendly Courts, which aim to safeguard defenceless eyewitnesses such that the witnesses are protected and such that they do not have to face the perpetrators in open court. The victim friendly units were set up at every police station to discreetly handle cases of violence against women and child abuse related cases.

It is evident that Zimbabwe has made significant advances in providing violence protection to its citizens, however, women continue to experience violence due to their subordinate status within the home and society, and most of the interventions implemented are reactive in nature

rather than being proactive. Hence the programmatic efforts to reduce GBV have largely been ineffective for the country as a whole, let alone for marginalised, closed communities such as mining communities.

## **1.9 Research Methodology**

This study is informed by a critical/advocacy-emancipatory paradigm. The paradigm particularly suits the study as it sought to create space for residents of mining communities to co-reflect on, interrogate, and challenge social structures/practices that engender violence against women as well as being community-based research. Hence the research design is qualitative in nature, combined with an exploratory research design, action research in the form of forum theatre drama acts, and evaluation components. Bless and Higson (2000) highlight that qualitative research methodology details verbal explanations, circumstances, situations, and systems obtained by interacting with, questioning, and observing a social phenomenon. Qualitative methodology generates data rich in description, and in the case of this study, the causes, impacts, and consequences of gender-based violence in a mining community setting as well as eliciting for home-grown initiatives for its prevention were highlighted.

### **1.10 Population and Study Setting**

This study was conducted in Makusha (a high-density suburb in Shurugwi with a population of 14,456 where 56% of the population are males while females comprise 44% of the total population. Shurugwi is located 17 km to the southeast of Gweru, the capital of the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe. Shurugwi was established in 1899 on the mineral-rich belt commonly known as the Great Dyke. Shurugwi has a population of 22,138 (ZIMSTAS 2017). There are at least four major mining companies in the Shurugwi region as well as small- to medium-sized mining operations. In addition to mining, Shurugwi is also known for its beautiful mountainous peaks and valleys. The town is located on the Wolfshall Pass, commonly known as Boterekwa. However, for many families residing in the community, artisanal mining has also become an important source of income (Tiernan and Gallagher 2019).

The adult population of Makusha is concentrated in the 20-45-year age range. The suburb is a multi-ethnic community, home to migrant workers from Zambia, Mozambique, and Malawi as well as the local Shona- and Ndebele-speaking people. Gondek (2014) notes that the mixture of languages, traditions, and other cultural norms has diluted the indigenous ways of life of the native people of the said communities. In addition, Moyo and Mabhena (2014) argue

that this mixture of people and persuasions in mining towns promotes violence. High levels of in-migration of predominantly male employees commonly spark social conflict and prostitution in mining regions (Matsika *et al.* 2015).

### **1.11 Sampling Procedures**

The population of the study consisted of the local government authorities (the District Administrators), ward councillors, community elders, and men and women of different backgrounds within the community of Makusha. The convenient sampling technique was used to identify participants. Using purposive sampling, the researcher managed to identify eight key informants as participants who included government officials, community elders, village heads, and church elders. For the community Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), the participants were identified through random sampling. The researcher also used the snowballing sampling technique to find the survivors of domestic violence and sexual violence/rape victims. The total population of community members who participated in the forum theatre workshops were approximately one hundred people at a given time during the workshops. The summary of the participants of the study will be given later in Chapter 6.

### **1.12 Data Collection Methods**

This study used the methodological triangulation approach which included collecting data from focus group discussions, key informant interviews, participant observation, as well as from the forum theatre plays that were held with the community. Focus group discussion guides, interview guides, and observation guides were used to aid the data collection. The researcher also used documents from the Durban University of Technology (DUT) library, google scholar search engines, internet sources, newspaper sources, government entities such as the Ministry of Youth and Women Empowerment, hospital documents, and the Zimbabwe Republic Police.

### **1.13 Data Analysis**

The researcher used the thematic data analysis method. The researcher identified themes and arranged them into thematic frames for presentation, interpretation, and analysis. The study analysed data obtained from focus group discussions, interviews, observations, as well as from the forum theatre before and after the intervention using interpretive and discourse analysis paradigms to compare the perceptions and attitudes of the individuals, the family, and the community members in general.



## **1.14 Rationale of the Study**

The fundamental purpose for prioritising prevention interventions is the worldwide proof demonstrating that programs using this technique are powerful at changing the mindset and behaviours of community members. There are limited research studies on community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence, especially of an action research nature, hence this study will provide the basis for reflective approaches for communities in developing their own home-grown pathways to prevent, reduce, and even eradicate violence against women in marginalised communities. This study helps to accentuate that communities by themselves have a great potential to solve their own problems and maintain ownership which is an ingredient for sustainable development. It is also worth noting that the study significantly managed to impact positively on the participating community, imparting interpersonal skills for communication and dialogue. This study addressed the issues of gender-based violence first-hand as it affected residents of Makusha, solving the issues as they considered appropriate.

## **1.15 Delimitations of the Study**

The study was carried out specifically for Makusha community hence the research findings and interventions implemented might not be applicable for different mining communities or other communities since communities are heterogeneous. The research findings might not be contemplative of the insights of the people from all mining communities in the Midlands Province. Long-term impact evaluation could not be carried out for this study because of the conditions of the academic study timelines, as stipulated by DUT, and a long-term impact evaluation would have required more time and funding.

## **1.16 Structure of Chapters**

This thesis is comprised of ten chapters, summarised in the subsequent sub-sections.

### **1.16.1 Chapter 1: Introduction and Background of the Study**

This chapter provides the background and overall outline of the thesis. The background of the study, a statement of the research problem, the research objectives, theoretical framework, the rationale of the study, as well as the overall outline of the thesis are presented.

### **1.16.2 Chapter 2: Research Context**

The chapter reviews literature informing the study. The review is systematically carried out firstly against a thematic section 'Understanding the mining community'. Within this section,

literature describing mining communities is presented. The historical mining activities in Zimbabwe are also explained. The research context, Makusha community (which is part of the Shurugwi mining town located in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe), is explored. The last section of the chapter locates Makusha community within the grand matrix of mining activities vis-à-vis gender-based violence as this occurs.

### **1.16.3 Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework**

Chapter 3 discusses gender-based violence within the social learning theory and the ecological systems theory from a non-violence perspective. The conflict transformation theory, highlighting the potential that the community has in mitigating gender-based violence, as well as the contact theory, showing the importance of sustainable solutions that communities can use, are highlighted.

### **1.16.4 Chapter 4: The Nature, Consequences, and Prevention of Gender-Based Violence**

This chapter focuses on the nature, consequences, and prevention of gender-based violence in Zimbabwe. The first section of the chapter looks at the nature of gender-based violence, the concept of culture, patriarchy, and traditions and cultural practices that contribute to gender-based violence. The second section provides literature on the magnitude and consequences of gender-based violence while the last section of the chapter provides the prevention strategies that have been used and that have worked in the prevention of gender-based violence in Zimbabwe.

### **1.16.5 Chapter 5: Community-Based Strategies for Prevention of Gender-Based Violence**

This chapter explores the rationale behind community-based approaches, highlighting how these community prevention efforts have been progressively implemented and their effectiveness, Behaviour Change Communication (BCC), and the community-based approach. The role of sport Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) in the prevention of violence is discussed. Working with men and boys' initiatives, self-defence initiatives, forum theatre, as well as women empowerment initiatives that influence the knowledge, attitudes, and practices of individuals, families, and communities are also discussed.

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

Chapter 6 discusses the research design and methodologies used in the study. Qualitative participatory action research methodology was employed. The population and sampling techniques used, data collection methods, as well as the data analysis are highlighted in this chapter. Forum theatre workshops are also discussed. The chapter also highlights the validity and reliability measures that were used to ensure the credibility of the research process.

### **1.16.7 Chapter 7: Data Presentation and Analysis**

The chapter presents data findings from the focus group discussions, interviews, and the observations made. The findings led to the formation of the community intervention part of the study. The forum theatre data presentation was closely linked to the stages in the participatory action research cycle.

### **1.16.8 Chapter 8: Forum Theatre**

This chapter presents the forum theatre which involved the larger community. The responses gave an overview of how gender-based violence is manifested in the Makusha community as well as identifying the community-based interventions for the violence prevention.

### **1.16.9 Chapter 9: Evaluation of the Forum Theatre Outcomes**

Chapter 9 focuses on evaluating the community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence as suggested by community members of Makusha. The interventions evaluated included self-help initiatives, family clubs, the neighbour's keeper initiative, traditional methods, social media platforms, sporting initiatives, and women empowerment strategies.

### **1.16.10 Chapter 10: Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations**

The chapter highlights the summary of the findings of the research, the conclusions, as well as recommendations.

## **1.17 Definition of Key Terms**

### **1.17.1 Gender-Based Violence**

In the context of this research, gender-based violence refers to that which is perpetrated towards an individual due to their gender and as a result of the normative position anticipations linked with each gender and the unequal strength relationships between the genders. Terms

such as violence against women, domestic violence, intimate partner violence, and sexual violence would also be taken to mean gender-based violence and, in some cases, are used interchangeably.

### **1.17.2 Victims**

**There is no one word that can describe or define the realities of someone who has been abused. The term *victim* identifies a person mainly in line with that which a person did to them; it conveys nothing about that which they did to resist or respond, or anything about every other identity that they may have.**

### **1.17.3 Survivors**

. The term *survivor* describes someone in line with their reviews of and resistance to violence. These terms are also used interchangeably in this research to describe those who have been subjected to violence of any sort.

### **1.17.4 Mining Community**

A mining community includes mine workers, domestic groups of migrant employees, artisanal mining communities, as well as the groups residing on the doorsteps of large mining projects. They are a closed community with limited external influence on their affairs. Mining communities have higher incidents of violence. They are a heterogeneous group of people and often characterised by spikes in domestic violence.

### **1.17.5 Prevention**

Prevention is the action that is taken to avoid or stop something that has the potential of causing harm from its occurrence. Prevention would mean a way of identifying factors that in turn will contribute to alleviating a phenomenon from occurring, in turn providing solutions of when to intervene.

### **1.17.6 Interventions**

Generally, interventions are strategies that can be used to improve on issues such as behaviour changes, health, educational programmes, etc. They can be implemented in different settings including communities, schools, and homes, to mention a few. However, in this research, interventions are taken to mean the pathways and steps that the community developed to prevent gender-based violence.

## **1.18 Chapter Summary**

The overall outline of the thesis was highlighted. The background of the study, a statement of the research problem, the research objectives and questions, and theoretical framework were discussed. The chapter also provided the methodology, rationale of the study, and the delimitations, as well as highlighted the structure of the chapters. The next chapter will inform the research context.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This study develops sustainable community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence in mining communities in Zimbabwe. The chapter reviews literature informing the study. The review is systematically done firstly against a thematic section 'Understanding the mining community'. Within this section, literature describing mining communities is presented. The next section of the chapter concentrates on the historical mining activities in Zimbabwe. Within the same section, the research context, Makusha community (which is part of the Shurugwi mining town located in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe), is explored. The review of the literature, as organised in the specified thematic sections, accord the researcher space to establish and explore literature. The researcher was able to establish the foundation of the study, which is mining communities, going further to appreciate mining activities and how these determine or affect activities in the mining communities. The last section allows the researcher to locate Mukusha community in Shurugwi within the grand matrix of mining activities vis-à-vis gender-based violence as this occurs in the said communities. Efforts were undertaken to establish activities in Mukusha community that are aligned with gender-based violence in order to avoid certain generalities that are often made when mining communities are viewed from a broad and universal angle.

#### **2.2 Understanding the Mining Community**

##### **2.2.1 What is a Mining Community?**

It is important to begin by understanding the nature and composition of a mining community. In this section, a working definition is provided and 'mining communities' are discussed to establish a clear picture on that which a mining community broadly is. Gualnam (2008) views mining communities as including mine workers, home communities of migrant workers, artisanal mining communities, as well as the communities on the doorsteps of large mining projects. Within a certain range of the mine project, the immediate neighbourhood is made up of community(ies) that might or might not be involved in direct mining activities. This view, however, is fairly broad and for the purposes of this research, it has been narrowed down to cover only home communities (residential areas).

According to Littlewood (2014), a mining community is a resource town, the economic base of which is dominated by the extraction and primary processing of natural resources. The distinctiveness of mining activity is founded on the mine 'life' and also on the fact that mining is a footprint industry. The 'life' of a mine is tied to the mining region and spans the period from exploration and development, expansion and maturity, production, decline, to exhaustion (Spooner 1981). Mining activities are also associated with "boom and bust" economic cycles, which are alternating periods of steady growth with periods of slow growth (Cleveland and Morris 2008: 58). The boom is associated with mining-led urbanisation and massive capital and infrastructure investment often during the early stages of the mine cycle. The bust is associated with negative externalities when there is contraction in mining at the later stages. These impacts, positive or negative, affect livelihoods and alter the socioeconomic rhythms of communities and spatial functions of mining settlements and regions.

Bryceson and MacKinnon (2012) state that artisanal mining activities tend to appear first and are then followed by the rapid growth of small towns and regional centres. However, artisanal mining is stated to decline as the mineral supply depletes or becomes unreachable with artisanal technology. Large-scale mining largely supports *situ* urban settlements and also contributing to the growth of communities (Tonts and Taylor 2010).

A mining community includes people and companies that are seeking to make livelihoods from a wide variety of activities which encompass outputs and/or processing. Mensah *et al.* (2017) highlight that mining communities are popular intra-migration hot spots as mine opening booms tend to attract (skilled and unskilled) labour and at times this labour brings their families to the host or nearby communities. Community members are usually employed as workers or casual labourers or they may be agents or sellers and include people involved in secondary activities. In other words, a mining community is a community where the livelihoods of the residents largely depend on gains from mining activities of small-scale miners and/or transnational companies through the supply of goods and services.

Throughout the SADC region, mining communities have been essentially associated with poor societal living conditions which include poverty, redundancy, improper housing and poor infrastructure, prostitution, and an excessive influx of unaccompanied migrant labour (Cronje *et al.* 2013). Furthermore, Adu-Gyamfi (2014) highlights that mining communities have experienced stress regarding inadequate housing, youth unemployment, family disorganisation, school dropouts, prostitution, and drug abuse which are normally associated with the mining boom. In most cases, these impacts affect people of different age groups and genders differently. In addition, some mining communities have suffered and continue to suffer

various degrees of the adverse impact of mining operations. Adu-Gyamfi (2014) notes that militaristic attacks, polluted water sources, land degradation, and low inadequate compensation packages have been a cause of concern for mining communities and their residents.

### **2.2.2 In-Migration, Cultural Hybridity of Mining Communities**

Many mining communities are resident to dynamic cultures. People from different parts of the countries travel to reside where there is a mining boom. Large numbers of artisanal and small-scale miners who are involved in the mining of various minerals migrate from diverse parts of the country to settle in areas where minerals are found or where large mining companies are operating. The key motivation for people migrating to mining towns is economic as there are better opportunities as well as higher remuneration in the mining industry.

The influx of newcomers has an intense impact on the original inhabitants of the land. Gradiner (2017) posits that newcomers to mining communities are regarded untrustworthily by the local or indigenous community members and are usually viewed as “(a) mass of people with weak links into society as a whole and a disruptive influence on local social control, leadership, and life styles” (Murombo 2017: 235). Furthermore, Murombo (2017) reiterates the fact that an influx of immigrants is related to an increase in theft and robberies, alcohol and drug abuse, prostitution, and sexually transmitted diseases which tend to cause strife among the blend of community members.

In her study, Sharma (2007) notes that the movement of a family to a mining town includes noteworthy lifestyle changes for family members. The practicalities of living in inaccessible mining towns with interesting social and cultural milieus that are opposite to past life encounters and desires frequently apply a compelling impact on the life of new migrants. The influx of labourers looking for work in mining locales increases social tensions. It was noted that the in-migration can have a negative impact especially where communities are not readily assimilated and do not have the capacity to accommodate large numbers of new inhabitants. Their entry exerts a larger burden on health and other public services in local communities (Mabhena 2011). The cost of accommodation and food increase due to stimulated financial action and there is an ordinarily higher demand for these products. UNICEF (2017) also notes that people are at risk of residing in insalubrious and unacceptable conditions.

As power dimensions in the communities alter, conventional socio-economic relations among the inhabitants as well as within the family also change which in turn would result in a mix of



cultures such that identifying the indigenous people becomes very difficult. It has also resulted in cultural decay and new cultures emerging (Walsh 2012). The mix of cultures results from inter-marriages, for example, the Shona culture mixing with the Ndebele culture in Zimbabwe. In addition to noting the negative impacts of in-migration, UNICEF (2017) highlights that in-migration can bring positive impacts and benefits to communities, stating benefits such as economic expansion, increased entrepreneurial activity, an increase in support from national and regional establishments, as well as elevated education and training activities.

The coming together of people from different parts of countries has seen the creation of a different type of culture observable in mining communities. Gondek (2014) notes that the mixture of languages, traditions, and other cultural norms have diluted the indigenous ways of life of the native people of the said communities. Moyo and Mabhena (2014) argue that this mixture of people and persuasions in mining towns promotes violence. Societal conflicts often spark as a result of high levels of in-migration by male workers (Matsika *et al.* 2015). Due to the decay in conventional instruments of social control and the deluge of a transitory male workforce, social and health problems are predominant in mining communities. As a result, gender-based violence related troubles are sparked. Gender-based violence is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

### **2.2.3 Livelihoods in Mining Communities**

Livelihoods consists of material “assets, social resources and activities mandatory” for survival (Beddington 1999: 12). Ellis (2000: 18) adds that a livelihood is “a means of gaining a living through adequate stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs”. Extractive or mining industries have long been touted as a key anchor to development, economic growth, as well as a panacea to alleviating poverty in developing countries. The relationship between mineral extraction and the societies and states in which it takes place has long been a central issue in most parts of Africa. In many African countries, most benefits from the extractive industry are fiscal and national. This is because the government is the conduit of the benefits to the rest of the economy, including to local communities (Pole *et al.* 2017).

According to Murombo (2013), mines have large positive socio-economic effects in nearby communities, and as a consequence, corporations make a contribution to the improvement of key socio-economic infrastructure which includes roads, hospitals, schools, and housing. Murombo (2013) further states that proceeds gathered from mining activities also contribute to export and forex profits. At the community level, mining serves as a primary supply of employment for nearby people and triggers a rise in a large variety of small businesses

consisting of catering, transport, and cleansing services. Conversion of growth into poverty reduction is considered to be much lower in Africa than in the rest of the developing world. This is despite the fact that Africa's resource boom has spurred growth, as observed by Christiaensen, Chuhan-Pole and Sanoh (2014). Christiaensen, Chuhan-Pole and Sanoh (2014) further mention that the low growth elasticity of poverty is attributed to natural-resource-led growth, a factor that underlies the frustration that this is often felt following a natural-resource-led boom. The questions remain whether resources extraction can improve living standards of community members.

The fact that mining communities' livelihoods are intricately tied to the continued existence of mining operations presents more challenges to mining companies to implement sustainable corporate social investment projects in the community. This is because, as Bryceson and MacKinnon (2012) correctly submit, all mines inevitably have to exit a community at some point. Without sustainable social investment projects, local communities remain vulnerable as their lives are tied to the ebb and flow of mining companies often with disastrous consequences (Stankeviča 2015). Livelihood sources for mining communities are susceptible to change and are flexible to "adapt to socioeconomic conditions prevailing at a particular point in time" (Magaramombe 2001: 6). It then becomes important for community members to consider alternative income sources available, for example, an investment plan.

However, as noted by ZELA (2016), most areas where mining activities are taking place are characterised by abject poverty, unemployment, and underdevelopment as characterised by damaged roads and few schools and clinics. Mining communities have remained small towns while big and small companies continue to extract high-value minerals and do little to develop these areas.

#### **2.2.4 Employment as a Livelihood in Mining Communities**

The extractive industry is expected to deliver jobs, better living situations, and improve financial potentialities for nearby communities (Murombo 2013). Growth of mining communities has seen developments of infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, supermarkets, and roads, which has created other service sectors as sources of employment. This has also resulted in providing some options to communities to decide to either work for particular mines or merely engage in artisanal mining. Despite this optimism, it still remains to be seen whether the extractive industry can alleviate poverty and anchor sustainable development, and more importantly, whether the extraction of natural resources can prevent social problems such as gender-based violence.

Contrary to the view that companies offer more job avenues, many people have been retrenched, as noted by Bryceson and Geenen (2016), due to labour rationalisation exercises introduced by mining companies and the adoption of new technologies. Scholars such as Twerefou (2009) and Mawowa (2013) have argued that the net employment effect of mining is negative given the massive displacement of small miners to marginal sites as well as the abandonment of agriculture as a source of livelihood by many rural communities. Many of the skills required for mining have been recruited from outside mining areas, with mining communities benefiting from only unskilled labour which generally has relatively low returns (Larmer *et al.* 2015).

### **2.2.5 Social Amenities and Living Conditions**

One of the main socio-cultural influences of mining is when there is an influx of new workers from other areas outside of those areas where mines are located. According to Hill (2008), the influx of new workers occurs as a result of new economic opportunities that mining activities present. However, this influx exerts pressure on existing infrastructure such as housing, water, and sanitation (Hill 2008). Leon (2015) notes that in Sub-Saharan Africa, the approach of service delivery by mining companies to mine communities is not delivering these benefits. It assumes that all mining communities are homogeneous and exerts a one-size-fits-all model for mining communities' development, despite their diverse needs and circumstances.

Mining brings many different economic benefits consisting of the development of infrastructure, which commonly continues to be a major concern in most African nations. Larmer (2016) submits that as part of corporate social responsibility, most mining companies have negotiated with communities on benefits resulting in infrastructural development for efficient mining operations to take place. In Ghana, for instance, AngloGold-Ashanti invested in sporting facilities becoming the main sponsor of the Ghana national team in the 2006 Soccer World Cup in Germany as well as supporting the team in the Soccer World Cup held in South Africa in 2010. In South Africa, mining companies invested in the 2010 Soccer World Cup, providing additional infrastructure to drive and sustain economic growth. The Copperbelt region of Zambia has seen much of the infrastructure developed by mining companies. Similar examples can be found in mining communities across Africa.

In Zimbabwe, the Mimosa mine engaged in community-based social projects such as constructing Mukwidzi High School, supporting Mhondongori clinic, supplying drinking water, and supplying sanitation. Despite these positive advances, however, the mine of Mimosa (and

the associated small-scale mines) resulted in land loss, deforestation, pollution (water, air, environment), disease, and deaths for humans and animals. Furthermore, passive involvement by the local population translated into low sustainability and subsequently the slow sustainable growth of Mhondongori ward.

### **2.2.6 Housing in Mining Communities**

Accommodation is either provided or afforded by the mining companies, however, for artisanal miners, Bryceson and MacKinnon (2012) observed that because they are generally informal, they often have makeshift housing. Welfare differences between the two groups of miners cannot be summed up by a simple dichotomy between adequate and inadequate. Employees who work in large mines may face constant hesitation to provide long-term family housing, but the poor fortunes of artisanal miners may be a viable option as they save their income for construction elsewhere (UNICEF 2017). Within a mine complex, employee houses, social clubs, schools, shopping malls, and healthcare facilities are built for mine workers which means, as Kotsadam (2016) notes, that the mine complex represents a concentration of wealth and plenty while the surrounding communities wallow in poverty.

Kotsadam (2016) argues that national governments and mining companies are investing in more sustainable infrastructure in communities where they can invest and generate jobs as well as promote better living standards. However, the truth in Kotsadam's (2016) assertion needs to be interrogated for its objectivity and/or subjectivity. In Zimbabwe, for example, damaged roads are an eyesore in mining communities. Makore and Zano (2013) highlight that major mining companies only fix roads that immediately impact them while other primary roads utilised by communities are gravel roads which can be inaccessible during the wet season. Murombo (2014) notes that the modern-day intonation of 'improvement of communities through capitalism' has seen linkages expand amongst mining, poverty relief, and good governance. An exploration of mining companies in Zimbabwe show many billboards of mining companies declare their resilience and advocating for the development of social infrastructure in their areas of operation.

### **2.2.7 Education in Mining Communities**

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2013 cited in Adu-Gyamfi 2014) estimates that nearly one million children aged between five to 17 years have been found to be working in mines and quarries. It was well noted that absenteeism at school, especially during the dry season, is quite prevalent as students assist in gold mining activities in small-scale mining dependent households since time immemorial (Mtetwa and Shava 2003). According to

Tolonen (2015), the issue of children working in the artisanal mining industry reflects the worst forms of child labour on the African continent. However, children are in artisanal mining for several reasons, some of which include family disintegration through poverty or HIV/AIDS as well as wars and conflict.

Furthermore, the children from small-scale mining households are malnourished and have poor hygiene. Payment of fees is also poor as most of the money from gold digging is spent on food. This reveals some misplaced African traditional expectations of children as revenue stipendiaries, subsequently displaying negligence and premature independence from parental control (Kotsadam 2016). Dropouts are also a common feature in mining communities. Mutero (2016) points out that promiscuity and pregnancy is common amongst girls in the community and usually most girls are unable to complete their education. Chatiza *et al.* (2015) also reported that there is rampant drug abuse, especially alcoholism in artisanal mines and quarries.

Most schools have been built far away from most of the mining sites for health and security reasons of children and communities (Espach 2016). Children from communities that are directly under the care of large mining companies have access to better schools as the provision of education is under the mandatory requirements of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR).

### **2.2.8 Health Facilities in Mining Communities**

Mine workers (women, men, and children) face very severe situations comprising illnesses, injury, and pressure from dust and noise pollutants, as well as severe exertion from exceedingly labour-intensive jobs (Hinton *et al.* 2003). For instance, numerous hours of digging, sporting massive weights for tremendous distances, and bending over in awkward positions during panning or scavenging for gemstones can result in painful, chronic injuries such as lower back pain and fatigue. Lung diseases such as silicosis, which is caused by the inhalation of fine, crystalline silica dirt that is generated from breaking and crushing rock, has been found in mining community members. Advanced tiers of silicosis have been documented among women as young as 14 years of age in Ghana (ILO 1999).

Health problems such the high prevalence of HIV and Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), undesirable pregnancies, undernourishment, alcohol and drug addiction, and mental illness are common in mining communities. According to UNICEF (2016), the highest prevalence rates of HIV/AIDS worldwide are found in mining towns. This has been attributed to the high

disposable income which leads to increased prostitution in mining communities and also the fact that most miners are separated from their families, and mainly as a result of the fact that most workers are male, they are provided with dormitory or single-room accommodation (World Bank 2015). Women and men in mining communities, usually those engaging in artisanal mining, thus have little exposure to health prevention measures. Twerefou (2009) posits that mine workers believe that using drugs such as marijuana, cocaine, etc. assists them when they carry out their daunting tasks. This is unfortunate, as some men tend to overuse the drugs, thereby causing problems in the community and in their families.

Long hours of shift-work in the mines have resulted in family dislocation and disintegration as well as muscular-skeletal disorders and alcoholism (Forson 2002). Unfortunately, although medical tests are conducted before employment is offered in many mining companies, many of them are not conducted periodically or exit medical examinations to ascertain the health of their workers.

#### **2.2.9 Role of Women in Mining Communities**

Jobs created by mines are not equal for men and women. Women complain that they are typically relegated to gendered work as cooks, cleaners, or clerical staff. Deonandan (2016) states that women mine employees have been working largely in culinary, housekeeping, administration, and corporate services jobs. While working at the mine, most men are freed from domestic chores (cooking, cleaning, etc.) as these are done predominately by women mine workers. The implication is that societal gender stereotyping is strengthened by the nature of the work that men and women are being hired to perform at mine sites. This gendered nature of mine employment is particularly discriminatory especially as women at times have “higher rates of high school completion, education, and labour market participation than men” (Deonandan 2016: 291). Murombo (2017) concurs by stating that traditionally, work in the mines has only been for men.

Mining communities around the world are diverse, vibrant, and distinctive. Deonandan (2016) states that they vary from culture to culture, region to region, and mine to mine, and change over time. Women in these communities are also heterogeneous and unique. However, all over the world, they tend to take on certain roles. Typically, the roles include, but are not limited to, being cleaners, ore carriers and processors, suppliers of goods and services (e.g. cooks, shopkeepers), and at times solely being responsible for domestic chores (Hinton *et al.* 2003).

At the mines, Mutero (2016) mentions that women's responsibilities range from crushing, grinding, sifting, rinsing, and washing as well as melting and decomposing amalgam in the extraction of gold. Women are less commonly concessionaries, miners, merchants, and buyers and owners of equipment. Women perform many tasks in many of the mining fields. For example, a woman working as a panner can earn extra income as a sex worker or a cook. Many women are taken to mining communities to work as prostitutes and being promised wealth and opportunities. Although women play different and important roles in artisanal mining, there is little reliable information available on the issue (Hinton *et al.* 2003). Also, since women do not possess the same skills as men who readily find employment at large-scale mines, they continue to be tied to their households through familial obligations. It is believed that women's involvement in artisanal mining is increasing both directly and indirectly. Makhetha (2016) states that due to a number of factors which include rural poverty and droughts over years, structural adjustments programs have increased women's participation in mining as a need to make ends meet. In later stages, however, as mining communities become more established, women act as community leaders (Hinton 2012).

#### **2.2.10 Conflict and Violence in the Mining Sector**

Many mining communities feel betrayed by not contributing to decisions that impact their lives as well as by not fully benefiting from the natural resources upon which their lives depend. As a result, some mining communities resort to illegal means of gaining control of these resources. As such, this has resulted in conflicts which have caused significant destruction of the lives of community members, some mining communities, property, and land degradation. The many wars seen in most African countries (Sierra Leone, Leone, Liberia, Guinea, the Democratic Republic of Congo, to name a few) since the 1980s to date are partly due to the opaque and unequal distribution of mineral resources. Conflict in the mining communities arises from the distribution of rents, land use, resettlement, and survival of small-scale mines (Twerefou 2009). At the state and national level, independence movements or competing parties battling for territorial conquest and political authority sort the leverage of mineral exploration to advance their cause, as has been noted by Bryceson and MacKinnon (2012).

Many extractive companies were blamed for using mercenaries, warlords, and corruption to enter lucrative oil and mineral reserves. It has been stated that the increasing illicit trade in mineral resources, especially diamonds, has contributed to conflicts. This has contributed to a well-documented history of conflict and violence in Africa (Emel *et al.* 2011; Moody and Hochschild 1998). Many sceptics have also suggested that developed countries with major mining industries are considered to be less stable and diversified economies and are usually

relatively poorer off than countries without large mining industries (Ross 2001 cited in Weitzner 2002).

### **2.2.11 Conflict within the Mining Communities**

Mining communities are marked by spikes in domestic and sexual harassment against women. This is so because men have greater access to cash through jobs in mines, as well as benefits earned from resettlement packages, which in turn raises the rate of alcohol use and contributes to domestic abuse (Hinton *et al.* 2006; Perks 2011). Since there is very little external influence in mining communities because they are closed communities, survivors of domestic violence in particular face challenges of accessing help. Aiken (1999), however, acknowledges that the disparity between the mining families and the rest of the other families is due to the effects of the mining environment on all day-to-day work, obligations, and family activities.

It has been stated that some of the jobs that should be filled by local community members had been outsourced to foreign nationals who come to the country as expatriates such that communities surrounding the mines are often ignored for employment, even in cases where the vacant jobs are for low-skilled workers (Makore and Zano 2013). As an example of the grievances, communities surrounding mining companies have protested against employment policies and practices of companies.

### **2.2.12 Gender-Based Violence in Mining Communities**

Rabe (2006) notes that gender-based violence manifests itself in different ways such as sexual harassment, rape, direct violence, prostitution, forced marriages, and domestic violence, to mention a few, and these have been confirmed to be prevalent in many of Africa's mining regions. That which is mostly worrisome for women residing in mining communities is their interaction with aggressive men who are unattached to both family as well as the traditional community or place. Further, Chichester (2017) argues that violence in mining communities is also caused by the inflow of migrant immigrants, socioeconomic instability, increased disposable income and related drinking, and higher levels of female prostitution jobs.

While the occurrence of violence against women in artisanal mining communities around the world has been reported, acts of abuse by men have also been linked to the presence of miners and the 'mining culture'. Women also struggle with other hardships such as malaria and lately the COVID 19 virus pandemic, but they are faced with limited alternatives of accessing assistance. Superstitious and cultural beliefs such as men having sex with 'young



virgins', as young as five years of age, as a means to acquiring wealth, is a form of gender-based violence which is prevalent in mining communities. The other reason why incidences of rape, violence, and crime are high in mining communities is attributed to lawlessness and the absence of an effective police service (Zano and Makore 2013). However, the presence of police and military personnel in mining sites has increased the insecurity of women in some communities. Deller and Schreiber (2013) reported that a rapist can resolve a rape case with a public security officer (police) for as little as a goat. Furthermore, most cases of gender-based violence are rarely reported to the authorities and the judicial system is inaccessible in marginalised areas such as mining communities (Weber 2012).

The above sections have attempted to define mining communities as well as establish a broad picture of the nature of life in the mining communities. Covered in the sections are the role of mines in developing mining communities, mining establishments, and their attitude towards sustainable development. It has been noted that most mines are located in small towns and efforts in providing developmental support is primarily determined by their desire to expropriate resources in the area without due diligence to surrounding communities. While the sections have shown that there are some positive aspects noted, such as the provision of health, education, housing, and social services, these are largely done by big mines operating in given set ups in contrast to artisanal mines where a great deal of infrastructure is in dire strain. In both cases however, it has been shown that gender-based violence is inevitable. The next section provides an appreciation of mining in Zimbabwe against that which has been noted above.

## **2.3 Overview of Mining in Zimbabwe**

### **2.3.1 Mining in Zimbabwe**

One of Zimbabwe's predominant mechanisms of economic growth is mining. This has always been the case from pre-colonial times, after the attainment of independence and even up to date. Some of the major driving financial sectors, such as agriculture and tourism, have declined dramatically, leaving the mining industry as one of the pinnacle contributors to the country's gross domestic product. The mining history of Zimbabwe as a country spans over a thousand years (Roussos 1988). Zimbabwe is richly endowed with mineral wealth with more than 60 specific forms of minerals, 40 of which have traditionally been exploited to various extents (Mugandani and Masiya 2011). It is also important to note that mining has been thriving in a context where most economic activities are moribund and the decrease in other forms of livelihoods has seen an influx of migrants to different mining communities as informal miners with some being employed in large mining companies.

Cecil John Rhodes and the British South African Company (BSAC) colonised Zimbabwe because of the belief that the country was very richly endowed with unexplored mineral resources. Malinga (2018) highlights that before the occupation in 1890, societies during this period had already begun mining iron as a means of progressing social and economic activities even though it did not substitute the agricultural sector as it was more important and a better livelihood activity.

Mlambo's (2016) research entitled *Extractives and sustainable development, minerals, oil and gas sectors in Zimbabwe* found that gold, silver, tin, copper, and iron had been mined at approximately four thousand different sites by the close of the nineteenth century. This showed how much the mining industry can grow and how rich a country can be in terms of its mineral deposits. The growth of mining activities has increased because of various economic scenarios over the years, as will be shown in this section. The pre-colonial period saw primitive mining and processing methods ranging from rock breaking, hoisting, digging, and haulage which meant that people were concentrating on easier jobs such as agriculture for their livelihoods, hence the mining industry was not too overwhelmed as that which is being experienced today (Masiya *et al.* 2012). Over time, however, societies began to view mining as a source of internal economic stability and an engine that powered long-distance trade. Huffman (1974) highlights that gold and copper were the most important minerals in trade required by the Arab traders. In the precolonial period, the class system was developed because of this trade which saw mining being monopolised by the rich, and it was also noted that those who were miners and iron smiths during this period had close relationships with the ruling elite (Malinga 2018).

Ownership structures changed significantly after ten years of the arrival of colonialists, and larger gold mines were established and labour was provided by the Black Africans as monetary policies, coupled with heavy taxation, were introduced on local small-scale miners (Masiya *et al.* 2012). BSAC restricted the mining of gold to registered companies (which were all owned by colonialists). White individuals and syndicates were allowed to own and operate mines. Because of the stringent reforms and policies, most mineral resources remained uncharted. However, a few large-scale mines were able to make a profit during this period as most high-grade oxidized gold deposits had been depleted by indigenous miners who used minor technologically improved methods (Metcalf 2008). To this effect, most investors shifted their interests in South Africa mainly to Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand and other more profitable gold fields.

Because mining operations in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) tended to operate on a narrower profit margin than those further south, from the start the viability of the industry depended on the regular supply of cheap African labour. Matsa (2010) states that the way in which cheap labour was obtained and utilised, and the possibilities open to workers to subvert the process of exploitation, cannot be separated from the production process itself. Because labour had to be recruited by deception, force, and contract, it was inherently unstable and unskilled. This meant that tasks had to be organised so as to maximise the efficiency of supervision, and to minimise the degree of specialisation and the concomitant need for training and experience (Musokotwane 2016). In order to maintain discipline in the infamous compound system (residential areas), Bradbury and Worby (1985) highlight that there was close cooperation between mining companies and state power agencies. Because of this relationship, social control and methods of surveillance were a common feature in the mining communities. This system was a strategy of reducing labour costs, not only through low wages, but also through unusually poor rations, housing, and health care.

According to Phimister (1977), mine owners were able to sustain divisions within the labour force while keeping the aggregate cost of labour as low as possible. The above assertion in the mining sector in Zimbabwe shows that conflict between the colonisers and the indigenous people of the country was inevitable. Violent conflict erupted because of ownership of the land even though during this time much of the literature is on the Chimurenga wars. Literature on conflict in mining communities is, however, limited. After independence in 1980, nothing much in terms of mining and processing technology changed (Bond and Manyana 2002). This study therefore attempts to provide an insight into conflicts within mining communities especially as biased towards gender-based violence.

### **2.3.2 Post-Independence Era**

In 1980, Zimbabwe became independent and Robert Mugabe became the first Prime Minister and the President from 1980 to 2017. A 'Growth with Equity' development policy framework was established and supported by social stakeholders and international donors in the 1980s. However, 90% of the large-scale mining was dominated by foreign capital and accounted for the investment, employment, and skills development. Saundres (2017) notes that around 1988, 80% of the mining sector was still owned by American, British, and South African companies.

Importantly, this new divisive ideology echoed the ideological and political principles developed by the nationalist liberation movements during the armed struggle against the White

minority government in Rhodesia. The direction of meeting the immediate needs of most of the rapid expansion and regeneration of the state (especially in the areas of education and health, where many people lived in rural areas), and in their redistribution of land that benefited White peasants displaced by the colonies were the main ideological pillars of African nationalism in Zimbabwe during the decades of independence. However, Robert Mugabe's economic policies during his tenure (such as the Indigenisation Policy) impoverished Zimbabweans and led to a dramatic increase in small-scale mining activities.

The Zimbabwe Minerals Development Cooperative was formed in 1983 and technically assisted local co-operatives facing challenges which ranged from machine breakdowns, the inability to operate during rainy seasons, poor road conditions, and a lack of reliable transport as there were no significant local companies during that period in time (Mlambo 2016). Mining improved with better ventilation methods, lighting, improved water pumps, explosives, and the development of railways and roads.

The intensification of droughts since the mid-1980s, resulting in frequent crop failures and rising food insecurity, forced many Zimbabweans, mostly in rural areas, to migrate to cities seeking better economic opportunities (Jourdan 1986: 20). Those who failed to secure jobs had no option besides joining others who were already panning for both alluvial and reef gold along Zimbabwe's major rivers and mountain slopes, including the countryside where gold deposits were discovered along Zimbabwe's Great Dyke (Dansereau 2000).

Mawowa (2013) highlights that in the early 1990s, the government started to actively encourage artisanal mining – this was because the IMF and World Bank-sponsored Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), adopted in 1990, called for economic liberalisation and encouraged Artisanal Miners (ASM) and other self-employment activities. Paradoxically, ASM would later be viewed as offering refuge to victims of ESAP's tragic economic effects. The Harare Guidelines on Small/Medium-Scale Mining of the 1993 world summit provided developing countries with poverty-reduction-oriented development assistance. This was a shift in how ASM was perceived by the international community as it was now viewed as a poverty-alleviation activity, unlike the earlier views of the sector as undesirable. Hilson and Van der Vorst (2002: 175) observe that the political logic was that "Thousands of artisanal and small miners are less of a threat to public order than thousands of the unemployed". Fidelity Printers (a gold refinery company and security printing, established in 1966, and owned by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe) from 1996, started accepting and paying relatively higher amounts for gold deliveries of even small amounts such as 50 grams. Despite these improvements and

cooperation between the government and ASM, police raids on 'illegal' artisanal mining activities were common, however not as extreme as in the post-2000 period (Mawowa 2013).

### **2.3.3 Mining Industry in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century in Zimbabwe**

The year 2000 turned into an unfortunate one for Zimbabwe and its mining constituency, with a shrinking economy, high unemployment, and 60% inflation rate (Kanyenze *et al.* 2011: 163). Inflation became the second worst on record in the world, and this resulted in the country's payment and exchange system becoming deplorable. Mawowa (2013) informs that at this point in time, thriving/informal markets sprung up, as most basic commodities were literally no longer available in the formal market. Mineral production fell sharply and companies closed, except for the platinum sector which stood out as an exception, and investments in the mining industry declined. By 2008, because of platinum, the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (Zimra) had been claiming additional taxes on Zimplats earnings since 2001. This came when global commodity prices were rising and the mineral industry was experiencing regeneration in most places (Mawowa 2013).

The gold sector was one of the most affected sectors of the industrial economy in 2000. Three major mines and several small operations, including the Connemara, the Eureka, and the Venice Mines closed and gold production declined for the first time in 20 years. However, it was during this period that Zimbabwe witnessed a phenomenal growth of ASM, and by 2002, Kanyenze *et al.* (2011) stated that over half a million people were 'employed' in the sector. Popularist policies such as price controls, fixing foreign exchange rates and the gold price lacked economic realism. In 2008, the economic situation worsened as staff in the mining companies were retrenched and expansion projects were abandoned as a result of the collapse of the demand of minerals (Hawkins 2009). The decline continued up to 2009 when nickel and ferrochrome producers stopped operations. The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe failed to pay gold producers who had been delivering to the central bank due to cash flow problems, and because of this, many mines in the country closed rendering mine workers more poverty. The gold producers were owed more than US\$30 million. Hawkins (2009) notes that the prospects for recovery depended on a return to economic stability, which led to a solution to the political crisis and a recovery in global demand. However, even with favourable market and policy preconditions, there were obstacles to achieving severe constraints on domestic supply.

### **2.3.4 The Mining Industry: 2010 to date**

The analysis carried out in the 2012 Growth Recovery Notes reveals a deeply changed Zimbabwean economy from pre-crisis times. The 2013 Zimbabwean economy has a larger share of primary products than prior to the crisis. Mining emerged as the most dynamic sector (replacing the role of agriculture in the pre-crisis Zimbabwe), supported by high international prices of commodities. The structure of sectors themselves changed.

The mining sector, formerly dominated by gold and important small-scale production of over 40 minerals, was led by large platinum operations that have surpassed gold. Diamonds quickly rose to prominence since 2010, becoming a major export in 2012. According to ZELA (2015), following the controversial and disorderly land reform process, the agricultural sector went from being dominated by large-scale commercial farming to production mostly centred on small-scale production. Moreover, the recovery of the Zimbabwean economy after the decade-long crisis happened amidst a substantially changed global economy, with the rise of demand from China and India, and the rise of new global value chains.

The mining sector emerged as the driver of growth in that phase of the recovery, making a significant contribution to job creation in the country. Makore and Zano (2012: 3) attest to this point giving examples of Zimasco “chrome mining companies” in Zimbabwe, which had employed 3,070 people and approximately 5,500 indirectly through tributary and cooperative miners. Mimosa’s employing close to 2,000 workers, Zimplats employees, and contractors totalled to 3,680. Falcon Gold employs over 200 people while Unki Mine engages 1,650 employees and contractors (Mlambo 2016). A look at the mining history in Zimbabwe reveals that mining has been instrumental in the development of communities. It was noted that Zimbabwean towns and cities owe their origins to the mining activities (Svotwa 2001). Shurugwi and Zvishavane are clear examples of the above assertion within the Great Dyke and as a result, the construction of schools, housing, clinics, roads, and other infrastructure has been witnessed.

This section briefly explored the historical background of mining in Zimbabwe. The section noted that mining dates back as far as the precolonial period and anticipated mineral resources during the 18<sup>th</sup> and mostly 19<sup>th</sup> century prompted the BSAC to make inroads into Zimbabwe, then Southern Rhodesia. The section further explored that at the time of independence in 1980, mining players were dominated by foreign conglomerates and that demand and fluctuation of prices of metals internationally as well as economic challenges that the country faced due to Robert Mugabe’s economic policies led to the development of small-

scale artisanal mining. It was noted that a number of towns in Zimbabwe are offshoots of mining activities, notably Shurugwi and Zvishavane in Midlands Province. The next section provides an insight into the Makusha community in Shurugwi, the research context of this study.

## 2.4 Makusha Community in Shurugwi

Shurugwi is located 17 km southeast of Gweru, the capital of the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe. It was founded in 1899 in a mineral-rich zone commonly known as the Great Dyke. The name derives from the nearby bare oval granite hills, which resemble the shape of a local pigpen (*Selukwe*) of the Karanga people (Kori 2006).

The city is located in agro-ecological zone 3 and receives an average of 650 to 800 mm of rain. Major land uses of this city include residential (colonies), rural, mining, industrial, and forested areas (Matsa and Muringanize 2010). Figure 2.1 depicts a map showing Shurugwi town and its location in Zimbabwe.



**Figure 2.1:** Map showing Shurugwi town and its location in Zimbabwe.

A relatively large number of mines, which include Unki, Kironde, Bougei, and ZIMASCO mines, along with sporadic panning activities, are sited in Shurugwi district. The gold-rich area has attracted hundreds of illegal gold panners in a move almost similar to the gold rush of California in the United States of America.<sup>1</sup> Artisanal miners of gold come from all corners of Zimbabwe to dig and pan for the precious metal on the surrounding hills and such rivers as Mutevekwai, Runde, Dimbwi, Mutevekwana, Hemi, Manzimudhaka, Pisamoyo, and their tributaries. Mining is also carried out in areas around Wanderer Mine, Peak Mine, Dunraven Falls, Boterekwa, Musasa, Surprise, Princess Farm, Mangwenede, Makusha, Mabhogadhi, and Chironde, to mention a few.

Makore and Zano (2012) state that the Shurugwi town was developed in 1936 by companies owned by White settlers who included Thomas Mikael, Douglas Smith, and Cole. They built houses for their workers and these houses were single quarter homes built specifically for single men. This was because men would only come to work on a seasonal basis from neighbouring villages where they would have left their families, and during the rainy season, they would go back to their rural homes where they would engage in agricultural activities or follow the Fly In Fly Out (FIFO) roster where they would work for one to two weeks away from their homes (Kori 2006).

Mining activities in Shurugwi have been characterised by problems related to migration, population growth in mining areas, and increasing pressure on communities and local authorities. Migration to Shurugwi is also characterised by problems of large unregistered mobile populations, who directly and indirectly seek employment which has seen the increase of the number of single men as well as households. Shurugwi as a mining town has residential communities such as Railway Block, Ironside, Peak Mine, Tebekwe, and Ironkop which were once owned by the surrounding mines. Other communities are under local authority – examples of such communities are Makusha, Sebangwa, and Mambowa.

Makusha is a high-density suburb with a population of 15,138 (ZimStats 2017) and is the case of this study. It is the oldest residential community in Shurugwi with 56% of the population being adult males while females make up 44% of the total population. The number of males

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<sup>1</sup> “Gold rushes are periods in time when the discovery of gold has led to the migrations of large numbers of people to a certain location. The onus for this ‘rush’ is the desire for wealth and independence. Often, people travel from all parts of the world to participate in the quest for gold and riches. The California Gold Rush, which took place from 1848 to 1855, is the most recognized gold rush in America’s history”(Pogue, 2006).



is higher due to the fact that the nature of the economic environment is more suitable for men.<sup>2</sup> The adult population is concentrated in the 20–40 year age range. It has also been noted, however, that between 12,000 to 16,000 people are unregistered as residents of Makusha (UNICEF 2016). The population of Shurugwi during the peak season of mining exceeds 20,000 of which 75% would be residents in Makusha and 30% are children under the age of sixteen (UNICEF 2016).

Makusha residents are predominantly mine workers from different mining companies. Mines that are operational in Shurugwi are Zimasco, Unki, Kironde, and Bougei mines. These mines are owned by different groups of companies. The mining site lies between 5.2 km and 33.3 km from the town centre. Mine employees typically follow a rotational FIFO roster where they work for one to two weeks away from their homes. Mine workers work an average of 84 hours per week. Women also work in these mines. Artisanal mining (informal mining) is also a major economic activity in the town, providing a source of income for most families.

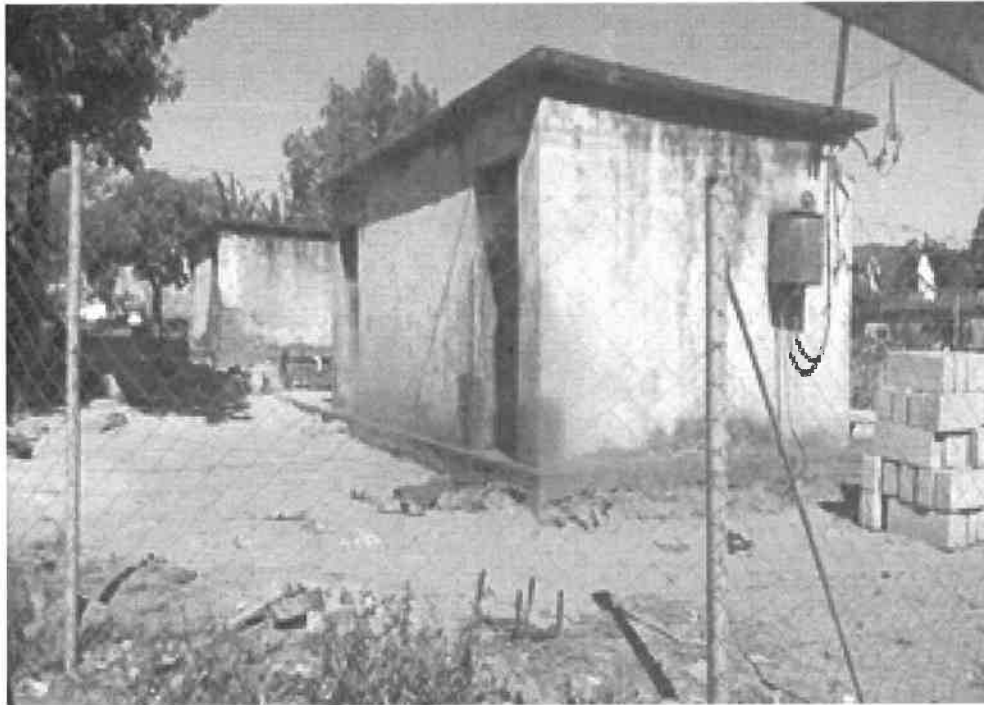
#### **2.4.1 Housing in Makusha**

Makusha was designed to accommodate workers of service companies until the gold rush which saw an influx of illegal and small-scale miners invading Shurugwi from the late 2000s after there were a series of droughts that left the agricultural sector unproductive. The number of residents has grown to be four times more than the initial town plan carrying capacity (ZimStats 2017). Housing supply became a problem for the mining companies, which meant that they had to cut their capital expenditures for housing. Stankeviča (2015) notes that to avoid losing money, mining companies used cheap migrant labour and accommodated them in single quarters or compounds, also as a way to manage their workers and keep them under control. Makusha is no exception as workers live in appalling conditions in very basic accommodation structures. Most of the houses were made of cement blocks and asbestos foil was used for roofs. Some houses were made of concrete blocks, mainly used for making durawalls. The houses were sub-standard, now old and dilapidated. Figure 2.2 shows the state of the houses in Makusha.

(a)

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<sup>2</sup> The economic environment is mainly mining activities which attracted men to work underground and artisanal miners.



(b)



**Figure 2.2:** (a) and (b) showing typical housing in Makusha.

Mining companies realised a need to engage in social responsibility noting that it was important for their reputation and future businesses after independence in 1980. This realisation saw a shift from the compound systems to family housing (Makore and Zano 2012). The housing structures consisted of free-standing houses, and the employees' grade and family status determined the type of accommodation that they were eligible to get. Stankeviča

(2015) further highlights that for easier management and maintenance, mining companies were the custodians of these houses.

With the economy slowly declining from the late 1990s, mining companies such as ZIMASCO surrendered some of its properties such as houses as a way of compensation to its employees for failure to pay their salaries. This meant that the house was put under the supervision and maintenance of the Shurugwi town council. This saw residents paying service rates to the council for water, electricity, and sewage maintenances (Makore and Zano 2012). The formal parts of Makusha have better infrastructure, with every house having access to basic services such as electricity, tapped water, refuse collection, as well as flush toilets which the residents pay for to the municipality. This however cannot be stated for the informal sections of Makusha where municipal services are almost non-existent. Water supply to the Makusha community is piped from the Gwenhoro Dam and is serviced by an appropriate water infrastructure to formal parts of the community and the informal sections drill make-shift boreholes to access water.

Most establishments found in mining communities are informal, and Stankeviča (2015) notes that tuck shops selling food and daily necessities, and shebeens operating as recreational and entertainment facilities and also selling cigarettes and liquor, are found in these communities. The suburb is a multi-ethnic community, home to migrant workers from Zambia, Mozambique, and Malawi as well as the local Shona- and Ndebele-speaking people. Due to this, there is a mix of cultures making it difficult to identify the indigenous locals who are Shona Karangas.

#### **2.4.2 Health in Makusha**

Growth of the informal mining escalated in Makusha against the limited geophysical expansion characteristics because of the economic meltdown in the country resulting in overcrowding of the community with inadequate sanitation and access to water. This led to a breakout of diseases such as typhoid, dysentery, and cholera raising concerns on the health and safety of community residents. Mr Msoni<sup>3</sup> stated that the living conditions during the 1940s were adequate for the residents residing there. The sewage system and electricity were also adequate until the gold rush of the 1990s.

Most of these informal artisanal/small-scale miners are young people who risk their lives daily by entering the depths of the subsoils in search of metals to make ends meet, working shifts

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<sup>3</sup> Senior citizen who was born in 1936 in Makusha and has lived there ever since.

of twelve hours a day underground (Jewkes *et al.* 2015). As a result, health problems such as fatigue, lack of sleep, inadequate nutrition, poor mental health, and depression takes a toll on the workers. As a coping mechanism, drugs and alcohol are used as a way of dealing with the stressful lifestyle (Collins 2013). Since most male mine workers are alone, it poses an exacerbated risk-taking mindset, a feeling of the loss of control over their working circumstances, a lack of social obligations at home, and unfavourable living conditions (IOM 2010). Mine workers' vulnerability to unsafe working environments and the risk of physical injuries appear to be associated with other imminent threats and they may perceive disease such as HIV as a remote problem.

Mining and its related connotations of booming mining townships populated by the hard-drinking male population undoubtedly offer one intuitively reasonable reason for higher than normal crime rates (Lockie 2015). In such conditions, there exists a strong form of masculine identity which encourages high levels of sexual activity and alcohol and drug use as a way of dealing with the stressful lifestyle.

For medical treatment, the municipality clinic facilities are small with two nursing staff, two community workers, and three administrative support staff who assist the poor and no-income population groups. Although the clinic was visited by thirty to forty people per day in spite of their limited capacity and staff, the majority came for their antiretroviral (ARV) treatment and serious health cases are referred to Shurugwi Hospital located seven kilometres away. The budget for hospitals is consolidated based on reported numbers of people in the community, however a higher number of unregistered people is accommodated.

#### **2.4.3 Education in Makusha**

Makusha as a community has limited educational facilities. There are two government primary schools and one secondary school which service the community. Residents who work in the mines have access to better schools for their children outside the community. Mine buses are used to ferry the children to and from their schools and those in higher-paying grades such as the management have the school tuition fees paid for them by the companies. Because of the high influx of migrants who at times are children who need to acquire some education, there is an increase in the demand for enrolment and the schools available could not cope. School officials in Makusha reported almost 50% over-capacity in pupil numbers. This situation saw the mushrooming of unregistered educational institutions such as crèches and adult training centres. This has affected children's full capacity to develop because the schools lack the proper resources and infrastructure to support children's development activities.

#### **2.4.4 Recreation and Entertainment in Makusha**

The shopping centre stands out as the most significant service and recreational centre in Makusha. Different entertainment activities are held at this centre which has proven to be the most popular entertainment area in Shurugwi and neighbouring towns in the midlands of Zimbabwe. However, this shopping centre has been associated with illicit activities that are causing negative impacts on the community at large. Activities such as drug dealing, prostitution, political violence, and rape cases have been reported. There is a night club and more beer halls than grocery stores at the shopping centre. Figure 2.3 shows part of the recreational centre in Makusha.



**Figure 2.3:** Makusha Beerhall, part of the recreational centre in Makusha.

Mining communities are usually associated with people who seek entertainment at any given opportunity, however, mostly lacking a background of proper education of their surroundings (Mashiri 2014). The Makusha community relates to entertainment as a way of life and learning. Many local musicians and drama clubs are prominent in the community. Road shows of companies advertising their goods and services are a regular sight in the community. Everyone in this community (women, men, the elderly, the disabled, and the children) are interested in such activities. Henceforth, the research will use drama as a method of engagement to find community-based approaches to the prevention of gender-based violence. The prominence of liquor use and the demand of it prompted the growth of

shebeens<sup>4</sup> in the informal parts of the community. Stankeviča (2015) notes that the majority of mining community residents would rather have more shebeens and gambling outlets than having sporting or cultural facilities.

Further to note is that the community has religious people as a few churches and shrines are found in and around the community, as well as a range of Christian denominations settlements. The traditional Christian churches such as the Methodist, Roman Catholic, Anglican, Dutch reformed, and Seventh Day Adventist, as well as the new Pentecostal churches, were represented in the community and, at times, some denominations shared the same building but had separate services at different times. Other minority religions such as Islam, Judaism, and African traditional religions were also present. It is worthy to note that all the above-mentioned religions are also modelled along male privileges as none of them are headed by a woman.

#### **2.4.5 The Role of Women in Makusha**

In his study on the development of mining communities in Namibia, Stankeviča (2015) noted that the mining industry has often been accused of promoting gender imbalances in the mining community, misrepresenting women and marginalising them on the sharing of benefits. Women in Makusha are mostly housewives; women who are married to mine workers or to artisanal miners and they do the day-to-day household chores. Women in this community play very important roles of taking care of the families. Some women work as goods and services providers in the surrounding mines, including being bar owners and mining equipment owners.

The Intergovernmental Forum on Mining, Minerals, Metals and Sustainable Development (IGF) (2018) highlighted that women involved in actual mining are usually excluded from activities, including first contact (discovery of minerals) and last contact (sale of minerals). While this may be related to the lack of access to minerals and mineral resources, women generally do not appear to dig or run in mining areas, even if they have a mining licence or land. This is often attributed to cultural barriers that prevent women from becoming entangled in physically demanding jobs that are commonly considered as 'men's work'. Furthermore, household responsibilities also affect women by limiting the amount of time and effort that they could devote to mining, leading to the omission of any financial, networking, and mining

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<sup>4</sup> shebeens; a term of Irish origin which refers to informal liquor retail businesses.

knowledge. Therefore, time and mobility, two factors highlighted by Oduro and van Staveren (2015), prevent them from obtaining significant gains in financial gains or business aspirations.

Women from the community of Makusha also engage in work as processors and transporters of raw materials. They work as mining service providers in the areas of trade, gastronomy, and regular prostitution. The inherent nature of these roles has a significant impact on the potential livelihoods of women as women are rarely involved in core mining activities and are therefore unmatched in operational decisions. Women in Makusha also work as negotiants (the middle person who sells ore to trades in cases of artisanal mining). Prostitution in the Makusha community is a very lucrative business in which women engage themselves. This is necessitated by the large influx of unaccompanied male migrants who have a lot of money at their disposal. Another role of women in Makusha is to assist with the crushing of the ore that their male companions would have brought back from the field. They crush the ore in their back yards away from the people and also avoiding the law enforcers.

#### **2.4.6 Conflict and Gender-Based Violence in Mining Communities**

Stankeviča (2015) notes that the rise of criminal activities in mining communities is usually attributed to deteriorating economic situations and increased unemployment. Criminal incidents in Makusha have largely been blamed on poverty. With socioeconomic stress and insecurity, more people turn to drugs and substance addiction, continuing to escalate violence. Housebreaking, grievous bodily harm attacks, domestic abuse, intentional property destruction, robbery, drug-related offences, trafficking and rape, and sometimes murders were among the more common crimes perpetrated. However, engaging in sex work in a mine settlement may be a fair option of life rather than a matter of coercion or victimisation.

The deterioration of people's financial situations has affected family lives in Makusha, hence domestic violence occurrences have also increased. Domestic violence is difficult to deal with, however, in many cases the victims are reluctant to take action against the perpetrators and the actual number of incidents may be higher. The dominance of men who have been away from their families for a long time has led to an increase in anti-social behaviour and gender-based violence in society (McDonald 2017; Stankeviča 2015).

As noted above, prostitution is present in the community of Makusha, and teenage pregnancies and statutory rape cases have been reported. Tragic cases such as murders or the abandoning of new-born babies have also been reported. Crime has become sophisticated and the public does not co-operate and they resist the existing national laws against crime.

This situation has resulted in unlawful activities going unpunished and residents adapting to criminal activities as a normal way of life (ZELA 2016). The rule of law in Makusha is next to non-existent. Cases that require perpetrators to be detained are sent to Shurugwi town Station as the police station in Makusha does not have detention facilities. The presence of state police has tended to be insignificant because the law enforcers are paid little by the government and resort to bribing residents for protection, looting of minerals from the miners, and threatening arrest to illegal miners.

Section 2.4 provided the description of the social aspect of the study area, Makusha, which is the oldest residential community of the mining town of Shurugwi in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe. It was noted that the lifestyle of the Makusha community members was unique from the mainstream communities such as urban areas or rural areas. Through a better understanding of women's vulnerabilities and opportunities and threats to human rights in the Makusha mining areas, partners in government and non-governmental organisations can be better informed on how to prevent rights violations, and how to promote rights and improve economic and social outcomes for women and communities.

## **2.5 Chapter Summary**

The chapter has reviewed literature informing the study. The review is done systematically firstly against a thematic section 'Understanding the mining community'. Within this section, literature describing mining communities was presented. The next section of the chapter concentrated on the historical mining activities in Zimbabwe, and the final section of the chapter explored the research context, Makusha community, which is part of the Shurugwi mining town located in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe. The next chapter will inform of the theoretical frameworks guiding the study.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

While presenting a theoretical framework and literature review are standard practices when carrying out a study, the researcher's attempt at this is essentially premised on two learnings that she has gained from different authors during the course of this study. Firstly, the researcher presents a discussion of literature by breaking complex and near abstract theories given that "the biggest obstacle in learning is the misunderstood word" (Hubbard 1972: 1-10). Using this understanding, this chapter goes on to discuss terms that have become part of the everyday parlance to give contextual meaning. Secondly, as a philosophical inquiry, the researcher attempts to understand concepts behind certain misunderstood words within the discipline. Further, the researcher discusses gender-based violence within the social learning theory and the ecological systems theory from a non-violence perspective as well as the contact theory. The Conflict Transformation Theory (CTT) is introduced next, highlighting the potential that the community has in mitigating gender-based violence. Lastly, a discussion on how these theories link together for the benefit of the study will be highlighted.

#### **3.2 Defining Gender-Based Violence (GBV)**

The meaning of the term *gender-based violence* can be clearly understood at the most basic level by examining the significance of its constituent words, namely *gender* and *violence*. The term *gender* is often confused with the term *sex*, hence the task of clarifying the meaning of the former necessarily and primarily involves distinguishing it from the latter. The primary point of distinction between the two terms is that *sex* is a term that is used to describe the biological difference between being male or female, that is, the visible differences of the genitalia which are related to the procreation functions (Earp 2015). The outer appearance of a person is that which usually defines a person's sexual identity at the very first time of meeting them. It is not the education, culture, or religion that verifies whether the person is a male or female (Condat and Mendes 2018). Al-Nakeeb (2018) echoes Condat and Mendes (2018) by stating that the characteristics of sex concern more of the physical appearance of the body such as the differences of sex organs, the breasts of women, or a beard for men, in whichever language, including sign language. Hence sex is the biological construct, the state of being male or female, and people are born with it (Richardson 2015).

The terms *gender* and *sex* intersect when certain socially constructed and distinctive attitudes and behaviours that are expected of men and women are observed. Related positions or duties in society are allocated to men and women depending on the differing perceptions of both sexes (Nelson and Constantinidis 2017). Issues of gender and sexuality indicate the most intimate and personal aspects of a person's social and emotional existence. Horrocks (1994) argues that gender is the tissue of fantasies about how men and women should act, dress, move, speak, feel and think, which however does not symbolise 'reality'. The body and sexuality in particular seem to be central issues in the shaping of these identities. An example of this would be the penis as part of the body and as a sexual symbol which is seen as important in defining certain aspects of masculinity.

Gender refers to characteristics that are socially constructed, and West and Zimmerman (1987) state that gender is something that people are not born with but something that they do and something that they perform, something that is acquired. The United Nations Woman Charter (2005) describes gender as a relationship between boys and girls and the social characteristics and prospects associated between them. These physiognomies and associations can change over time as they are situational and time-specific and are also learned through the socialisation process. Russo and Pirlott (2006) recognise that gender can be a package of various interconnected elements which include gendered mannerisms, sentiments, morals, beliefs, customs, roles, surroundings, and institutions which change and evolve in and through cultures and over time. Jenkins (2007) also states that feminists use the term *gender* to refer to machismo and feminineness features which are ethnically shaped.

Ridway (2009) describes the term *gender* as socially constructed norms and beliefs that determine men's and women's behaviours. Sex is the attitudes and daily roles that are traditionally and socially recognised that are played by men and women and the attributes assigned to both that shaped them (Russo and Pirlott 2006). This entails that gender is not constituted by biological make up, but by a set of norms and relations embedded within social structures. In the handbook for the protection of Internally displaced persons by the Global Protection Cluster Working Group (2010), it was noted that in most communities there are differences in delegated roles, tasks performed, access to and management of wealth, as well as opportunities for women and men to take decisions. These given definitions show that gender is part of the broader socio-cultural context and that class, race, poverty, ethnic background, and age are important factors for socio-cultural analysis and that the social roles and responsibilities assigned to females and males vary from one society to another. Social roles refer to the degree to which norms and behaviours are social and patterned for women and men.

Sorokin (2017) states that concepts such as relationships, reproduction, and sexuality are intimately combined to shape the rationality to the relation to and function of a person in society. Gender and sexuality could be among the most primary classifications and grounds for human social organisation, as well as the topics that cause the most debate. SIDA (2018) mentions that knowing the complications of sexual orientations and gender identities concludes that there is much to learn from gender and sexuality plurality, creativity, and dynamics as one draws from encounters with Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) and intersex persons around the world. In this respect, as Foucault (2002) states, the body can be trapped in the mind, and not the opposite.

### **3.3 Concept of Violence**

As pointed out at the outset, the term *violence* also has to be explained in order to provide a clear understanding of the concept of gender-based violence. Galtung (1990) states that violence manifests when a person is affected or influenced by anything such that his/her real somatic and mental understanding is below his/her potential of understanding the situation. This means that violence would mean something to someone who has experienced it, a victim of various acts, rather than to those who are the perpetrators or who would have performed it. Violence is bad behaviour in a myopic view.

Researchers have found it difficult to agree on the definition of violence in specific contexts and even the general term, even though the meaning might seem clear. Violence presents itself across communities and nations in different forms. There are cohesions and variances in the natures and perspectives of different contexts of aggression. Consequently, any particular, narrowly defined conceptualisation of aggression cannot extend throughout all environments. Webber, Bessant and Watts (2003) state that definitions of violence are built collectively, and a violent act committed by one person can be labelled either as 'unacceptable' or 'heroism under fire' or simply as 'law and order upholding'. However, this depends on who gives the definition of the word.

WHO (2014) states that violence is the deliberate use of threats, real power, or physical force against oneself, another individual, or a group or society that could result in injury, death, psychological damage, maldevelopment, and deprivation. Violence is that which happens when integrative institutions and values break down. This definition of violence is all-encompassing as it includes emotional harm, dispossession, and maldevelopment. This has also prompted researchers however to include violence that results in injury or death and that

places a significant burden on people, families, societies, and the society at large, hence defining outcomes in such terms restricts the awareness of the full effect of aggression (Wekwete *et al.* 2014).

Galtung (1990) presents a distinction between intimate, systemic, and cultural violence – he describes intimate violence as violence with an issue or theme, and states that structural violence is aggression without a pattern or focus. Galtung (1990) further informs that personal and structural violence make it possible for cultural violence to occur since they are both integrated into the structures of and embedded in the social institutions.

Because of the unbalanced control and disproportionate allocation of resources created by structural violence, there is a rise in direct/personal violence. Both direct and indirect abuse hampers the need for physical and psychological dignity; basic material needs such as sleep requirements, food, freedom of association, health, and affection, to name a few; standard human rights such as the freedom of expression and job requirements, to mention a few; as well as sentimental values of needs such as cohesion, acquaintances, and contentment. A striking example of cultural violence would be that African men do not understand spousal abuse as a result of their feelings of complete entitlement while at the same time women who witness this type of abuse think that it is natural and less a crime.

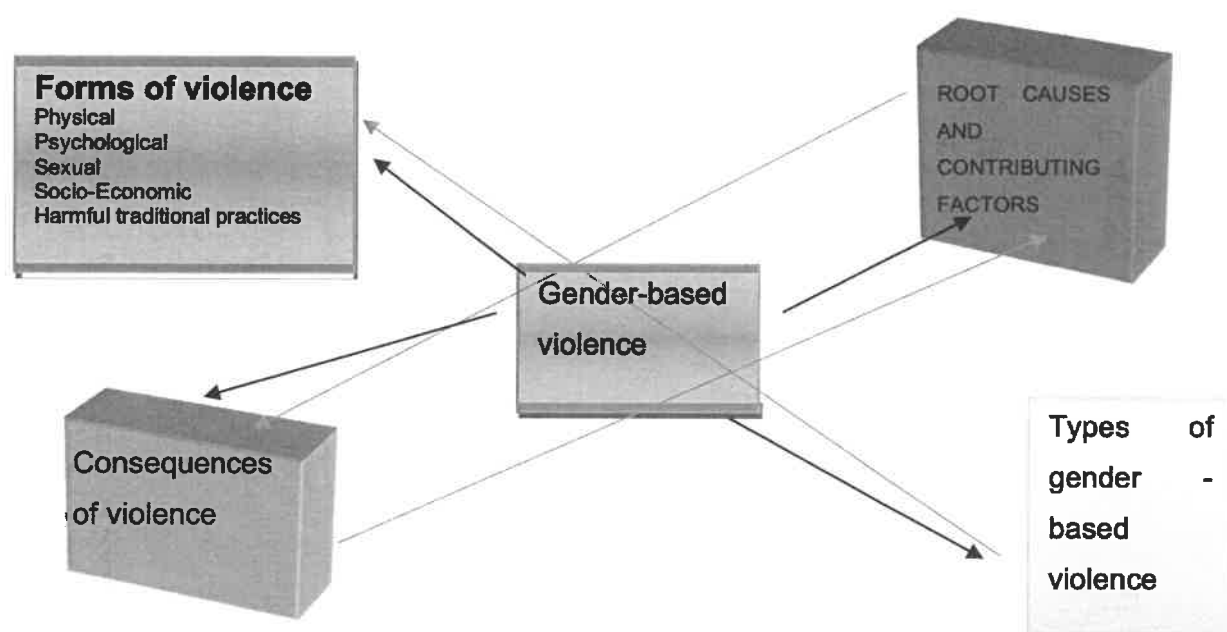
Another example that exemplifies cultural violence is victim-blaming. Walters, Brown and Wiedlitzka (2016) note that when a person has been violated/insulted/abused or when they refused to obey society's traditional standards, the society blamed them for what might have happened to them. Furthermore, contemporary issues include gays being victims of gripping violence and hate crimes as gays are easy to find because their establishments are clustered in several large metropolitan areas (Al-mateen, Lewis and Singh 1998). Walters *et al.* (2016) also note that the committers of thrill-motivated crimes frequently victimise gays more than lesbians, for they view them as a psychosexual outrage or a danger to the formation of sexual orientation among young adult males.

### **3.4 Gender-Based Violence**

Putting together the strands of meaning enunciated above, gender-based violence can be described in the following terms. Firstly, gender falls within a wider socio-cultural framework and class, race, poverty level, ethnic background, and age are important factors for socio-cultural analysis and the social roles and responsibilities assigned to females and males vary from one society to another. Secondly, violence is the intentional use of threats, real power,

or physical force against oneself, another person, or against a group or society that may result in injury, death, psychological damage, malaise, and deprivation (Klette 2020). Such views echo the formulation of GBV by Karim and Beardsley (2017) as violence committed against a person because of gender and as a consequence of the normative position of gender-related anticipations and the unequal power relations between the two genders.

According to Shakil (2016), gender-based violence is the general term used to describe violence that occurs in the context of a given culture as a result of unfair power relations between two sexes or between genders and also the normative role of anticipations related with each gender. The means that the definition of gender and violence is henceforth a broad term that is used to recognise the gendered elements of all forms of violence against anyone, male or female. Many different authors (Mashiri 2013; Heise 2003; Jewkins 2014) have defined gender-based violence according to various contexts, making it very difficult to have a comprehensive definition of the terms. Gender-based violence has been investigated and studied in contexts such as public health, human rights, criminology, social justice, economics, and poverty, to name a few. It is complicated to define gender-based violence because it is multi-dimensional and heavily grounded on culture, social structures, and history making it difficult to eradicate and people's best chances are in coming up with pathways to prevent it from occurring. Figure 3.1 intellectualises gender-based violence.



**Figure 3.1:** Intellectualising gender-based violence. (source: own)

Figure 3.1 illustrates that for gender-based violence to occur, there are causes and contributing factors which have consequences depending on the type and form of violence. It also illustrates that for gender-based violence to be mitigated or prevented, all the components need to be thoroughly addressed but first one must have the prerequisite knowledge of that which gender-based violence is.

### 3.5 Forms of Gender-Based Violence

Gender-based violence is intertwined in many different forms. Table 3.1 presents the various forms of gender-based violence.

**Table 3.1: Forms of gender-based violence.**

<b>Form</b>	<b>Description/type</b>
Physical	This is an intentional use of force that results in hurt, injury, impairment and in some cases leads to death. It includes beating, juddering, tripping, hitting, hair dragging, scratching, punching, pushing, pinching, hitting, and physical restraints. Women and men can both be victims or survivors of such.
Sexual violence	It constitutes any coerced sexual activity, any effort to participate violently in sexual activities, or even any inappropriate sexual remark aimed towards the sexuality of an individual, or the use of violence by any person regardless of their relationship with the victim (Leburu and Phetlho-Thekisho 2015).
Psychological/emotional violence	This mode of violence involves spurning, terrorising, isolating, abusing, and emotional denial receptiveness, and involves verbal and non-verbal practices of insulting, mocking, undermining, bullying, and seriously limiting others.
Socio-economic Violence	An abuser who asks the victim for money or withholds payment for necessities such as food and sanitary towels or strongly takes and even monitors the victim's (woman's) money from the perpetrator (the man).
Traditional cultural violence	Patriarchy, female genital mutilation, child marriages, forced marriages.

Source: Adapted from Werk (2015).

Katembo (2015) concludes that gender-based violence is that physical, sexual, or emotional abuse towards a person by way of the identity of that victim's gender and notes that from a report of the Reproductive Health for Refugees Consortium (RHRC 2003), gender-based violence was an umbrella term for any harm that is committed against a person's will and that has damaging effects on the overall health, development, and personality of the person, as a result of gendered power inequities that exploit differences between males and females.

One argument to remember is that the purpose of gender-related violence is to lift an aspect of subordination based on the agreed or perceived dominance of males (Sathiparsad 2005). Human Rights Watch (2011) and Khadija (1998: 14) suggest the meaning of GBV as being any social, organisational, or politically driven victimisation committed against persons due to their gender identification, sexual preference, or place in the hierarchy of male-dominated social institutions, such as families or mining communities in the context of this thesis.

Katembo (2013) notes that there is a misperception of the meaning and description, misunderstanding, confusion, and misuse of the terminology GBV as it is commonly defined as Violence Against Women (VAW). However, this creates an obstacle to the understanding that abuse against men and boys exists. This confusion was brought about because women constitute 90% of the victims of GBV (Human Rights Watch 2011). There is no such matter as gender-related abuse against men (Bloom 2008). To elucidate the point that male victims of gender-based violence are not taken seriously, an example would be the sentencing patterns of offenders at the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia, which found that sexual violence perpetrators against men obtained longer sentences than sexual violence perpetrators against women (Marinussen 2010).

The term GBV is time and again interchangeably used with the term VAW, highlighting the fact that women and girls are frequently victims of sexual harassment/GBV. The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) General Recommendation No. 19 of 1992 highlighted GBV as aggression aimed against women and girls, especially because of being female, or aggression that overwhelmingly impacts her and also that in the abuse of women and violence against women, for example, the terms 'elder abuse' and 'child abuse' are defined using the identity of the victim (Aga 2017; Katembo 2013).

Katembo (2013) also explains GBV as a form of violence that is subjected to women and girls because of their gender. Women and girls face systemic sexism and a rationalised structure of gender-based power structures that maintain a widespread cycle of subordination that leaves women highly susceptible to physical or psychological damage from male family and community members. Gender-based abuse is not solely the question of a woman as stated above, it is a cause and result of gender opinions. Hence instead of using the term *violence against women*, the term *gender-based violence* will be used in this thesis as it provides the context in which to examine and understand the violence that is perpetrated against women. It transfers attention from women as victims of sexism and patriarchal power structures that

gender roles establish and perpetuate as the root cause of violence against women (UNOFEM Gender Fact Sheet 2018).

This thesis relies on the definition employed by the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993) which describes VAW as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life”, as stated in Art. 1, resolution 48/104. In the context of this thesis, the term *gender-based violence* will also be taken to mean violence against women, domestic violence, and sexual harassment. As noted by Baldasare (2012), the UN definition is significant because it acknowledges the state responsibility to tackle women’s human rights and states that violence against women is focused on gender and goes beyond being an individual’s private matter.

Violence against women occurs in various settings such as the family, places of work, schools, on the street, or in state institutions such as prisons or health institutions, to name a few. In their 2014 report, Women Against Violence Europe (WAVE) and UNFPA stated that perpetrators were the close private relations, such as intimate partners, other family members, colleagues, employers, co-workers, or visitors, as well as state officials such as police officers, prison guards, or soldiers (WAVE and UNFPA 2014). Gender-based violence is manifest in part as culture, that is, a gender relations structure that assumes male domination, dominance, and power over females as natural, also known as patriarchy. The World Health Organisation (2005) mentions that communal or gender roles and expectations that are socially established bestow men with more proximity to and influence over resources, and these are usually supported by social institutes such as the household, school, the place of work, and religious establishments. Henceforth, there will be power inequalities which are connected to economic dependency and financial uncertainty.

As noted above, the concept of gender-based violence is very complex and difficult to define in a single context. The following section will highlight the concept of gender-based violence theoretically, starting with the social learning theory by Ronald Akers (1998) which is a general criminal philosophy and effort to describe a wide variety of crimes, behaviours, and how one conforms to becoming violent.



### 3.6 Social Learning Theory

The lenses of Social Learning Theory, as propounded by Akers (1998), are essential for the study to comprehend the origins of violence. According to Akers (1998), learning is essential to understanding the process by which individuals engage in violence or in violent behaviours. The social learning theory informs that it is through learning that people observe others or that response patterns to particular motivations are learned through either experience or observation. People make choices based on that which they observe. It then becomes one's choice whether to duplicate such actions to get anticipated outcomes. Cochran *et al.* (2010) note that the Social Learning Theory (SLT) consists of four main theories which include *imitation, definitions, differential associations, and differential reinforcement*. The ensuing discussion discusses these elements in the context of gender-based violence.

*Initiation:* Imitation refers to the magnitude to which one impersonates the actions of their supposed role models. These role models are important 'others' whom one admires, with whom one has a seeming personal connection or relationship, and one whom they might have directly observed behaving (Akers 1998). In the context of the study, for example, frequent and increased cases of violence amongst people living in the mining community normalises violence. The long-term repercussions are that violence is normalised and becomes an acceptable part of culture (Jankowski *et al.* 1999). Koon-Magnin *et al.* (2016) are of the opinion that if an individual is exposed or accustomed to pro-crime behaviours and reactions, that person is more likely to participate in crime as an outcome of this social learning experience.

Social learning theorists further purport that human behaviour is learnt and it is developed rather than inborn, and is the study of circumstances that connect a stimulus to a response where the response is the behaviour sought to be understood (Lake *et al.* 2017). Lake *et al.* (2017) also mention that the environment in which a family lives is crucial in how it exposes the family to violence and how it also indoctrinates accepting and promoting the use of violence in relationships and vice versa. It becomes paramount that an examination of mining communities is taken into account on how it impacts on the behaviour of its residents.

*Definitions:* The second element of the social learning theory are definitions, and Cochran *et al.* (2010) highlight that definitions refer to human perceptions and beliefs on the rule of law and the illegitimacy of clear criminal behaviour. Such attitudes will accept, disagree, or be morally indifferent against a particular deviant behaviour (Akers 2017). The nature of mining communities is such that they are lawless with criminals moving freely in communities. In addition, behaviours can differ in intensity and/or salience, and can be considered situationally

useless (Cochran *et al.* 2010). As stated by Akers (2017), for deviant behaviour to occur, there is no need for one to be given authority, but that deviant behaviour is likely to occur for those who approve of it, which would mean that definitions favourable to a behaviour refer to the approval or rejection conveyed by the actor. Instead, inadequately held conformist ethics or situationally disengaged ethics and values are adequate to create deviant behaviour (Nivette, Eisner and Ribeaud 2017; Cochran *et al.* 2010; Akers and Jenson 2006). Contrariwise, the more people or individuals reject customs and values that perpetuate deviant behaviour, the less they would become interested in it (Gamble 2018). Thus, it (gender-based violence) is expected that it will most likely be for those who are insipidly hostile to it, support it, and get their resistance neutralised situationally.

*Differential association:* Differential association is the third element of social learning theory. It makes reference to the behaviours of significant others and attitudes (Cochran *et al.* 2011). According to the social learning theory, the frequency, period, concentration, and goals of the different associations are the significant impact that individuals have on their own meanings and interactions with others (Akers 1998).

In terms of gender-based violence, the social learning theory suggests that the risk of repeated physical violence is greater for those whose closer associates (family, colleagues, and significant others) support and/or participate in such conduct (Tam 2018). The SLT focuses on external stimuli in order to deconstruct behaviour in relationship to the response patterns. For example, people living in communities where violence occurs every day are more likely to behave aggressively than people residing in areas where there is low crime and where the customs stress conventional behaviour (Rawls 2011).

According to Akers (2009), the SLT suggests that violence can be transmitted across generations through socialisation within the family, which is termed the intergenerational transmission of violence. The family is the aggression training ground, illustrated by the belief that those who abuse one are the people who love one the most and that violence is taught from families, society, subculture, and the media.

*Differential reinforcement:* is the conveyed authorisation or condemnation of a behaviour perceived by an individual and any costs or advantages that the participant considers to be gained by conforming to that activity. Social learning states that the proximity and exposure of a person to those tolerant of a certain behaviour increases the likelihood that the person will copy the behaviour. According to Akers' social learning theory, a person is highly likely to repeat or imitate a behaviour that has higher rewards than costs. For example, individuals in

intimate relationships who experience repetitive forms of violence see tolerating such victimisation as more rewarding than expensive, or may consider their tolerance of such abuse as less costly than their alternatives (Cochran *et al.* 2011). The rewards may include preserving the relationship, accommodation, and the continued financial support for them and their children, to name a few benefits. Conversely, repeated victimisation of intimate partners is less likely to occur for those who believe that the violence is costly and exceeds any expected rewards. The costs are the diverse social and non-social damages that a person endures or suffers because of the violence which includes the fear of broken relationships, inferiority complex, humiliation and mortification, social commendation, and physical injury, among other factors.

Violence is often portrayed as acceptable in motion pictures and television shows which commonly show violence graphically in particular for characters who never face legal consequences for their actions (Rawls 2011; Doro 2018; Lull and Bushman 2015). The SLT states that people learn which conducts are acceptable and satisfying in a situation. For example, when one learns that aggressive behaviour is appropriate and fruitful, it is likely that one will adopt this aggressive response to conflict situations in their lives. Media is relevant because, by repetitive events, it desensitises audiences to violence, provides justifications for violence, and shows methods of assault.

The basis of the SLT, as noted by Rawls (2011), is that criminals are not born with the ability to commit violent actions, and instead criminals learn to participate in violent actions by watching people accomplish goals by physical behaviour. Akers (1998) also points out that people are inherently good or bad but conform to certain behaviours from how they interact with others such as family interactions. Studies in family life (Barnett and Hyde 2001) note that parents who used violence or aggression to solve disputes had children who used related tactics when challenging others. For example, children whose fathers abuse their wives are more likely to use offensive tactics than children whose parents live in peace. Akers (1973, 1997) offers his theory that the SLT contains a detailed description of the basic processes involved in the understanding of aggression, whether family or non-family aggression. As such, the theory offers an explanation for how individuals who are exposed to abusive situations within the home during childhood learn and perpetuate a cycle of violence.

As applied to recurring violence, the theory of social learning assumes that:

- the pervasiveness and frequency of repeated victimisation in those who have witnessed others they respect using abuse against a partner or allowing hostility towards their partner use of aggression towards them (Doro 2018);
- definitions are situationally neutralised in relation to the use of partner violence, interacting with other substantial individuals who have unswerving concepts of partner violence and who are perpetrators of violence themselves; and also anticipate a larger poise of social and non-social recompenses than costs from tolerating gender-based violence (Lake *et al.* 2017).

Henceforth, the explanation of the theory of how individuals are subjected during adolescence to violent conditions within the household and how they experience and sustain cycle abuse, is provided. It is important to note that not all children who are exposed to abuse during childhood become abusive as adults and not all perpetrators were abused as children. The SLT is however limited to discussing how individuals become or learn to be violent beings and learn deviant behaviours in their lifetime, and includes no other risk or preventive mechanisms for the perpetration of gender-based abuse. With regards to prevention strategies based exclusively on social learning models, questions have been raised that they are a 'quick fix' and do not keep the offender responsible for his/her actions, stop confronting aggression explicitly, and neglect the power and control aspects of abuse (Barnish 2004). It does not go further to explain many of the consequences of such behaviour in the community or society at large, hence the integration of the Ecological Systems Theory (EST) (discussed in more detail in the subsequent section), thus reinforcing the viability of integrating the social ecological systems theory with the social learning theory in finding community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence in marginalised mining communities.

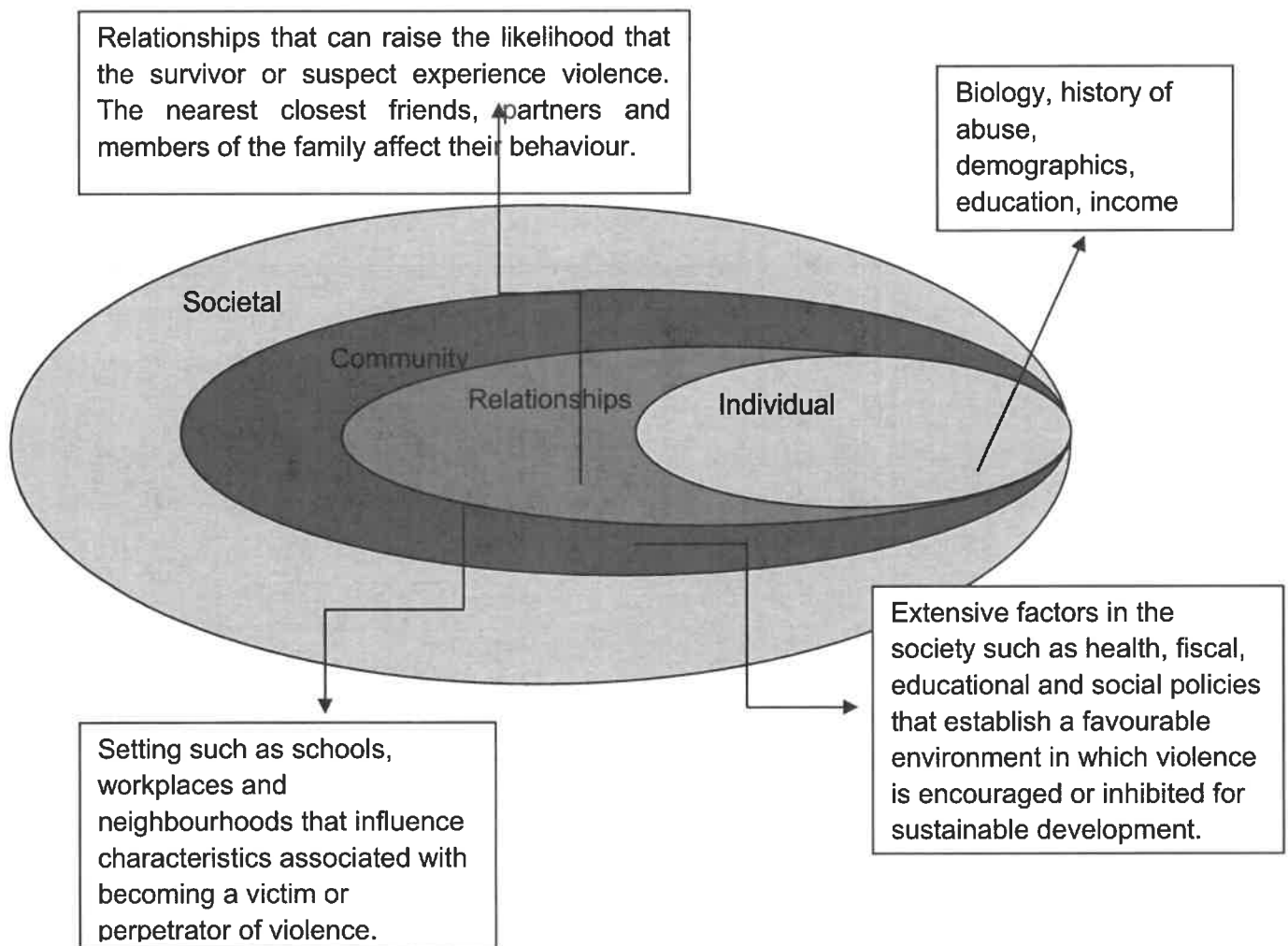
### **3.7 The Social-Ecological Model**

Bronfenbrenner (1979) created the ecological model as a way of scrutinising human development by looking at the individual being, the surrounding environment, and the association between the two. The social ecological model (Bronfenbrenner 1979) explains that there is no one mechanism that triggers abuse, but rather the possibility of a given person being violent or of a group experiencing a higher incidence of violence than another may be as a result of different factors that act together at different levels of the social ecology. The use of the social ecological model is imperative in understanding GBV in its various forms as it helps to identify factors that can either place a person at risk or shield them from becoming a victim/survivor and even becoming a perpetrator (Christian Aid learning paper 2018). The social ecological model is a practical strategy for this thesis as it frames the social issues (gender-based violence) which necessitates the use of a qualitative investigation to

demonstrate how macro-level systems influence actions and perceptions at the meso- and micro-levels that cause GBV and assist in the identification of the interventions to mitigate and reduce the violence, and enhancing the protective factors will also be realised (Henderson and Baffour 2015; Oriol *et al.* 2017).

Oriol *et al.* (2017) note that to understand violence, its protective factors, and how dejection in communities is constructed, taking into account the interactions between the developmental conditions and the diminuendos found in them are very essential. Thus, the main tenet of this theory is that the family, peers, schools, communities, and the society at large impact on the nature of an individual's usual qualities in the social settings and their typical interactions. Kelly (2011) states that within the ecological framework, there are superposed causality levels in which there is no single determinant of the causes or effects of violence. There is however a mixture of operating factors which either benefit or protect individuals from abuse. Casique and Furegato (2006) highlight that there is a need to recognise these causal factors and their relationships in their distinct backgrounds and cultural settings.

A social ecological approach to the topic of gender-based violence stresses the importance of different backgrounds for women or men while examining how persons encounter and witness abuse against themselves or others (Oduro *et al.* 2012). Henceforth, the ecological model helps in identifying which issues are predominantly appropriate to the particular form of abuse and how this relates to the context. The model provides a platform to identify risk factors and their interplay, as shown in Figure 3.2 below.



**Figure 3.2: Violence risk factors and their interplay ecology (Source: Heise 1999).**

The ecological systems theory states that violence is not triggered by one factor, but is more nuanced, with several causes impacting a person's beliefs, actions, and decisions within different realms (Heise 1998 cited in WHO 2005). These interrelated systems have an influence on an individual's life from early childhood to adulthood (Bronfenbrenner 1979). Hobsbawm's (1998) 'rules of violence' concept states that within each layer of the ecological systems model are different types of violence and that violence is contextualised in time, space, and the relationship worlds. Furthermore, on their web page ([stopvaw.org](http://stopvaw.org)), social and cultural traditions such as those affirming men's innate superiority over women combine with influences at the person level, such as when a male has been victimised as a child, to determine the possibility of gender conflict. Bandura's cognitive social learning theory supports this assertion stating that the more risk factors are present when a child is growing, the higher the likelihood of violence (Bandura 1999). The question that arises here is how then does

violence manifest in complex environments such as mining communities and what can be done to prevent, mitigate, or even eradicate gender-based violence.

The main tenet of the ecological systems model is that it assists in acknowledging and differentiating between the myriad factors driving violence although concurrently availing a framework to understanding how its different elements interrelate (Rappleyea 2009). Webel and Galtung (2007) mention that culture or traditions are usually blamed for forms of violence against women in marginalised mining communities, while it may not be used as an explanation for violence against mainstream women (urban areas). This narrative continues to perpetuate gender-based violence. The model enables an appreciation of the variety of causes that threaten or prevent individuals from witnessing or causing abuse (Muir 2019). It also succours the understanding of the complexity of the mining communities and also evaluates strategies that have been used in the prevention of GBV from the individual through to the country initiatives.

### **3.7.1 Individual Level (Microsystem)**

Bronfenbrenner (1977) defines the microsystem as the multifaceted activities, social expectations, and interpersonal interactions encountered by people in a direct setting such as the home or family (Hong *et al.* 2011).

At the individual level, people create meaning and develop actions in relation to others and in relation to broader social values, mutual symbols, and beliefs. Individuals immediately impact their social environment by guiding the redistribution of capital and establishing values, philosophies, and community through multiple structures (Henderson and Baffour 2015). For example, women and girls often have the belief in upholding oppression through gender-based violence when embracing the gender role of different cultures (Alisina 2016). CIET (2007) states that most women in Africa do not believe that women have the right to refuse to have sex with their partners, even if their partners refuse to use condoms, and 80% of Ethiopian women claim that their husbands have the right to beat them for any reasons that they see fit (Womankind Worldwide 2011).

Social norms are shared beliefs or behavioural rules constituted and shared by a group. They are composed of one's belief about what others do and what others think that one should do. The normalization theory, purported by May and Finch (2009), is a feminist theory that describes the continuing shifting of boundaries until aggressive actions eventually take on a new meaning, and it supports the above assertions stating that women primarily see men's

abuse as an interpretation of that which they have done wrong. It also assumes that violence from a patriarchal standpoint is a normal part of an intimate relationship and abuse is a marginal problem that is practical under special circumstances directed at certain types of women and practiced by certain categories of men (Emegwa *et al.* 2016). In the African society, there is seemingly an agreement between men and women, that men have the right to use force/violence in response to women's disobedience of customary/traditional gender roles (Alinkorah, Dickson and Seida 2018).

Interactions and occurrences at the microsystem/individual level have a key role in initiated GBV. Factors that determine how an individual relates to the people around them are not limited to a history of abuse in families of the perpetrator or survivor but also include parenting behaviour and disciplinary strategies, male alcohol use and abuse, male personality disorders, marrying at a very young age, educational levels, and income, to mention a few. Alinkorah *et al.* (2018) note that a man's failure to fulfil his traditional position of provider contributes to anger and shame which, in turn, manifests in violence and leads to the loss of social status which again contributes to conflict and broken homes. The African nature of the gender division of labour is related to the role of men in their jobs which are tied to public scrutiny, while the role of the women is only linked to the family, hence some men, for example, may end up developing drug abuse problems as negative coping mechanisms which change behaviour and encourage GBV (Becker 2017).

Alcohol and drug abuse have been identified as contributors to gender-based violence. As much as it is possible for an individual to use alcohol without engaging in violent behaviour, battering incidents, and sexual assaults, Gender Links (2011) observes that men who drank alcohol had the most potential to rape and sexually abuse their partners and do so many times. Research shows that people residing in mining communities consume more alcohol than in any other region of the mainstream society. This, however, does not imply that there is a high prevalence of alcoholism or acute addiction in resource-industry towns or employees, because the vast majority of people do not allow their drinking to become uncontrolled, but have excessively strict expectations of reasonable levels of consumption (Sharma and Rees 2007).

The individual in this model is central in determining the way in which peace will prevail with the assistance of the environment in which they reside. Burnett (2013) notes that social environments are multifaceted and people and communities work across multiple levels of interconnections that continually shift through a variety of operationalisation mechanisms. Law (2014) also notes that there is a direct link between economic resources and dependence. For example, if a woman lacks enough economic resources to fend for herself, she becomes



vulnerable to violence, usually from her partner, and at most times she will be unable to leave the relationship. Masson *et al.* (2018) concur and state that a woman will find herself prone to the cycle of violence as the danger and fear of violence prohibits women from finding work or, at best, pressures them to pursue low-paid work, often without economic freedom. According to Rupande (2015: 52), being unable to “make ends meet” surges frustration which causes fights in the home. In the face of inadequate coping mechanisms, feelings of helplessness mount, anger flares, violence at home erupts, and everyone suffers. The next level connecting to the individual level is the relationship level, or the mesosystem, with drivers that include violence and stress within the household, economic pressures, and unequal decision-making. Relationships between the closest social peers, partners, and family members can increase the likelihood of experiencing violence as a victim or perpetrator and also contribute to their range of experiences.

### **3.7.2 Relationships Level (Mesosystem)**

The strength of mesosystems is to help link two or more structures where children, parents, and families live and that optimum development manifests when strong connections between the microsystem and mesosystem are clear (Bronfenbrenner 1979). In terms of mining communities, this refers to the relationship between settings such as the home itself, friends and the neighbourhood, peer groups, formal and informal miners, and migrants, to name a few. The mesosystem is a set of microsystems that continuously interact with each other (Bronfenbrenner 1979). As observed by Gauge (2014), the family has the most capacity of protecting their children from harm and taking care of their needs, whether physical or mental. Unfortunately, because of migrant labour and the effects of HIV/AIDS, the family relationships have shifted and disintegrated amongst other reasons in Sub-Saharan Africa (Hall and Sambu 2012). In Southern Africa, most mining communities have seen an increase in the numbers of children raised in households run by women, and some children raising children, and Rupande (2015) sighted that broken families are susceptible to violence.

Relationships are about being in a relationship with each other in ever-increasing triumvirate contexts, and also wider ties, hence families lacking solid mesosystems seem to collapse into disorder (L'Abate 1990). Zimbabwean, and by extension African, families value the extended family both for the cooperation in solving challenges and celebrating successes and the responses of the relatives or relations who first respond to the abuse that is reported to them would determine how the victim/survivor will view violence.

Reid (2017) states that the relationships between the closest social friends, spouses, and family members raise the risk of witnessing abuse as a survivor or suspect and can contribute to a variety of interactions. According to Rupande (2015), a setting in which aggression is demonstrated, used as an example, or embraced as natural imprints on a child's psyche. Rupande further gives an example stating that a child might observe either of their parents coming back home from work intoxicated and angry, screaming at each other. By watching the mother or father make an effort to please and placate, for example, drunken behaviour, the children are being conditioned into believing that aggression achieves results (Bandura 1997). A boy child in this case will internalise and adopt the bad behaviour. The girl child, as Moylan (2010) notes, is likely to have little self-worth and is usually engaged in negative self-talk and her anger and this will ignite the flames of domestic violence in her marriage.

Kelly (2011), and Rupande (2015), concur that the factors that include male economic and family decision-making authority; male wealth and family resource control and marital disputes; and financial problems, especially in relationships with asymmetric power systems increasing the risk of violence against women are dominant factors in many violent relationships. In their research, Samuels *et al.* (2015) mention that gender-based violence often occurs when a partner fails to support his family financially whether because there are no means or the money has been spent outside the home on other activities. In either situation, the man responds in anger, as he is ashamed that he cannot support his family (Horn *et al.* 2014: 6). This feeling of insecurity often triggers violence as one of the main features of patriarchal African communities is that the man is expected by default, from a very young age, to cater for and provide for the woman, irrespective of his economic placement in society (whether he has a job or not). Shamu *et al.* (2011: 5) remark that being unemployed, and thus not having enough household decision-making power and being financially dependent, is a risk factor for experiencing violence.

### **3.7.3 Community Level (Exosystem)**

Bronfenbrenner states that the exosystem is one or additional settings that does not involve the individual developing as a dynamic participant in events that have an effect on, or are affected by, what happens in that locale (Bronfenbrenner 1979). In context, Michau *et al.* (2015) opine that at the community level, the involvement and reaction to gender-based violence is influenced by gender and dominance social expectations that can either motivate or prevent abuse. Consequences at the community level are influences that raise risks, which are rooted, for example, in individual interactions and connections with the society and social

environments, for example, educational centres such as schools, work places, and neighbourhoods (Maphosa 2018).

In their research, Kelly and Arsula (2015) demonstrated that communities with high levels of social disorganisation are associated with higher levels of violence because of high population densities and the lack of cohesion among residents due to in-migration. Mining communities are complex communities because of the high influx of migrants in search of precious minerals, as has been mentioned in the previous chapters. Cunrad (2010) contends that issues that also include community poverty, unemployment, and alcohol outlets are trigger/risk factors for the perpetration of violence, abuse victimisation, or both. The social disorganization theory (Shaw and McKay 1942) supports the ecological systems theory because it states that community-level poverty motivates tension and conflict within intimate partners, such that the impact of community poverty is reflected at the level of relationships.

Christian Aid (2018) identifies factors that drive and exacerbate gender-based violence owing to conflict over resources and the competing needs and interests of different actors such as unequal access to resources or employment opportunities and prevailing illegal dealings. For example, during inter-communal conflict, women and girls can be targeted as a way to fracture community cohesion and continuity owing to their perceived roles in preserving the social fabric of their communities.

According to Cummings *et al.* (2017), community violence abuse may have a spill-over impact as it increases family tension. Yasmine and Moughalian (2016) give an example that men can abuse and exploit female-headed households in order to re-establish themselves and their status in the community on return from working in stressful conditions such as mining. That which a society finds as tolerable actions for its people may have a significant effect on attempts to address social challenges such as GBV. As noted by Cummings *et al.* (2016), family stability, emotional safety or mental security within the family and community, and a high degree of mutual social support are key attenuators of the effects of exposure to forms of GBV.

### **3.7.4 Societal Level (Macrosystem)**

Broader societal factors such as social policies establish an atmosphere in which aggression is promoted or discouraged/inhibited for sustainable development. Heise (2002) highlights that it is through having limited access to the justice systems and a high level of freedom at the societal level that legal systems reinforce biased, discriminatory norms that enable the

continuation of the various forms of GBV. Maphosa (2018), in his work, notes that the laws and policies available for a particular community determine a collective reaction to GBV being inappropriate or acceptable, and serve as a platform for each person.

The lack of legal security is one key factor to perpetuating violence against women, particularly in the home. GBV in many nations is aggravated by policy, law enforcement, and the justice system that continues to ignore domestic violence as a crime. In domestic abuse incidents, law enforcement officials also promote attempts by criminals to manipulate and humiliate their victims. While several countries have adopted legislation that denounces gender-based abuse, such attacks are accepted rather than enforced as legislation committed in an intimate relationship. Domestic and sexual violence against women in mining communities is explained by the high incidences of alcohol consumption and illicit drug abuse, due to the fact that men have greater access to cash through artisanal mining, being employed by mining companies and service jobs in the community that surround mining companies (Simataus 2009; Hinton *et al.* 2006; Perks 2011). Mining companies have been blamed for using legionnaires, warlords, and corruption to gain more mineral resources and this has resulted in conspiracies and human abuse in Africa. However, if the legal infrastructure is insufficient, the connectedness of the ecological system for sustainable development outcomes would be needed.

Gidden (2006: 534) states that culture or traditions are shared societal morals and beliefs which establish a shared identity in a society. Cultural ideologies and societal trends in both developed and developing countries provide credibility to violence towards women (Kayulu 2007). Cultures, in turn, make a distinction between factual and unfactual, moral and immoral, proper and improper (to list a few examples) culture sometimes perpetuated by legislation, the media, and religion. In the past, social and historical practices have allowed women chastising and hitting. Male ownership of family resources invariably puts decision-making in the hands of men, while women's sexuality in many cultures is related to the notion of family honour.

The macrosystem, according to Pinnewala (2009), includes the general views, impertinences, and properties of the culture which include male privilege and proprietorship of women as assets as a result of cultural norms such as dowry payment at marriage, acceptance of male violence as the norm in all social activities, patriarchal gender stereotyping, and cultural acceptance of the harassment of women. These patriarchal principles set obstacles when seeking help and there is a great need to address these challenges (Pinnewala 2009).

As these factors interrelate, they can again drive or exacerbate levels of gender-based violence in each sphere and across each sphere of the ecological model. For example, if

women are targeted at the community level to disrupt cohesion, this can lead to the shame and expulsion of women from their close relationships and then to substance abuse or abuse or mental health issues at the individual level.

In addition to helping to explain these causes, the model indicates that acting across the multiple layers of the model is important to deter aggression. Over time, this strategy is more likely to support preventive efforts than any other action, hence the significance of using the social ecological theory in underpinning the study on community-based strategies in the prevention of gender-based violence in mining communities.

### **3.8 Contact Theory**

The contact hypothesis states that bringing people together from different backgrounds or groups has the ability to reduce prejudice which will result in peaceful and sustainable outcomes. Prejudice occurs when a person judges another person because of the group to which they belong, for example, gender or race. In mining communities, as noted in previous chapters, the communities are home to a heterogeneous group of people making conflict inevitable. Christie (2006) insists that intergroup interaction is frequently used as a method to create structural harmony. In relation to this study, intergroup contact can be used in mining communities where differences are focused on competing and conflicting social identities to help prevent people from becoming involved in future violence. This is likely because intergroup interaction encourages pro-social empathy, trust, and emotional behaviour (McKeown and Taylor 2017). Several studies have shown that contact and communication are at first entirely controlled by group attitudes and then slowly begin to take personal characteristics into account (Bowman 2011; Gurin, Nagda and Lopez 2004).

The proponent of the contact theory, Allport (1954), states that to reduce prejudice, some conditions have to be met if transformation is to take place. By this it is meant that it is not an event to reduce prejudice but an ongoing process that is not random, and steps and caution need to be taken. While communication does not often occur spontaneously (McKeown and Dixon 2017) and can often be hostile (Paolini, Harwood and Rubin 2010; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006), it was found that both normal interactions and touch-focused approaches yielded positive effects even in conflict settings (McKeown and Cairns 2012). Research has shown that removing classifications such as the level of education, age, and race, to name a few, are some of the requirements that need to be met when people or groups are meeting (Paolini *et al.* 2010). The approaches to develop the community strategies for the prevention of GBV are to be conducted on a round table basis so as to ensure that everyone is on an equal standing.

Allport (1954) contends that for intergroup contact to produce sustainable peaceful resolutions, all groups should aim for a common goal and, in this case, the community aiming at the prevention of gender-based violence. It was also noted that groups had to cooperate amongst themselves and that institutions within the community or society should legitimatise and support initiatives that would have been taken. With the assumption that assistance and support from the local leadership in the mining community is attained, initiatives of pathways to prevent gender-based violence would be more sustainable.

Hewstone (2005) states that through longitudinal research, it was discovered that it was through meaningful and repeated contact that the successful development of friendships would be allowed. With all the stated contentions, the contact theory is relevant to complement Lederach's conflict transformation theory as the main objective of the thesis is to develop community-based pathways for the prevention of GBV in marginalised and highly controversial communities such as mining communities. Without advocating that intergroup contact is the answer that will set all troubles right, it will be worth noting that communication usually does not exacerbate intergroup ties and its ultimate impact is to strengthen them over hundreds of studies (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006).

However, as noted by McKeown and Taylor (2017), intergroup contact schemes should go beyond prejudice reduction, and consider how to promote peacebuilding. Complementing interventions, sustained attempts to promote social interaction are significant for the peacebuilding support scale, as they were noted in many previous studies to be lacking.

### **3.9 Conflict Transformation Theory**

This thesis is anchored on the conflict transformation theory (Lederach 2003). Lederach (2003) states that conflict produces life; people adapt, revolutionise, and evolve by confrontation. Without dispute, life and people's relationships would be superficial, shallow, and uninterestingly flat with a geography of sameness (Lederach 2003: 18). Haj-Yahia (2005) further states that conflicts are an important part of people's lives and people need to learn to embrace them as part of themselves. Simply stated, conflict is a constituent of people's lives, and notably an important part. Conflict transformation concerns all efforts that are made to deal with conflict at its latent stage such that it does not erupt into a violent one. Important, however, is how people deal with managing, resolving, or transforming the conflict.

Lederach's (2003) conflict transformation theory reflects on the interactions and activities between the individuals involved in or historically involved in a conflict; examines the larger social, economic, and political origins of a conflict; and aims to turn negative energies and violence into constructive social change (Mutero 2017: 65). Conflict transformation follows a path where society views confrontation as a pedestal for constructive action to be undertaken. It is promising to create a world in which the culture profits from cooperation and equality. Conflict transformation philosophy and experience focus on developing the best connections and social systems (Lederach 2003: 4). Lederach (2003: 14) further posits that:

Conflict Transformation 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 relationships.

These theories call attention to the fact that transformation fits a surging plane. Conflict change, according to Lederach (2003), calls for a sincere effort to turn confrontational interactions into friendly relationships. The emphasis on developing relationships stems from an awareness that a fractured society is a hindrance to peace and prosperity, and that success is broadly achieved when a society is tightly knit. Kadembo (2013) states that conflict transformation attempts not only to address the current crisis but also to identify and consider the roots of the conflict, and to pursue non-violent responses from those in the conflict in an attempt to preserve long-term stability. Lederach (2003) argues that people themselves should suggest solutions to their problem.

Lederach's (1995) theory emphasises building sustainable peace and transforming social conflict based on a contextual and grassroots-based approach called the "elicitive model". The hypothesis of the model is that methods for transforming social conflicts need to be produced within their context and be considerate of the local conditions. When this is done, stakeholders within the process can together create a sustainable environment where the conflict can be transformed (Lederach 1995: 62). The "elicitive model" is argued as a dichotomy to the "prescriptive model" in which already established templates in relation to building peace are imposed upon a conflict situation. This means that the goals of the conflict transformation process or process for social change are formulated by participants within the process and not by outside actors, hence community members are actively encouraged to take part in shaping and possibly re-shaping the process of transformation. In that way, participants work together to reach the root causes of the conflict to be able to understand it and are a part of creating the forum in which the process for transforming the conflict should take place (Lederach 1995: 64).

Involving local change agents within the process of transformation is based on Lederach's (2003) hypothesis that social conflict is generated and amplified by the social and cultural mishaps that arise when a different cultural meaning has been ascribed to the same objects and when situations are interpreted differently based on different cultural, national, or ethnic pre-understandings (Lederach 1995: 31). Since conflict is derived from the local context, so must be the case for the solution. This also means that conflict and how it is continuously generated is connected to the conflicting groups' cultural conception of it.

To end or transform the conflict, the conception of it needs to change (Lederach 1995: 8), which in turn means that somewhere within the transformation process, space needs to be located in which parties within the conflict can meet and reflect over their past, present, and future relationships. An elicitive, or contextually evoked, space where stakeholders can negotiate their mutual terms of transformation is thus required. This is not to state that conflict transformation practitioners cannot facilitate these processes of change, but rather that they must do so from a place of humility and not interventionism or ethnocentrism. The model that this research adopts is to develop community-based pathways for the prevention of GBV in mining communities. Conflict transformation will create space for the community and the contact theory will provide support for sustainability.

### 3.10 Linking the Theories

As noted, Akers (1998) stresses the importance of external stimuli and the influence on criminal behaviour, and Bronfenbrenner (1997) also examines the way in which people are led to criminal behaviour through those around them. By amalgamating these theories, an attempt is made to combine individual and social traits with a view to understand how they interlink as a cause of violence and also how the linkages are adapted for the prevention of GBV in the mining communities. Emphasis on individual traits in relation with the interaction of a person and the environment allows for a better explanation of rare violent behaviour in multilevel variables. The question is how is the individual related to the community and vice versa? In the Vashona culture, the following proverbs are used:

Ura mapako hunizvara mbavha nevaroyi –	parents cannot choose who they want to conceive, it is pre-ordained and God-given
Munhu munhu pavanhu –	a person becomes a fully rounded human being when they interact well with others
Gavi rinobva kumasvuuro –	a person's character is influenced by their background and community in which they reside



As such, using these theories in this study assisted in gathering information about the perpetrators and victims of GBV so as to understand the interactive nature of multilevel influences as they pertain to human development in mining communities. The complexity of mining communities being different from the mainstream communities makes it a unique case study as how an individual who is prone to deviant behaviour can emerge out of, or if they will be able to participate in the prevention of, bad behaviour.

The ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner 1997) accents that conflict goes beyond looking at individual behaviour and goals, and instead focuses on the patterns of interactions between individuals as a part of a community. This research analyses how a person as an individual relates to others in terms of deviant or violent behaviour and then evaluates how that affects the immediate surroundings with which the individual is in contact.

By applying these theories to the study, an understanding of how an individual becomes violent explains how such an individual can or will be assisted, hence the integration of the conflict transformation theory complemented by the intergroup contact theory by Allport (1954). As stated by Lederach (2003), conflict transformation is not only directed at addressing the current crisis, but also at identifying roots of the conflict, recognising them and finding peaceful solutions from those in the conflict in an attempt to sustain long-term stability. It is suggested that citizens themselves should provide solutions to their dilemmas and ultimately, contact is an effective instrument when used in combination with other forms of dispute mediation, resolution, thereby sound public policy frames are created for prevention and building of sustainable peace (Ramiah and Hewstone 2013; Kadembo 2013).

### **3.11 Chapter Summary**

The chapter highlighted the relevance and applicability of GBV within the social learning theory and the ecological systems theory from a non-violence perspective. The contact theory was then introduced highlighting the potential that the community has in preventing GBV as well as the conflict transformation theory showing the importance of sustainable solutions that communities can use. By applying these theories to the study, an understanding of how an individual becomes violent explains how such an individual can or will be assisted. The next chapter discusses the nature, causes, magnitude, and consequences of gender-based violence.

## **CHAPTER 4**

# **THE NATURE, CONSEQUENCES, AND PREVENTION OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter highlighted that GBV is historically grounded in the unequal distribution of power which is a factor in the continuation of gender dominance gaps between men and women in a society. Wekwete *et al.* (2014) observe that the causes of GBV are structured in the manner in which a society is organised including the distribution of economic opportunities for both men and women, the legislation available for the protection of citizens, and also the institutional resources. This chapter discusses the nature, consequences, and prevention of GBV in Zimbabwe. The first section of the chapter looks at the nature of GBV, concept of culture, patriarchy, and traditions and cultural practices and how they maintain the subjugation of women. The second section provides literature on the magnitude and consequences of gender-based violence, while the last section of the chapter provides the legislation that has been used and that has worked in the prevention of GBV in Zimbabwe.

### **4.2 Nature of Gender-Based Violence**

In Africa and the world over, GBV varies in nature due to the differences in culture, traditions, histories, institutional policies, and the economic resources accessible in different communities (Thomson *et al.* 2015). Some traditional practices are beneficial to the society and communities at large and some practices are highly discriminatory to women and girls. Because of the vast difference in the African cultures, GBV becomes too complex to solve. Culture distinguishes the African experience of GBV from the rest of the world as many other factors associated with GBV are common across societies, as will be highlighted.

#### **4.2.1 Culture, Social Norms, and Violence**

Culture is stated by Olaitan and Ifeoluwayimika (2016) as being the traditional way of life that incorporates a number of people living in a particular community which affects the way of life and manifests the way in which men and women treat each other in terms of how they treat and respect each other. Jewkes, Flood and Lang (2015) state that inequality and abuse are maintained by societal and cultural expectations within a given society. Socio-cultural norms are rooted in a given society's culture, and to explain the prevalence of gender-based abuse,

it is important to recognise the cultural beliefs and practices of both men and women who are witnessing and causing abuse (Karugahe 2016 cited in Maphosa 2018).

Hiese (2011) adds to the argument by raising the fact that societal and gender roles are catalysts in human attitudes and actions that endorse or disapprove of violence towards women. It can also be stated that social norms can, through social enforcement or sanctions, drive individual behaviour towards non-compliant individuals or individuals who deviate from group expectations. It is worth noting that social values do not work in isolation, and they are affected by diverse societal forces such as tradition and religious beliefs. Chadambuka and Warria (2019) note that established different social norms increasing the risk of women experiencing GBV in Zimbabwe, exclusively or jointly, include cultural and religious rituals such as female genital mutilation, male dominance and superiority over women within communities and the society at large (patriarchy), embracing wife-beating as a means of disciplining in the case of divorce or being unmarried, family secrecy and humiliation (normalising violence), as well as lobola (bride-price) payment requirements which serve as a compromising factor in the tolerance to GBV.

The way in which social norms penetrate various levels and parts of the culture form the society's perception of violence against women as a gender-induced phenomenon. For example, social norms, and more specifically injunctive norms (one's conviction of that which others accept or disapprove of in a given society) may lead the survivor to assume that they are the source of violence (Sommer *et al.* 2018). Furthermore, victim blaming has been justified when a victim would have been stated to have infringed conventional gender norms or demonstrated risky behaviour.

#### **4.2.2 Patriarchy and the Subjugation of Women**

African cultures and traditions are rooted in patriarchy and male dominance, and Zimbabwe is not immune to this assertion. For example, male dominance is reflected in distinct gender norms, a poor social esteem and women's status, and concepts of manhood related to women's power and male sexual privilege. Violence towards women is largely patriarchal, sexism is not the only structure, and there are separate structures functioning in both private and public environments, such as the home and the state and its rules, which need to be challenged if GBV is to be completely accounted for. The feminist's theory school of thought assigns men the responsibility of controlling and managing women (Dobash and Dobash 1976). The power inequality within patriarchal societies establishes a social status order that gives men rights and authority within the family, or relationships with women (Zacarias *et al.*

2012). This assertion entails that gender-based violence is attributed to societal structural flaws.

In as much as the Zimbabwean government has enacted much legislation against gender-based violence in its many different forms, it still appears that cultural values appear to be stronger than the law and the government has no effectiveness in enforcing the law (Fulu *et al.* 2013). Patriarchy is a practice that has been condemned by feminists as power (and rule) of fathers or men by way of rituals, practices, customs, education, and the division of labour that defines what role women should and should not play and in which they are subsumed under the male everywhere.

The patriarchal origins are watered by many streams enmeshed in cultural values and practices, unwritten codes of social and family behaviour that have been passed down generations. Fulu *et al.* (2013: 93), in their research, concluded that violence is used in an effort to validate and perpetuate sexism in cultures where power or the superiority of men generates an atmosphere where the practice of violence is accepted. This philosophical thought therefore socialises women such that they stay passive and encourages inequality between men and women which leads to women's subordination not only within the family but also in the society as a whole (ECA-WIDNET 1997).

Patriarchy in mining communities manifests both in the public and private sphere as men are given arbitrary control over the lives of women and children which is sanctioned by society and there is limited space to question it or talk about it. In both public and private spheres, women who stray from the norms are labelled and branded as prostitutes or that they are possessed by a spirit that does not want them to have a home, and thus that they should be helped or looked at with contempt. The community and schools, church, media, and family reinforce patriarchy and social norms. However, the awareness of GBV is now continually challenged by women and this challenging of notions and traditions is fueling GBV. NGOs have been blamed for continually empowering women and excluding men in the process – this however further exacerbates violence against women. The increased number of organisations working with women and recently men is a clear testament to this.

#### **4.2.3 Culture and Power or Control**

Armstrong (1990) suggests that there is a thin line between culture and power or control. Culture may be a justification for, though not a source of, male abuse. Gender-based violence theorised as cultural in an African context is similar to behaviours known as power and control

concerns in other non-African nations, or as dysfunctional in individual psychology or the family (Bowman 2003).

The Power and Control Wheel, depicted in Figure 4.1, exemplifies that GBV is comprised of a set of activities or acts undertaken by an abuser to retain power and control in the home or relationships (Chavis and Hill 2009). The wheel provides a context for considering the force and control processes and manifestations of GBV in its many forms. According to Pence and Paymer (1993), the Power and Control Wheel is a commonly used model with both victims and abusers of gender based violence.



**Figure 4.1: The Power and Control Wheel (Source: WHO 2005).**

The perpetrator's aim is to gain and retain influence of his partner's attitudes, cognitions, and feelings at the core of the Power and Control Wheel. Each segment of the wheel shows the techniques used to monitor a perpetrator (Chavis and Hill 2009). Interestingly, not only have the battered women recognised these strategies against them, but the abusers have reported employing the same techniques. The outermost wheel ring demonstrates the role of physical and sexual abuse in promoting the strategies of force and control. While the root of GBV lies in patriarchal gender roles and men's influence of all facets of women's lives, a variety of interpersonal causes are associated with an increased risk of witnessing such abuse, for example, a history of violence in the family, alcohol abuse by men, and personality disorders (WHO 2005). This assertion concurs with Akers' social learning theory as well as Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory.

Cultural gender roles and socialisation practices in Africa determine, indirectly or directly, that which men and women do and how they act, and several explanations on how gender stereotypes contribute to abuse have been given. First, the freedom to threaten his wife or claim sex is often condoned by a husband and is considered socially appropriate. Another explanation addresses the transgression from the concept of conservative gender norms, which posits that as women acquire more influence in society, deviate from conventional gender roles, or question male dominance, men feel challenged and turn to violence as a means of rebellion, or if women challenge male privilege, men feel threatened and resort to violence as a form of resistance (Conroy 2014). A third viewpoint suggests that men who lack opportunities associated with the position of breadwinner use aggression to communicate their grievances towards women, a theory recently identified as Choi and Ting's (2008) 'compensation' hypothesis.

#### **4.2.4 Traditions and Practices**

Following the explanations of how cultural traditions lead to gender-based abuse, African rituals such as virginity testing, male circumcision, and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), which includes the partial or complete removal of external female genitalia for non-medical purposes, have been noted to also contribute to the subjugation of women. The 'mutilation' of the women's 'actual' body has been viewed as the height of physical abuse towards a girl-child, seen as a patriarchal plot to strip the African women of her body integrity and sexual gratification (Johnmary 2012). Abdullahi and Buba (2009: 61-62) agree with Ikpe when they write that "most communities argue that FGM is important because some women are naturally sexy and a man alone cannot satisfy her sexually, but if she is circumcised through excision of the clitoris, her sexual promiscuity will be curbed". However, it had been pointed out by Lightfoot in 1983 that such an activity is inspired by men's urge to take control over women's personal life (Johnmary 2012).

There is little documented evidence on the nature of such activities, and the psycho-social effect on victims and those nearest to them has not yet been fully investigated, however, the effects deprive women of equal opportunities and women are unable to exercise their human rights and fundamental freedoms. Customs concerning the inheritance of property and the practice of the inheritance of a wife, where a wife, soon after the death of her husband, is forcibly expelled from his home by members of his family, neighbours, or traditional leaders and who is often unable to take possessions with herself, affect women disproportionately (Izumi 2007). Occurring mainly in the southern and eastern parts of Africa, the practice increases women's poverty and is often accompanied by other acts of extreme gender-based

violence. Legislation in some African countries including Zimbabwe has however addressed some of these traditions as will be noted in the next chapter on the prevention of gender-based violence.

The bride prices (*lobola*) and forced early marriages are other customs that encourage gender-based violence and the adverse effects on women and girls and their consequent influence on African society as a whole should be abandoned. Young girls are deprived of their rights to health, schooling, prosperity, and equality. Four out of ten girls in Tanzania marry before their 18<sup>th</sup> birthday and in a research by the United Nations Population Fund and Human Rights Watch (2014) between 2000-2011, 37% of Tanzanian women aged 20-24 years were first married or in marriage before the age of 18 years (Pedro 2013).

Although African traditional marriage is premised on submissiveness to husbands according to biblical injunction, it is also important to realise that marriage is the coming together of two equals, but with different responsibilities, to make for a happy home. However, the idea that one must be overtly subservient to the other is alien to the purpose of intimate partner relationship. Because of the foregoing, it is observed that violence disclosure for many women becomes a difficult task for fear of reprisal and abandonment (Knapp 2001; Johnson 1995; Koenig *et al.* 2003).

As an indicator of cooperative rivalry within households, with possible repercussions for the susceptibility of polygamous women to disease and their access to care, polygamy is associated with impaired communication between spouses, larger age gaps, power imbalances, and the increased spread of Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) which is because it provides for the proliferation of sexual partners. Therefore, gender inequalities that are firmly established in the culture and patriarchal institutions have been alluded to be the cause of GBV. The belief is that marriage is purely a family affair that governs the settlement of domestic problems within the family. Studies have found that only 1% of victims of intimate partner violence are likely to report police brutality in Nigeria, and the outcomes of these incidents are comparable in many African countries and across the world (Ilika 2002; Fawole 2005). It is therefore common that women report to friends and family rather than to law-enforcement agencies. The factors involved, however, have yet to be explored in detail, and may be vital to interventions designed to encourage the disclosure of violence. The study undertakes to scrutinise such factors with the intention of developing community-based pathways for the prevention of GBV.



The nature of gender-based violence is very peculiar in Africa with other beliefs completely blocking any chances of development. This section has discussed and highlighted the nature of gender-based violence. The nature of violence in Africa is highly complex and cannot be properly discussed in a section but rather in an entire thesis. As much as the African experience is unique, the nature is no different from the Zimbabwean context. The next section will look at the causes and magnitude of violence in Africa and Zimbabwe.

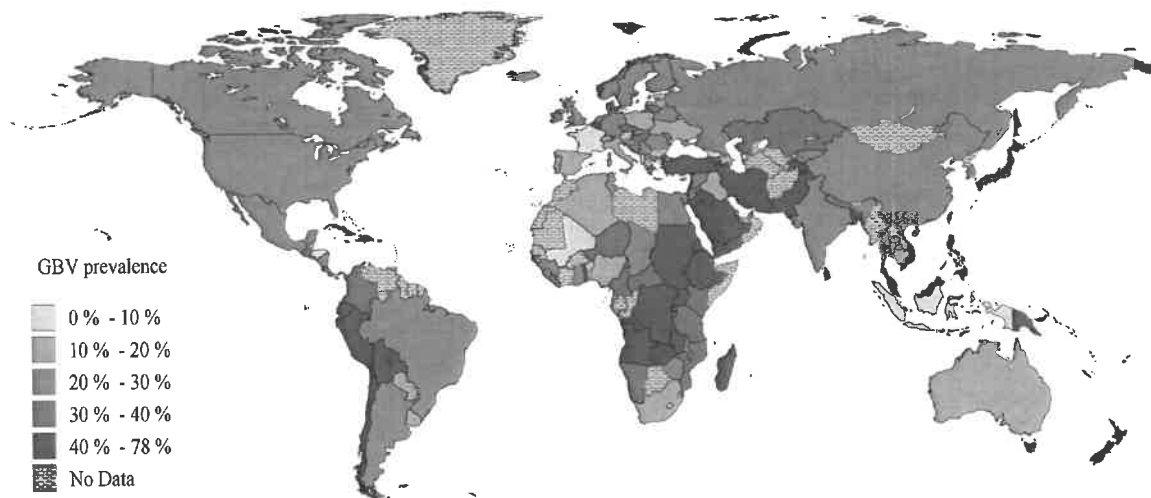
### **4.3 Prevalence of Gender-Based Violence in Zimbabwe**

GBV prevalence in Zimbabwe has been attributed to the division of power between men and women, a culture of silence among women, and also the inability to enforce developed policies by the government. A Musasa Project (2018) revealed that approximately 32% of women reported physical violence by marital partners and close acquaintances since the age of 16 years, and Makanangana *et al.* (2014), in their study, found out that 95% of respondents witnessed physical assault, 31% of respondents were abused by a stranger, spousal abuse was at 92%, and forced marriages were at 65%.

Adjah and Abgemafle (2016) highlight that GBV remains intolerable, with 10-69% of women worldwide being violently abused at some point in their lives by an intimate male partner. Global figures suggest that one in three women over the age of 15 has witnessed physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence (IPV) in their lifetime, varying from 16.3% in East Asia to 65.64% in Central Sub-Saharan Africa (Peterman, Bleck and Palermo 2015; McClosby *et al.* 2016). Gender-based abuse exists in all countries in its multiple ways but its frequency varies significantly across countries. The prevalence of intimate partner violence is generally higher in Low- and Middle-Income Countries (LMICs) as compared to High-Income Countries (HICs) (Greene, Kane and Toi 2017). The Gender Equity Index Study on reproductive rights, employment, and empowerment highlighted that 27 of the 30 countries in the world that exhibit unequitable gender indices were found in Africa (Muluneh *et al.* 2020). GBV is reported as a common practice in SSA and the prevalence of sexual violence is high in some countries such as Zambia (90%) and Ethiopia (71.1%) (Palermo *et al.* 2014).

#### Statistics of Gender-Based Violence:

As the statistics and impact vary across the world, Africa is noted to have the highest levels of perpetrators of gender-based violence, as shown in Figure 4.2.



**Figure 4.2: Map depicting prevalence of gender-based violence across the world, adapted from WHO (2016).**

Despite the existence of working information on gender-based abuse, the precise numbers remain difficult to determine due to underreporting and the lack of a database (Magezi and Manzanga 2019). Statistics on gender-based violence in the world show that African countries are ranked among the highest globally affected by GBV. McClosby *et al.* (2016) observe that the legacy of tension and imperialism that characterised the colonial era, the nature of colonisation, and decades of White minority rule represent gender dynamics that perpetuate violence in Sub-Saharan Africa. Muluneh *et al.* (2020) note that two-fifths (44%) of women between the ages of 15 and 49 years in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) countries have experienced some form of GBV and it was noted that physical, sexual, economic, and emotional violence are commonly experienced by women in SSA countries, however, women living in east and west African regions have the highest GBV rate.

Regardless of the prevalence of gender-based abuse, existing data show that the epidemic has significant impacts on women's reproductive health such that rape and physical violence rate higher on women's deaths than other deterministic factors such as cancer, motor vehicle accidents, war, and malaria (Mukanangana *et al.* 2014; World Bank 1993; UNFPA 2006; UNAID 2010). Regardless of the severity of GBV, current statistics indicate that the crisis is having major consequences on reproductive wellbeing for women. The 2015 Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey, which surveyed 9,955 women aged 15-49 from across Zimbabwe, noted in its key findings published in 2016 that:

More than one-third (35%) of women aged 15-49 have ever experienced physical violence since age 15. Fifteen percent of women have experienced physical violence in the previous year.

In 2017, the Zimbabwe National Statistics Office revealed that cases of rape had increased by 40% and that at least 21 women were being raped every day. The report stated that domestic violence cases had also increased with 78% of the cases reported being perpetrated by intimate partners (ZimStats 2017). The nature of patriarchy in the Zimbabwean context and the socio-economic environment are presented as the major contributory factors to physical and sexual violence against women. Patriarchy in Zimbabwe has been normalised on the societal level to the extent that men have become the administrators of justice in society and this has seen many consequences that hinder development and peace (Kubatana, IThemba for Girls Trust 2019).

## 4.4 Consequences and Cost of Gender-Based Violence

GBV has immense negative implications for the individual, society, and globally. Baldasare (2012) and Morrison *et al.* (2007) note that violence is hypothesised more accurately as a risk factor for health conditions than as a health disorder in itself, and accidents are just the tip of the iceberg with harmful health consequences.

### 4.4.1 Health Perspective

GBV represents a very large challenge to public health globally and presents serious obstacles to women's health, and it exacts an extreme toll on survivors' emotional, social, and physical wellbeing, disrupting personal and interpersonal relationships as well as being a grave human rights abuse (Bishwajit *et al.* 2016; Semahegn and Mengistie 2015). Table 4.1 shows the effects of gender-based violence from the health perspective.

**Table 4.1: Gender-based violence from the health perspective.**

Fatal outcomes	Murder
	Suicide
	Maternal mortality
	Infant death
	AIDS-related
Nonfatal outcomes	Injury
	Functional impairment
Physical health	Physical symptoms
	Poor subjective health
	Permanent disability
	Severe obesity
Chronic conditions	Chronic pain syndromes
	Irritable bowel syndrome
	Gastrointestinal disorders
	Somatic complaints

Mental health	Fibromyalgia
	Post-traumatic stress
	Depression
	Anxiety
	Phobias/panic disorder
	Eating disorders
	Sexual dysfunction
	Low self-esteem
Negative health behaviours	Substance abuse
	Smoking
	Alcohol and drug abuse
	Sexual risk-taking
	Physical inactivity
Reproductive health	Overeating
	Unwanted pregnancy
	STIs/HIV
	Gynaecological disorders
	Unsafe abortion
	Pregnancy complications
	Miscarriage/low birth weight
	Pelvic inflammatory disease

Source: Heise et al. (2002); Carbone-Lopez, Kruttschnitt and Macmillan (2006); Nieburg (2012); World Health Organization (2012); Parsons (2015).

McCloskey (2016) highlights that as gender-based violence accrues across the life-course, women's risk for unwanted pregnancy increases. Gender-based violence results in bad health outcomes for women, with assaulted women being twice as likely to experience accidental pregnancy and three times more likely to give birth as teenagers than as compared to those who do not experience violence (Silverman and Raj 2014). Cultural acceptance of GBV in Africa makes women more vulnerable to HIV infection and infringes on their rights (Settergren and Sapuwa 2015), and HIV-prevalence in informal settlements in Africa is double that in organised housing settlements (Gibbs *et al.* 2017). Lewis (2011) mentions that individuals who are in abusive relationships are usually mentally and physically preoccupied with family problems which affects their ability to participate in society, and reduces their ability to give, to produce ideas, to develop skills and talents, and to make a productive contribution to society. This is so because the perpetrator of violence often restricts the freedom, movements, and actions of the survivor. Gibbs *et al.* (2017) offer another explanation stating that women are economically and socially dependent on men because of poverty and gender inequalities which makes them more vulnerable to experiencing IPV and HIV.

#### **4.4.2 Human Rights Perspective**

Campbell (2002) and the World Health Organisation (2012) highlight the same observation that premature marriage and childbearing are effects of gender-based violence, cutting off educational and job prospects for young women and increasing the possibility of lifelong subordination to their husbands. In Zimbabwe, these effects have also been observed by the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare and many different organisations who work to prevent any forms of violence (ZDHS 2015).

Rico (1997) highlights that violence hinders the ability that women have of decision-making in all spheres of their lives such as the household, at the work place, in the political arena, and in economic and social spheres which therefore directly impacts negatively on their participation in public activities and their citizenship. Rico (1997) further mentions that, from a human rights perspective, the social consequences of GBV often entail the lack of a community to protect women's civil rights, inasmuch as societies neglect everyday activities and the denial of having public discussions on crime issues, their political significance, and the social means of redressing them. These scenarios have prompted this research to develop community-based pathways for the prevention of GBV in mining communities.

#### **4.4.3 Effects on Children**

Rico (1997) notes that GBV has significant consequences for children living in homes where it is normal. This observation settles well with Akers' social learning theory, which states that children rely on their parents emotionally and affectively, and they tend to mimic the roles and behaviours that they examine. Subsequently, later on in life, they may have problems establishing affective relations different from those that they have experienced in their childhood. Abused women state that their children are usually nervous, irritable, and fearful. Today, children who experience violence are often known to be 'battered girls' because they have the same psychological effects as those who are the immediate victims of trauma (Jaffe *et al.* 1986) and appear to grow up as aggressive men and battered women, with increased empathy for social and political brutality.

#### **4.4.4 Economic Cost of Gender-Based Violence**

GBV is a cause of concern for a number of foreign institutions, not only because of its human physical and psychological effects, but also because it puts increased pressures on general health care and emergency services and has high economic impacts on the countries where it exists. It was noted by the Institute of Economic and Peace (2019) that an amount of up to almost 15 trillion United States dollars was spent globally in 2017 on curbing GBV and that in

Africa, 616 billion dollars was used, which is about 147 times more than the whole of the Zimbabwean government 2020 budget. An estimation of the cost of GBV in South Africa stands between close to 29 billion Rands and 40 billion Rands in 2012/2013, signifying 0.9% and 1.3% of the Gross Domestic Product, respectively. These reflections show how violence and conflict are very costly to any nation. Morrison and Orlando (2019) note that it was possible that an increase in the limited amount presently expended on prevention and damage avoidance, through increasing investment on specialist resources, will contribute to a decline in the degree and effect of abuse.

Morrison, Orlando and Bott (2007) pinion that developing countries lack services and/or have serious underfunding which has had unswerving costs on GBV, hence problematic direct cost estimates give an impression that the problem is not important when in fact prevalence rates may be quite high. It was noted that due to violence, victims are generally prevented from working, and the loss of productive employees has had a significant effect on the gross domestic product of the world (Mellish, Settergren and Sapuwa 2015).

## **4.5 Prevention of Gender-Based Violence in Zimbabwe**

'Prevention is better than cure' is a statement from time immemorial. Prevention is the action that is taken to avoid or stop something that has the potential of causing harm from happening and it has been used in many different aspects of everyday life. Seftaoui (2009) defines prevention as the decrease of the probability of negative risks. Therefore, prevention would mean a way of identifying factors that in turn will contribute to alleviating a phenomenon from occurring, in turn providing solutions of when to intervene. In light of the preceding data on the prevalence of GBV in Zimbabwe and the world over, it is imperative that these maladaptive interpersonal behaviours are addressed. In this research context, primary prevention methods can be more effective in gender-based violence prevention. From grassroots initiatives to large-scale government campaigns, communication interventions and community participation and involvement are initiatives that have been used for several prevention strategies and techniques, which were developed and put into practice, with widely varying outcomes.

### **4.5.1 Overview of the Prevention of Gender-Based Violence**

The prevention of GBV in all its various forms is imperative for development in any given country. Research has demonstrated how gender disparities generate power imbalances between men and women that sustain violence, hence these consequences of violence against women call for increased efforts to curb this phenomenon (Ellsberg *et al.* 2014; Bourey

2015; UN 2017; WHO 2019). In their GBV Guidelines Interventions in Humanitarian Settings focused on the prevention and response of sexual violence in emergencies, the Arctic Council and the International Arctic Science Committee (IASC) (2005) highlighted that the sustainable prevention of and response to GBV strategies require a multi-sectoral approach involving actors in the areas of health and social services, legal, human rights and protection, and the community at large. Abramsky *et al.* (2016) further notes that the prevention of violence must address the individual, social, cultural, and economic contexts in which GBV occurs. In the same vein, the UN (2019) reveals that the effective curbing of gender-based violence requires strategies such as the adoption of legislation and regulation acceptance and tackling the root causes of GBV. As awareness activities on GBV have expanded, there has been a proliferation of programs in the preventive programming area.

Women's movement supporters and feminists have worked long and hard to obtain respect for these women, and to secure their right to representation, support, and justice. Harvey, Garcia-Moreno and Butchart (2007) and Ellsberg *et al.* (2014) highlight that from the 1960s, the feminist movement drove the first wave of interventions which emphasised supporting rather than blaming the survivor. Their aim was to reduce secondary perpetration, advocating support for survivors of violence and strengthening legal recourse. This constitutional rights-based approach, as noted by Ellsberg *et al.* (2014), led to the consolidation of services such as women's shelters, counselling, and legal advice.

A second wave of interventions, again driven by civil society groups, stressed primary prevention and environmental engagement and took a stance on public health that advocated population-based, interdisciplinary, and intersectional approaches (WHO and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine 2010). However, in having in place legislation (laws and policies) that identify violent behaviours as criminal, punishable offences, alerting the society of the consequences is key in transforming behaviours and perceptions on social and cultural norms (WHO 2009). As Batliwala (2013) notes, legislation is the formal sphere and can be addressed by awareness programs. However, culture in its dimensions such as the traditions, philosophies, ethics, attitudes, and norms, is more difficult to change as these values are internalised by individuals, and act systemically at group level. Culture is much slower to reform than traditional politics or regulation, and laws and regulations do not immediately change society (Klugman 2017).

Several actions in curbing gender-based violence have been taken by many countries the world over. There are universal interventions that have been adopted, where the term *universal* is taken to mean strategies that are similar in different countries of the world.

Universal approaches are essential to the implementation of a holistic strategy to reduce violence. Examples of universal initiatives include projects on social standards, school curriculum services, conventional systemic growth, policy changes, group engagement, and approaches to community development. Multiple interventions addressing gender-based violence in their different forms and African governments and civil society stakeholders have not been left behind. However, McCloskey *et al.* (2016) highlight that prevention programs implemented in African societies have emphasised community building and community engagement, which is different from the programs promoted in Western countries. Usually, African services follow an unprejudiced, non-punitive approach towards criminals unlike the criminal justice response systems used in Western countries that equate incarceration with recovery, which are largely absent in the African context; convictions are atypical, and post-arrest diversion is not an alternative. In many African countries, the alleviation of violence against women occurs using cultural grammar that privileges relationship ties and reconciliation rather than separation or divorce (Vatuk 2013; Kowalski 2016). While there are initiatives that have been employed to curb GBV, through preventing, mitigating, reducing, containing, and eradicating it, statistics on gender-based violence remain worrisomely high (Mashiri and Mawire 2013).

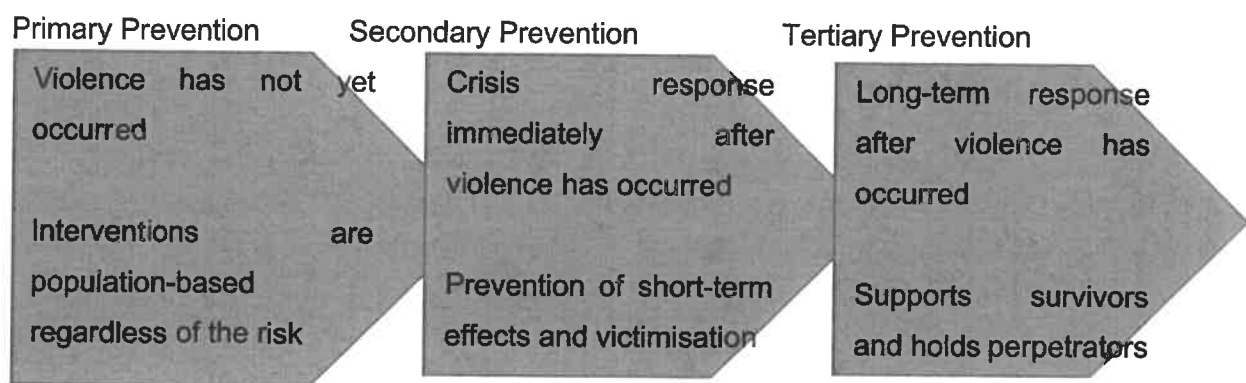
Gender-based violence is a multifaceted epidemic, hence the solutions to the pandemic stress for an equally multifaceted response affecting multiple facets of society. In their handbook for coordinating GBV interventions in emergencies, the United Nations (2019) offered safety, respect, confidentiality, and non-discrimination guidelines that can be applied using a human rights approach, a survivor-centred approach, and a community-based approach. Since then, societies have moved into multidisciplinary collaboration not only to mediate when violence occurs, but also to work together to deliberate on how best to prevent violence in the first place (PREVENT 2005b). Furthermore, community-based groups, criminal and civil justice agencies, state and municipal police departments, colleges, child-care networks, support programs, media, and policy-making bodies and employers can be central players in reacting to gender-based violence.

In social policy, there are three levels of prevention identified on gender-based violence prevention. The forms are the primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention levels. Primary prevention is that action that occurs before any violence occurs, secondary prevention is the response that takes place after the violence has occurred, and tertiary prevention is the long-term response that takes place after the violence. Gough (2013), however, advises that there are similarities which are not identical when using the terms and caution must be taken when using them. He also provided an example that the effects of secondary level prevention can



involve detecting and engaging at-risk populations or reducing the effects of adverse risks as they occur. Preventive methods are strongly debated, and prevalent paradigms can influence culture.

The structure for public health defines preventive measures that take place on a scale with three stages: primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention, which cover a range of interrelated aspects including when interventions take place, who the target group is, what the interventions are attempting to do, and the forms of practices performed. Figure 4.3 depicts and describes primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention.



**Figure 4.3: Primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention. (Source: self)**

In their work, Our Watch (2017) highlights that much of the study directed at reducing abuse against women has been told by the philosophy and experience of public policy and health promotion. Advances in policy and programmes for primary prevention have provided practical frameworks, sound evidence, and analysis on violence against women, which include the following:

- They draw on the resources of the family and the community and collaborate with different industries to bring about progress, including social care, politics, justice, health and education, and the society itself.
- They are backed by a robust and systematic basis of proof underpinned by a rigorous and systematic evidence base.
- They monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of prevention programmes implemented.
- They result in the sharing of knowledge on how best to implement prevention strategies, programmes, and policies that are long-term and sustainable.

#### 4.5.2 Primary Prevention Initiatives

Primary prevention is based on identifying risks and resilient actors and takes action to deal with those factors. Primary prevention means reducing the number of new cases of intimate-partner violence or sexual violence by intervening before any violence occurs (Harvey, Garcia-Moreno and Butchart 2007). According to Our Watch (2017), primary prevention means social change as it aims for global change to create a healthy and prosperous society for women and children. There is a growing consensus and data to support chronic and preventable violence against women. There is a growing consensus and evidence base that violence against women is predictable and preventable (Smithey and Straus 2014; Harvey *et al.* 2007; Our Watch 2017). Primary prevention can be achieved in a number of ways such as the classic methods which are altering the environment and education. Smithey and Straus (2014) identified an example stating that modern water and sewage treatment environmental changes contributed to the prevention of diseases as well as by educating community members on drinking water from safe sources only and exercising extreme personal hygiene. In mining communities, primary prevention is significant since the community has very limited resources for secondary or tertiary prevention of VAW, as has been described in the research context chapter (Chapter 2).

Furthermore, Murray and Straus (2014) state that primary prevention has become central in the feminist approach to GBV as feminists conclude that patriarchal domination in the home and in society is the source of abuse in its different forms. Hence, a key mitigation initiative is the feminist movement to transform society in ways that would bring about equity for men and women. Existing research suggests that effective primary prevention interventions for GBV include strategies for improving gender equality; shifting social norms on aggression, masculinity and gender roles and relationships; reducing poverty and enhancing networks of economic and social security; promoting healthy and equitable relationships; as well as reducing alcohol and drug use (Harvey, Garcia-Moreno and Butchart 2007). Primary prevention can arise in many ways, but the common denominator affects gender-related behaviours and prejudices at the personal level, both among men and women, as well as at the social level (Seftaoui 2009).

Primary prevention aims to transform the social context in which gender-based violence is manifested and works with all people, across all levels of society. Therefore, it is not about engaging with people at risk of either witnessing abuse against women or undergoing it, which entails that preventing violence is everyone's responsibility and affirms that everyone has a role to play in changing the culture, structures, and attitudes that drive VAW. The move

towards primary prevention is focused on a growing basis of knowledge on what works in various ways to deter abuse. This foundation of evidence ranges from the need for collective methods focused on shared knowledge of primary prevention to the potential gains for government, women, and the population as a whole. However, there are difficulties in pursuing a public health approach focused on evidence to deter crime, especially with regards to tracking the impacts of primary preventive interventions (Murray and Straus 2014).

In most developing countries, despite growing attention being given to the abuse of women, the evidence remains under-prioritised for measures that resolve established determinants to reduce gender-based violence (Bourey 2015). Different strategies are being employed by organisations in Zimbabwe. According to Mawire (2015), a one-size-fits-all solution has been used in the tactics to counter GBV, however, this approach has limitations as some interventions might not be proper or suitable for certain communities. High quality prevention programs must be implemented at a time that strategically resonates with the respective participants or communities (Mugomba 2016).

Community mobilisation as a primary approach to prevention aims to stop conflict before it occurs to eliminate it because it is a systemic process that promotes healthy environments and attitudes and reduces the likelihood or occurrence of an attack, illness, or injury (Michau 2012). Thus, initiatives also have to provide counselling and have referral systems in place to aid women who have encountered and who are experiencing abuse.

The Zimbabwean government created pathways which included and targeted the empowerment of women, raising overall community awareness, community mobilisation to discourage patriarchal societal norms, enabling evidentiary activism, and executing social marketing programs that enhance neighbourhood members' awareness, attitudes, and behaviours. Violence against women prevention campaigns implemented in Zimbabwe, among other measures, include the 4Ps campaign, the Sixteen Days of Activism, and the 365 Days Campaign. These programmes are examples of primary prevention as they aim to stop the violence from occurring. Figure 4.4 presents primary prevention strategies examples.

### **Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development (MWAGCD)**

The Ministry organises awareness campaigns in both rural and urban areas to make the general public aware of the Domestic Violence Act (DVA) and also to promote the reduction of VAW. Such activities are coordinated throughout the year through the zero tolerance to domestic violence campaign known as the 4Ps (Prevention, Protection, Programmes, and Participation). The implementation of the 4Ps campaign is an ongoing

exercise and the activities are integrated into the 16 to 365 days' campaign. The African UNITE campaign to end violence against women, which was part of the UN Secretary-General's Global UNITE Campaign, informed the strategy. The ministry has undertaken several successful activities to publicise the campaign since its inception to the implementation of this research. These include strategic meetings with provincial and district development officers and awareness meetings that were held in every ward throughout the country. The MWAGCD held targeted meetings across the country with community leaders, social institutions including churches, and traditional leaders. The MWAGCD is extensively using the media. This is evident through production and distribution of IEC material on domestic violence in vernacular to all ten provinces, and the production of radio and television VAW sensitisation programmes. The ministry also launched a musical CD on domestic violence. The 4Ps campaign was a success as it improved the public's knowledge on gender-based violence, and reported cases increased. It reinforced multi-sectoral responses to the GBV, and traditional and religious leaders reacted positively to the transformation of attitudes and norms that drive GBV (Zimbabwe Government Beijing Review Report). However, the success of the 4Ps campaign remains subjective as there were no evaluations that were carried out in many communities (Maphosa 2018).

#### **The SAVE Initiative**

An example of community mobilisation efforts is that of SAVE (Students Against Violence Everywhere). This initiative was started in the United States and has cascaded to Africa. In Zimbabwe, such innovation has been noted from organisations such as SAYWHAT. SAYWHAT are Promise Clubs which are established to demonstrate leadership, innovation, and enthusiasm to young people around the country for them to defend their peers, families, and schools from abuse before it happens. The peace clubs are formed by non-governmental organisations but are however led by students, and in other cases by community members, especially in colleges and universities. Brandon (2019) noted that promise clubs were a very powerful initiative for the prevention of any type of violence as they recognise the impact that can be made by community members in making their communities safer.

#### **Figure 4.4: Primary prevention strategies (source: own)**

Secondary intervention is still evident in high-quality group engagement programs, but to a lesser degree, as control and abuse problems in a group are made more visible and women witnessing harassment look for help (<https://nationalsave.org>). Ellsberg *et al.* (2014), however, note that community mobilisation is less defined, despite its potential to prevent violence against women and girls.

#### **4.5.3 The Ecological Systems Framework on Prevention of Gender-Based Violence**

Gender-based violence is a multi-faceted phenomenon, and an equally multifaceted response involving many sectors of society is mandatory for its effective prevention (World Health Organisation and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine 2010). Specifically, anti-

gender-based violence organisations are dichotomised by the nature of violence with which they contend. This heterogeneity of service providers, however, adds to the social and financial strain on the victims of GBV, who need to drive to and obtain assistance from multiple agencies that are also not in contact with each other. The ecological systems framework has been described in Chapter 3 as the most relevant framework in identifying the root causes of gender-based violence. The ecological paradigm by Bronfenbrenner (1979) describes the diverse social structures in which human beings function as a sequence of layers (Chadambuka and Warria 2019). The successful prevention of violence requires a social-ecological model to understand the dynamic system of variables that can lead to or buffer against violence, and to establish more detailed programming techniques that function at various periods of growth and at different levels of the ecological model. Hence in order to institutionalise structural, systemic, and individual protections, GBV interventions must take place across all key sectors and at multiple levels (<https://qbvaor.net> 2019).

The ecological model suggests that acts of violence are affected by social circumstances. The socio-ecological approach has been adopted by most initiatives for the prevention of violence, but its effectiveness lacks in many aspects related to observing positive changes in attitude and behaviour (Ellsberg *et al.* 2014). It is also critical that intervention methods resolve IPV's foundations, which is the conventional set of beliefs that prevails in various contexts (Giddens and Sutton 2017). Understanding the societal constructs that may reinforce or alter perceptions related to violence towards women is essential (Chadambuka and Warria 2019). Social norms may either stress the consistency of values and behaviours or encourage change actively. The prevention of violence against women and children follows a socio-ecological model established by Heise following the work of Bronfenbrenner (Bronfenbrenner 1979; Heise 1998), with the idea that conflict determinants need to be tackled at different levels within households, cultures, and populations (Daruwalla 2019).

Table 4.2 shows the factors that increase the risk of violence, giving possible strategies that can be used in the prevention of gender-based violence.

**Table 4.2: Ecological systems model on prevention of gender-based violence.**

<b>Level</b>	<b>Examples of Factors that Potentially Increase Risk (Risk Factors)</b>	<b>Examples of Strategies</b>
Individual	Lower education levels	Emotional and interpersonal competencies for creating healthy partnerships

Individual characteristics	Belief which supports the use of violence	In-home activities teaching parents age-appropriate skills
	Rage or antipathy to others	Infant and toddler care
Biological factors	To have few friends or to be separated from others	An after-school initiative that delivers tutoring to improve academic group sessions that strengthen awareness and comprehension of safe dating relationships
Behaviour	Are unemployed	
	Substance and drug abuse	Classroom-based wellness curricula explaining how to deal with loss and failure, and discovering symptoms of depression alert
Personal experience	History of committing violence	Knowledge and resources for families to foster healthy child growth at child-parent centres
Relationship Interaction between two or more people	Struggles, conflicts, or battle between family members	
	Marital discord, separations, or divorces	A mentoring programme, pairing young people with responsible adults
	Bad communication between parents	A peer initiative, which teaches young people how to encourage good dating expectations in their group of friends
	Bad monitoring or childcare	
	Partnership for violent or underage classmates/delinquent peers	Workshops on partnerships in which partners collaborate with other spouses on respective engagement techniques
	Lack of emotional support from family	An art initiative that improves children's social stimulation by matching senior citizens from a childcare centre with children
Community settings or institutions in which social relationships take place	The extent of social relations of the citizens	Residents organise their communities to make physical changes
	Neighbourhood poverty levels	A town establishes protected leisure areas for residents
	Resident rate coming into and out of a neighbourhood	Cultural groups collaborate with the Office of the Mayor to create a range of community after-school programmes
	Lack of neighbourhood organisation	A school board defines, executes, tracks, and reviews a strategy to deter coercion

	Limited economic opportunities	A city sets up a business development zone to expand job prospects in the neighbourhood and enable more changes in the economy
Societal factors that either create a level of acceptance or intolerance for violence.	Bad area architectural lay-out	A city-wide program that updates planning practices for new neighbourhood architecture
	Social norm that is acceptable to resolve conflict	Create awareness and changing the way people perceive violence using national media campaign instruments such as TV, radio, newspaper, and Internet
	Cultural norms	
	Health programs	Media campaigns designed to reduce mental health problems (the stigma associated with self-directed violence)
Factors that can create and sustain gaps between different segments of society.	Economic programs	
	Educational programs	State-wide legislation that provides tax incentives to businesses that partner with school districts to provide learning-based technology and other academic resources in disadvantaged communities

**Source: Adapted from World Report on Violence and Health, Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization (2002).**

Even though the examples given above are not evidence based, they are meant to elucidate the notion of an individual, relationship, community, and societal level strategy that can be adapted. Maphosa (2017) highlights that the prevention of violence at the heart of society, in the family, and in ordinary life, is of the highest significance in preserving human stability and peace. It is possible to achieve successful and economically viable programming of violence reduction through local and community-based interventions as well as large-scale projects affecting entire communities, as is noted in Table 4.2 (WHO 2004).

#### 4.5.4 Legislation on Prevention of Gender-Based Violence

Most African countries have ratified international laws that recommend punitive measures for GBV perpetrators. However, the success of this law in combating GBV remains doubtful (Chadambuka and Warri 2019). The primary prevention angle states that the purpose of law is to increase the supposed “complete deterrent” impact of criminal punishment by specifically claiming that assaulting a spouse is a criminal act and defining punishments for such assaults (Smithey and Straus 2004). For example, in the United States of America, prior to the mid-

1970s, intervening in family matters was not included in the duties of police, however the feminists' movements forced a change in the legal and moral atmosphere in 1976 (International Association of Chiefs of Police 1976). Even then, it required new laws on domestic abuse to better ensure that the police handled female harassment in the same fashion as other attacks (Smithey and Straus 2002).

Present international efforts include the ratification by the United Nations of the Convention on the Prevention of Violence Against Women (CEVAW), by which Zimbabwe became one of the 189 signatories (UN 1979). CEDAW was a significant step towards the establishment of key rights for women. CEDAW gave obligations to member states "to take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices, which constitute discrimination against women". However, the World Health Organization (WHO) noted that CEDAW did not specifically sanction abuse against women but banned "discrimination against women in all its forms". Henceforth, the United Nations declared a response imperative on violence against women which the WHO announced as a health priority in 2013 (Daruwalla *et al.* 2019: 11).

Several other major international pronouncements have defined violence against women as a human rights violation. These include the Program of Action of the International Conference on Population and Progress (1994); the Beijing Declaration and Forum for Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women (1995); the Resolution on Gender and Progress of the Southern African Development Group (1997) and its Addendum on the Eradication of All Kinds of Violence Against Women and Children (1999); the African Union (AU) Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, also known as the Maputo Protocol, Agenda 2063; and the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (Klugman 2017).

The Zimbabwean Government is a party to various regional and international instruments on women, girls, and children's rights and protection. They include, at the international level, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention No. 182 of 1999 on the Worst Aspects of Child Labour; the Convention on the Abolition of All Types of Violence Against Women (CEDAW), 1998; and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989. The ratified international instruments include the 2008 SADC Protocol on Equality and Development, the 1999 African Charter on the Protection and Wellbeing of the Child, and the 1995 Protocol to the 1995 African Charter on the Rights of Women and Citizens in Africa. Gender-based violence in Zimbabwe has also been addressed in policies and strategies that have included the Domestic Violence Act 2007 (DVA), Sexual Offences Act 2002, National GBV strategy 2012-2015, the National



Gender Policy 2013-2017, and the Customary Marriages Act (Chapter 5:07) which prohibits pledging of girls and women in marriage (Mugomba 2016), to mention a few.

The Domestic Abuse Act was signed on 26 February 2007 and went into effect on 25 October 2007 and provides protection and relief to victims of domestic violence and long-term measures for the prevention of domestic violence for everyone in the country. The Act defines domestic violence as:

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.

The definition of domestic violence is broad and includes any unhealthy cultural or traditional practice such as forced virginity testing, female genital mutilation, pledging of women and children for the purposes of appeasing spirits, kidnapping, child marriage, forced marriage, forced wife-inheritance, and other related activities that discriminate against or undermine women (Red Cross 2017).

The DVA is gender-neutral, since it acknowledges that only men or women may be offenders or survivors. Section 4 of the DVA acknowledges multiple forms of domestic violence, but does not criminalise acts of emotional, verbal, psychological, and economic abuse. These are recognised and banned as forms of domestic abuse by the DVA, but they are not classified as crimes that can be punished under the Act. These are matters that customary and state courts may hear only for the reason of granting security orders (Section 18). In light of the current study, the above observation is a limitation that needs to be addressed, hence the community-based pathways in addressing GBV.

The Government of Zimbabwe introduced public awareness campaigns following the adoption of the Domestic Violence Act. The reform plan requires a Committee on Anti-Domestic Violence to track compliance. The new Population and Health Survey states, amid these efforts, that “in Zimbabwe there is general awareness that more needs to be done to protect victims” (ZDHS 2019: 312). In addition, patriarchal perceptions and actions by officials pose unnecessary hurdles in women’s access to justice.

The Act was a significant step in the eradication of violence in the home thereby transferring the topic from private to public even though it was not the best piece of legislation. Mumba (2016) further notes that harmful cultural practices present the greatest challenge to the implementation and acceptance of the Act by society. As hypothesised by Rahman and Toubia

(2015), the role of legislation against a social practice that is strongly linked to cultural norms and beliefs is highly debatable.

On paper, the DVA is a very appealing starting point for the prevention of VAW, placing an anti-Domestic Violence Council to keep under constant review GBV and the monitoring of the implementation of the Act, among other terms of reference. The question to ponder on is: how much impact and effectiveness does the Domestic Violence Act have on the marginalised communities?

Another piece of legislation from the Government of Zimbabwe is the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act of 2006 (Sexual Offences Act) which sought to criminalise marital rape and the intentional transmission of HIV. However, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (2017) found out that the Zimbabwe Criminal Code definition of rape is limited to rape by men of women and girls, and does not include rape of adults, meaning that rape by adult males is not criminalised in Zimbabwe as a separate offence.

Furthermore, in Zimbabwe, GBV is discussed not only through the above-mentioned laws but also through policies and initiatives that have been implemented in recent years. The National Gender Policy and the National GBV Plan are deserving of special notice. The 2012-2015 National GBV Strategy aimed to strengthen government, civil society, and development partners' efforts to prevent and respond to GBV through a multi-sectoral, efficient, and organised approach. The interventions were rooted in the fields of mitigation, analysis of service quality, reporting, tracking and assessment, and task planning (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2017). On the other hand, the 2013-2017 National Gender policy further sought to eliminate gender inequality and inequalities in all fields of life and growth. Gender, Civil and Human Rights; Gender and Economic Empowerment; Gender, Governance and Decision Making; Gender and Health; Gender, Gender-based Violence; Gender, Environment and Climate Change; and Media and ICT were the key areas of concern. The main focus areas however include women's fair access to care, decision-making roles, human rights, access to economic opportunities, education, and security programs services. Klugman (2014) notes that law itself cannot abolish gender-based violence or modify social actions and other strategies that need to be enforced, but the fact that law is enacted to resolve societal problems provides a *de facto* position for legislation.

Mugomba (2016) notes that in order for Zimbabweans to truly accept the definition of negative cultural traditions as manifestations of GBV, the discourse must move from strictly civil, that

is, criminalisation and other legal penalties, to a wider human rights context. Although the law is a strong starting point, harmful cultural traditions are not to be eradicated from Zimbabwean society by law alone. The Acts managed to open dialogue on gender-based violence in its various forms and an opportunity for introspection, but it is worth noting that the law is certainly important, however, for some issues, the presence of a legal framework does immediately resonate to change.

## **4.6 Chapter Summary**

This chapter discussed the nature, consequences, and prevention of GBV in Zimbabwe. The first section of the chapter highlighted the nature of GBV, the concept of culture, and patriarchal traditions and cultural practices and how they maintain the subjugation of women. The second section pointed out literature on the magnitude and consequences of gender-based violence, while the last section of the chapter provided the legislation that has been used and that has successfully worked in the prevention of GBV in Zimbabwe. The next chapter will discuss and highlight the community-based pathways that have been used in curbing GBV in Zimbabwe and the world over.

## **CHAPTER 5**

# **COMMUNITY-BASED STRATEGIES FOR PREVENTION OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter concluded by providing an insight into some of the legislation that has been used to advocate for GBV. Because of the multidimensional nature of the phenomenon, the strategies to prevent it vary from community to community and region to region. This chapter will explore the rationale behind community-based approaches, highlighting how these community prevention efforts have been progressively implemented and their effectiveness. Prevention efforts take shape through, among other ways, digital projects, edutainment, group engagement, and awareness raising. It is against this backdrop that the chapter identifies some of the practical pathways that have been successful and implemented for the prevention of gender-based violence.

### **5.2 Rationale for Community-Based Pathways on Gender-Based Violence Prevention**

In her study, Maphosa (2018) highlights that models of GBV prevention are of vital importance to allow researchers to afford a starting point when implementing preventive strategies. It is crucial for survivors of GBV to receive quality and compassionate treatment and assistance mitigating the negative impacts of abuse as well as having access to life-saving and quality services so as to achieve safe and sustainable development outcomes (Haider 2009). Freccero *et al.* (2011) are of the opinion that gender norms transformation through behavioural change and communication-focused programs has the potential to promote gender equality norms and deter the abuse of women. The mobilisation and participation of the entire community in identifying, responding, and preventing the phenomenon was another effective way to eliminate gender-based violence, as noted by Ross (2019) stating that community-based interventions are sustainable as they create a long-term community impact.

Pathways for the prevention of GBV in Africa are usually addressed with approaches based on feminist theories of causation and a top-down approach based on a rights perspective. Such initiatives include gender equality and empowerment of women, as well as legal reform, educational initiatives, economic development, and improved health services for victims. As

can be witnessed, some organisations establish shelters for victims of domestic violence (a Musasa Project in Zimbabwe). As much as these intervention strategies are effective, they are rarely implemented in conjunction with other strategies and normally focus on addressing one aspect of causation. Ruble (2018) highlights that these approaches usually lead to an incomplete perspective on gender-based violence causation, insufficient programs and support for survivors, and efforts that are ultimately ineffective. The major problem with these approaches to the prevention of GBV in Zimbabwe and Africa as a whole is that the pathways and programs used for survivors and perpetrators are often copied from or based on Western approaches, as further stated by Ruble (2018). Many interventions hence lack the necessary cultural contextualisation to create enough local support that generates sustainable social change. Bowman (2003) contends that interventions that may be effective in a community setting are sensitive to the context in which the violence is occurring. This means that programs and interventions should take into account the national, political, economic, and cultural context through which they are to be applied as well as recognising all of the causal factors from each of these domains (Alves 2016).

Haider (2009) pinions that GBV is largely preventable by altering the gender-related values, attitudes, and practices of both men and women, both at the individual and societal levels. Ruddell and Ortiz (2014) note that in addressing the causes of oppression and violence, advocacy, awareness-raising, and collective organising are crucial. Peterman *et al.* (2018) also highlight that economic strengthening interventions, including microfinance initiatives, are promising strategies aimed to reduce interpersonal violence in low-income and middle-income settings.

### **5.3 Behaviour Change Communication (BCC)**

Behaviour Change Communication (BCC) uses social marketing, group engagement, and direct contact as a mechanism that affects individual, family, and neighbourhood awareness, behaviours, and activities. BCC is especially important during a crisis as it serves as a tool for improving the efficacy and continuity of service delivery and promoting awareness of progressive gender and social values at the individual and group levels.

BCC programs offer action-oriented information in the context of GBV prevention, affecting participant and group attitudes and activities regarding identity, freedom, and equality. Public engagement is of vital significance in planning, initiating, and assessing behavioural change communication strategies to achieve long-term effectiveness and incentives for improvement when socioeconomic, political, and religious obstacles to behavioural change initiatives

remain (Francis 2008). Pedro (2013) notes that BCC has evolved to strategic communication programs over the last decades increasing the scope and efficacy of initiatives that seek to promote social change leading to more interconnected approaches such as political engagement, interpersonal contact, group empowerment, public policy and media activism, entertainment-education, and social marketing, to mention a few. Hosein *et al.* (2009) are also of the opinion that this transition reflects on new hypotheses and scientific findings pointing to the importance of people-centred, multidisciplinary, behaviour-oriented, and strategic approaches to communications.

## **5.4 Community-Based Approach**

Identified as the set of appropriate steps to turn conflict into permanent, constructive ties and outcomes, community-based approaches/interventions or pathways can be effective for peacebuilding which could be adopted in marginalised, closed, fragile, and conflict-affected societies (mining communities included). Community-based interventions are applicable in multiple fields as they can be tailored to particular projects at the community level or as part of larger national initiatives. Haider (2009) observes that community-based approaches also aim to change partnerships, work with a wide variety of partners and, in some cases, parties to the conflict in the context of this study (perpetrators, survivors, and victims).

Communities have common beliefs and unspoken rules that can depict violence against women and girls as acceptable and even normal (Marsh 2016). According to Haider (2009), institutions that offer resources such as health care, education, and justice systems may also reinforce negative expectations by normalising violence in the community. Examples such as negating the prevalence of sexual abuse and violence in the culture, punishing women and girls for disclosing sexual misconduct while requesting support, and by the law enforcers (police) and the legal system failing to hold men accountable for abusing women. Henceforth, community members need to have access to information on the specific programmes or projects that deal with issues of violence, the bedrock being that they will engage in community-level meetings and be part of decision-making mechanisms on topics that could concern them. This leads to justice, openness, responsibility, and sustainability which, in disadvantaged and vulnerable contexts, are of special significance, contexts such as mining communities where levels of trust are low.

The following are some examples of the potential forms of community-based interventions/prevention strategies for GBV chosen for consideration because they highlight

mechanisms for combating sexual and gender-based violence within communities and seek to solve the problem at various levels in communities, adapting action to suit the local context.

### 5.4.1 Peace Clubs

The peace clubs are a neutral, tolerance and trust building platform for communities alienated by structural and systemic violence such as political violence and even gender-based violence. The practice has managed to strengthen and rebuild inter-personal and intergroup relations, and the purpose of building and deepening social cohesion and peaceful co-existence (Chakawa 2019) advocated for the replication of such in other communities depending, however, on their context. Clubs are usually found in schools as an extra-curricular program. Peace clubs provide a platform where people are able to learn new skills, exchange ideas and experiences, learn from one another, and apply the knowledge of peace in their everyday life. In Zimbabwe, it has been noted that peace clubs have been a success in striving to achieve conflict transformation. Practical success stories on peace clubs are noted in Table 5.1.

#### Mazowe ward 9

The Sungano peace club successfully mediated a conflict that involved a domestic conflict amongst members of the Gwenzi family where relations had broken down. After engaging village heads, Chidhawu and Chitaguda, who helped mediate in the conflict, the village heads then advised the peace club to carry out a *nhimbe* (community members working together to help each other in daily life, usually during harvest time) and specifically target the Gwenzi family. In the same week, the peace club also held a dialogue meeting with a village head in the area who in the past was resisting peace building activities in the area. During the meeting, the peace club managed to convince the village head using engagement skills acquired during trainings and at the end, the traditional leader requested to join the peace club. As a celebratory gesture, a *nhimbe* was held in the area. The *nhimbe* involved the repairing of a footbridge that links Musarara village and Majome village. At the *nhimbe*, members from the Gwenzi family and the traditional leader thanked the Sungano peace club firstly for mitigating the conflict and then organising a *nhimbe* which helped rebuild relations.

#### Women Safe Space for Reconciliation Trainings

Heal Zimbabwe spreads the message of peace through community structures known as Women Safe Space for Reconciliation. A Women Safe Space for Reconciliation is an already existing neutral platform, of not less than 20 women, working on various community initiatives. The platforms could be emerging from women's clubs, burial societies, church clubs, or any group of women who are motivated to participate in peacebuilding and conflict

prevention. Heal Zimbabwe identified such groups and trained the women in mainstream peacebuilding in their day-to-day activities. The platform presents an opportunity for women to come together and discuss pertinent issues affecting them as women. In the groups, they also address conflict issues affecting young women and children in their communities. The objectives of a women safe space include creating a safe space for women to share their experiences of conflict and violence and help create a forum where women can learn from the experiences of other women and develop relationships with each other. The women also come up with strategies of promoting peace and mitigating violence in their areas. From 19-22 July 2016, Heal Zimbabwe held trainings with Women Safe Spaces for Reconciliation. The trainings were aimed at capacitating women to be able to map and analyse conflicts that affect women's participation in democratic processes and then come up with action plans that seek to address these conflicts. Part of the training involved identifying the different types of conflicts and then carrying out stakeholder mapping which helps them identify stakeholders who can then help address the conflicts. Some of the Women Safe Space for Reconciliation groups trained include Rujeko Women Safe Space (Buhera), Mazowe Ward 9 (Bridge of Hope) and Ward 12 (Garden of Eden), and Murehwa Ward 10 Nyamasanga Women Safe Space.

#### Sports for Peace Tournaments

Sporting activities have played a unifying role through their ability to bring community members across the socio-political divide together. Heal Zimbabwe, through its Peace Clubs, has been carrying out sports for peace tournaments that bring youth and other community members together. This helps mend broken relations as the teams are selected across the political divide to play in a neutral setting. The sports show that competition can be done in a peaceful manner without having to induce violence in order to become the victor. The sports for peace tournaments are some of the activities being implemented by community peace clubs to build peace. Sports for peace tournaments were held in Makoni and Buhera. An average of 300 people attended each sport for the peace tournament. The tournament in Makoni was held at Chiundu Primary while the one in Buhera was held at Buhera District office grounds. The tournament in Buhera was also attended by Chief Makumbe. Before kick-off, all teams made pledges for peace where they vow to continue spreading the message of peace in their communities.

**Table 5.1:** Practical success stories on peace clubs (Source: The Zimbabwe 2017).

A peace club is a space where one gains experience and achieves social peace through behavioural and attitudinal transformation. The Zimbabwean (2017) notes that the main purpose of having peace clubs, be they in schools or communities, is to provide an opportunity



and platform to excel in various fields. People are encouraged to be promoters, lovers, and peacebuilders in their daily life. For example, community members are imbued with qualities of an efficient leader and a responsible community member.

## **5.5 The Role of Sport in the Prevention of Violence**

UNODC (2018) initiated a global campaign for the reduction of juvenile violence that draws on the potential of sport as an instrument for peace. The program strives to affect at-risk youth habits and beliefs positively, and to discourage anti-social and harmful behaviour. The 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda emphasises sport's increasing role as a medium for peace in its promotion of harmony and reverence. It also highlights the contributions that sport can make to empowering the entire society, individuals, particularly women and youth, as well as fitness, education, and social inclusion. UNODC (2018) highlights that it is through sport that drug use and criminal activities in communities can be reduced, making it an opportunity for community members to build life skills and cope better with life's daily challenges.

Participation in sport may help deter youth from committing delinquency and violence. It further argues that social norms inherent in the world of sport (e.g. fair play, team spirit) can promote patterns of pro-social action and help to mitigate aggressiveness between others (Commission of the European Communities 2007). The use of sport is a conflict transformation strategy, as mentioned in Section 5.1 of Chapter 3 on using intergroup contact in finding community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence in mining communities. Africa's own peace icon, Nelson Mandela (2000), stated:

Sports have the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire, the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sports can create hope, where there was once only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination. Sports is the game of lovers.

Table 5.2 presents the success of sporting pathways in peacebuilding.

### **Success of sporting pathways in peacebuilding**

Heal Zimbabwe Trust (HZT) uses sporting activities to promote social cohesion, reduce political polarisation and social tension among youths, and implements these activities through the local 'infrastructure for peace' which are community level structures created by, and working with, the organisation to organise activities and ensure local community ownership and sustainability (HZT. 2016). These are Community Peace Clubs, Women

Safe Spaces for Reconciliation, human rights monitors, and community-based organisations in Zimbabwe's rural communities most susceptible to manipulation due to poverty thereby prone to social, economic, and politically motivated violence. The Youth Sports for Peace Initiative is a neutral, tolerance and trust building platform for communities divided by structural and systemic violence, which manifests itself as political violence during political processes. The practice has managed to strengthen and rebuild inter-personal and intergroup relations, hence the need to replicate it in other communities for the purpose of building and deepening social cohesion and peaceful co-existence.

HZT noted that the sports for peace initiative played an important role in rebuilding conflict-affected societies in Zimbabwe. It was able to transcend cultural, socio-economic, and political boundaries in the target communities. Because of the project, youth learnt how to communicate, share feelings, emotions, attitudes, beliefs, and values in a manner that is enjoyable. Participants and spectators were united and fundamental principles and core values of peaceful coexistence such as harmony, team spirit, integrity, and fair play were highlighted. Furthermore, the Sports for Peace Initiative was instrumental in forming character skills, which are important for the fulfilment of a happy life. By conveying the ethics of sport, the fairness and tolerance that it promotes are foundations for more peaceful and humane communities (HZT. 2016).

#### **Table 5.2: Success of sporting pathways in peacebuilding.**

Zimbabwe's rural communities are the most susceptible to manipulation due to poverty, and thereby prone to social, economic, and politically motivated violence. Heal Zimbabwe realised that football and netball can significantly contribute to peacebuilding in the target communities. Sports for peace activities in the communities accord the youth a rare opportunity to learn critical social skills such as conflict management and this goes a long way in aiding community peacebuilding processes. The platforms create healing experiences for the traumatised victims of violence and conflict as they discover ways through which they can work together with their erstwhile nemeses. However, sport cannot be uniformly applied to all communities due to the natural diversity of communities especially in terms of cultures and interests.

## **5.6 Information, Education, and Communication Material (IEC)**

Most of the organisations that curb gender-based violence use information, knowledge, and communication content (IEC) to raise public consciousness about issues related to GBV. This

approach means that accurate information which is reliable is available to people. One of the problems of using the information of learning, education, and communication is that not all individuals are at the same degree of literacy, so they do not understand the intended message on the pamphlet in the way that it was meant to be understood. In addition, the IEC content is written in English in most cases. Mashiri and Mawire (2013), in their study of an assessment of the effectiveness of interventions against gender-based violence in Zimbabwe, noted the pace at which pamphlets had been taken, citing that mostly English and Shona materials had been taken, with those written in the Ndebele language being the only ones left at the reception area.

## **5.7 Mass Media Interventions / Edutainment in Violence Prevention**

According to Smithey and Straus (2014), popular music films, television shows, movies, animation, videotapes, and electronic games have been noted to contain strong elements of both misogynistic and aggressiveness dimensions that the public attention to the mass media has centred almost entirely on the level to which templates and rewards for abuse are presented. Perhaps with technology improvement, blocking systems will make a greater contribution to this aspect of violence prevention. The national broadcasting partnership in Zimbabwe has made and continues to make a significant contribution to the primary prevention of violence. Local drama series such as Chipso (2020), currently airing; Estate Blues; and many prime-time dramas which include many episodes depicting and condemning physical and sexual abuse have been tailored to increase the visibility and understanding of IPV and to inform the public about the standards, characteristics, and resources available for family violence.

Soul City, a health and development media agency based in South Africa that uses interactive entertainment (or edutainment) to relay information to its audience, implemented a ground-breaking approach to collective mobilisation. Primetime TV and radio programs, school-based studies, IEC resources, and other media all provide platforms for discussing topics of gender, crime, sexuality, and rights. A comprehensive community-based impact assessment of Soul City's series showed that it reached 82% of the South African population and reported a 10% decline in the expectation that intimate partner abuse is a private affair and a small rise in the likelihood of viewers reporting violence.

Edutainment is a highly recommended GBV reduction strategy which is consistent with the philosophy of Aker's theory of social learning. Educational information is given out using

media, such as live theatre, in an entertaining presentation which influences the perception, behaviours, and actions of the audience members towards a socially acceptable end and the expected consequences are in the person or group of which the person is a part (Lacayo and Singhal 2008). As noted earlier in Section 2.4.4 of Chapter 2, mining communities are usually associated with people who seek entertainment at any given opportunity, however, mostly lacking a background of proper education of their surroundings (Mashiri 2014), it is imperative that this method of prevention be used in this study. Table 5.3 presents the activities of Soul City (South Africa) and the Tanzanian Media Women's Association.

#### SOUL CITY (SOUTH AFRICA)

Soul City is the most well-articulated play in weekly TV dramas centred on gender roles. This initiative was founded by the South African Soul City Institute for Health and Development Contact, an agency aiming at tackling HIV transmission and the misuse of alcohol and violence (Soul City Institute for Health and Development 2015). The organisation, along with soul buddyz (an edutainment programme targeting adolescents), has Soul City as the main edutainment initiative. Soul City has 10 seasons and each season was run in one year, with 13 one-hour television drama episodes, 45 fifteen-minute radio drama episodes, three booklets paid out at the conclusion of each cycle, and advertising programs on similar subjects. When many people regard gender-based harassment as a private affair, it also questioned the atmosphere of silence.

#### Tanzanian Media Women's Association

In 1998, the Tanzanian Media Women's Association launched a multimedia campaign to publicise the enactment of the Female Genital Cutting (FGC) Sexual Offenses Special Provision Act, a tool which is now widely used to disseminate information and promote the sharing of best practices on the prevention of gender-based violence. In addition to the use of surveys, radio and television programs and educational materials, a website was developed, [www.stopfgm.org](http://www.stopfgm.org), in English, French, and Arabic (UN-GA 2006), which is widely used to disseminate information and promote the sharing of best practices on GBV prevention.

**Table 5.3:** The activities of Soul City (South Africa) and the Tanzanian Media Women's Association.

Mass media programs transmit messaging of good behaviour through television, radio, the Internet, newspapers, magazines, and other printed materials to large audiences. They increase the amount of information on a subject available and can mitigate

inappropriate behaviour. Advertising is yet another way to increase awareness and alter societal and social standards through diverse methods. They may have information, for example, to correct misperceptions of a phenomenon or apply a social stigma to inappropriate behaviour. Although advertisements typically concentrate on the negative impacts of abuse, they may also, for example, promote parenting styles that contribute to a happier family life. Guttman (2002) observes that responses to the mass media tend to keep health issues on the social and political agenda, legitimise neighbourhood efforts, and serve as a mechanism for other initiatives. For the purpose of this thesis, mass media especially in the evolving world of technology is explored to find community based strategies to the prevention of gender based violence.

## **5.8 Social Media**

The convergence between social media and corporate media is critical as the mainstream media also chooses and augments its story ideas from social media (Chiramba *et al.* 2018). Over the past 15 years, there has been an increasing use of social media as a forum to share and debate GBV, providing possibilities for collective mobilisation. While there is no evidence that social media alone can deter abuse, there have been substantial improvements in the awareness and usage of resources, gender perceptions, and recognition of VAW as a major concern in some evaluations. Powell's (2015) research examines how digital tools can be used as emerging channels of collective accountability and justice for GBV survivors besides the national legislation. The name and shame campaigns, for example, have inspired survivors in certain respects.

Gender links (2017) highlights that social media has played a crucial role in shedding light on some of the less-researched and hard-to-detect types of aggression, and sites such as WhatsApp, Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and blogging have become part of millions of people's everyday lives across the globe. Online movements have succeeded in breaking up regional and socio-economic barriers by dismantling the environment and putting together people from diverse backgrounds to address gender problems and exchange their GBV perspectives, thus cultivating unity. Examples of success stories on the use of social media are given in Table 5.4. The success of

these campaigns provides evidence that activists can use social media as a tool for campaigning.

The # NotOurLeaders movement was initiated during the 16 Days of Action in 2017 by a group of activists in South Africa, with the mission to expose GBV cases committed by prominent lawmakers. Spearheaded by the Women and Democracy Project, human rights attorneys and experts in GBV, the movement exposed 20 examples of politically elected officials who have faced allegations of sexual misconduct. The extent of the violations involved demanding sex for work or for promotion, verbal and physical abuse, sexual violence and rape-including child rape (Dullah Omar Institute, 2017).

Social media initiative # MenAreTrash began in 2016 as a response to Karabo Mokeana's case of femicide and several other cases of femicide in South Africa (Lowe Morna *et al.* 2017). It created much controversy in South Africa and around the world, with many responding with a # NotAllMenAreTrash counter campaign. However, feminists turned down the counter movement as a men's ploy to censor women by refusing to take responsibility for their actions. The controversy surrounding these initiatives serves as a snapshot of the social attitudes concerning gender equality, in particular the disparity between activists and women (Gender links 2017).

**Table 5.4:** Examples of success stories on the use of social media.

## 5.9 Forum Theatre

Theatre in African cultures has always been central for generations and has been used as a medium of transformation to change society and allow the nations to create their future, rather than just wait for it. According to Reich (2012), it is focused on the practice of social learning through observation, often ceremonial activity, and oral knowledge transmission through dance, theatre, storytelling, poetry, sports, and visual arts. The interactivity aspect conforms to the norms of the culture and allows for much feedback to occur. It is worth noting that the Western culture differs from the African way of acting, because the entire fabric of African life and culture exists as part of a broader communication environment. Hence Westerners watching an African dance, for instance, might fail to recognise its aesthetic values because they cannot understand or appreciate the dance as they lack the social background and that which it symbolises. In many parts of Africa, dramatic expression orders or controls life. Durden (2003) notes that in the African context, drama was closely linked to everyday realities and traditions, and singing, dance, and praise poetry were vividly used in conjunction with the narrative as a commentary and meditation on daily life.

Durden (2003) furthermore states that the development of critical knowledge among the members of the group, knowledge of the problems that impede their growth, and possible solutions to these problems will allow the masses in Africa to cope with their environment and the responsibility to improve their status on a cultural, educational, political, economic, and social level. Forum theatre fulfils Lederach's (1995) requirement that conflict transformation should employ an "elicitive" approach emphasising the concept of learning in a process that demands critical and reflective participation (Reich 2012). The premise of the model is that methods for transforming social conflicts need to be produced within their context and be considerate of the local conditions. When this is done, community members within the process can create a sustainable environment together where the conflict can be transformed (Lederach 1995: 62). Forum theatre becomes the participatory action research method that is bottom-up, participatory, collective, and led by the oppressed for social change and relevant to this study in developing community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence in mining communities.

Hammond (2012) reiterates that social change can only happen when individuals think about the importance of change in their lives and focus on the importance of transforming their lives. As forum theatre allows the viewer to behave as an observer and attempts to change the issues that they face, it is a tool for change by increasing consciousness among individuals (Boal 2008) and the flexibility of indigenous communication systems in adapting to socio-cultural change is an advantage, since it allows for the transfer of development messages without destroying the systems. Not only can theatre be a medium for information flow, it can also be a microscope through which the local population can examine and analyse its own community (Morrison 1991). Theatre offers a room for this transition in a fun, healthy, supported environment to take centre stage. Studies have explored how dramatic techniques can also be used in the educational environment for dispute mediation and resolution (Hawkins 2010).

The concept of participatory theatre was developed by a Brazilian playwright, Augusto Boal, in 1979, after rejecting the notion that theatre was for the upper-class citizens only. Boal (1979) developed different techniques of performing theatre with oppressed communities for the purpose of liberation and transformation (popularly known as theatre of the oppressed). Boal noted that individuals had to change from spectators into actors in order to create theatre with oppressed communities. Several stages and techniques have been adapted and this study employed them in the Makusha mining community to develop sustainable strategies for gender-based violence prevention.

One of the strengths of the theatre-based and facilitated problem-solving model is the way that performance can make physical and real that which is often unspoken or hidden. Cultures depend on signs being understood by everyone in the group and not questioning them. Theatre heavily utilises signs and gestures as a way of presenting a point. Brecht (2001: 86) speaks of the gestures, attitudes that people adopt towards one another through bodily expressions. The various masks worn by people as they move through their lives can be taken off, others can be put on, and they can be examined through theatre.

However, some recent literature on the uses of traditional communication media for development purposes suggests that the use of traditional media in this way is a form of manipulation and that the use of theatre to promote development goals is merely another 'top-down' strategy. One reason behind such criticism of forum theatre is the perceived need to respect the moral sensitivity of the people and to maintain a balance between their aspirations and plans designed outside the local area (Prentki 2015). The idea is that external forces and resources, people, and their traditional culture should be creative participants in the development process and not be manipulated. Nat Col Letta (2000: 32) questions the ethics of co-opting traditional drama for development purposes when he declares:

The question of balance is a forcible one in strategies that attempt to mediate structural and cultural factors in development. How can one strike a balance between forces internal to the community and those from without; between local resources and outside resources; between indigenous forms of communication and imported media, between folk media and 'modern' media?

The participatory forum theatre methods are valuable tools in raising questions and initiating collective reflections. However, it is important to address structural power relations because the technique of forum theatre can otherwise become too individualised, focused on individuals' ability to deal better with oppressive situations. These pitfalls of forum theatre practice have been highlighted by theatre and social justice practitioners. It is important to be careful not to simplify social relations in suggesting that a conflict involves only the protagonist and antagonist (Pratt *et al.* 2007), as contemporary forms of oppression are complex. It is problematic to reduce a system of oppression to the character of the 'antagonist' (oppressor). Furthermore, the forum theatre technique, if not facilitated carefully, may risk putting the onus for improving a problematic situation on the 'protagonist' (oppressed) (Hamel 2013). It is important to embed forum theatre in a critical and emancipatory discourse of social transformation that highlights a range of different power relations on many levels, ranging between structural, institutional, group, and personal. Otherwise, the forum theatre technique



may contribute to neoliberal 'victim blaming' rhetoric on social inequalities. Another risk is that strategies for intervention can emphasise the protagonist's need to adjust to social norms, rather than challenging the oppressiveness of these social norms (Erel *et al.* 2017).

One of the shortcomings of the early forum practices in Africa has been the focus on issue-oriented problem-solving campaigns, where there is no evaluation of the circumstances that give rise to that issue (Kerr 1995). Forum theatre promotes confidence in the community's capacity for analysis of their own situation (Baxter 1992: 51). The method of forum theatre helps audiences to build a strategic understanding and recognise the political factors that contribute to their immediate problems. This is in contrast to top-down programs that "result in the working class receiving blame for their own exploitation instead of pointing to the structural causes of their oppression" (Durden 2003: 153).

### Successes of Forum Theatre

The usefulness of the forum theatre technique to this study has been encouraged by the extensively used and successful stories in various parts of the world, as noted in Table 5.5.

For example, Jana Sanskriti used Forum Theatre to inspire and educate thousands of marginalised people in urban and rural areas, such as marginalisation, domestic violence, and political powerlessness in India. (O'Connor and Colucci 2015).

Sun (2009) completed a study on the use of theatre by pre-schoolers to promote breast cancer education and awareness among Chinese immigrant women. The results showed that women's awareness and knowledge about the guidelines for breast cancer screening were significantly increased. This study provides insight to the present study as it demonstrates another study using theatre for breast cancer awareness. It was shown to be a highly effective tool to increase awareness of the Susan G. Komen breast health guidelines. Rollin and Gabriel (2002) applied TO in their action research project which resulted in a manual for use in a sexual health education program that featured Boal's techniques, specifically Forum Theatre.

The project was used in Guinea with refugees from Sierra Leone to perform trainings for facilitators and then about sexual health for youth refugees. The study stressed the importance of the necessary health services in conjunction with the information and dialogue that comes from the play.

**Table 5.5: Stories of the use and success of the forum theatre technique from various parts of the world.**

## **5.10 The Role of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community-Based Organisations (CBOs)**

GBV is prevented through the holding of awareness campaigns such as workshops. This is evident in organisations such as the *Women's Action Group* (WAG) whose work centres on empowering women and girls to enjoy their rights in violence-free and rights-conscious communities. WAG believes that violence against women and girls is a predicament to the enjoyment of women's economic and social rights. Violence against women has, over the years, been manifesting itself in various forms in both public and domestic spaces.

The *Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association*, popularly known as ZWLA, is another organisation that seeks to initiate, facilitate, and support the creation of a constructive and equitable justice system that treats men and women as equal citizens and actively addresses the rights of children. ZWLA's goal as an organization is to promote a Zimbabwean society where women are empowered and assert their rights within a justice system that treats men and women equally and that is sensitive to the needs of children.

ZWLA's access to justice programme was created in 1992 and it sought to ensure that women and children in targeted communities rebuild their lives, live free from violence and discrimination, and achieve their human rights through the provision of legal aid, advice, and education (ZWLA. 2012). The programme arose out of the realisation that women had limited access to justice for many reasons, including that they had limited knowledge of their rights and legal entitlements due to historical imbalances and negative socio-cultural factors that opposed women's education and opportunities to acquire such knowledge or express these rights. These included patriarchal societal values and beliefs and attitudes that placed women as subservient to men. They had a lack of knowledge coupled with an oppressive socio-cultural context leading to women making up the majority of GBV survivors, with cases remaining unreported. Furthermore, the environment in which women live undermines their confidence and ability to demand these rights. Mugumba (2016) states that women's roles are seen as those concerned with domestic work (taking care of the children and the husband), women are less engaged in paid work and for those in paid work, the majority are employed in the informal sector with low pay, poor working conditions, and no job security (ZimStats 2016). As a result, women remain economically dependent on their male counterparts.

There is notable success in ZWLA's dual approach of increasing awareness while providing legal aid services to women in need. Through different coordinated efforts, ZWLA engages and addresses two vital needs, increasing knowledge of women's rights and the law while

providing legal aid. Before the one-on-one sessions conducted at ZWLA offices, clients are engaged in empowerment sessions where they are educated about the law, women's rights, and court processes (ZWLA. 2012). Therefore, they not only receive legal advice but are also empowered with legal knowledge, which gives the women the skills, experience, and confidence to seek justice.

Through their peer educator model that utilises Community Legal Educators, ZWLA successfully involved communities at large, not just women, to address the knowledge gaps on women's rights and access to justice. These approaches are viable as they aim to transform communities within which women live and where violence occurs. Targeting communities, including men and boys, transforms societies to be more responsive to women's rights issues and to desist from violence against women. ZWLA also holds empowerment sessions, which have however been limited to clients with civil matters (divorce, maintenance, etc.). The sessions are a powerful tool for increasing knowledge about laws among women. Women are taught how to apply for maintenance, complete maintenance forms, and represent themselves in court. This organisation works in collaboration with other organisations (ZWLA. 2012).

With regards to the MUSASA Project:

[The MUSASA Project] seeks to work towards ending gender-based violence, with particular focus on women, targeting groups in society to change retrogressive beliefs, attitudes, behaviours, laws and policies in order to end gender-based violence and to enhance the development of women in our society through making the authorities and the general public fully aware of the illegality and non-acceptability of violence against women and through taking action to decrease the incidents of the crime ((Musasa. 2008).

The Musasa project implemented the 'bus stop! I want to get on with the trend of lobbying, pushing for action, addressing obstacles: reducing violence against women' project in 2007 (Editors 4 Change Ltd. 2008) as an example of the steps that the organisation is pursuing. The campaign's goal was to help dismantle and resolve social perceptions and practices tolerating and enduring gender-based abuse. The Musasa project typically uses multi-level approaches to execute complex awareness campaigns. Road walks, community vans, and one-stop shops are typically their core operations where they work and offer services such as family planning, counselling, and legal advice.

These organisations in Zimbabwe among others (to mention a few) hold workshops and awareness campaigns in various ways, and they ensure that participants do understand the

issues discussed. Their methods to counter GBV poses certain obstacles such that what is addressed most of the time is incorporated in mere workshops. While there are work plans with specific deadlines generated at each of the sessions, that which is missing is follow-up on the execution of the work plans decided upon. As a result, information will only be kept by those who may have been educated in the prevention of gender-based violence.

## **5.11 Working with Men and Boys**

The range of interventions implemented under the rubric of 'working with men and boys' is very diverse. Sida (2015) found out in the work entitled *Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies Gender toolbox* that both men and boys are frequently ignored as GBV survivors. Therefore, the unique challenges and desires of men and boys with regards to gender-based abuse must be identified and discussed. There is a need to move towards changed expectations of gender roles and masculinity rather than merely 'taking men in' to campaign towards violence against women. Such a strategy considers that men and boys are also bound by perceptions synonymous with dominance and may also be victims of abuse. Targeted men or boys have been of varying styles, behavioural improvements, environments, extent and durations of measures. Interventions differ in the philosophy of gender or in politics that educate them, in particular whether the emphasis is on preventing violence or creating gender equality, increasing visibility or reforming gender norms, and often reform strategies have neglected to include mitigating violence against women (Jewkes *et al.* 2015). Failure to identify and resolve this will help prolong the cycle of GBV. When successful, though, such an approach enables men and boys to become agents of change. Some initiatives, notably those carried out from the point of view of police or courts, did not indulge in gender constructs and intervention to reform violent persons. Table 5.6 gives examples of success stories of involving men and boys in the prevention of GBV.

### **Examples**

Prevention Activities Involving Men and Boys in Papua New Guinea, women's groups launched a song competition to mobilize people to speak out against GBV through music. The songs were played on local radio stations and people voted for their favourite. The competition created excitement in the community and provided a fun, non-threatening way for males to take part in discussions around GBV prevention.

In Northern Uganda and other settings, UNHCR and the International Olympic Committee have set up football (soccer) programmes as a way of empowering both boys and girls and educating them on issues of gender equality and GBV. The organizers aim to create a culture of mutual respect and confidence by having participants work together towards

a common goal. During halftime of games, short skits are performed which demonstrate things like men and women sharing household tasks. Participants and observers are encouraged to use what they learn both to guide their own conduct and to educate their families and friends.

“Using Sport to Combat Sexual Violence” project, a joint initiative by UNHCR and the International Olympic Committee.

In a refugee camp in Kenya, community members who were concerned about the high numbers of rape and other forms of sexual violence that were occurring in and around the camp formed ‘anti-rape’ committees. Over time, the groups split into separate groups composed of only men and only women. The men’s group received training about gender, human rights, and gender-based violence and spent time discussing these issues among themselves. They talked with other men about the high levels of GBV in the camp to raise awareness about the issue, to promote increased protection of women and girls, and to emphasize the importance of caring for and accepting survivors and not judging or blaming them.

**Table 5.6: Examples of success stories of involving men and boys in the prevention of GBV.**

## **5.12 Empowerment Self-Defence (ESD)**

Empowerment Self-Defence (ESD) is an immersive educational program that trains learners on emotional, verbal, and physical self-defence by improving verbal and physical protection skills and providing self-confidence to enforce them (Ramdath 2016). It is an underutilised strategy for violence risk reduction. Power is shifted from the abuser because there is safety promotion which reduces dangers through preparation and practice of the participants. Harvey *et al.* (2007) note that those who have been trained learn how to use their voice and personal power where they are expected to be silent and continue violence perpetration with impunity. This practice has been used in colleges and university settings and has shown to reduce sexual assault and attempted rape through discourse, and the evaluation to date has primarily focused on college and university (Ramdath 2016).

While a holistic approach to the prevention of sexual assault inevitably includes combating perpetration, there is a growing need to help women avoid sexual violence, particularly in high-prevalence contexts such as mining communities. Leading academics such as Decker, Wood and Ndinda (2018), Yenokyan, Sinclair, Maksud, Ross, Omondi and Ndirangu (2018) and

Ramdath (2016) articulate that risk reduction strategies should and must be applied in such a manner as not to shame victims for their circumstances, but rather to promote opposition to victim-blaming. These decreases in violence, to a certain level, indicate the increases in anonymity in resisting sexual harassment and behavioural self-protection techniques that ESD has been restricted in developed countries. ESD was used in Nairobi, Kenya, in heavily populated urban areas, where the prevalence of sexual harassment among young women has been minimised and school dropouts have also been safeguarded, signifying a positive impact on the health and well-being of community members.

### **5.13 The Bystander Intervention Approach**

A bystander is traditionally depicted as an individual who is present during a conflict but who likely does not get involved (Twemlow and Sacco 2013). Exploring the bystander approach in violence prevention education may help to inform approaches that engage males in addressing the issue of violence against women. Latané and Darley (1968) argue that diffusion of responsibility, evaluation apprehension, and pluralistic ignorance are three key factors that reduce the chances of individuals intervening in critical situations. Latané and Darley's findings indicated that bystanders are more likely to effectively intervene in harmful scenarios if they have knowledge and awareness of the issue, feel a sense of personal responsibility, and possess the appropriate skills to intervene (Banyard, Plante and Moynihan 2007).

Moynihan *et al.* (2014) highlight that a bystander strategy can educate members of the community on how to participate in cases including sexual harassment and interpersonal abuse. It involves interrupting interactions that could escalate to an attack, interrupting after an incident; speaking out about social standards that promote sexual harassment and interpersonal abuse; and learning strategies to be successful and compassionate victim allies. The bystander approach from the above assertion is a primary prevention strategy that communities need to make use of for the prevention of GBV. Most reviews of bystander interventions focus on improving behaviours and only a few involve analysing behavioural changes (Moynihan and Plante 2007; Gidycz, Orchowski and Berkowitz 2011).

### **5.14 Women Empowerment Initiatives**

GBV strategies should concentrate on recognising and improving protective factors that can foster the protection of women and girls against violence as other ways to curb gender-based violence (Heise 1998). Creating conditions that are favourable to gender equality can be facilitated by empowering women. In Zimbabwe, the government has been, to some extent,

instrumental to the notion of empowering women through ensuring the elimination of poverty as a means of combating gender-based violence. Woman empowerment interventions increase the capacity of women to carry out local lobbying programs and introduce non-violent ways of mitigating conflict in communities, and thus foster a forum for people to voice their opinions. UNFPA (2015) highlights that women and girls are key actors in their own protection against gender-based violence, stating that their participation and empowerment in developmental programs is critical in the process of identifying protection risks and solutions that ensure that their voices are heard.

The Government of Zimbabwe has put in place development policies which have clear provisions on gender equity to promote the fair participation of women in economic activities such as access to credit for enterprises and equitable access to employment opportunities. Some of the strategies that have been put in place are given in Table 5.6.

**Table 5.6:** Strategies put in place by the Government of Zimbabwe to promote the fair participation of women in economic activities.

Actions Taken	Implementation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Short Term Economic Recovery Plan (STERP) (2009-2010) and Mid Term Economic Recovery Plan (MTERP) (2011-2013), which acknowledged the importance of the role played by women in economic recovery programmes</li> </ul>	<p>The policies articulated strategies that enhanced the implementation of gender equality provisions and commitments. The STERP and MTERP went a long way in addressing socio-economic and political challenges faced by women.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET) (2013-2018) recognising gender mainstreaming in its four thematic areas which are food and nutrition, value addition and beneficiation, infrastructure development, and poverty reduction and social services dedicated to gender and development.</li> </ul>	<p>Through ZIMASSET, women empowerment initiatives were being streamlined to all key economic sectors.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Women's Development Fund was created to economically empower marginalised women at the grassroots level. Cognisant of women's living realities and the challenges thereof, no</li> </ul>	<p>Up to December 2018, 1,417 women's groups and 6,630 women had benefitted and an amount amounting to \$2,350 million had been disbursed.</p>

collateral security was required in accessing the loans.

- Promotion of the Internal Lending and Saving Schemes meant to build a capital base, where women are able to access loans at very low interest rates and with no collateral security required.
- A women's bank was established in 2018.
- In 2011, the government enacted the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment [Chapter 14:33]. Section 3 of the Act empowers Government to specifically recognise women in the measures taken to implement the Act. Other special groups include young persons and persons living with disabilities.
- Broad Based Women's Economic Empowerment Framework (BBWEEF) (2012): the framework provides a systematic way of mainstreaming women in key economic sectors by the establishment of empowerment targets, mobilisation of financial resources and capacity building for women's effective economic participation. The framework is designed to serve women from all backgrounds and to be applied across all sectors, hence broad-based.
- Gender-Responsive Economic Policy Management Initiative (GERPMI) (2013): this intended to ensure gender equality in all sectors of the economy particularly in the light of indigenisation of the economy.
- Women's participation in agriculture was promoted through the government-facilitated contract farming where women farmers were provided with agricultural inputs.

MWAGCD has encouraged women in communities to set up savings and lending clubs as well as to form groups through which they receive assistance for the implementation of small-scale economic empowerment projects, such as small livestock rearing or informal trading.

Government and women NGOs and development partners lobby for gender mainstreaming in the indigenisation initiatives and in economic recovery activities.



Source: Zimbabwe Government Beijing Review Report (2019).

Despite the attractiveness of the policies, the frameworks are negatively affected by limited resources. The economic challenges faced by the Government of Zimbabwe have seen an increase in poverty over the years, with the majority of people living below the Total Consumption Poverty Line (TCPL) at 72.3% in 2016 (Millennium Development Goals Progress Report 2018). This reality indicates a decrease in formal employment, and as a result, many of the active citizens, mainly women, are engaged in the informal sector such as illicit mining. As a result, the informal sector's instability and vulnerability means increased poverty for women. Many countries have put in place empowerment programmes to assist in alleviating women and protecting them from gender-based violence.

Success stories of women empowerment programmes other than government initiatives have been carried out throughout the world by various organisations and have proved to be useful in the prevention of gender-based violence. Programmes that have been carried out are listed as follows:

- The IMAGE program in South Africa, for example, is a combined economic empowerment and VAW initiative that halved the rate of intimate partner violence among participants after two years (Heise 2011).
- The Juntos program in Peru, which integrated cash transfers with other programs and services directly addressing VAW, successfully transformed gender dynamics within communities (World Bank *et al.* 2014).

Blanc *et al.* (2013) mention that the key success factors common to empowerment programs are that economic empowerment of women is more effective at reducing violence when combined with education and skills building, using gender transformative approaches; engagement of both men and women; as well as consideration of gender issues during design and implementation. However, it is worth noting that unless well-designed and focused, survival interventions have the ability to subject women and young girls to GBV threats which can have detrimental effects on their cultural status. A scenario, for example, can be that women and girls earning a salary can be perceived as a challenge to traditional power systems which may result in abuse by other members of the family or society.

According to Haider (2009), while community-based initiatives are intended to be inclusive and reflect on the population as a whole, frameworks tailored especially for addressing vulnerable communities will need to be implemented to ensure their engagement. This can be

especially true in the sense of mining communities where violence and uncertainty have impacted individuals differently, leaving them extremely vulnerable.

A bottom-up strategy at the community level does not inherently mean greater engagement and inclusion. As has been noted in many contexts, collective participatory techniques embody social structures and perpetuate pre-existing cultural or social distinctions, such as territorial dominance or the privilege of men (Haider 2009). Furthermore, women do not usually attend community forums, and if they do, they do not speak their mind or give their observations. Hence decisions that even affect them are made without their input. Furthermore, it can also be difficult for the disadvantaged and socially marginalised communities to respond to the opportunities generated even by discussion. In such situations, Haider reiterates that historically dominant groups would control cultural structures, resulting in increased marginalisation of marginalised communities, and the possible revival of the root causes of conflict.

Mansuri and Rao (2004) note that the risk of elite involvement and leadership, was susceptible to coercive authorities and fear of sharing their views, particularly when they are contrary to the desires of those in power. Good accountability structures such as town hearings and publications of decisions could help to offset elite capture threats (World Bank 2006; Cliffe, Guggenheim and Kostner 2003).

## **5.15 Chapter Summary**

This chapter explored the rationale behind community-based approaches, highlighting how these community prevention efforts have been progressively implemented and their effectiveness. Behaviour Change Communication (BCC), the community-based approach, the role of sport and the role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs), 'working with men and boys' initiatives, self-defence initiatives, forum theatre, as well as women empowerment initiatives have been discussed. The next chapter discusses the research design, methodology, and data collection methods employed in this study.

# **CHAPTER 6**

## **RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION METHODS**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter addresses the research methodology used in this study. The study is informed by a critical/advocacy-emancipatory paradigm. Such a paradigm particularly suits this study which seeks to create space for residents of mining communities to co-reflect on, interrogate, and challenge social structures/practices that engender GBV. A review of participatory action research (PAR) was highlighted, answering questions such, what it is, where and when it is used. The population and sampling approaches used, data collection methods, as well as the data analysis will be highlighted in this chapter. Justifications of using Forum theatre workshops as an intervention as well as a data collection method was discussed. The chapter also reflects on the quality and reliability of mechanisms used to ensure a reliable testing and sampling procedure regarding the procedures and processes used for data collection.

### **6.2 Research paradigm**

Denzin and Lincoln (2008) noted that qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods research studies are at all times driven by a philosophy or a collection of beliefs which informs action and is termed a research paradigm. It is this research paradigm which defines the worldview of the researcher. The paradigm informing this study is discussed below.

#### **6.2.1 Critical Advocacy Emancipatory Paradigm**

The research employed the critical advocacy emancipatory paradigm. The paradigm recommends initiatives for accountability and social justice, including essential ethical traces of human behaviour, as a way of contemplation and of criticism of authority that has historically been wielded. Hence it is responsive to the requirements, needs, or conditions of disadvantaged and oppressed communities. The emancipatory paradigm is also known as the advocacy participatory paradigm. In this specific case of finding community strategies for gender-based violence prevention, this emancipatory process reorients the traditional view on the essence of being and doing, such that there is openness to reflective thinking to modify the way in which community members can respond to pathways of prevention.

According to Mash (2008), people in the Emancipatory Critical Paradigm (ECP) are not objects to be evaluated nor subjects to be interpreted, but rather participants in both action and research. Hence the researcher was a participant observer of the research process conflicting with conventional research methods. The group is no longer a static source of study and coercion. The main target becomes the subject of knowledge and subject of transition. This model emphasises the historical context in which the activity is carried out, stresses the maintenance of knowledge in the landscape through which it is born, and contrasts it with social experience (the development of knowledge) through techniques and reform strategies. This paradigm emphasises the historical context in which the action is carried out, it strains to maintain the knowledge in the scenery in which it is born, and to confront it against the social practice (the evolution of knowledge) by means of tactics and strategies of change (Mash 2014).

In the ECP, a study typically begins with a question about how to solve a particular problem and the participants will associate themselves with the solution to this problem, for example, *what are the forms and patterns of GBV in mining communities, and how do you think gender-based violence can be prevented?*

The building of knowledge essential for the creation of work within the emancipatory model was recognised and encouraged by Paulo Freire as a means of learning to interpret social, political, and economic inconsistencies and to take action against the repressive elements of reality (Freire 1997). The accomplishment of awareness building also involves defining the issue of the contrasting circumstances in which it is operated, otherwise they will exist at the level of a general unconsciousness.

The ECP theory stresses the historical context through which the action takes place, and it seeks to preserve the awareness in the landscape through which it is born, to contrast it with social experience (the transformation of awareness), through techniques and reform strategies (Ramírez *et al.* 2013). In doing so, members of the community create new analysis questions and also redefine the essence of the issue as the process unfolds. The ECP fills the disparity between knowledge and experience, as the learning process is effectively translated into experience. The information produced by the research method is highly contextualised and cannot immediately be extended to other contexts (Mash 2014). The transferability principle exists such that at the conclusion of this study, readers can settle on which findings they would transfer to their own context.

In the context of gender-based violence prevention, advocacy leads to the development of comprehensive observation of the phenomena, where relationships are established between the researcher and the community members, as well as an overview of the key defined challenges generated by those who experience them, to establish methods and collaborative initiatives directed towards the participative solutions of the problems. Table 6.1 illustrates the rationale and use of the ECP.

**Table 6.1: Rationale for research paradigm.**

<b>Paradigm</b>	<b>Empirical analytical</b>	<b>Interpretative-hermeneutic</b>	<b>Emancipatory-critical</b>
Relationship of researcher to 'reality'	Testing and measuring	Exploring and interpreting	Changing and transforming
View of the researched person	Object to be measured	Subject to be understood	Participant in the process
View of truth	Correspondence to the facts	Coherence within the data	Consensus of each person's learning
Research process	Predominantly quantitative measurements	Predominantly qualitative measurements	Participatory using both quantitative and qualitative techniques
Research question	Fixed hypothesis set by the researcher	Open-ended question set by the researcher	Open-ended question Negotiated with group and can evolve
Implementation of results	Recommendations made for action by other people	Generalisable Insights offered for use by other people	Transferable Findings implemented as part of the research

Source: Adapted from Mash (2014).

The applicability of the critical advocacy emancipatory awareness to mining communities is the manner in which social and structural progress can be made possible for the consequences of gender-based violence. Emancipatory knowledge and awareness has the potential to explain injustices in a social system and objectively explores whether injustices do not seem to be noticed or stay unseen, and discusses the systemic and cultural changes required to address systemic institutional problems (Ramírez *et al.* 2013).

### 6.3 Research Design

According to Babbie (2013), a research design involves a set of decisions about a particular topic or a process of focusing perspectives for the purpose of a particular study. Creswell (2014:3), informs that a research design is the plan and the methodology for an investigation

that traverses the choice from broad presumptions to detailed techniques for information accumulation and analysis. Myers (2013: 19) argues that a research design involves deciding upon all the various components of research: one's philosophical assumptions, research methods, which data collection and analysis methods one intends to use, one's approach to writing up and, if applicable, how one intends to publish one's findings. Therefore, a research design provides the roadmap of a research project. There are various research designs that can be used when conducting research which include qualitative research, quantitative research, or mixed methods. Every method of research design has its limitations; however, the methods can be complementary. The main aim of this study was to find community-based pathways for the prevention of GBV in mining communities hence a qualitative participatory action design was used for this study.

Qualitative participatory action studies design is being promoted by the Peacebuilding Program at the Durban University of Technology (DUT). This kind of research design focuses on having peace graduates contribute to peace building in a manner which proffers holistic solutions to community or national conflicts.

A qualitative research method aims to understand experiences and attitudes, integrating methods and techniques to track, record, analyse, and interpret features of people (relationships, families), communities, and the society at large, the social aspect of life (Gills and Jackson 2002; MacDonald 2012). Streubert and Carpenter (1995) similarly note that qualitative research reflects on the prejudice, distinctiveness, holism, belief, and understanding that permits information sharing, an opportunity to share and learn between the researcher and the participants.

By using the qualitative research design, it developed a deep understanding of the diverse interactions of the experiences of domestic violence and sexual violence of people living in the mining community of Makusha. Qualitative research is a bottom-up approach which has moved from the specific to the general. It is an inductive research approach which means looking for patterns of meaning on the data collected, in this case, the meaning of gender-based violence in mining communities.

In qualitative research, theories guide the study. This research used the ecological systems theory for Objectives 1 and 2, and the conflict transformation theory and the contact theory for Objectives 3, 4, and 5. The study was also informed by the critical advocacy emancipatory paradigm. The aim of this research is to find sustainable community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence in mining communities hence the study adopted the

participatory action research, as it is a democratic, equitable, liberating, and life-enhancing qualitative research inquiry (Kach and Kralik 2006).

## **6.4 Data Collection Methods**

This research employed methodological triangulation that involved three methods for gathering data: focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and observation of the participants. Focus group discussion guides, interview guides, and an observation guide were used for gathering data.

### **6.4.1 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)**

To gain an in-depth understanding of gender-based violence in Makusha, the researcher used focus group discussions as another way of gathering people with common cultures and perspectives together to talk about and develop community-based strategies for the prevention of the social ills caused by gender-based violence. Focus groups are used to gather data from a selected group of people on a specific and predetermined subject, typically in the form of opinions (Sedgley 2009).

### **6.4.2 Rationale of focus group discussions**

Focus group discussions are a valuable research instruments which can be used in research when the researcher lacks substantial information about the subjects or issues under investigation. Focus groups provides “a rich and detailed set of data about perceptions, thoughts, feelings and impressions of people in their own words” (Ishimori, 2018, p.140), as well as being predominantly beneficial when a researcher intends to find out the people ‘s understanding and experiences about the issue and reasons behind their particular pattern of thinking. Another reason for the use of FDGs in research is that the method is suitable for examining sensitive issues such as HIV/AIDS issues and also for getting information from very sensitive population. The use of focus groups has been found to be useful to giving opportunities to marginalized segments of society such as minorities groups of society including the disabled, women and the elderly to name a few such that they expose feelings about their needs and problems.

However, focus groups do not fit in with all the research goals and they may be found inappropriate for particular situations. Dilshad and Latif (2013) highlighted that the simplest test for whether a focus groups discussion is necessary for a particular research is to find out how actively and easily participants would discuss the topic of interest. Ishimori, (2018) noted

that focus group discussions are undesirable when a group discussion is inappropriate, the subjects face problem in speaking about the topic, and also when quantitative data is needed.

#### **6.4.3 Characteristics and size of the Focus Group discussions**

Dilshad and Latif (2013) & Dawson, (2003) believed that participants who share some common characteristics interacted at optimum level and situations where persons dominate or withdraw would be avoided. The authors further mentioned that if participants belong to the same societal and cultural background such as age, sex, religion, socio-economic background, occupation, educational background, ethnicity to mention a few, there will be an assurance of free flowing, open and sincere discussion among the participants.

With little variations, many authors (Ishimori, (2018); Dilshad and Latif, (2013); Denscombe, (2007) Ritchie and Lewis, (2003) pinioned that the size of the focus group should range from six (6) to twelve (12) participants as less than six (6) presents difficulties in providing the synergy required. The information gained may not be rich and adequate enough and one or two persons may attempt to control the conversation. On the other hand, a group with more than twelve (12) participants is practically difficult to manage. The group may break into factions and participants may not find adequate opportunities to talk in a big group. However, mini-focus groups can be used when the topic needs to be explored in greater depth and where participants have long and substantial experiences to be shared with the group (Anderson, 1990). In this research, the focus group topics were held with three different groups of people who included a group of ten women, a group of ten men, and a group of mixed five men and five women. The FGDs were held before the forum theatre plays and during the evaluation phase of the interventions which the community came up with. The groups were heterogeneous with respect to gender, age, and background.

Purposive sampling method was used to best select participants of the different FGD groups. Individuals who suited the problem under study were selected with the assistance of the research assistant. Purposive sampling supports the researcher to find the information-rich cases which produce best quality data.

Krueger (1998) gives the following valuable suggestions for the recruitment of focus group discussion participants:

- i. Random Telephone Screening: Subjects are randomly chosen from telephone directory.
- ii. Snowball: Members are requested to take a colleague to the interview session.
- iii. Piggyback: Members recommend other people who possess the required qualities.



- iv. Existing Lists: Lists of persons e.g. users of banking services are employed.
- v. On the Spot: Individuals at their places are accessed and asked to participant

To recruit the focus group participants.

The number of FGDs to be conducted for a particular study is determined by the vastness of the data required for a study. The saturation theory was applied regarding the number of FGD sessions conducted. Theoretical saturation states that the researcher generally gathers data until they get considerable new information. According to Dilshad and Latif (2013), saturation means that no additional evidence is identified to help the researcher to establish the category's properties. Henceforth the researcher becomes empirical confident that the area or category of research is saturated when the researcher finds similar instances over and over again. Anderson (1990) observes that the first two groups mostly give significant new information and conversation has mostly been exhausted when researcher gets into third or fourth session. In many contexts, community-based participatory interventions embody social tensions and perpetuate pre-existing cultural or social distinctions, such as the dominance of an ethnic population or the privilege of men (Haider 2009), such that women do not usually attend community forums, and if they do, they do not speak their mind or give their observations. Therefore, for this research a total of six FGDs were conducted however, three focus group discussion sessions were conducted before the intervention and the other three were conducted after the intervention sessions for evaluating the effectiveness of the interventions. A summary of the FDGs held if described below:

**Table: 6.2 Summary of FGDs conducted.**

	Composition	Total number of participants	Period held	Reason
Group 1	Women only	8	Before implementation of interventions.	To gather data causes and effects of gender based violence (addressing research objective 1,2,3)
Group 2	Men only	8		
Group 3	Men and Women (mixed)	8 (4 men & 4 Women)		
Group 4	Women only	8	After intervention sessions	To evaluate the intervention outcomes (Addressing research objective 5)
Group 5	Men only	8		
Group 6	Men and Women (mixed)	8 (4 men & 4 Women)		

The execution of the interviews included moderation of the conversations, while data collection took the form of interview transcripts, which were then assessed and articulated in a report

that became part of this review. Focus group discussions promote dialogue because they encourage each participant to engage in the discussion of the topics or questions that would have been posed by the research assistant, in turn, the researcher discovered that her role was very small in the discussions. Each session lasted between one and two hours but ideally 60 to 90 minutes. The researcher had to purposefully select those participants with the help of the community elders who knew most community members and their experiences in terms of GBV to participate in the focus group discussions

The major strengths of focus group discussions are that they allow the participants to agree or disagree with each other to provide an insight into how a group feels about any topic, their views and thoughts, as well as the differences and discrepancies in values, attitudes, and behaviours that occur in the community (ODI 2009). For certain people, Gibbs (1997) highlighted that the ability to be active in policy making systems, to be respected as professionals, and to be given the opportunity to collaborate collaboratively with researchers was empowering. When a group performs well together, trust grows hence the group will work together as a team, rather than as individuals and find sustainable solutions to a specific issue. In terms of policy and for research purposes, FGDs are helpful in providing insight into diverse viewpoints of various stakeholders engaged in the reform process by allowing a more efficient management of the process. ODI (2009) notes that focus group discussions are a positive method to employ prior to designing other methods of data collection such as questionnaires and, in the case in point, forum theatre workshops.

Another advantage of focus groups discussions to those who are participants, researchers or consumers is that they become a forum for change, both during the focus group meeting itself and afterwards. Hence, FGDs were an essential method of data collection as the researcher held many discussions in intervals after the forum theatre workshops to gain insights on their thoughts about the interventions that would have been enacted. The focus groups also became part of the action research cycles.

To note however, is that there are some limitations when conducting FGDs that can be overcome by careful planning and moderating, but other challenges are unavoidable. FGDs are open ended and cannot be entirely predetermined. The researcher must allow participants to speak to each other, ask questions and express concerns and views, while maintaining very little influence over the conversation other than keeping participants centred on the subject in general. The participants in a focus group share their own definitive meanings, individual experiences in a particular context, within a particular community, they communicate, and so it can often be difficult for the researcher to clearly define an individual message (Dilshad and

Latif, 2013). Another limitation to FGDs are that, in the process of the discussion, a few outspoken participants may overshadow other members hence some participants, even if they may not agree, may adhere to the responses of other participants. To limit some of the shortcomings of FGDs the research employed a skilled research assistant who had vast knowledge about the Makusha community to assist the researcher.

#### **6.4.4 In-Depth Interviews / Key Informant Interviews (KIs)**

Boyce and Neale, (2006) stated that In-depth interviewing is a method of qualitative analysis that includes undertaking intensive individual interviews with a limited number of respondents to investigate their viewpoints on a given concept, initiative, or circumstance. Interviews have been especially helpful as the researcher's aim was to gain the story behind the thoughts, emotions, information, and viewpoints of the participants. The researcher used interviews as a means of following up on focus group discussions and the forum theatre plays to further investigate responses that could be undertaken on the community-based pathways by the community members.

An interview is not just an ordinary discussion, but it is one with an intent, and it is the interviewer who determines the focus in a research project to ensure that he maintains a high degree of control over the subject while retaining a high degree of control over the subject giving full breadth to the participants to assess the essence of the answers, Davies and Hughes (2014: 194)

Key informants are experts who usually take less time in administering interviews because usually there are fewer experts to interview relative to the general public (from whom a number of applicants may be collected for in-depth interviews). Many informants are also not accurately representative of a community. Steber (2018) mentions that key informants are knowledgeable about their area of expertise, but that knowledge might not interpret well into real-life situations.

In this style of interview, the study pre-establishes a series of questions to learn more about existing issues and also introduces additional issues that were not part of the interview initially. It is distinguished by versatility in which, depending on the outcome of each interview, the researcher may add or delete questions from the schedule (Mack *et al.* 2005). The interviews gave the researcher a chance to investigate more specific details by asking the respondents to explain further on their answers. However, the interview can be affected by the interviewee's

level of understanding and emotional state. As such, potential manipulation of data could occur due to anxiety or irritation of the interviewee at the time of the interview (Patton 2002).

In-depth interviews are more structured than narrative interviews when the subject being explored is directed by the interviewer and only includes anecdotes or life narratives. However, in-depth interviews allow the interviewer to speak even more openly and offer more detailed explanations as compared to interviews with semi-structured formats.

With regards to Steber's (2018) assertion that key informants may not represent the correct picture of a phenomenon well, the researcher in turn held FGDs within the community of Makusha to gain a deeper understanding on the experiences of domestic violence. In-depth interviews are one of the most efficient methods of collecting primary data. In-depth interviews are conducted with the purpose of revealing in-depth details of interviewees' experiences and perspectives on an issue. Parveen and Showkat (2017) also note that these are intensive interviews of individuals mostly conducted from a small number of respondents.

When holding interviews, respondents may act in a particular manner or behave in different ways that may be of concern and can be interpreted otherwise that the interviewer might not be in a position to comprehend the meaning hence the method of observation becomes necessary.

The researcher also conducted in-depth interviews key informants whom were purposively sampled which entails "... selecting information-rich cases for study in depth... to permit inquiry into and understanding of a phenomenon ... [with the goal of] yielding insights" (Patton, 2002, p. 230). The summary of participants who were engaged for the interviews is given in the table below.

**Table 6.3:** Summary of participants of the study

<b>Category</b>	<b>Sample size</b>	<b>Purpose ( To gather data on ...)</b>
Traditional Leaders	2	Traditional views on effects of GBV as well as methods used in the prevention
Community leaders/ward councillors	3	Community perceptions on GBV
Ministry of Women's Affairs, Gender and Community Development official	1	Legal instruments available for the prevention of GBV

ZRP Victim Friendly Unit	1	Statistics, victim reporting structures, cases reported
Health workers (Nurses)	2	Statistics, victim reporting structures, cases reported and assistance given to survivors
Girl Child Network coordinator	1	Assistance rendered to survivors and any collaborative work
Musasa Project coordinator	1	Assistance rendered to survivors and any collaborative work
Court official	1	Statistics and effectiveness of the legal instruments available

In-depth interviews of key informants encouraged the interviewees to express their opinions openly without fear of prejudice. The researcher held key informant interviews to gain a deeper understanding of GBV and its effects in the Makusha community. The researcher purposively selected the interviewees.

Data collection for the interviews was conducted according to the following chronological plan (Adapted from Boyce and Neale (2006: 06):

- Setting up the in-depth interviews with key informants and explaining to them the purpose of the interview, why the participant has been chosen, and the expected duration of the interview;
- Seeking informed consent of the participant in accordance with the recommended ethics
- Conducting the in-depth interview after obtaining consent
- Summarising the data immediately after the interview
- Verifying the information
- Data analysis through transcription
- Report writing

The data collected highlighted for need of locally grown pathways to prevent GBV in the community. The data was in cooperated together with the data collected from the FGDs to find interventions to this effect.

#### **6.4.5 Merits and demerits of in-depth interviews**

Table 6.4 below outlines the major merits and demerits of in-depth interviews.

**Table 6.4: Merits and demerits of in-depth interviews**

Merits	Demerits
Provide information from knowledgeable people	Susceptible to informant or interviewer bias
Inexpensive and easy	Not appropriate for collecting quantitative data
Opportunity to explore unanticipated ideas	Difficult to ensure and prove validity of findings

#### 6.4.6 Observation

Observation reflects a comprehensive approach to data gathering. Researchers use all their senses to analyse people in natural settings or circumstances that occur naturally. This method of data collection was very essential to this study as the design of the study is to develop an accurate and holistic understanding of the gender-based violence in mining communities. Observational data is important as it overcomes discrepancies between what people say and what they effectively do, and also helps to distinguish patterns that are not exposed to the participants themselves.

In relation to this study, observations were made from the interviews, focus group discussions, as well as throughout the forum theatre workshops and during the sporting activities on the sport days. Parveen and Showkat (2017) mention that the observation approach helps the researcher to look for nonverbal signs of emotions, to verify the pattern of contact (who speaks to whom), to observe how the participants communicate, and also to monitor the time that they spend on various tasks. Study questions are motivated by observations. The observations are also conscious and anticipated. They vary from daily sporadic behavioural observations that are mostly informal, superficial, and unreliable. “[O]bservations enable the researcher to describe existing situations using the five senses, providing a ‘written photograph’ of the situation under study” (Kawulich 2005: 2) with the exception of disability. The researcher formulated an observation guide which was used throughout the study.

There are a number of points of which a researcher must be conscious before embarking on observational field studies. For this study, the researcher used the selection as listed below:

- Selecting the field setting (Makusha mining community)
- Gaining access (engagement with community leaders, gatekeepers)
- Deciding whether participant observation would be concealed (the researcher was open about the observing role)

- Recording the action – (the research assistant took field notes as well as used sound recorders)
- Validation of the observations

Observation can include a variety of approaches, including unstructured conversations/interviews, observation notes, recordings (audio and video), and illustrative information such as floor charts data and information (Morgan 2016). For this research, audio recordings were used as the unstructured conversations and interviews carried out by the research assistant and the researcher. The observations were done during and after the forum theatre workshops and interviews. Nevertheless, observation has its drawbacks, as with all types of data gathering, but the research team removed observer bias.

#### **6.4.7 Documents / Secondary Data**

Documents are an essential method of data collection in research. The researcher used documents from the DUT library, google scholar search engines, internet sources, newspaper sources, government documents (from the Ministry of Youth and Women Empowerment), and hospital documents. Data obtained from a database already released in some way is considered secondary data. In any study, the analysis of literature is based on secondary evidence. It is obtained for some other purpose by someone else (but used for another reason by the investigator) (Kabir 2018).

The researcher used documents from many different sources, since it is impossible to conduct a new survey that can adequately capture past change and/or developments. Document research is, according to Babbie (2010), the study of documented human interactions, such as books, websites, paintings, and laws. Data analysis is a data collection process that includes interpreting information from written records to render such deductions depending on the conditions of the report.

A clear advantage of using secondary data is that much of the research analysis required will have been completed previously, hence it saves much fieldwork time and also makes it easy to gather much accurate information without actually interviewing many people. Since literature reviews and case reports, for example, would have been done, written texts and figures may have also been found elsewhere, and media advertising and personal connections were still used.

However, document analysis is based on secondary data and as such, certain mistakes are likely to exist, since the analysis can be laborious and often requires a certain degree of

experience. This statement encourages the use of other methods of data collection to ensure that the analysis is accurate.

## **6.5 Study Population and sampling**

In general, a research population is a large collection of individuals or objects that are the main focus of a scientific inquiry. Research studies are done for the benefit of the public. However, due to the large sizes of populations, researchers often cannot test every individual in the population because it is too expensive and time-consuming (Ismail 2011). The study was conducted in Makusha, a residential area in Shurugwi (described in the context of the research chapter, Chapter 2). For this study, the population was the local government authorities, the District Administrators, ward councillors, community elders, and men and women of different backgrounds of Makusha. As defined by Scheaffer et al. (2006: 8), a population is a collection of elements about which one wishes to make an inference. The study population is a group of individuals who are selected on the basis of inclusion and exclusion criteria which are related to the study.

A population typically includes too many people to research easily, thus an inquiry is always limited to one or more samples from it. A sample is a finite component of a statistical population whose properties are analysed to obtain knowledge about the whole population (Webster 1985). When dealing with people, it can be defined as a set of respondents (people) selected from a larger population for the purpose of a survey. The researcher had a total of forty research participants. Participants were classified predominantly by convenient sampling, with the exception of community Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), which were classified through random sampling.

Using purposive sampling, the researcher managed to identify participants who included government officials, community elders, village heads, and church elders. Sekaran (2000) mentions that judgmental/purposive and convenient sampling design study samples are selected on the basis of the willingness of the participant to provide the type of detailed knowledge that the researcher needs. The researcher also used the snowballing sampling technique to find the survivors of domestic violence and sexual violence/rape victims.

On average, the total combined members of the community who took part in the workshops for the theatre were approximately 100. Table 6.2 displays the summary of the participants of the study.



**Table 6.5: Summary of participants of the study.**

Category	Sampling Technique	Sample	Data Collection Instrument Used
Community Residence	Random sampling	+/- 100	Forum Theatre workshops
Traditional Leaders	Purposive/ judgemental	2	Interviews
Community leaders/ward councillors	Purposive	3	In-depth interviews
Survivors of physical violence	Snowballing	6	Semi-structured interviews
Women from community	Random	8	Focus group discussions
Men from community	Random	8	Focus group discussions
Women & men	Random	8	Focus group discussions
Health workers	Purposive	2	In-depth interviews

## 6.6 Participatory Action Research

Participatory Action research methodology concerns analysing the world and also trying to change it. It asks questions such as 'what can we do about it'. Gray (2009) highlights that action research addresses actual life challenges as the analyst becomes an instrument of progress actively active in the testing process. Gray further states that action research is committed and intentional, and also educative and often systemic. The term *action research* was first coined by Lewin in 1946, and he thought of action research as a method by which the theory building can be coupled with realistic problem analysis. He considered an intervention study as a means to address social challenges, strengthen attitudes, and promote positive change (Gray 2009). According to Bowling (1997 cited in Badger 2000), action research emphasises raising awareness, empowerment, and collaboration. The nature of this research called for a qualitative action research methodology so as to come up with community based strategies for the prevention of gender based violence in mining communities. Action research design is appropriate for this study in that it helps in promoting the understanding of the social phenomenon of a particular community holistically and facilitates for an in-depth understanding of the aspect being studied.

Participatory Action research(PAR) is a research design in which the investigator actively includes the subjects as researchers. I was involved directly in this research as the principle researcher. Actions that transform the problem are sought through this research methodology. However, within this approach, there are varied methods of carrying out action research, each

with its own goals and mode of investigation, although there are several overlaps and parallels between methods and variations (Gray 2009). Some focus on social exclusion, issues such as injustices, how communities can enact change, and even on how people can improve their own professional conduct. Gray (2009) notes that in spite of the differences, all the approaches have at least three different features which include:

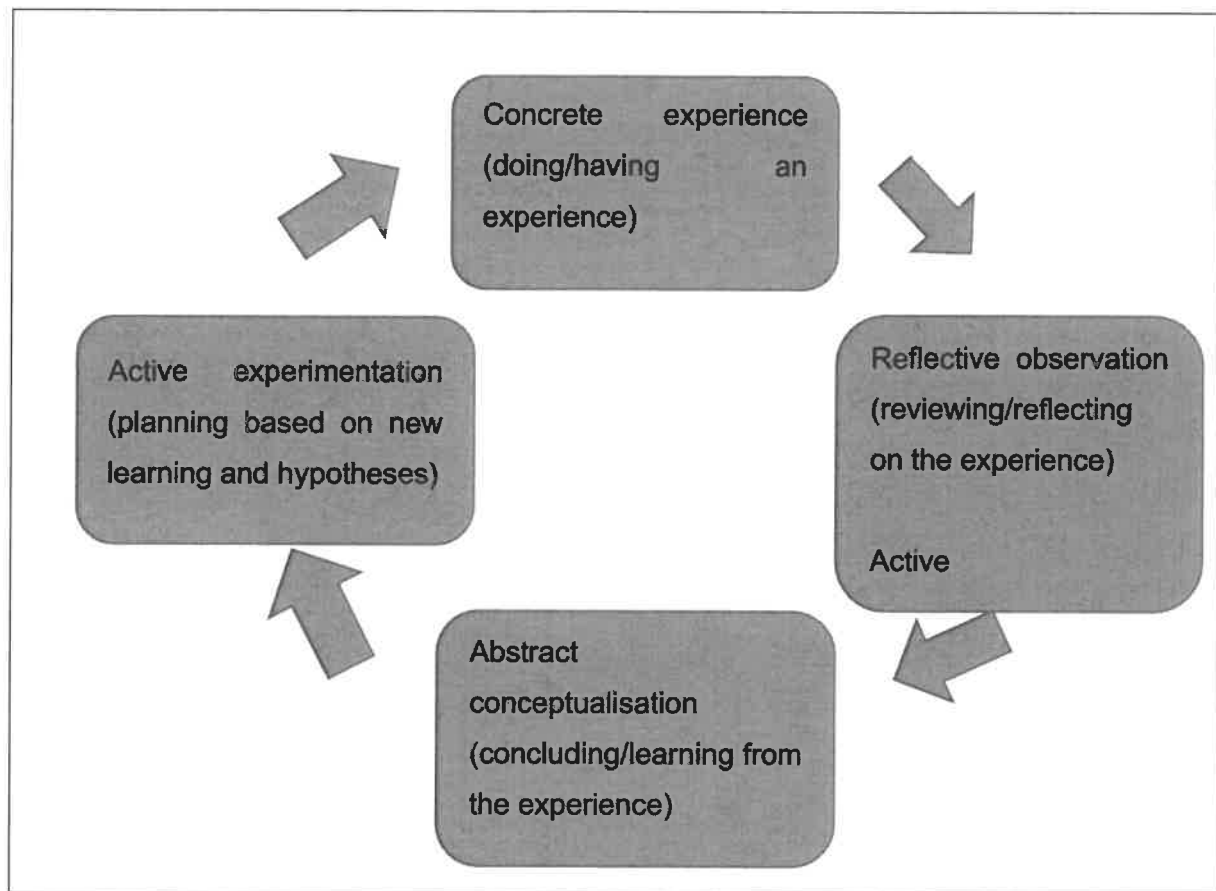
- Research interests are subjects themselves or associated with the study in a collaborative partnership.
- Research is used as an agent of change.
- Data is created from participants' direct encounters with testing.

PAR one of the analytical strategy in the emancipatory-critical model. One of its primary aims is to transform open and inclusive conditions or systems that have been used to solve problems such as rural development, health education, and domestic violence, to name a few examples. PAR is considered by many researchers as a mechanism of deeper analysis, social learning, and critical growth consciousness (Gaventa and Cornwall 2008; Creswell 2003; Park 2001; Coghlan 2001).

In PAR, data is collected systematically for the purposes of taking action (Reason 1994). The basis of PAR is self-reflection, the way of collecting data, and the actions that aim to improve situations and reduce inequalities. According to Baum, MacDougall and Smith (2004), PAR is a methodology that is broad and its main principles are inclusion, participation, valuing all voices and action-oriented interventions, and most importantly, social justice. Thus, PAR is a contemporary method of research that is different from the traditional empirical analytic and interpretive research design because of its dynamism used on complex social problems such as that of gender-based violence, the phenomenon under study. A study on participatory action not only defines facts but also seeks to alter them (Cahill 2007: 268).

PAR is relevant to communities or individuals within communities that are oppressed and attempting to make an action, hence PAR is the catalyst for social change. A method of interrogating the current situation and effort to change it is political in the sense that what one person does ultimately has consequences for the next. The methodology is generally broken into four phases: look, think, act, and rethink (Herr and Anderson 2006; O'Connor 2003). Participatory action research emphasises the importance of addressing power inequities in society. Power is a capacity that is built through the interaction of relationships and that can be used to dominate others or with others to bring about positive change (Grant *et al.* 2008: 592).

At its core, PAR believes that people can improve their reality and build new awareness by interacting with the learning loop measures wilfully and methodically, as seen in Figure 6.1. shows the cycle of PAR



**Figure 6.1: PAR cycle** (Source: adapted from Kolb 1984 cited in Mash 2014).

A cyclical approach is one that seeks to engage stakeholders as active participants in both the research initiatives and the positive change efforts. Traditionally, PAR's cyclical mechanism requires looking, dreaming (reflecting), and behaving. Community members participate in a process of experiencing and commenting on their own learning, focussing on that which has been gained in the form of new insight or ideas, and then preparing to consciously engage with new knowledge through a separate period of action and reflection. In this research context, three cycles of PAR were carried out in forum theatres.

### **6.6.1 Looking: Starting with people and a problem in a place**

The participatory action study cycle starts by creating a community of researcher(s) and/or facilitators to engage in the phase. This community was rooted in a local network where a variety of key stakeholder organisations and individuals came together. Together with the participant community members, the research team collectively identified the causes of

gender-based violence in mining communities. The community members looked into the issue and constructed the problem in different ways based on their perceptions, interests, and analytical abilities.

### **6.6.2 Reflecting: Learning during the change process**

In periods of transition, the complexities of a social structure are also more evident (Lewin 1946). Analysis into participatory intervention reflects a crisis and the mutual appetite for improvement. During the transition process, the researchers promote learning by bringing partial findings back to the participants and providing a space for continuous feedback and reflection. Different participants will explore their perspectives after discussing the preliminary findings and, hopefully, expand their awareness and study of the transition process in their organisations and societies. Participants will modify their activities and/or reorient their projects following this study.

### **6.6.3 Acting: Changing during the learning process**

Gray (2009) cites that the aim of participatory action research is twofold: to generate meaningful social or environmental change and to contribute to science understanding. One distinguishing distinction between PAR and other types of conventional research is the participants' dedication to intervention. PAR starts with a clear purpose of producing knowledge useful for intervention. After the searching and reflection phases are carried out by the participants, they will also settle on actions. The individuals and organisations with the authority to act will do so as they want to do so and not always adhere to the mechanism that takes place within the PAR community. However, in many cases, the participants in a PAR process will take a number of actions in accordance with the research context.

### **6.6.4 Sharing the experience and expanding the network**

The sharing and reflection with other people or organisations on the participatory action research process may be an enriching educational experience for all stakeholders. Sharing means that the participants in a project represent, evaluate, and review their experiences' analysis and adjust outcomes. This can be achieved through a written record or informative access to meetings with groups, including survivor-to-survivor interactions and groups. Creswell (2013) notes that extending the PAR network is viewed as a potentially strategic activity, as shared networks of learning and growth may be formed.

### **6.6.5 Creating an Action-Reflection-Action Cycle**

The action stage serves as the starting point for a new iteration of the PAR cycle. PAR relies on constant revisions to optimise the issues and results and to begin to build a process in the context of an active research-action dialogue. The concerns, data content, and outcomes become more detailed with each PAR cycle and typically result in more informed decisions and ongoing progress in the field that the study is covering. However, other researchers may opt not to follow the cycle on the grounds of their personal and professional decisions, or the availability of study funds, and local communities may also decide to prioritise other activities. The researcher used forum theatre as a method of PAR, as will be discussed.

### **Description of the research process**

A detailed description of the action research process which was carried out in Makusha will be highlighted in this section. With the nature of the research design I used for this study, it proved difficult to pre-empt the possible intervention strategies in the design stage until after the exploratory research was carried out.

I carried out a series of interviews (Key informant interviews (KIIs)), focus group discussions (FGDs) (men, women and both) as well as some observations in Makusha during the first year of the study. The reason for conducting such consultations within the Mukasha community was so that I would have a clearer picture of the on gender based violence and what was needed to preventing it. Through the findings from the Key informant interviews, focus group discussions and through observing the community there was a strong call to engage all the community members so that coming up with pathways for the prevention of gender based violence was not left to a few members of the community. An intervention in the form of forum theatre was generated to help people in the community to gain a better understanding of the issues on gender based violence as the resulting discussions following the performances would result in the community coming up with sustainable solution to the problem of GBV resulting from the intervention with my guidance. Forum theatre plays were recommended as the most effective way of bringing together community members so that they can also contribute on the interventions that would bring in sustainable pathways to prevent GBV in the mining community. This intervention is conceptualised as an empowerment project to prevent gender based violence in mining communities.

#### **6.7.1 Selection of action team**

a qualitative action research exercise requires for a very low number of the action team members as too large a group can be challenging to work with given the need to work together

over time. A drama group operating under the name Mbizi Drama Club (MDC) was employed by the research to perform the forum theatres. The drama club consisted of members who were residents of Makusha and were well-known in the community for their skills on how to entertain their audiences. The total number of the group members was eight of which two members had been part of the male focus group discussions and another two had participated in the female focus group discussions. The members of the drama club had knowledge of how to conduct forum theatre as four members from the group had studied Media and Society Studies at the Midlands State University in Gweru. Since the club was formed in 2012, it has been employed by various companies, especially non-governmental organisations throughout the country, to raise awareness and advocate for different community issues. This worked to the researcher's advantage as it made drafting plays and rehearsals for the theatre much easier.

The drama club was also employed because they had knowledge of how to attract many people to their plays and also since the residents welcomed them in various places in the community. This made it easier to hold the forum theatre in the different places of the plays and to attract the crowd more easily. The eight members of the club, could all speak the three main languages in Zimbabwe (English, Shona, and Ndebele). This was necessary for the forum theatres' success as Shona and Ndebele were used. As noted, the Makusha community is in the Midlands of Zimbabwe and both languages are spoken.

With the assistance of the Drama group members who had been part of the focus group discussions, together with the researcher and the research assistant, the modalities of the way the forum theatre was going to be carried mapped out. Before the enactment of the skits for the community, rehearsals at the clubs' premises in Makusha were held so as to try and perfect the forum theatre workshops. The skits were held on different days so as to fully utilise the days when many spectators could be drawn in, and the locations were selected through community engagement focused on connectivity and on the frequency of disputes. The engaging aspect of the activity attracted a diversity of community participants including mothers with their children and persons with varying socioeconomic standings, levels of education, and ages. Ensuring a diverse audience also helped to minimise discrimination and strengthen ties between formal and informal leaders. The skits sought to inspire spectators to pursue responses and promote more thinking, study and even progress that can be taken to help members of the community who are survivors of gender-based violence and to raise awareness on its effects.

### **6.7.2 Equal participation**

Participation has its true meaning when there is a horizontal relation between the researcher and participants. The target audience for the forum theatre was anyone who resides in the community of Makusha men and women of all ages. In this phase, participants who indicated willingness to be part of the action team. Domestic violence is a difficult issue for many to consider, understand, and watch, but despite this, children were allowed to be spectators as they were also susceptible to this type of violence in the home and the community itself. The forum theatre was for those in unhealthy relationships, especially for those who know someone who has been abused. It does not stop there, though, and there are still certain people who have never been victims of abuse, thus it is important for them to realise the nature of domestic violence and that survivors deserve to be helped and protected despite the vulnerable circumstances in which they find themselves. Anybody can contribute by raising awareness, fundraising, or contributing to different organisations that assist victims of violence. There are a large number of people who will benefit from this story and from the truth presented on stage.

## **6.6 Justification of using Forum Theatre**

Forum theatre was established in Latin America as a way of using theatre to solve critical problems in the lives of ordinary people. Augusto Boal applied theories of Paolo Freire by creating a form of theatre in which the oppressed become the artist as they transform themselves from passive to active beings, which in turn helps them to fully engage in dialogue which reduces the power of the oppressors (Midha 2010). Stated simply, Boal developed this type of theatre such that people are involved, discover, exhibit, examine, and change the world in which they live. In order to foster mutual empowerment, encouragement, and support, engagement efforts need to pursue active input from all sectors of the community, including men and youth, in finding alternatives to abuse and sexism against women and girls. As noted, this had to be achieved in a steady, non-threatening, and constructive manner to strengthen men-women relationships and reduce gender inequity. The researcher observed that notably many local musicians and drama clubs were prominent in the community as mining communities are usually associated with people who seek entertainment at any given opportunity and who embrace entertainment as a way of learning.

The arts and cultural activities have been noted as providing spaces for community members to creatively address the impacts of conflict and violence as well as addressing them through dialogue, education, advocacy, and awareness (Boal 2003). Forum theatre is a tool for social intervention. As the name implies, it is a form of theatre that enables interaction and debate,

a way of expression and interaction with the public. Forum theatre is based on experiential learning and was used in this research because of its non-formal education aspect which gave the community a chance to learn from direct experiences and motivated an 'out-of-the-box' creative mentality towards the community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence. Forum theatre was very useful, as it does not require any intellectual understanding – it is a simple way of engagement and the drama skits were carried out in the main vernacular languages, Shona and Ndebele. Local communities must have their voice heard by policymakers and large-scale project developers to find better solutions and common benefits.

Members of the audience came onto the stage and tried out their expected solutions to the problem situations being depicted on stage during successive performances of the scene. It was worth noting that the effects of their actions were transparent as their actions and understanding were jointly developed and reflected upon in the performance. As noted by Ganguly (2017), forum theatre reduces the gaps between the performers and the audience as the audience become the viewers responsible for the events on the stage. In the forum theatre, all members are free to comment on the scenes portrayed and should use the power of the word to express that which they would like to see improved. Ganguly (2017) labels this as 'aesthetics' in forum theatre which means the intellectual journey that an actor and the group go through during the critical reflection of the performance.

## **6.9 Researcher's role**

The researcher had the facilitator role among other roles such as the joker, director, as well as being the researcher and observer in the forum theatre. The researcher facilitated the discussions with the audience during and after the performance. The researcher's role was to listen, ask questions, heed and consider differing participants' views. Constructive, complementary and contending ideas were looked at while searching for best solutions to issues which had been discussed. The researcher was not a trainer but a facilitator during the research process, much of which took place in the forum theatre workshops. The process created a spontaneous and continuous collaboration between the researcher and the participants. In the discussion, the researcher contributed with his own opinions and provided explanations on issues that participants knew less about in forum theatre.

### **6.9.1 Role of Joker**

A joker is the most critical person in forum theatre. This is so because the joker is involved in the creation of forum performances. A joker assists with the creation of a forum performance, by supporting the crafting of scripts or the use of music (Robben 2011). With the help of the



Mbizi drama club leader, the action team drafted the scripts that were enacted. Prendergast and Saxton (2009) concur with Robben (2011) when they refer to the joker as a (difficultator) rather than a facilitator. The joker coordinates the creation of the play such that everyone is involved. However, jokers are forbidden to intervene in or to comment upon the content of a forum performance. The researcher was very objective and showed no bias towards anyone or any response from the audiences. This role gave the researcher an opportunity to observe different phenomena during the performances of the findings from the FGDs and interviews. The researcher asked questions and organised the discussion referring to the play that they had seen. The audience participated in the discussion and had the opportunity to state their opinions. As a joker, the researcher discovered that she had to demand a strong presence and be flexible at times so as to manage the audience constructively.

Figure 6.2 is a photo depicting the role of the joker.



**Figure 6.2:** Photo by (Tinashe Mutero) – Role of Joker.

#### **6.10 Forum Theatre Workshops**

The next section presents a brief methodological background on the forum theatre workshops.

### 6.10.1 Script Development

To develop a written script, the researcher employed a script writer who is also an artist who had been living in the Makusha community for almost all her life (*she was also the research assistant*). With the assistance of the script writer, the researcher combined data findings from the interviews, observations, and the FGDs to write the different plays/dramas. All the drama scripts drafted portrayed some form of gender-based violence that was prevalent in the community of Makusha.

The first play was based on domestic violence in the form of sexual violence, the second drama was based on emotional abuse, and the final drama was mainly on physical abuse. The first scene was lengthier than the subsequent two scenes. This was the case in order to familiarise the audience with the concept of the theatre, and to firmly create both the characters and circumstances. The drama scenes were connected by songs that the drama groups explicitly composed to appeal to the members of the community, and some referred specifically to the community and families of people residing in Makusha, while others were traditional songs with which the majority of the audience were familiar. Music from popular artists, such as Oliver Mtukudzi and Alick Macheso, were also played. Josey, Dean, Albert and Ffitza (2016) noted that the use of popular cultural types of entertainment was common in community theatres and development practices.

Other dramatic methods that the action team used to ensure optimum focus for spectators were the development of recognisable settings, including a taxi rank and a clinic waiting room, and the use of real street names found in the community and the names of celebrities and influential community members, to name a few. The production and use of scripts were generated by a week-long training process, during which the team worked to fine-tune the production. It is through this process that the team identified and evaluated strategies and developed an intervention that could be used in the prevention and mitigation of gender-based violence.

The reason for three different plays was that gender-based violence in the community was found to be complex and multidimensional hence one play proved to be insufficient to incorporate all the findings. The forum theatre skits were each held three times so as to obtain as many responses as possible for triangulation. The place which was identified to hold the plays was the Makusha shopping centre.

### **6.10.2 First Scene / Anti-Model Play**

The first scene was conducted at the main shopping centre in Makusha. [Appendix 8]. The play was performed by at least six members of the drama club who took up the roles of father, mother, two children and two neighbours. The drama looked into the world that the community lives in ('As-If' play) which are that dramas portray the perceived nature and type of GBV being experienced in the community. At the end of the first scene, the drama ended with an unresolved conflict and at this stage, the researcher would come into the play as the joker. The joker takes responsibility for the process' operations and acts as a direct link between the participants and the public. For example, where a character being victimised failed to overcome the persecution, the issues were clarified by the joker, and the community members who were watching appeared to empathise with that which they experienced.

The researcher discussed with the audience the problems that appeared in the presentation and possible solutions were proposed to overcome the problems that had been identified. After the drama performances, dialogue was facilitated for commentaries regarding the experience and for the community to make an evaluation. These interactions evaluated the drama in an effort to develop local community ideas to be incorporated into the enactment of the next drama session.

### **6.10.3 Second Scene**

Discussion, improvisation, and audience participation is known as 'forum' in forum theatre (Thambus, Rahman, 2017). In the case of this study, the appropriate solutions were discussed in a forum session by the participants. In the second scene, the action team looked into a possible world ('What-if' play), which are dramas on the exploration of how the community would want their community to deal with issues of GBV. Community members formulated new alternatives (details in chapter 8) based on the analysis and interpretation of the contents of their fellow community members' creations. These dramas are cyclical so as to evaluate the strategies that the community developed. Audio and video recordings were made with the assistance of the research assistant. These selection methods helped the researcher to further examine the responses of the participants and keep records for further elaboration. The researcher assisted in facilitating, designing, and implementing the intervention using Saunders' sustained dialogue method of conflict resolution. Sustained dialogue provides powerful tools to identify and understand the nature of the differences among those in a dialogue. Saunders (2005) highlighted that perspectives, attitudes, worldviews are modified, transformed, by bringing together in dialogue those with conflicting experience, views and outlooks. This contributed to the concept of phases in which conversation moves from a

determination to speak by clarifying the issues, which provides the first possibility for partnership improvements to take place, to determining a concrete substantive plan and responses to the issues, to creating a policy to address the problems and eventually to acting.

#### **6.10.4 Replay: The Interventions (Third Scene)**

The anti-model plays were implemented for a second time after the intervention measures. The audience members, however, had the opportunity to intervene at this time and change the plays and lead them to a more optimistic, better conclusion. Community members took the place of some of the actors and demonstrated their own ideas for resolving issues presented on gender-based violence in the community. Hence, if a member of the audience thinks that he or she can perform the part of a character more efficiently, they shouted “stop”, at which point the performing scene stops and this member of the audience who would have shouted and taken on the role, trying out an alternative and desirable behaviour. After this, the researcher, the joker, ensured that the audience members were properly discussing the ideas and that they were, to some degree, plausible in real life. Boal (2006) requires the audience to be responsible members of society, and to work together to resolve current social tensions.

#### **6.11 Pre-Testing**

Rehearsals with an audience of key informants and community leadership, members of focus group discussions, as well as other forum theatre actors served as a pre-testing of the drama plays that were enacted. Comments from the rehearsal audiences were very useful in facilitating the forum and led to some changes to the final script. This rehearsal audience developed a cautious awareness of ensuring that the researcher, as the joker, was allowed for true (not biased) dialogue to materialise, and not antedating particular suggestions or trying to lead spectators to a particular solution. A final clear summary of suggestions and solutions which served as an epilogue was offered throughout the forum process and was also added after the pre-test.

#### **6.12 Data Analysis**

Analysis of data is an important aspect of research. This is the stage during which the researcher would focus on the data gathered and make sense of it. The study adopted a general approach which was inductive. As stated by Thomas (2006: 38), the primary objective of the inductive approach is to allow research results to emerge from the regular, dominant or important trends inherent in raw data, without the restrictions placed by formal methodologies.

The researcher used thematic analysis and interpretative analysis. The researcher identified the themes and organised them for analysis, presentation, and interpretation into thematic frames. The study analysed data obtained from focus group discussions, interviews, and observations, as well as from the forum theatre before and after the intervention using interpretive and discourse analysis paradigms to compare the perceptions and attitudes of the individuals, the families, and the community members in general.

### **6.13 Validity and Reliability Issues**

Validity entails the accuracy of the process and its outcome. Joppe (2000:1) notes that validity determines whether a study effectively tests that which it was meant to test and if the study findings are accurate. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001: 122), validity refers to 'the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration'. Validity in this study is ensured by triangulation of data.

According to Gomm (2009: 367), triangulation means cross-checking one source of evidence against another or others. The study used methodological triangulation (KIs, FGDs and observation as well as forum theatre) to improve the analysis and understanding of the constructions of others. Various bodies of literature were reviewed, data was collected and findings were presented after using more than three measuring instruments/techniques (questionnaire, focus groups, interviews and forum theatre acts) and by making sure ethical standards of data collection were maintained. Questions in the interviews and FGDs were directly linked to the research questions. At the end of the research, data was tested for more credible and defensible results by applying the same pilot study questions in the form of an interview guide to the community members.

On the other hand, reliability is defined by Joppe (2000: 1) as the degree to which the results are stable over time and a correct reflection of the population being examined, and if the study findings can be replicated using a similar technique, and if the research instrument could be considered reliable in future. Reliability is crucial to credibility and is ensured by reviewing various sources of literature and documentation as well as by clearly accounting for all findings, whether they are the desired results or not. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 67) argue that reliability in social and academic research does not ensure accuracy because it is hard to tell how much of what is reported originated from the observed situation and how much from the observer. The researcher developed reliable techniques of inquiry by asking relevant questions to the respondents and being clear and concise as well as carrying out a pilot study

with 2 participants in interviews and 6 participants in a FGDs to ensure that there was consistency in the information gathered, hence ensuring reliability.

#### **6.14 Ethical Considerations**

Any research involving human beings must identify the ethical principles that the researcher must direct in order to address the respondents without harm and acquire accurate information, since each respondent openly discloses details relevant to the topic under review (Sanjari 2014). According to Sahu (2000), principles encourage research goals such as information, truth, and error prevention, as well as support ethical standards that are important for collaborative study, such as honesty, transparency, reciprocal consideration, and justice, for example, preventions against study results being fake, falsified, or misrepresented facts and minimising error.

Because of the nature of participatory action research, ethics require particular attention since it is sometimes unstructured and there are longer interaction periods with participants. Care was taken to ensure that all participation in this research was voluntary and that all Durban University of Technology ethical considerations were taken into account. The research ethics committee was of the university and approved the research.

The following represent the most important principles taken as ethical considerations in this research:

- Voluntary participation of respondents was ensured, as participants had the right to withdraw from the study at any time if they so wished.
- Respondents participated on the basis of having signed an informed consent letter.
- The use of derogatory, racist, or other inappropriate vocabulary requirements was avoided when formulating the questions for the interviews or focus group discussions.
- Privacy and anonymity were ensured.
- There is acknowledgement of the works by other writers used in some sections of the study using the Endnote referencing method according to the Durban University of Technology Dissertation Manual.
- A maintenance of the highest level of objectivity in discussions and analyses throughout the research was observed.

#### **6.15 Anonymity and Confidentiality**

Anonymity and confidentiality are legal standards intended to protect individual subjects' privacy through data processing, analysis, and publishing. Confidentiality refers to the isolation or alteration of all confidential, identifiable data generated by the participants. Anonymity, on the other hand, refers to the collection of data without any personal identification that identifies the participants. Usually, the protocol practiced in quantitative research is anonymity, while qualitative studies protect secrecy (Allen 2017). Bearing in mind the calibre of this study's interviewees, the researcher questioned them on whether and to what extent they wished to remain anonymous. However, none of them decided to reveal their identity. Henceforth, the researcher informed the participants that direct quotations would be used without identifying information. On providing anonymity of information collected from the study, the researcher did not collect identifying information of participants such as names, addresses, email addresses, and places of work. Some of them claimed a stronger degree of self-censorship would have motivated them. The researcher allowed them to edit the transcripts of the interviews. The researcher did this because she felt that this would improve the reliability of her results, as researchers can fix mistakes and explain issues. Surmiak (2018) states that due to the fear of revenge or humiliation, certain vulnerable people would not engage in the analysis without promises of privacy and confidentiality. However, he points out that while such activities shield respondents from the possibility of harm associated with the revealing of their identities, at the same time, they prohibit the shift in hierarchical systems that produce this possibility.

The researcher used codes on data documents, for example, interview guides, and ensured that the direct quotations that she presented did not contain information that would be potentially identifiable. Thus, the researcher used pseudonyms which do not disclose participants' ethnical/cultural origins. This was intended to prevent a scenario in which readers could identify an individual in the research by mixing different details about that person and, at times, created a smoke screen using two pseudonyms for the same person (especially in the case of confidential information or in a context that may make a person recognisable). The researcher also replaced numbers and abstract explanations of defining positions. However, to stop decontextualising the study settings entirely, the researcher kept information about the Makusha community which was significant for interpretation

## **6.16 Chapter Summary**

The chapter discussed the research design and methodologies used for the study. The study was informed by a critical/advocacy-emancipatory paradigm. The chapter highlighted the population and sampling techniques used, data collection methods, as well as the data analysis. The qualitative participatory action research methodology was employed. Forum

theatre workshops were used as a means of collecting data. Issues on validity and reliability measures as well as the ethical considerations were discussed. The next chapter will discuss and focus on data presentation and discuss the research findings.



# CHAPTER 7

## DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter will begin the data presentation phase. The study aimed to develop sustainable community-based pathways to prevent gender-based violence in mining communities. In this chapter, data will be presented thematically, and findings from the focus group discussions, interviews, and observations will be presented. The direct quotations from all key informant interviews and focus group discussion interviewees are used to illustrate the respondents' points of view. The focus group discussions with interviewees are used to clarify the opinions of the respondents. Data is structured and interpreted in conjunction with the study's specific objectives set out in Section 1.7 of Chapter 1. The findings led to the formation of the intervention strategy of the study (forum theatre).

### 7.2 Understanding Gender-Based Violence

The community of Makusha is a heterogeneous community, as was described in the research context (Chapter 2). Different contributions from the research participants (Chapter 6) on their understanding of the term *gender-based violence* were interesting and enlightening. Research findings showed that the term GBV had different meanings to different people. One of the early lessons that the researcher selected from the process of understanding gender-based violence from the context of Makusha is that misunderstood words can be obstacles to learning and change. To illustrate this point from the traditional point of view, during an interview with the community elders, the researcher learnt that to them there was no such matter as GBV, as it appeared as a new term to them.

In another focus group discussion, the respondents were not entirely certain of the meaning of the term *gender-based violence*. This was a rather disconcerting discovery such that the researcher tried to narrow it down to some examples. The respondents were of the opinion that GBV was also a women's issue that the foreigners were imposing on Africans such that the women can disregard the rule of men:

This issue of gender-based violence is not really an issue that concerns us Africans, this is foreign issue that I don't really understand it. For I believe because of globalisation the foreigner wants the women to disobey their husbands, which is against our traditional practices. (KII- traditional leader).

Clearly, GBV had been reduced to a women's issue. At the surface, this was indicative of who the victims of gender-based violence were in this community. However, as the researcher was later to find out, the misunderstanding was also as a result of men's disinterestedness in engaging with debates on gender equality in general and gender-based violence in particular. Upon further probing, the explanation was that the issue of gender-based violence was talked about only in women forums. An example was given of various women workshops that have been held in the community and at the international level such as the Beijing Conference. A comprehensive definition of gender-based violence was given:

Gender-based violence are violent acts which can be real or threatened perpetrated on females because they are female. Even if the violence is direct physical violence, threat, or intimidation, its main aim is to perpetuate and promote hierarchical gender relations. It is exhibited in various forms, all having the same result of preserving male control over resources and power (KII, Traditional Leader).

During an interview with one of the community's traditional leaders, the researcher gained an understanding that the term *gender-based violence* was commonly mistaken for domestic violence, which is a form of violence that usually takes place in the home between men, women, and children. This prompted the researcher to change her approach in other interviews that she had to conduct. The researcher discovered that the community members used various terms such as domestic violence, rape, early marriages, forced prostitution, sexual violence, and violence against women to mean gender-based violence. This concurred with Carpenter (2006 cited in Marinussen 2010), who notes that there is a definitional and conceptual misperception, confusion, and misuse of the terminology *gender-based violence*.

A key informant (ZRP Victim friendly officer) defined GBV as any form of threat or violence that causes suffering whether physical, mental, psychological, and even economical to men or women. This definition was congruent to that which was stated in one of the FGDs.

At the end of one focus group discussion, one member actually stated:

“*zvinhu zvose zvatinoitirana kungo shungurudzana chete*” (Everything that we do to each other is one way or the other abusing each other).

The statement came after a lengthy discussion which showed that GBV was a multi-dimensional phenomenon that has caused suffering for both men and women in the community of Makusha at large. Mashiri (2013), Heise (2003), and Jewkins (2014) note that gender-based violence is multi-dimensional and heavily grounded on culture, social structures, and history making it difficult to eradicate.

In observing the reactions of the respondents from the interviews and the focus groups, the reactions on the question of understanding the meaning of the term *GBV* were notably mixed reactions. Some of the respondents seemed as if the term was very new to them, though at the same time, some seemed excited and passionate about discussing gender-based violence. Some definitions were broad and encompassed many issues such as the main assumed source of the violence, some other definitions were brief and narrow, and some of the respondents appeared as if the issue was very personal to them as they could relate very well to the discussion.

The elusiveness of the definition of the term *gender-based violence* was subjective, the knowledge exhibited by the respondents was sufficient to continue with the discussion as it was of paramount importance and essential if the community was to develop its own home-grown pathways and understanding that were sustainable to prevent gender-based violence in its many different forms. The researcher narrowed down the concept of GBV to the understanding of its forms, hoping to gain a more comprehensive understanding of that which the community thought encompasses this phenomenon.

### **7.3 Forms of Gender-Based Violence in Makusha Mining Community**

The forms of GBV that were indicated to be prevalent in Makusha mainly included physical abuse, sexual assault (rape cases), and economic violence. Respondents from the FGDs indicated that most forms of violence are manifested in the home hence terming it domestic violence. The results revealed that resource and sex denial lead to psychological abuse which in turn leads to other types of domestic violence, resulting in a vicious cycle of abuse. This cyclic aspect of gender-based violence in turn complicates the issue and makes it hard to resolve it.

#### **7.3.1 Sexual Violence**

Respondents from all the interviews and focus group discussions cited that gender-based violence within the community ranged from sexual violence such as rape cases and sexual harassment to forced marriages. Incidents of multiple-perpetrator sexual harassment such as gang rape were also reported. The women and men in the focus group discussions mentioned that sexual violence was prevalent in the community to an extent that cases reported were taken to be part and parcel of everyday life.

A female respondent (FGD, women only) mentioned that she had experienced rape at the hands of her husband. The response was met with much confusion by the other women who

were participating in the FGD stating that it was not possible for a married woman to claim that her husband had raped her. The issue of marital rape is complex due to culture and the family structures. From the reaction of the group member, the researcher wondered whether they understood that which sexual violence entailed. Further probing the group, the researcher observed that women have been raped by their husbands but because of ignorance of the law, cultural prejudices, and the fear of rejection by their families and communities, the matters are silenced and normalised. Women believe that when the bride price has been paid, their bodies automatically become the property of the men who are free to do whatever they please at any time and at their command. Women respondents further mentioned that they could not report the rape as it would push the husband away and he would have extramarital affairs, or from fear of poverty by getting the husband, who was the breadwinner, arrested, and also the issue of embarrassment which could lead to divorce.

The researcher noted that the issue of sexual violence was not taken seriously as explained:

The issue of sexual violence is not new and not very surprising. The police actually are aware of such issues but they really are nothing much they can do about it. There are many girls that are raped and also some boys have fallen victim to such cases. The community is occupied by people who do not fear the law at all. People who have migrated from other different parts of the country have caused this to happen to our community (FGD- man).

The above respondent appeared to be very passionate about the issue of sexual violence in the community as it was noted that the cases of sexual violence that would have been reported to the police usually ended up as just reports with no investigations taking place. During an interview with a key informant with the police, the researcher noted that sexual violence was indeed a very serious problem being encountered by the men and women of Makusha. However, the culture of silence exacerbates the problem in the community.

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

Other forms or experiences of gender-based violence that were mentioned were discrimination or denial of economic resources. A woman from one of the focus group discussions mentioned that another type of violence suffered in the community was the withholding of money for necessities such as food and sanitary towels (pads) or by forcibly taking and even manipulating the woman for their earned incomes by the man. General discrimination and denial of resources was yet another form of gender-based violence that the women mentioned as occurring in the community of Makusha. A respondent gave an example such that discrimination against girls would keep them out of school thereby decreasing their

educational opportunities which leads then into prostitution where they are abused, causing a ripple effect of abuse.

Women described the construction of the gender roles and responsibilities usually carried by both men and women in the community alluding to the fact that men were viewed to be breadwinners in charge of all financial matters as well as any public or decision-making roles such as conducting any business transactions or holding any political office. Women in this case were seen to be responsible for the domestic duties which included child rearing and domestic chores. The socio-economic violence occurs when men fail to meet their obligations. The inability to meet obligations within the household was noted as the cause of varying problems. This form of violence, as the researcher noted, was mentioned by all the respondents from all the interviews and discussions that were held.

Dependence on the provider such as the husband was mentioned during an interview with the police. According to Mugisho (2011), economic dependence results in most women being abused because women who rely economically on their abusers cannot leave them due to their financial restraints and are more likely to remain in the relationship.

Another form of gender-based violence that repeatedly surfaced in the discussions was the issue of harassment at the workplace. During the community leaders meeting, the researcher found out that women faced many challenges of entering into the mining industry which was the core business of the mining community of Makusha. Mining is also criticised for expanding the gender gap in the mining industry, with women getting an unequal share of the profits and often being marginalised in decisions that even affect them.

### **7.3.3 Physical Violence**

Jewkes (2002: 35) notes that:

[P]hysical violence was the intentional use of force that results in hurt, injury, impairment and in some cases leads to death, it includes beating, juddering, tripping, hitting, burning, pulling of hair, slapping, gripping, pushing, pinching, kicking and the use of physical restraints.

Both women and men can be victims or survivors of such.

In the Makusha community, most respondents indicated that physical violence occurs predominantly through the battering of wives (especially kicking, slapping, and whipping). This type of violence is commonly noted when income has been earned from the mining activities

(mining pits). It was noted that the men mostly become wild and abusive whenever they have money, according to participants from the FGDs, and the men have control of the household resources. For example, as narrated by one key informant:

Usually the men are working as illegal miners (*makorokoza*) in and round Shurugwi town at the same time residing in Makusha. When they go to the mines it would be very difficult as they work under dangerous conditions and at times having to dig holes that will go deep up to maybe 1,000 metres deep. Their working conditions instils fearless personas that they become aggressive people. When they come back home to their families after two weeks or a month they are very tired and are very irritable. A lot of physical violence cases have been reported by wives or girlfriends of such men. (KII-Ward Councillor)

When asked why wives or girlfriends are physically assaulted at such a time as that, the response was that the wives would have asked the men for more money, and presented them with the household challenges such as school fees for the children, utility bill payments, and the purchasing of food items, to name a few. The DHS of Zimbabwe (2015) highlighted that women are physically assaulted by their spouses for very petty reasons to the extent that, for example, when a woman burns the food she is cooking, even by mistake, the husband would beat her and be justified in doing so. Another participant of the in-depth interviews highlighted the fact that a husband had the right to punish his wife or demand sex and stated that such behaviour is condoned and considered socially acceptable in the community.

The justification of wife-beating is grounded in the traditions of the African people where, to date, some communities still believe in the patriarchal systems giving men the right of control of their wives as wives should always submit to their husbands (Johnmary 2012). This assertion was noted to be, to a large extent, the cause of physical violence in the domestic setting. Marinussen (2010) suggests that there is a thin line between culture and power or control. Culture may be a justification for male violence rather than a cause of it.

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

Respondents from the FGDs and the key informant interviews noted that psychological or emotional violence involved actions such as oral and non-verbal actions of insulting, mocking, undermining, intimidating, and putting extreme limits on others. The respondents highlighted that this type of violence was experienced by both men and women in the community at the individual level, however, the participants noted that this was the most dangerous form of violence, giving examples such as:

There was a woman in the community who kept on bolting anger, caused by all the verbal abuse, belittling and degrading abuse she faced from her husband until she realised that she could not take it anymore. One day she boiled water when her husband returned from work. She waited for him to be relaxed and she poured hot boiling water on the husband claiming that he deserved it for the way the husband treated her.

Although the Action team was not well-prepared for an in-depth psychological analysis of the above-mentioned situation, the apparent inference from the participants' reaction to the woman's conduct indicated that many situations such as this were common in the culture, even though the reactions may vary.

## **7.4 Causes and Effects of Violence in Makusha**

From the above discussion on the forms of gender-based violence, it can be seen that GBV experiences are not stratified across class, political affiliation, religion, or even socio-economic lines. After identifying the forms of GBV that are prevalent in the Makusha community, the participants were further asked to highlight the possible causes and the effects of domestic violence/GBV to the individual, in relationships, the community, and the country at large, and as will be noted, all forms of gender-based violence have direct links to the other making it a chain or a cycle of violence that needs to be broken by those who experience it. Cases of GBV might appear to be common across the community, but the causes and effects differ from one case to the next, as will be highlighted in the following section.

### **7.4.1 Power, Control, and Culturally Gendered Roles**

The majority of men, if not all, from the interviews and focus group discussions admitted that they had taken advantage of culture to subject women to violence. Conroy (2014) states that cultural gender stereotypes and norms of socialisation indirectly or expressly govern that which men and women do and how they respond, thereby leaving women exposed with little protection from violence. During the discussion, the researcher observed that men were too dominant over the women such that when a question was posed to the group in the mixed focus group, the men felt that they had to speak first and, at times, have the final say on a particular issue.

Violence occurs generally when there is a transgression from conservative gender roles. A male responded stating that the combination of changing gender roles, the irresponsibility of males, and financial conflicts within the home have led to socio-economic violence which leads to psychological abuse and in turn results in physical violence. It was noted that women, in

some instances, were taking over the role of the breadwinner which traditionally is a man's responsibility due to neglect by their husbands:

The economic situation of the country as a whole has impacted negatively on our daily life and has caused most of use to act as if we have abandoned our responsibilities. It is very good for the women to work in order to supplement household income and help out in the home but when some women are earning they lose respect to husbands and they think the man is useless and weak hence men become aggressive and sometimes hit their wives. It is the women who push their husbands into behaving as such (male respondent, FGD).

Many male respondents highlighted the many frustrations that they were facing that had led to them responding to situations in a violent manner. Challenges that included unemployment, leading to a sense of declining responsibilities; substance abuse; and alcohol abuse threatened the notion of masculinity and that which it meant to be a man. They males felt less valued in the community and in the homes, stating that women viewed them as weak and useless since they felt short and could not adequately provide for their families. The men felt confused and frustrated as they could not find pathways or strategies of how they could demonstrate their masculinity in constructive ways. Conroy (2013) gives an explanation stating that the transgression of patriarchal gender norms means that as women acquire more influence in society, they deviate from conventional gender roles and question male dominance in such a way that men feel insecure and turn to violence as a form of resistance. Another theory suggests that men who lack resources associated with the position of breadwinning use aggression to convey their grievances against women, an interpretation known as the compensation hypothesis.

Some male participants however blamed the government and NGOs for a perceived focus targeting women only on the issues of GBV. As noted when responding to the question on their understanding of gender-based violence, some of the answers from the male respondents were that:

1. GBV was an exaggerated problem by international organisations such as the United Nations, or
2. a problem that was created by NGOs through empowerment programs.

It was mentioned by the male respondents that empowerment programs were the reason for women challenging men and hence the males called for organisations to only consult with men when working with local communities.



The combination of these factors concurs with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) macrosystem level assumption that impertinences, properties of the culture that include male privilege and proprietorship of women as assets as a result of cultural norms such as dowry payment at marriage, the approval of male violence as the default in all social encounters, and strict gender stereotyping and cultural acceptance of harassment by women have set obstacles for women when seeking help and there is a great need to address these challenges, hence the main aim of this research study to find community-based pathways for the prevention of GBV.

The findings from the discussions noted that male respondents tended to defend themselves more, with some even stating that women had become very powerful because of the Domestic Violence Act that was put in place by the government to the extent of beating their husbands in case of disagreement or some type of conflict. From this observation, in an interview with the police, the researcher found out that there were very few cases of men being abused by women but the police attributed this to power and cultural norms, as the abused men do not report it for fear of embarrassment. The police highlighted though that men were being abused in the community from information that they received from undisclosed sources but that because of the status call, the men suffered in silence.

As much as it had been highlighted that patriarchy is the main cause of violence in the household and within the community, it is worth noting that some women abuse men.

#### **7.4.2 Traditional Cultural Violence**

Traditional cultural violence was highlighted as being experienced in the community. The respondents, especially women, mentioned that patriarchy, early child marriages, and forced marriages were practices that occurred in some parts of the community and such practices were deeply rooted in culture. Traditional and cultural practices are sensitive issues that are not usually deemed as violence but rather sanctioned as cultural norms. This assertion makes it very difficult to abolish the practices and as such, the belief that marriage is strictly a family affair dictates that domestic issues, including violence, should be resolved within the family and the community.

One participant in a focus group with women described how and why forced child marriages are still being experienced in the Makusha community and deemed a normal practice:

A family in the Makusha community had to marry off their nine-year-old daughter because of poverty that the family was experiencing. The father

and mother had seven children altogether and she was the third born and the first female. The parents had been retrenched from their mining jobs at the Zimasco mine. They found it difficult to care for their children as that again were in bad health status to go to *makomba* (mine pits) like most of the community residents. The girl they married off had to stop attending school and move away from home.

The participants described early marriages as a harmful practice that destroyed the future of the girl child. It was further mentioned that once a girl is married at a very tender age, she would have to leave school and her parents to take care of her home with the new husband. When a girl is married at a very tender age, she is subjected to violence as she might be unable to speak up on her points of view on issues that could be affecting her. Forced marriages and abuse of children deprive young girls of their wellbeing, schooling, prosperity, and equal rights. The findings concurred with UNFPA (2014) when it was noted that four out of ten girls in Tanzania, as an example, are married before their 18<sup>th</sup> birthday and an average of 37% of Tanzanian women aged between 20 and 24 years were first married or in union before their 18<sup>th</sup> birthday between 2000-2011, and the Human Rights Watch (2018) also reported cases in which girls as young as seven were married off by their parents. Many respondents, however, blamed most parents' struggle to raise their children properly, resulting in children resorting to undesirable survival means such as gambling and pornography in exchange for favours. The above observations speak to the fact that poverty causes people to become irrational in decision-making and it is a root cause of GBV and requires to be dealt with.

As has been noted in previous chapters, the roots of patriarchy are watered by several streams that are enmeshed within cultural norms and practices with unspoken codes of social and family behaviour that have been passed down generations. Patriarchy surfaced as a traditional practice that caused violence in the mining community in the private and public domain. Findings on the cause of violence show that men are given arbitrary control over the lives of women and children, and violence and promiscuity are sanctioned by society and there is limited space to question it or talk about it. A respondent from the women's focus group mentioned that:

Men have so much control over women and children and it is even in the Bible that the man is the head hence respectful women listen to their husbands. (FGD-Women only)

Religion plays an important part in the community of Makusha. Many people are affiliated to a church of some sort. Hence religion, with its tenets and sanctions, becomes a tool for

empowering men and subjugating women as well as reinforcing GBV. The inclusion of churches in finding strategies for the prevention of GBV becomes paramount.

Henceforth, these findings were incorporated in the drama scripts to find the best solution that can be used by the community for the sustainable prevention of gender-based violence. Other traditional practices that have been practiced since time immemorial, that are still being practiced, and that have perpetuated violence include the issue of the payment of the bride price.

#### **7.4.3 Exposure to Violence**

The social learning theory informs that it is through learning that people observe others or that response patterns to particular motivations are learned through either experience or observation. People make choices based on that which they observe. It then becomes one's choice whether to duplicate such actions to gain the anticipated outcomes. Children who grow up in a violent environment usually suffer from physical and emotional abuse and are likely to become abusers themselves as they grow up.

Findings from an interview with community elders on the causes of GBV revealed that the community of Makusha in general was a violent community. The community elders informed that due to the high levels of in-migration, the communities of people from different parts of countries have seen the creation of a different type of culture observable in mining communities and a decline of traditional mechanisms of social control. Gondek (2014) notes that the mixture of languages, traditions, and other cultural norms have diluted the indigenous ways of life of the native communities. Moyo and Mabhena (2014) also agree stating that the mixture of people promotes violence. High levels of migration of mainly male workers also causes social unrest and mining area prostitution (Matsika *et al.* 2015).

In-migration has, to some extent, negatively impacted the community of Makusha. A respondent from the focus group discussion narrated regarding how witnessing violence in the community has caused havoc and unrest in the families and community at large:

When the immigrants come into our community, they have different ways of doing things. Some come from areas where violence is a normal everyday way of living. They use force to get what they want. This have impacted negatively on our young children as they now view using force to get what you want a normal thing and you can get away with it, without any consequences. Because most incidences of violence in the community go unpunished, the young men and women view it to be normal which leads to more criminal activities in the community. Of recent there has been a surge

of violent gangs called "*Mashurugwi*" that has sprung out who have terrorised the community and other neighbouring communities using guns and machetes. Because these gangs are not being punished as they threaten the law enforcers (the police) with their weapons which they do not hesitate to use appear to some youth in the community as if they are heroes. The young people equate these gangs as main actors in the movies who can get away with anything hence the gangs becoming role models. However, to some extent, the family could also be the training ground for violence, because usually those who hit you are people who love you the most (FGD-Men only)

Of high significance from the above narration is that witnessing violence can cause negative reactions on the part of the people in the community or family. People who are exposed to or who witness this type of behaviour would want to imitate it to see the outcome by impersonating the actions of their supposed role models. These role models are significant ones whom one admires and with whom one has an obvious personal association or friendship, and one whom they might have directly observed behaving (Cochran 2011). The frequent and increased cases of violence amongst people living in the Makusha community has normalised violence. The long-term repercussions involve violence being normalised and becoming an acceptable part of culture.

The social learning theory hypothesises that violent offenders are not born with the ability to commit violent actions; rather, offenders intend to commit violent acts by watching people reach expectations by behaving violently. Rawls (n.d.) also points out that people are inherently good or bad but conform to certain behaviours from how they interact with others such as family interactions. Parents who used violence or aggression to solve disputes had children who used similar tactics when dealing with others.

#### **7.4.4 Exposure to Media Violence**

Most respondents reported that the exposure to media violence was yet another significant cause of violence. Apart from learning or copying the action of the *Mashurugwi* gangs, the young women and men in Makusha were cited to be exposed to media that depicted high levels of violence. It was discovered that due to the unemployment rate in the community, young adults spent most of their time watching television and playing video games of a violent nature. Violence is often portrayed as acceptable in motion pictures and television shows which commonly show violence graphically especially for the heroes who never have to face legal consequences for their actions, as has also been noted by Doro (2018) and Lull and Bushman (2015). The women participants pondered upon this assertion stating that they

witnessed their children's behaviour since they were the ones who usually stayed at home while the men were working.

#### **7.4.5 Normalisation of Violence**

From the above observations, violence in Makusha has been normalised. This normalisation means that violence in the community is a habit and is systematic. This was seconded by the traditional leaders and community elders as they stated that:

Traditional practices accept the abuse of women (wife beating) for no valid reasons not to say that beating anyone is justified (unless it's a law, for example, corporal punishment), gangs operate in the community as if there are no policemen (rule of law). In the African culture, women are supposed to be submissive to their husbands or men in general from the community and if she fails to submit, it is deemed normal for the husband to punish her. A husband also has the right to demand sex and it is considered socially acceptable. Women accept this behaviour from their husbands as they grow up being told that once they got married, they would be the property of the husband. (KII-Traditional leader)

The above statement shows that punishment is culturally acceptable in the community of Makusha. Abuse is justified and other members in the community do not intervene, making it a private issue. This assertion that women are socialised to remain 'silent' promotes social inequalities between men and women which leads to the subordination of women not only within the home, but also within the group and within the entire society (Ushe 2015). The normalisation of GBV can be seen at the individual level within relationships as well as at the community level through social norms. It was noted that these patterns are compounded by stigma and shame which in turn legitimise silence as a coping mechanism for GBV including domestic violence.

A participant made a point stating that GBV discussions are limited in the community and the notion that GBV is not an important issue or that it is not occurring in the community is allowed to prevail. This was the reason why the issue of GBV in mining communities is overlooked as a priority by the government and organisations that offer assistance on the issue. Hence greater communication and increased knowledge on the consequences of GBV have to be given priority.

#### **7.4.6 Jealousy and Insecurity**

Jealousy leads to fear, and fear leads to powerlessness which then leads to violence. Most women highlighted that jealousy was also a great cause of violence in the community and in

the home. In the home, this was so because as most men work far from the home, they feel very insecure about their wives' activities in their absence. One woman reported that the husband at one time came back from work after three weeks and started to accuse her of having a boyfriend because she was not at home during the time that he arrived home. She narrated that the husband bit her mercilessly that she ran away from home to the neighbours who, in turn, after a day had to bring her back to her husband and helped her explain to the husband that she had to go to the market to buy food items for the household.

Another woman explained that her husband would hit her for merely greeting other people including men explaining that greeting people was a sign of respect and Ubuntu but the husband would accuse her, stating that they were her lovers. The husband would beat her to a great degree whenever he brings up that issue.

A response from a male participant in a FGD involved the respondent agreeing that jealousy was indeed a cause of gender-based violence, giving the explanation that the cause of the jealousy is as a result of the many discussions that the men have at their places of work and discovering that some of their colleagues would have affairs with their wives while the husbands were at work.

Many respondents, men and women alike, young and old, viewed the way in which women and girls dressed as promoting GBV, and it was considered that scanty or tight clothes displayed a lack of modesty and thus the girls themselves were criticised for promoting GBV and were assaulted due to indecent clothing:

The dress code for some girls is not very good. Some are raped because they dress inappropriately (FGD, young women).

The girls like wearing very tight clothes and bum shorts thereby enticing the boys (FGD, young women).

Then if you look at the way they [girls/women] dress it is shameful a woman who doesn't dress properly the thighs are outside you see, so all that brings problems (FGD, men).

Here in Makusha women are not respectful as compared to those in the villages. If you advise them to dress appropriately, they just shout at you (FGD, men).

The testimonies given above confirm that jealousy and insecurity are serious issues that need to be dealt with as both men and women are living on the edge in their relationships. The

inferiority complex situation in which the men and women find themselves stimulates different types of behaviours such as aggression which leads to violence.

#### **7.4.7 Unemployment, Stress, and Economic Insecurity**

Drawing from the interview responses, it was worth noting that economic insecurity caused by unemployment and the general economic hardships that are being experienced in the community and the country at large are the key causes of stress which leads to violence. It is because of unemployment that frustrations arise which raises tensions in the home. Unemployment has caused community members to engage in illegal business and some women are pushed into destructive ways of coping that exposes them to GBV. Because of the nature of work in the mining community, young men and women find themselves unable to be employed – an example was given:

For the girl child, it is difficult to get a job in the mines because of the nature of mining work which is physically demanding. Mining is often blamed of widening gender imbalance within the mining community, with women bearing an inadequate share of the benefits and being marginalised. Women are seen to be a weaker sex should engage in domestic responsibilities which limit the amount of time and effort they can spend in mining sites, thus missing any financial, networking and mining knowledge gains. (KII - Ministry of Women's Affairs, Gender and Community Development)

From the male perspective:

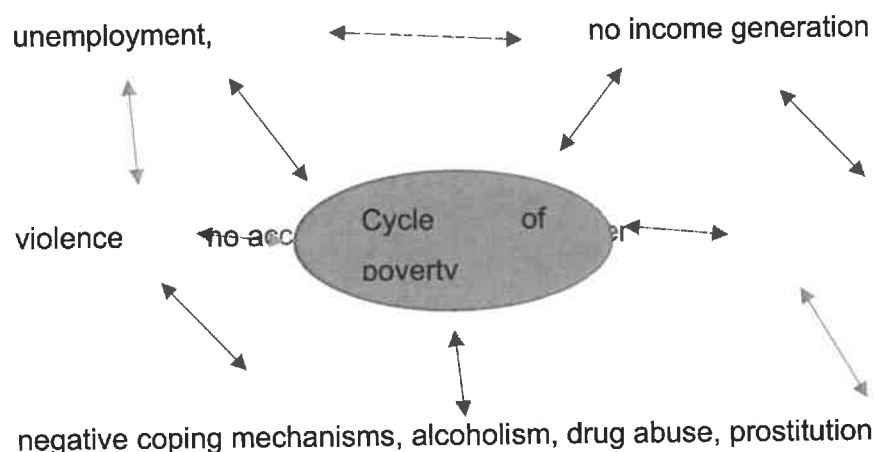
In as much as there are a lot of illegal mining activities that take place in and around the community, young men find it difficult to work in the mine as they might for example be unable to get enough income to start their own mining businesses. They cannot be employed also in the mines not because they lack education but because a lot of the small-scale miners (Artisanal miner) would have brought their own workers from different parts of the country leaving the locals exposed to poverty. (KII-Musasa Project)

The above explanations inform that unemployment is a major challenge that is experienced in the community. Being unemployed and futile leads to boredom and frustration in the home and manifests or exposes women and girls to gender-based violence.

#### **7.4.8 Poverty**

A respondent stated that the lack of education and employment opportunities, and insufficient access to housing, food, water, fuel, and income generation increase vulnerability to gender-based abuse, including forced prostitution and subsistence sex. Findings from the study indicate that poverty forces many people to adopt negative coping mechanisms, including

alcoholism, drug abuse, and prostitution, all of which perpetuate gender-based violence. Respondents from focus group discussions highlighted that unemployment has a direct link to poverty and could be stated as the main cause of gender-based violence/domestic violence. How unemployment causes a ripple negative effect in the home and community is shown in Figure 7.1.



**Figure 7.1:** Diagram depicting how unemployment causes a ripple negative effect in the home and community.

Figure 7.1 was part of an illustration that was given by the respondents in the mixed focus group discussions. Figure 7.1 shows that poverty certainly is a major cause of violence in the home and community, and it shows that it is a vicious cycle that needs to be addressed at the individual level as well as the community level. Figure 7.1 sought to bring out the picture of poverty which was used in the scripts of the drama intervention acts, which are explained in Chapter 8.

#### 7.4.9 Alcohol and Drug Abuse

All the respondents were in agreement that poverty is the main cause of GBV. However, there are other effects of GBV which include alcohol and drug abuse. It was noted that the link between alcohol and violence was that when drinking and whenever drugs are involved in any situation, people feel like alcohol is a catalyst to violent aggressive behaviour towards that perceived to be different. Many men in the community of Makusha drink alcohol. The community description (Chapter 2) noted that the Makusha community relates to entertainment as a way of life and learning. Many local musicians and drama clubs are prominent in the community. Road shows of companies advertising their goods and services are a regular sight in the community. All these activities are associated with drugs and alcohol.



A woman respondent, narrating an unfortunate incident that happened to her when her husband was drunk, stated that her husband forced her to have sex with him in front of their children because he was under the influence of drugs and alcohol.

The above example of how alcohol impacts people concurs with the researchers who believe that alcohol serves as a cognitive driver, raising the risk of aggression through lowering inhibitions, undermining reasoning, and impairing the capacity of individuals to perceive signs (Adjah and Agbemafle 2016). While alcohol is not important for the initiation of abuse, most respondents did not doubt that it fuelled GBV. There was a belief in these cultures that drinking alcohol is common and begins at a very early age. As the aforementioned quotes indicate, alcohol tends to cause a loss of discipline and unsafe conduct with intimate relationships, also having physical assault repercussions.

## 7.5 Consequences of Violence

The consequences of violence in the Makusha community varied according to the type of offences committed. The effects were, to some extent, similar for men and women and different for both sexes in another way.

A key informant responded for the community hospital and stated that “gender-based violence ranges from physical, psycho-social and wellness challenges that frequently harm people’s self-esteem and quality of life and further abuse could in some cases lead to permanent disability or death”.

A key informant stated:

Gender-based violence leads to a vicious cycle of violence and harassment as perpetrators fear being ignored, stigmatised and ostracised by society, and often imprisoned, incarcerated and disciplined for finding safety, support or access to justice (key informant – police).

Table 7.1 shows the consequences of GBV found in the community of Makusha, as was discussed in the various platforms of gathering data.

**Table 7.1:** Consequences of gender-based violence in the community of Makusha.

Effect	Form of violence	Consequences
Reproductive health consequences	Physical violence	➤ Miscarriage
	Sexual violence	➤ Unwanted pregnancy

(Women are the most affected)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Pregnancy complications</li> <li>➤ Unsafe abortion</li> <li>➤ Gynaecological disorders</li> <li>➤ Sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS, syphilis, genital warts, gonorrhoea</li> <li>➤ Menstrual disorders</li> <li>➤ Sexual disorders</li> </ul>
Social and economic	Socio economic violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Blaming of the victim/survivor (both men and women)</li> <li>➤ Loss of role or functions in society (men)</li> <li>➤ Social stigma, rejection, and isolation (both men and women)</li> <li>➤ Feminisation of poverty</li> <li>➤ Increased gender inequalities</li> <li>➤ Losing source of livelihood and economic dependency on the part of women especially</li> <li>➤ Arrest, detention and/or punishment (both men and women)</li> </ul>
Emotional and psychological		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Depression</li> <li>➤ Anger, anxiety, and fear</li> <li>➤ Shame, self-hate, and self-blame</li> <li>➤ Mental illness</li> <li>➤ Suicidal thoughts and behaviour</li> </ul>
Acute physical	Physical Violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Shock</li> <li>➤ Disease</li> <li>➤ Infection</li> <li>➤ Injury</li> </ul>
Chronic physical	All forms of violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Chronic pain or infections</li> <li>➤ Gastrointestinal problems</li> <li>➤ Eating or sleeping disorders</li> <li>➤ Alcohol/drug abuse</li> </ul>

		➤ Disability
Fatal		➤ Homicide ➤ Suicide ➤ Maternal mortality ➤ Infant mortality ➤ HIV/AIDS

Table 7.1 illustrates that GBV has many effects on the lives of people in the community from the individual to the society. These effects disrupt the everyday lives of people, which in turn will affect the community and negatively impact the society in general. These findings are in sync with Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory which states that violence is not the product of one cause but is more nuanced, with several factors impacting a person's beliefs, actions, and decisions within different realms (Heise 1998 cited in WHO 2005).

A woman from the female-only FGD narrated regarding how gender-based violence is multi-dimensional and that it is a cycle of violence, reciting a story about a local girl named Theresa. The story shows how gender-based violence in the community of Makusha can be manifested in the life of a woman as she grows up. Theresa's story is narrated as follows:

The issue starts usually in the home, when you get married for example, it is forced marriage. Your family would have married you off to a man who already has three wives because of poverty and the man is a prominent businessman. Already the woman is exposed to depression, anger, anxiety and fear of what to expect in that marriage, Shame, self-hate and self-blame are feeling she experiences every day. She thinks that she is unworthy. Thoughts of suicide at times creeps in. The young girl stops attending school and left with no friends in the community. The school-going age says they don't associate with married women, at the same time the married women say they don't associate with young girl leaving her rejected and isolated. The men come to her for sexual intercourse which she tries to refuse but the men rape her and stating that he owned her because he had paid lobola (bride price) for her. The girl is helpless and does not know that she has been infected with HIV and she has gotten pregnant. The rape continues and she discovers that she is pregnant after some gastrointestinal problems and decides to have an abortion.

Because she did not have anyone to consult since she tried to reach out to her mother who was threatened by the father to leave her alone and the community had which had a bystander syndrome. The community watches and does nothing about it even the community elder seemed to support the man who had married Theresa stating that it was normal tradition. Because

of these challenges, Theresa aborted the pregnancy by herself and people found out that she had an abortion because of severe bleeding she went to the clinic where they treat her and she was arrested by the police since abortion is illegal in the country. Before she was taken to prison from the clinic, Theresa managed to run away to a neighbouring community where nobody knew her and her story. She was emotionally and psychologically disturbed from all that is happening in her life. She did not have anything no place to stay no food to eat. Her survival instinct brought her to prostitution as a quick way of getting money. Because she did not know that she was HIV positive she infected a lot of men who in turn infected their wives at home (mining communities in Zimbabwe have the highest HIV infections). A few years passed on, Theresa got seriously sick that she came back to her parents' house. The parents were ashamed of her forgetting that they were the ones who had exposed her to such a life (victim blaming). Theresa was overwhelmed by her situation that she resorted to the use of alcohol and drug trying to forget about her problems. She used drugs from the men who wanted sexual favours from her and she got addicted and develop mental health problems (female respondent, female-only FGD).

From Theresa's story, the gender-based violence is multifaceted and occurs in the lives of women from their birth into old age (see Chapter 3). It is also worth noting that GBV in Makusha is still rooted in patriarchal societal values and behaviours perpetuating injustice and powerlessness in women's and girls' lives. Poverty, a lack of educational opportunities and livelihoods, and tolerance for criminality and harassment are pervasive factors that lead to and intensify a culture of violence and discrimination. Gender-based violence is caused, as the data findings are presented, by learning from observational abuse and childhood experiences, strict family expectations, and patriarchal social norms that prevent males or females from obtaining resources that can contribute to sustainable development.

## **7.6 Prevention of Gender-Based Violence in Makusha**

From the interview and focus group guides, the question of prevention measures in place in the community was asked. Responses from the discussion noted that some actions have been taken to this effect.

### **7.6.1 The Law Enforcers – The Police**

Respondents from key informants mentioned that the responsibility to prevent GBV/domestic violence in the community rested mainly on the law enforcer, the police. However, participants from FGDs argued highlighting that as much as there is GBV in the community, the police are overwhelmed with violence related to mining activities. There are many violent criminals in the community because of the mining activities, and many assaults are reported to the police daily:

People fight over mining claims, proceeds from the mining activities, and others who are bullies in the industry. Hence is a victim of domestic violence report to the police they are told to go back home and try and work it out (FGD mixed group respondent).

The police explained that because of the nature of business that transpires in and around the community, they had found it difficult to cater for every case that is reported stating that some cases that need a follow-up would end up being shelved or even forgotten:

A lot of violence takes place in the community such as assaults, murders robberies which are not related to gender-based violence. These crimes are caused by ownership of the resources available. The conflict between migrants and the indigenous people of the community. Such conflict has taken centre stage in the fight of violence in Shurugwi. The perpetrators of such crimes are popularly known as *Mashurugwi*. And as the mining activities expand, the crime rate also increases (KII – police).

The above description of violence in the mining community does not fall far from the experiences of other mining towns, as noted by Bryceson and MacKinnon (2012) that mining was a source of dispute, reflecting the often irreconcilable claims of various groups to control natural wealth, and that the illegal trade in natural resources, especially diamonds and gold, was stated to have led to conflicts in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

The enforcement and raising awareness of the national legal frameworks available in the country was another way of the prevention of GBV in the community. Zimbabwe's Domestic Violence Act offers safety and redress for victims of domestic abuse, and long-term domestic violence reduction initiatives. The Ministry of Gender and Women Affairs, together with the Ministry of Youth and Community Development, would hold workshops in the community in the schools raising awareness on the prevention and curbing of GBV. Participants from the focus groups however mentioned that the awareness programmes were mainly carried out at the schools to which most community elders had no access.

### **7.6.2 From a Health Perspective**

The health personnel with whom the researcher engaged in key interviews highlighted that they had received cases of women who had been assaulted by their husbands and all that they could do was to treat them and, at times, offer counselling services. The participants mentioned that they would inform the police of any type of assault. The police would come and get information about the cases but not much would be done:

We have cases of women who have been treated for more than three times for injuries from being beaten by their husbands (KII – health personnel).

GBV prevention campaigns implemented in the Zimbabwean context include the 4Ps campaign, the Sixteen Days of Activism, and the 365 Days Campaign. The researcher observed that participants had heard of the prevention campaigns but lacked the knowledge and understanding of that which was involved. In a men's FGD, it was mentioned by one participant that he had heard of the sixteen days of activism when he was in Gweru (the Midlands capital, 32 km from Shurugwi) but never saw any such activities in Shurugwi.

Women and men in Makusha are relatively unaware of gender-based violence campaigns. It was also observed that those who are aware of campaigns have mostly heard about them from community meetings. Therefore, it is necessary to prioritise and expedite the development of community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence and capacity building. Respondents called for greater outreach efforts in prevention campaigns that promote equal access to campaign information between women and men.

### **7.6.3 Culture and Tradition**

The traditional leaders and community elders were of the same opinion that the prevention of GBV starts with an individual's attitude towards others. One elder gave an example stating that people are not born violent but the environment in which they live has a bearing on how anyone responds to situations that may arise. This assertion is similar to that of Lake *et al.* (2017), social learning theorists who purport that human behaviour is learnt and is developed rather than inborn, and that it is the study of circumstances that connect a stimulus to a response where the response is the behaviour sought to be understood.

Traditional courts were mentioned as strategies that were used to discourage GBV in the community. However, an elder described that there was a decrease in the use of traditional courts as ways of prevention and handling cases of all types of conflict that are experienced in the community:

Women and men would approach the traditional leaders with their grievances so as to have their disagreements resolved by the elders. The courts were respected and it helped to ease problems in the community until the mining boom where the community was diluted by migrants. The migrants diluted the traditional beliefs of the indigenous people that they are no longer used. People use the legal constitutional courts nowadays which does not mend relationships hence continued division and hatred on families and communities (KII, Traditional leader).

The above testimony informs the importance of the indigenous ways of carrying out activities for community development. Despite the neglect of using such courts, a respondent from a FGD advocated for the return of the traditional courts in the community as they had the Ubuntu aspect that fosters unity and harmony within the family and the community at large.

#### **7.6.4 Religion**

Regarding the prevention of GBV, religious leaders were mentioned as agents whom people, at times, would approach for assistance especially regarding domestic family issues. The community has many different religions, with the most dominant one being Christianity. A church elder respondent explained that the church was a place of peace and that individuals and families approach the church for counselling, reconciliation, and general conflict resolution. This method of violence prevention, as the researcher observed, was largely used by women because women were the vast majority of church goers unlike the men who would be drinking alcohol at the beerhalls in the community. A respondent from the FGDs with women explained that the church has served as a hub for protection, as when the conflict would escalate, they turned to worship.

#### **7.6.5 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)**

A non-governmental organisation named The Women's Trust (TWT), which aims to empower women and young girls, was one organisation which was named by participants as running a campaign such as 'Simukai' that strives to encourage communities to live in peace. However, from the discussions, the researcher noted that the Women's Trust has no domestic abuse services and directs incidents of gender-based harassment to Musasa, which guides and offers refuge and legal aid in collaboration with groups such as the Zimbabwe Women Laws Association (ZWLA) and the Adult Rape Clinic, as well as other organisations that assist women.

Musasa project is, as mentioned above, a referral centre organisation that assists survivors/victims of GBV:

It focuses on women, engaging communities in society to alter retrogressive values, behaviours, actions, laws and policies with a view to eliminating gender-based violence and promoting the advancement of women in our community by making authorities and the general population completely aware of the illegality and intolerable existence of violence against women and by taking steps to mitigate incidents (FGD, women's).

From the respondents in the FGDs, it was mentioned that the services that were being offered by Musasa Project were not found in the community. One woman stated:

Even when you go to the hospital after being assaulted, the health practitioners would assist by giving details on how to contact Musasa but the services are only found in the big town where you will find shelter for victims and readily available counsellors and psychologists and even assisting you to report cases of violence to the police and courts for maintenance of justice (FGD, women's only).

The Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association aims to promote, encourage, and support the development of a sustainable and fair justice system that considers men and women as equal citizens and effectively tackles children's rights. In Makusha, the ZWLA was stated to be of assistance to the sex workers who are raped and, at times, assaulted by their clients. The women respondents mentioned that ZWLA would hold workshops a few times in a year in the community to raise awareness on GBV and encourage women to seek help.

These findings show that there are some GBV prevention strategies that have been used in the community. The strategies and actors engaged in raising awareness are not yet clearly mapped across actors working on gender-based violence in the community. In comparison to the main towns such as Gweru, the services for GBV in Makusha are extremely limited, unsystematic, and sporadic, hence there is a need for more concrete pathways being put in place to reduce cases of violence in the community. Prevention programmes of gender-based violence in the mining community of Makusha must tackle gender norms and expectations of that which is normal to them and applicable to their everyday lives for men and women.

## **7.7 Chapter Summary**

In summary, the findings from the interviews, focus group discussions, and observations showed that the community members have limited knowledge on gender-based violence. Most could not provide a comprehensive definition of gender-based violence, tending to focus on dominant and visible forms of gender-based violence, such as physical assault. Some were able to identify socio-economic violence and psycho-social violence in addition to physical and sexual violence. The police were not reliable in handling gender-based violence cases. Traditional pathways of solving conflicts in the community were abandoned. Religious organisations such as the church provided some relief to victims of violence. Assistance on prevention measures from other organisations other than the government were very limited.

The next chapter will present the themes that emerged from the preliminary data through a series of forum theatre dramas leading to interventions that were implemented to prevent GBV in the community of Makusha.



# CHAPTER 8

## FORUM THEATRE

### 8.1 Introduction

This chapter will incorporate the data findings from the preceding chapter to form drama scripts for the forum theatre workshops that were held in the three different areas in the community of Makusha. The data from key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and observations were analysed and key themes were identified such as:

- Exposure to violence, sexual violence and rape, and socioeconomic abuse
- Poverty (unemployment, stress, and economic insecurity)
- Power, control, and culturally gendered roles
- Jealousy and insecurity
- Consequences of GBV
- Alcohol and drug abuse
- Police involvement

These themes are used as yardsticks from the sampled community members as not all residents of the community could be engaged. The responses gave an overview of how gender-based violence is manifested in the Makusha community. This section will henceforth be presented in drama acts which involved the larger community in the form of edutainment. Conflict-ravaged societies need to establish a number of structures with the intention of reforming society, upholding the rule of law, ensuring justice for victims, and setting the basis for long-term and lasting peace, however these efforts entail the intervention of all segments of society and should take place at all levels of government.

The forums that were enacted centred on the following themes:

- Identifying the forms of GBV
- Acknowledging the impact and consequences of GBV
- Addressing inequality and other root causes of abuse
- Creating modern ideologies that acknowledge the realities of the past
- Acknowledging the pain of others

- Allowing spaces for reconciliation and healing to be accessible

## 8.2 The Journey

On the days of the performance, the action team would come into the community early to prepare the venues where the theatre was to be performed. To gather people, the team went around in the streets using their vehicle mounted with very large speakers playing the popular songs that attracted people's attention. The team announced that there would be a performance and the venue and time of the performance. Usually, there was a buzz of excitement and when there were approximately 80 to 100 people gathered, the team would start. A 'motor engine' with a sound system was installed, and two loudspeakers boomed out to the crowd.

There were children, young people, teenagers, males, girls, and parents. At first, the bulk of the crowd were women, with the men eventually joining in. Children sat in the first two rows followed by teenagers, mothers, and adults. The final layer of the audience was created by men. The majority of young mothers had at least one infant in their arms.

Before the start of the play, the audience was entertained by the popular songs of oppression such as Oliver Mutukudzi's *tozeza baba* (we are scared of father) and Alick Macheso's *Baba naAmai* (father and mother), and the lyrics of the songs resonated well with the plays and the domestic violence experiences found in the community. Before the performance, body strengthening exercises and deep breathing were performed to relieve tension in spectators and performers alike.

With the assistance of the club leader, the researcher took up the role of facilitator and started by welcoming all the community members who were present, initiating warming-up activities and introducing the performance. A facilitator in community theatre/drama is a person who has the job to get other people to assume responsibility and takes the lead contributing to the structures and process of interactions, making group functions effective as well as making reasonable and valuable decisions that enable the dramas to be orderly (Maeda 2014).

A ten to 15-minute skit scene was enacted. The first scene illustrated how GBV is manifested and perceived in the community. Three plays were performed. The reason for three different plays was that gender-based violence in the community was found to be complex and multidimensional hence one play proved to be insufficient to incorporate all the findings. The forum theatre plays were each held three times so as to obtain as many responses as possible

for triangulation. The place which was identified to hold the plays was the Makusha shopping centre. The plays had disappointing, unsettled endings. The initial play is described in the subsequent section.

### **8.3 Summary of the Forum Theatre Plays**

Scene: a man lives in the community and is not formally employed. He deals in illegal mining activities. The man, named Nhamoinesu (not his real name), is married and has three school-going children. They live in Makusha in a two-roomed house which serves as the kitchen and the bedroom. Nhamoinesu has little respect for his wife (Mary) and children. He continuously reminds his family that he is the head of the house even when he is not providing for his family properly. Mary would look for money without her husband's knowledge because he has banned her from going out of the house. Her situation is a pathetic one, on the one hand, the husband does not allow her to work, and on the other hand, she is not allowed to leave the house – at the same time, he is failing to provide for his family. Nhamoinesu usually comes back home late at night, drunk. When he arrives home, he expects his wife to serve him food which he does not buy. Nhamoinesu gets money from his work, sometimes very good money, but he spends it on other women, drugs, and alcohol. His children have dropped out of school because he could not pay their school fees. When his wife shows concern about his behaviour, he becomes very angry that he bites her in front of his children who cannot really stop him. He would even force her to have sexual intercourse in front of his children. At times, the children would yell for help from the neighbours who, in turn, would tell the children that it was their mother's fault, and that it was tradition for a man to do whatever he pleased with his family and money. This situation went on for years. The wife could not leave the marriage because she was a migrant who had nowhere to go and also due to the fear of losing the other two children whom she had left. The first-born girl child had been forced by her father to get married to a very old man from a nearby community when he was incapacitated to take responsibility of his family. The wife confides in her friends who advise her that the next time that the husband abuses her, she should run to the police. She did so as she would be advised to work it out since it was a domestic issue.

The scene synopses are presented in the subsequent sub-sections.

#### **8.6.1 Bedroom Setting**

It is during the night and Mary and her children are sleeping. Her children sleep in the kitchen. There is a very loud banging noise on the door. The children take a few minutes to open the door after ascertaining that it is Nhamoinesu, their father. He storms in angrily and starts

insulting them, calling them all types of names for taking time to open the door. He goes straight to the bedroom where his wife, Mary, is. She has woken up because of the noise in the kitchen. She is very scared. Nhamoinesu is drunk as he always was. He verbally assaults his wife that the children ran out of the house to seek help from the neighbours. Nhamoinesu loses control of himself and beats his wife mercilessly that she fell unconsciously. The children are helpless as they could not get help from the neighbours who had told them that they had had enough of their family squabbles. They went back home where they find their mother unconscious and their father sitting on the edge of the bed now appearing to have sobered up. They try to wake her up but she does not respond. They beg their father to help them take her to hospital. (description in detail, Appendix 8)

### **8.6.2 At the Hospital Scene**

The patient arrives at the hospital, weak and covered in bruises. The nurses insist on a police report which she was delaying to provide. Despite the delayed police report, the nurses attend to the patient because she is in a bad condition. The nurses ask repeatedly but to no avail for the reason for her condition. The nurse invites the police to get a report from Mary who has gained consciousness. The children do not give the information because their father has threatened to beat them if they tell anyone at the hospital about the situation at home. (The police are called in and statements from Nhamoinesu, Mary and the children are taken. Mary is treated and she is admitted to the hospital. At this point in time, Nhamoinesu is taken into police custody. Nhamoinesu is dismayed, he never thought that anything of this sort would happen to him, and that no one, not even the law, should tell him how to treat his wife and family. (detailed play Appendix 9)

### **8.6.3 At the Police Scene**

When they reach the police station, Nhamoinesu is taken inside the police station for further questioning. The police officers are helpful in explaining to him how the law works in cases of domestic violence. The domestic violence act is explained to him thoroughly as well as other penalties for violence. Nhamoinesu is confused and taken aback when he is told that he is to be put into custody until his case is heard at the courts. Nhamoinesu thinks of a way to set himself free. He bribes the police with some money. Nhamoinesu is released much to the shock and fear of his children and wife. However, the wife does not make a follow-up with the police, hence the issue remains pending and open. (Detailed play, see Appendix 10)

End of play

After the plays were enacted once, the researcher took up the role of the joker (explained in section, 6.9.1) and asked questions to get everyone thinking about the story, motivating them to be on the same page with the story line, and the researcher also encouraged the community/audiences to develop solutions for the parts that they felt needed to be revisited. The researcher further explained to the spectators that in the second enactment, anyone can say 'stop' when they had an idea/solution that they would like to try, so as to change the outcome of the scene. The researcher also emphasised that there was no wrong contribution.

## **8.4 Data Analysis (Forum Theatre)**

The findings from the three different plays will be analysed as they depicted the possible scenarios of GBV found in the community of Makusha. The findings will be discussed based on the themes which support the research questions. As has been noted, the plays had a disappointing, unsettled ending and it was the responsibility of the community members to develop their own community-based pathways for the prevention of GBV.

It is worth noting that at all the venues, there was always a very high turnout of plus or minus 100 community members, which clearly supports the assertion in Chapter 2 (the research context) that mining communities are also driven by entertainment. The community was excited and keen to attend and participate in the forum theatre. Another reason that the researcher noted for the turnout was because of the drama club which was always exceptional in delivering spectacular performances that were humorous and captivating. The Mbizi Drama club had a local drama that was featured on the national television, hence the actors were considered to be celebrities and it was an honour to the communities as they also believed that one day they might also be on television.

The performances were held during the afternoon from 3 pm to 5 pm; this was so because the Action team wanted to accommodate everyone since it would be past the rush hours for the majority of the community members. The community leadership, community elders, government representatives, and health practitioners were always present and this eliminated the misrepresentation of facts.

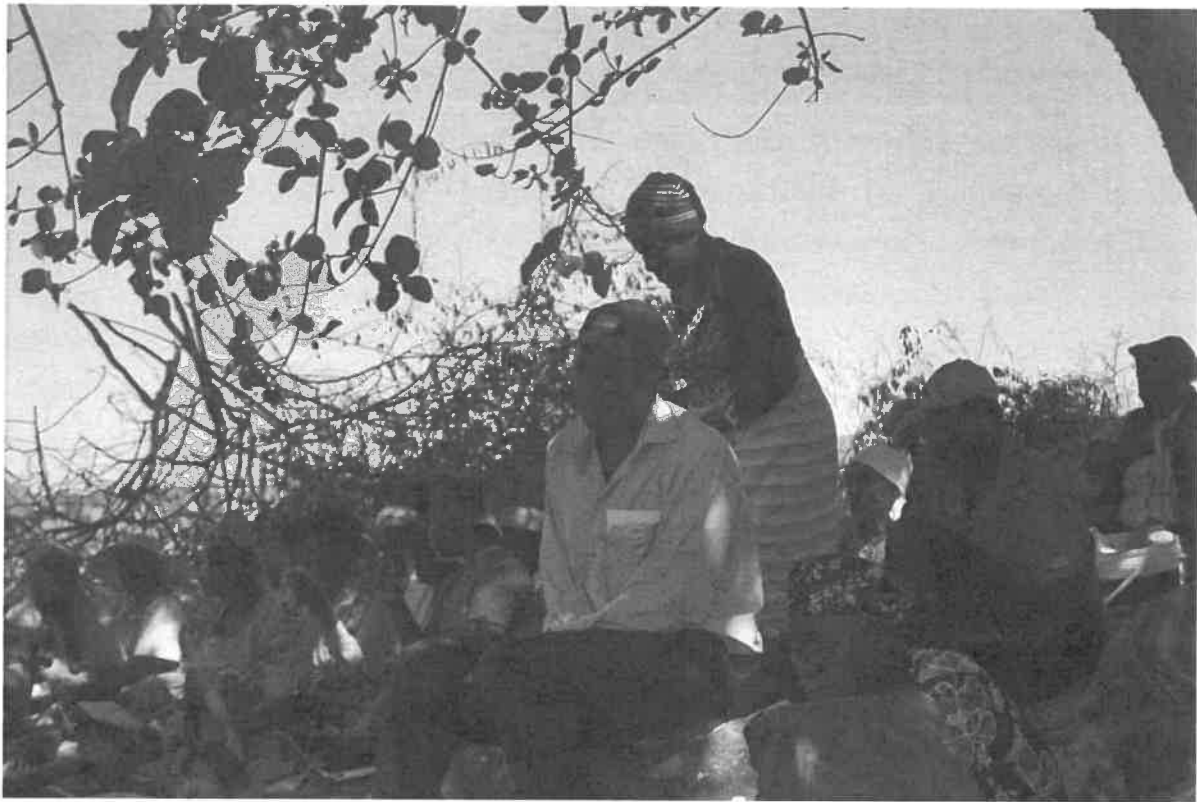
The community is multicultural. Gondek (2014) notes that the mixture of languages, traditions, and other cultural norms dilutes the indigenous ways of life of native people of the community. Hence the dramas had a mixture of Shona, English, and Ndebele which are the most prominent languages used in Makusha, among others. There are also Chewa-, Kalanga-, Nambia-, and Venda-speaking people in the community. All the performances were audio

recorded and the researcher, together with the help of the research assistant, transcribed verbatim as they are both fluent in the three languages: Shona, English, and Ndebele. Figure 8.2 depicts community member participants in the forum theatre.

(a)



(b)



**Figure 8.2:** (a) and (b) showing community member participants in the forum theatre.

## 8.5 Discussion of Findings

This section presents and discusses the views of the residents of Makusha regarding GBV/domestic violence to find pathways that the community can adopt for the prevention of this phenomenon through forum theatre. After the first exercise activities, as the facilitator of the forum theatre, the researcher would give a brief explanation of how forum theatre is done for the benefit of everyone who was present at the venues. The importance of an introduction is that it facilitates a smoother transition for the spectators to move from being passive audiences into being active participants as well as bringing them up to speed regarding the activities that were to take place.

Despite the introduction, during the forum, the researcher observed that the community audience found it difficult to enter the stage and act out on their suggestions. When requested to come onto the stage to act, some of them started moving from the front side to the back. The audience had much to state about the different plays as the researcher observed them discussing the conflict situations in the forum play but most of them did not want to be actors. For a moment, the researcher thought that the reason for their action was that they were comparing themselves to the skilled actors on stage but realised that they only needed encouragement from both the researcher, as the joker, and also from the actors.

### 8.5.1 Forms and Causes of Violence

The participants/audiences identified forms of domestic violence to include emotional, physical, socio-economical, and sexual violence. It was very interesting to see members of the audience, many of whom were women, becoming provoked by the role of Nhamoinesu in the play (thinking if they should be afraid). This drama triggered discourse and provoked critical thinking among the community members. The researcher welcomed audiences onto the stage where they raised questions, entered into a dialogue with the different characters, as well as gave their opinions. It was noted that most older women who came up to comment were notably frantic about Nhamoinesu's drunken behaviour and criticised him for spending his money on alcohol and abandoning his family. An audience member further commented that Nhamoinesu's behaviour was typical of most of the married men in the community.

A question was raised on the stage by the spect-actors who would have had taken up the role of Nhamoinesu's wife (Mary) "*why are you always drunk and broke?*". This unexpected question would draw the attention of the audience more as there would be a deeming silence for a moment as the audience and the actors pondered for answers:

Stress from the work place, unable to get money at work, seeing nothing wrong with drinking, claiming that friends would have bought the alcohol for them, access and availability of many brothels in the community, family challenges such as a nagging wife and failing to make ends meet, to release suppressed feelings (spect-actor's responses).

During the FGDs, it was noted that alcohol abuse was a cause of GBV but the question of why a person would abuse it was not asked. From the responses of the audience, it became apparent that alcohol consumed in excess would lead an individual to become mentally weakened which leads to deviant and antisocial behaviours. This observation resonates with Lake *et al.* (2017) who state that human behaviour is learnt and is developed rather than inborn, and is the study of circumstances that connect a stimulus to a response where the response is the behaviour sought to be understood.

Comments for the audience on the first play informed that some of the community members understood gender-based violence as only the physical assault that was taking place. This prompted the researcher to further probe the spect-actors who had come up on stage to take the role of anyone else who was experiencing any form of abuse. Mary was observed to have been abused in various forms. Mary had been physically, socio-economically, and emotionally abused by the husband:



The husband comes back very late at night, drunk, beats up his wife and children, demands food that he does not buy. All this is domestic violence (woman actor).

The dramatic situations presented by the audience members who came onto the stage altered the community participants into people in real-life circumstances. As the spectators became spect-actors, some tough questions for Nhamoinesu and Mary guided the entire community to reflect and find answers on how to prevent GBV in the home and community. At this juncture, it was clear that binge drinking leading to a loss of income and physical confrontation was no longer an acceptable social norm. The drama sought to weaken the roots that strengthened the existing social norms and to initiate conversations for critical reflection.

Maeda (2016) states that in forum theatre, the audience is hard-pressed to think, pushing their thoughts to action and to act (doing theatre art). As Boal (2000: 86) argues:

Doing art means expanding oneself. Human beings are creators, and each time they create something other creations become necessary. Each discovery creates the necessity of other discoveries; each invention begs more inventions.

As the forum theatre progressed, the audience raised questions on the neighbours' responses to the children who were crying for help. The audience felt that the neighbours' reactions were cold and heartless. However, a member of the community took up the role of Mary and changed the scene by running out of the house together with the children to a neighbour who was welcoming. A part of the scene was as follows:

(Mary knocks on the neighbour's door, and the neighbour hastily opens the door as it was midnight and Mary and the children rush in calling for help.)

Mary: (panting)

*Ndibatsireiwo hama* (neighbour, neighbour please help me) (hastily closes door behind herself)

Neighbour:

*Musandiudza kuti murikurwa futi* (Please don't tell me you are fighting again)

Mary: (panting, crying)

Hatisikurwa arikungotirova asi ikozvino ndakwanisa kutiza nekukurumidza (we are not fighting; he is beating us; this time I ran fast enough)

(There is another banging on the door, Nhamoinesu is calling out frantically.)

Nhamoinesu:

*Vhurai ndipinde Hama, mukadzindewangu uyo izvihazvinei nemi togadzirisana toga* (neighbour, open the door, this is none of your business, she is my wife, we will sort ourselves out)

Mary: (whispering)

*Musavhura asi kana mukandipawo mari yebus toziza nedoor rekusei toita kumusha nemabusi emakuseni* (please don't open for him, if you can lend me some money though so that we can go through the back door and go to the village early in the morning)

Neighbour: (whispering to Mary)

*Unosvikepi uchingo tiza, kokozvino nyaya iyi yavekuda kuti igadziriswe avamuchose* (when will this end if you run away from the problem, it is time to deal with it once and for all)

Neighbour: (Shouting back to Nhamoinesu)

*Ukaramba uchiitazvaurikuita izvozvo takuphone mapurisa tirivanhu tose ende tinekodzerano dzkafana hapana anobvumidzwa kushungurudza umwe* (if you don't stop this uncalled-for violence, we shall take matters to the authorities. We all have equal rights, so neither of you should be violent to the others. Try to always settle issues amicably)

(Nhamoinesu continues to bang on the door and shout.) (open the door)

Figure 8.3 depicts Community members participating in the forum theatre.

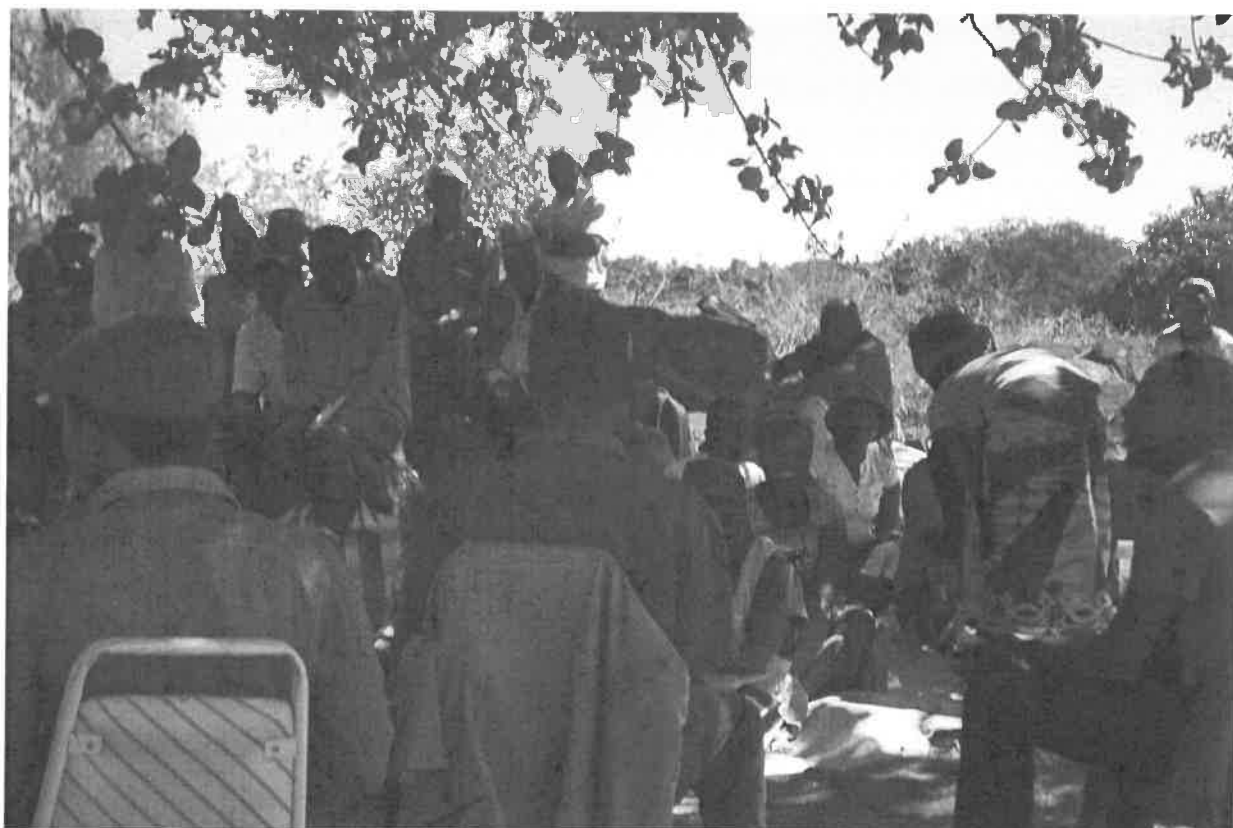


Figure 8.3: Community members participating

The forum theatre opened up layers of complexity to confronting GBV dynamics. The majority of the men in the audience remained rather quiet, not commenting on the diversion of the play. It felt as though the scene had brought them closer to personal experiences. The researcher asked for comments from the men and one man confessed that the scene was all too familiar to him. Wrentschur and Altmann (2012) highlight that changing the scene and solving the conflict taking place opens up unknown views and perspectives of intercultural coexistence which gives rise to alternatives for action for the scenes where certain characters appear defenceless, weak, or helpless during the scene. Women in particular found it easy to take up a part to support themselves against the depicted domestic violence, exhibiting much power and commitment to advocating for the prevention of GBV. Sida (2015) found out in the work entitled *Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies Gender toolbox* that both men and boys are frequently ignored as GBV survivors. However, through working with men in a meaningful way enables men and boys to become agents of change.

As the researcher guided a discussion with the audience members to analyse the above play, most of the audience identified feelings of powerlessness, subjection, and domination. This further prompted the audience members to probe deeper into the motivations of Nhamoinesu's

persistence of continuing his dangerous behaviour, stating that he was taking advantage of his masculinity. Many people in the audience reflected on the husband's behaviour, noting that it was an issue that essentially involved culture, tradition, and power dynamics. These sentiments resonate well with Armstrong (1990), who suggests that there is a thin line between culture and power or control, stating that culture may be a justification for, though not a source of, male abuse. Gender-based violence theorised as cultural in an African context is similar to behaviours known as power and control concerns in other non-African nations, or as dysfunctional in individual psychology or the family (Bowman 2003). The Power and Control Wheel (depicted in Figure 4.1 section 4.2.3), exemplifies that GBV is comprised of a set of activities or acts undertaken by an abuser to retain power and control in the home or relationships (Chavis and Hill 2009). The feminist's theory school of thought assigns men the responsibility of controlling and managing women (Dobash and Dobash 1976). The power inequality within patriarchal societies establishes a social status order that gives men rights and authority within the family, or relationships with women (Zacarias *et al.* 2012). This assertion posits that gender-based violence is attributed to societal structural flaws.

The researcher noted from the discussions that it seemed that many cases of domestic violence were unreported and the issue of domestic violence was not a public issue, and cases are only known after a severe event occurs, such as manslaughter or hospitalisation. A female participant posed a question to Mary: "Why didn't you leave husband before since he is always abusing you?". To the audience, the question was very important as it posed a scenario that perhaps Mary would have a better life away from the husband. A male respondent answered, stating that Mary would not go anywhere since the husband had paid lobola (bride price) for her, that she was his property, and Nhamoinesu was free to do with her that which pleased him. Women stated that the domination and subjugation of women had been placed by men in the home for centuries, and that this has been reinforced by society. Chan (2007: 21) states that patriarchy leads to intra-family abuse. While the root of GBV lies in patriarchal gender roles and men's influence of all facets of women's lives, a variety of interpersonal causes are associated with an increased risk of witnessing such abuse, for example, a history of violence in the family, alcohol abuse by men, and personality disorders (WHO 2005). This assertion concurs with Akers' social learning theory as well as Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory. Men use aggression as a way of exerting themselves to exercise control and authority over their wives or children. It was noted that victim-blaming was justifiable when a victim would have been stated to have infringed traditional gender norms or demonstrated a society-given risk. The victim is blamed for inciting the abuse and is the one responsible for ending the abuse.

Victims are praised for possessing the courage to escape the abusive relationship or, conversely, for continuing and for allowing violence to continue. Reasons that came from the community as to why Mary could not leave her husband varied including issues of poverty and dependency. It was commented that Mary could not leave Nhamoinesu as she had no source of income since she was unemployed. Mary and her children were dependant on Nhamoinesu. As noted in Chapter 2, mining is also criticised for expanding gender imbalances within the mining industry, with women carrying an unequal share of profits and being marginalised. Women in Makusha are mostly housewives; women who are married to mine workers or to artisanal miners and who do the day-to-day household chores. Women in this community play very important roles of taking care of the families, however, in Makusha and many other African societies, these roles are not recognised as they do not bring in any income. Education, financial freedom, and empowerment are commonly accepted preventive factors against domestic violence (VicHealth 2009).

Lwambo (2013) also perceives that the roles of women in society are feminine attributes such as bearing children, cleaning the home, being submissive, and being sexually available and when women do not live up to these expectations, they will have to be punished or disciplined. The community of Makusha, however, acknowledged the unfairness of such behaviour and blamed cultural norms that needed to be changed. A male participant highlighted that it was the responsibility of an individual to change and using the domestic violence acts if one does not change their abusive nature.

From the above remarks, the researcher observed that there was a sense of the normalisation of violence from the community. Normalisation of violence is a condition in which violence becomes routine and is systemic in a community. A male participant commented stating that men beat up their wives in order to discipline them if the woman had done something wrong. However, there was a shout from a woman in the audience asking: “who then should beat up the men since men do all the wrong things?”. This was a question that was met with much support as there was much clapping and cheers from the audience. In the context of the study, for example, frequent and increased cases of violence amongst people living in the mining community normalises violence. The long-term repercussions of violence are normalised and become an acceptable part of culture (Jankowski *et al.* 1999).

During the play, Nhamoinesu shouted at the neighbours, telling them to open the door and release his wife because the situation between them was a private matter and they could rectify their affairs by themselves. Women and men from the community disagreed that domestic violence was a private matter. Two other women came up with a pathway that could

be used by Mary to protect herself and her children from being victims of domestic violence, and advised that they should call for help as loud as they could to the nearest neighbour or authority. As the joker, the researcher asked the audience if the strategy suggested by the two women would be ideal for the prevention of GBV. It was noted that for the immediate response to avoid a catastrophic outcome, it was a better pathway.

Feminist theorists conceptualise that power inequality within patriarchal societies establishes a social status order that gives men rights and authority within the family, or relationships with women (Zacarias *et al.* 2012). However, this intellectual thought socialises women in order to stay quiet and fosters social disparities between men and women, leading to the subordination of women not just within the home, but also within the community, further exposing women to more abuse of different types. The scene revealed the patriarchal denial of the reality of an abusive union, entrapment with no opportunities, terror, and secrecy. As a result, there are many linkages between domestic abuse and social deprivation. Colucci *et al.* (2013) note that persisting societal and cultural silence, and the fear of not being believed, disliked, or revictimised can determine if a woman will be able to seek any help. A participant highlighted that women who usually seek help are ridiculed by the society as they would be stated to be bringing dishonour to their family. These findings echo UNFPA and International Centre for Research on Women (2004 cited in O'Connor and Colucci 2013), that in India, for example, health care providers found a significant number of women who had experienced physical, mental, health, and social effects of sexual assault and who had stayed anonymous due to the dominant systems of society. This part of the drama unveiled the social distress, physical violence, socio-economic violence, and emotional violence that were necessary for the community to scrutinise and change the outcomes. It was mostly relieving that all the audience knew about GBV. The descriptions given by the audience were varied but were the correct descriptions and definitions of GBV.

The prevalence of GBV in Makusha, as was noted in Chapter 4, is very high, and even though it is manifested in many different forms, this was a good start to the task at hand of developing community-based strategies for the prevention of GBV. It is worth acknowledging the fact that when handling complex situations, the subjects should have knowledge of the problems of that which is affecting them.

### **8.5.2 Tackling Inequalities and other Root Causes of the Violence**

During the forum theatre, the researcher posed questions to the audience and the acts to describe causes of domestic violence/gender-based violence other than as were portrayed in

the scenes. One woman mentioned that because of the violence between Nhamoinesu and his wife, Mary, in front of the children, the children became witnesses of violence. She further stated that as long as the mother tolerated the violence and gave in to the father's demands, it seemed as if it would be rewarding. This contribution echoed social learning theorists who purport that human behaviour is learned and is developed rather than inborn, and that it is the study of circumstances that connect a stimulus to a response where the response is the behaviour sought to be understood (Lake *et al.* 2017). Lake *et al.* (2017) also mention that the environment in which a family lives is crucial in how it exposes the family to violence and how it also indoctrinates an acceptance and approval of the use of violence in relationships and vice versa. The children in the scene witnessed their father using aggressive tenets to demand that which he wanted from their mother. Another man from the audience further highlighted that the children witnessing the violence would grow up into deviant characters who would use violence in their home or in the community. Koon-Magnin *et al.* (2016) are also of the opinion that if an individual is exposed or accustomed to attitudes and responses in favour of crime, the person is more likely to engage in crime as a result of this social learning experience. These observations show the importance of finding solutions to prevent anyone from becoming exposed to violence lest it becomes a vicious cycle of violence.

As the forum progressed and in thinking of the suggestion that Mary should leave her husband, the question that needed to be answered was if quitting the relationship and partnership would lead to a decreased risk of future victimisation. The response to this question was important for gender-based violence programs aimed at enabling victims to leave their abusive spouses, as well as policies aimed at enhancing performance outcomes for victims/survivors of domestic violence.

### **8.5.3 The Hospital Scene**

The scene at the hospital depicted the challenges that are faced by those who try to seek help. There was an overwhelming response from the audience during this part of the skit. A member from the health services who was part of the audience replaced the nurse who was attending to Mary further insisting on obtaining a police report. The researcher stopped the play at that point to find out the essence of the report with the help of the spectators. The spect-actor informed the community that a police report was necessary for various reasons which included the question as to whether an offence had taken place such that the case could be handled appropriately and also that the perpetrator would face the full wrath of the law. The nurse explained that which was meant by handling the victim appropriately, stating that:

On receiving a patient who has been assaulted, a medical staff member attends to survivors and accompany the survivor to a specified Survivor Friendly Clinic at the centre or unit to offer the equivalent services for response to their immediate medical care and support needs. (Nurse)

From the gestures by the audience, the researcher noted that they received the explanation well, however noting that they seemed not to be aware of such services at the local clinic. The explanation was in line with the Multi-Sectoral Management of Sexual Abuse and Violence in Zimbabwe (2012). The community members aired their concern as they felt that the above-mentioned services were only on paper and they could not access such services. A woman participant narrated her ordeal in going to the hospital after she was assaulted by her husband:

I went to the hospital after my husband had assaulted me badly, it was not the first time as I had reported the matter to the police who had told me to go back home and try to reason with my husband. When I got to the hospital, the nurses attended to me just as any other case, illness or accident. There was never any mention of the survivor friendly clinic. I could have been helped, maybe I would have had options on how better to handle my situation(Woman-spect-actor).

The scenario that was narrated above highlighted that there were no proper communication channels at the hospital or perhaps that the services mentioned by the nurse were not available in the Makusha community. These challenges relate to the major gaps in policy that are found between the major towns and cities, and the marginalised closed communities such as mining communities. Research has shown that the fear for most survivors of gender-based violence, especially women, was retaliation. Most married women believe that reporting domestic violence to the police is not a safe or a preferred response to the problem (Green, Gunn and Hill 2018; Artz 2011).

#### **8.5.4 The Police Station**

Nhamoinesu gave a bribe to the policeman who released him. The return of Nhamoinesu to his home after that which he had done left a lot to be desired by the community members. The presence of the community leaders as the researcher observed was very important. The bribe highlighted that the policeman did not take the case seriously and was greedy, disregarding the consequences of Nhamoinesu's actions. The police are regarded as the place of refuge from the ills found in the community. The researcher posed a question to the policeman on stage on whether there were established mechanisms to handle gender-based violence and domestic violence. Another policeman took the stage. The researcher later found out that the policeman was the community liaison officer for the republic police Makusha station.



The audience was informed of all the services that were offered by the police to victims of GBV. The services included the availability of the Victim Friendly unit which was responsible for investigating, the arresting of perpetrators of violence, docket compilation, and making referrals in an environment that was conducive, private, friendly, and where the confidentiality was maintained. According to the police officer, policing in the community was a form of monitoring the community's day-to-day activities so as to maintain order and, in the case of GBV, the community was educated on the consequences of GBV through sensitisation- and awareness-raising sessions.

Despite the measures highlighted to the community by the police, and as was indicated in preceding sections, most GBV cases in the community remain unreported, which propagates GBV and minimises the chances of preventing it. The scene where Nhamoinesu gave a bride to be released from custody highlighted deeper problems that community members face in reporting GBV. Most cases are not reported to the police because most perpetrators are not persecuted, hence the fear of being ostracised by members of their families or being hurt by the perpetrator if they complain, or merely because a wife wants to keep the family's peace with the husband who is the perpetrator. According to Jack and Ali (2010), the cultural norms of preserving unity in the family encourage self-silencing in domestic violence. While staying in an abusive relationship is frequently followed by continued victimisation, it is often unclear, though, that leaving a violent relationship will bring peace.

## **8.6 Scene 2**

The other police station scene depicted sexual abuse and violence against men. The stigma that both the female sex worker and the male victim face in the community was the same. Their situations were deemed as taboo in the community. The scene is as follows.

At the Police Station:

It is at midday, three people are sitting in the charge office room, two women and a man, and a young woman (Woman 1, who is a sex worker) is standing leaning over the counter. Behind the counter, there are two police officers, a man and a woman, lazily waiting for the lunch hour to strike.

**Woman 1** (a sex worker):

(Her face looks bruised, reddish, and blotted. She looks very angry and throwing harsh words at the male police officer.)

I told him that I don't want to sleep with you and he forces me, says I was his regular client. And after forcing me he beat me twice, twice then left, leaving nothing.

Male police officer: (The male officer remains unmoved, and looks annoyed)

Isn't it your work, so how come you were raped?

Woman 1: (In anger)

My work is none of your business Officer, I told you I was raped, then you tell me that I deserve it because of my line of work. How dare you tell me such stupid things?

Male police officer: (The male police officer, interrupting)

*Ambuya imhosva iyoyo kutuka vanhu vemutemo* (It is a criminal offence to insult the law)

Woman 1: (She jumps up near the police officer's face, in anger)

If you know the law, so is rape not an offence, right?

(Suddenly a man in his middle ages enters straight to the counter, his left eye is brutally bruised, and he goes where the female police officer is.)

Man 1:

Good day Madam, I have come to report my wife for bashing me.

Female officer: (The female officer turns in surprise; she waves to her other male counterpart to join her.)

Officer, may you come here and hear this joke. So this whole giant man said that his wife had beaten him (She says gazing at the man mockingly).

Male police officer:

Are you not a man? Any way what have you done to deserve it?

Man 1:

It's just, I have come home late, as a miner, and there is a lot to do.

Female police officer: (The female officer interrupts)

Coming home late from work? That's a total lie, you were with one of those sexual workers (pointing to woman 1).

(Man 1 and Woman 1 both exit out of the charge office.)

From the above scene, it is worth noting that violence against men where women are that perpetrators also occur in the community of Makusha. Sex workers have been facing

challenges due to the fact that their profession has been very much shunned in the community. During the enactment of the scene for the second time to enable the audience to be part of the act, a young woman took the role of the police officer attending to the sex worker and further insulted her:

Why are you here in this community? You have come here with your loose moral that you want to teach our children, your diseases that you carry (HIV & STIs) you also want to infect our husbands and children, go back to where you came from. You deserve to be raped, look at even the way you are dressed. Have you no shame? (spect- actor)

At this point, the researcher stopped the play and commented on the comments that are given above that the research team needed to accommodate everyone since everyone present was part of the community who needed to contribute to developing pathways that were conducive for everyone regardless of their profession. The above comments led the researcher to think that the profession of the woman diverted the case in point which was rape. The researcher further probed the community members on the issue of rape. A health practitioner who was part of the audience explained that rape was another form of gender-based violence that can happen to anyone, whether male or female, and regardless of profession. The stigmatisation, judgement, and persecution of sex workers in the community takes place because of unfair and imbalanced power relations between the female sex workers on the one hand and the general public, the police, and health workers on the other hand, leaving them exposed to many forms of violence:

Rape is an act of non-consensual sexual intercourse. This can include the invasion of any part of the body with a sexual organ and/or the invasion of the genital or anal opening with any object or body part. Rape and attempted rape involve the use of force, threat of force, and/or coercion. Any penetration is considered rape. Efforts to rape someone which do not result in penetration are considered attempted rape (IASC 2005).

Maseko (2012) suggests that stigma and discrimination through hate speech endorsed by leaders in the community perpetuate or encourage an environment of homophobia. The researcher noted the division between the local married women from the audience and the sex workers who were present. The married women accused the sex workers of snatching away their husbands and at the same time of stealing money for which the women claimed to have worked from their husbands. As the forum theatre continued, a member of the audience highlighted that the issue that was being reported by the woman was a serious issue that needed a solution, also mentioning that if left unresolved, this could cause further problems for the community. The policeman in the skit presented his lack of knowledge on gender-based violence issues which led the researcher to probe for the best-case scenario. The community

liaison officer replaced the policeman who was handling this case and changed to an unknowledgeable policeman asking in a more concerned and professional manner about that which had transpired and advising the sex worker on the channels that she would have to follow to bring the perpetrator to justice.

In the drama, the male victim of gender-based violence was ridiculed by the very people from whom he should get help. It appeared that the police officers were gender-sensitive. This however can be attributed to the fact that when the issue of gender-based violence is being discussed, it normally emphasises women's issues and ignores men's issues, yet men can also be survivors of gender-based violence. Carpenter (2006 cited in Marinussen 2010) notes that there is a definitional and conceptual misperception, confusion, and misuse of the terminology *GBV* as it is commonly defined as *VAW*. However, this develops obstacles to understanding brutality against men and boys. This confusion has been brought about because approximately 90% of the victims of gender-based violence are women but then, even if one man is abused, he also deserves justice (Human Rights Watch 2011). A man commented on this observation, stating that men do not report cases of violence because of the fear of being embarrassed in front of the officers to whom they report, as was noted in the play. This further proves that gender-based violence is gender-neutral even though women are the ones who are mostly affected rather than men. The causes of the retaliation by women in the mining community is that the mining activities that cause men to leave their families for a period of time disrupts traditional gender stereotypes and gives women new positions as family heads. However, an abuser is lead into such behaviour because of jealousy such as constantly questioning their partner's whereabouts, jealous of the time she spends away from him. Controlling behaviour; the victim cannot get a job, leave the house, or bathe without permission or that the partner holds very rigid gender roles to an extent that the partner's job is to cater to the abuser. It was noted that Holds very rigid gender roles; partner's job is to cater to the abuser. Furthermore, men who abuse are clever, smart, and incredibly charming. Mostly possessing a charisma that pulls people in, adept at enticing, deceiving and manipulating hence becomes difficult when a survivor reports an attack as usually she is not easily trusted. "Normally, people would say: "Not him, he's so nice." "You're so lucky".

## **8.7 Community-Based Pathways for the Prevention of Gender-Based Violence**

Forum theatre is an effective technique of exemplifying and recreating a social problem in a manner that is emotionally accessible. It becomes closer to the truth and opens some

communication platforms. Individuals, together with a community, have the ability to change how a system works such that actions can take unexpected and unplanned pathways that are sustainable for the community and the individual. The dynamics of GBV, the aims and effects of different behaviours, and the gap between anticipated outcomes and reality are manifested to both the actors and the audience.

The forum theatre dramas that were held in the Makusha community proved to be very fruitful as the community members suggested pathways that they believed would prevent gender-based violence or reduce its prevalence in the community. However, the community suggestions, if put together, might not be comprehensive in addressing and responding to the phenomenon, but a behavioural change approach was supported by the majority of the community members as well as including a multi-sectoral approach that works with community leaders. Acquiring approval from elected local leaders, including local community leaders, is a critical first step towards achieving public approval of culturally responsive services and reducing the possibility of backlash. Ward councillors, religious leaders, traditional leaders, local authorities, the police, people from the education and health sectors, among others, were approached to demand better responses to gender-based violence.

The forum theatre stimulated critical thinking among the people of Makusha and allowed them to embark on a mutual goal of searching for solutions to their problems. Critical thinking is fundamentally a process of questioning information and data. With critical thinking, anything and everything is subject to question and examination for the purpose of logically constructing reasoned perspectives. Critical thinking and problems-solving go hand-in-hand (Colley, Bilics and Lerch, 2012). The members of the community and the community leadership played crucial roles in advocating to change certain norms and attitudes which included traditional gender roles that condone and justify gender-based violence and these expectations include gender roles, dominance, and conflict or abuse attitudes and perceptions that abuse is natural in a romantic or dating partnership. Challenges, however, for strategies of addressing cultural or social norms combine groups with different customs or beliefs from the community, hence the interventions these beliefs are integrated and or complementary to other approaches. Pathways for the prevention of GBV hence need to be sectioned into these sub-groups, rather than addressing the entire community at once.

At the end of each forum theatre session, the researcher summed the role of facilitator and held that which was called the show. The show was a brief question-and-answer segment with the idea of bringing together the pathways that the community members had suggested during the drama section. This part made the intervention. The issue of GBV, however, is very broad

such that the pathways were put into different action plans which mainly included efforts at primary prevention. According to Cohen and Chehimi (2010), primary prevention is preventing the use of violence before it first occurs and the efforts to improve the responses to the violence after it has occurred.

#### **8.7.1 Self-Help Initiative**

Strategies that were identified after the members of the community, who had been the audience for the drama, became involved would have changed the outcome of the play after a conflict. Interventions at the individual level included that of understanding each other in the family to reduce the occurrence of violence. During the first scene, Nhamoinesu has some underlying problems that he was facing as a man that he needed his family to understand. By understanding the root causes of Nhamoinesu's behaviour, Mary and the children would have been at an advantage of perhaps seeking help for him to improve his behaviour. Through the discussions, a suggestion that was enthusiastically met by the community was creating space for people who identify with Nhamoinesu's character and behaviour. This suggestion was in line with Lederach's (2003) conflict transformation theory which posits that if people of the same belief work together to change a certain behaviour, their solutions will be more worthwhile and more sustainable. The intervention sought to transform the way in which men see themselves as men and their behaviour towards women. These focused on affecting people who are not themselves violent by promoting discriminatory and offensive confrontation with other men. Nhamoinesu was an alcoholic, as he was described, and his behaviour was affecting the people around him, hence the need for outside help where he would feel understood and accepted for him to become a better person (Jewkes *et al.* 2015). An example of such an intervention, the Alcoholics Anonymous group, has been used to assist drug and alcohol addicts in different countries and has proved to be an effective dialog platform (Reid 2017).

#### **8.7.2 The Neighbour's Keeper**

At the individual level, for example, the sex worker, who was shunned by the community and unable to get any help when she was raped, was led to self-isolation that would lead to behavioural tendencies that could be harmful such as suicide. Community members formed a strategy that they called the neighbour's keeper. This meant that the community members had the responsibility of ensuring that their neighbours were safe at all times and, in case of any problems, they would be held accountable. This strategy was similar to the bystander intervention which was noted by Banyard, Plante and Moynihan (2007) to be a primary prevention method where bystanders effectively intervene in harmful scenarios if they have

knowledge and awareness of the issue and a sense of personal responsibility. Being the neighbour's keeper proved to be a strategy that the community of Makusha embraced. A community elder mentioned that this strategy was not a new concept as it was used in the traditional family settings. The elder further mentioned that the concept of the neighbour's keeper created the very important aspect of unity and respect within the community. This assertion concurs with Reid (2017) who highlights that taking responsibility for the actions of others allows a person to become a fully rounded human being in the community in which they reside.

A ward councillor also supported the comments from the community elder stating that this neighbour's keeper notion was also similar to the neighbourhood watch committees that were in existence in the community before. The researcher inquired to know what had happened to the neighbourhood watch committees. The councillor mentioned that due to the instability of the national economy which saw many men resorting to illegal mining activities (*chikorokoza*), taking them to the mining fields for two or more weeks away from their homes, had seen the abandonment of the initiative. The difference between the neighbour's keeper and the neighbourhood watch was that the neighbourhood watch mainly concentrated on issues concerning robberies at night in the community and the men would take turns to patrol in and around the community. The neighbour's keeper, as described here, involved everyone. It was not left only to the men, and women and children were all involved, and it was also active throughout the day. It was noted that the neighbour's keeper initiative would keep everyone on their toes which meant that if everyone was on the lookout for any trouble, even the perpetrators of violence would become conscious of their actions, hence bringing about a reduction of violent situations in the community. This initiative resonates with a popular Shona proverb which states '*kugona mbavha kuirongera*' which means that 'if you want to tame a thief, you work with them'.

The community members gave suggestions of how this strategy was going to function. Firstly, if a member of the community identifies or suspects that any member of the community is prone to victimisation or exposed to abusive situations, they would have to alert other members of the community or an elder who would have to investigate the matter discreetly and advise the victim to alert the authorities who would take the necessary legal actions. If the elders or religious leaders such as clergymen and counsellors were able to offer their services and intervene in situations before the matters got out of hand, they would do so. Religious leaders had always been acting as mediators for their church members when they were approached in cases of violence in the family or relationships.

The strategy of the neighbour's keeper initiative was accepted by the community as an avenue that could be beneficial to the community in preventing gender-based violence. The community nominated two elderly community members, all the ward councillors of Makusha (four), members of the police (four), nurses from the hospital (four), church leaders from all the different church denominations in the community, school head teachers of all schools, members of non-governmental organisations, mine and retail shop owners, leaders from sex workers, and leaders from women cooperatives in the community. The committee was formed to assess and evaluate the neighbour's keeper mandate and improve where necessary. The committee would meet four times a year (quarterly) on a round table coordinated by the community leaders.

### **8.7.3 Social Media Platforms**

Because of the complexity of gender-based violence, another pathway to its prevention was formed, the use of technology identified through the use of cellular phones. Social media has been noted to be of great advantage in the circulation of information in contemporary times in increasing the safety of women in communities. The use of phones in passing information has been used in many different platforms working with groups rather than individuals. An example is Fight Back, a mobile application that has been used in India which uses Global Positioning Systems (GPS) to discover the locations of women in the society and to notify family and friends using a panic button which sends out an alert. The Fight Back application has been signalled as an innovative technological development. The Fight Back initiative has been evaluated and it was noted that, to a certain degree, there was a significant drop in numbers of GBV cases reported in India. However, this application could not tackle the main causes of GBV and the women were left to protect themselves.

A WhatsApp group was formed for social mobilisation and consciousness-raising hence creating a group of people who would work together to challenge existing social ills. The WhatsApp group was open for everyone from the community who had a smart phone. The ward councillors compiled names of people who were to be included in the group. The notion behind the formation of the group was for community members to have discussions on matters that affect them and assist each other on how to manoeuvre around a challenge. The platform, however, had rules to be followed such as was suggested by the police that there be no prejudice, judgement, or bias towards each other. It was noted that the majority of the people in Makusha had mobile phones which meant that many people in the community were going to be part of the initiative. A male participant suggested that they have other groups which



included only boys and men and also another one which included girls and women only. This was so because he mentioned that:

At times there might be issues that are sensitive for men that would not be ideal for the women to hear and vice versa.(spect-actor)

To avoid any discrimination when making contributions, the group's information contacts were managed in such a way that no one was able to know who had posted or commented, that is, all members were ghost participants.

#### **8.7.4 Traditional Methods**

Some women and men in Makusha viewed the criminal justice system (the police) available as foreign to their culture and not sustainable to handle GBV in the family and marriages. This was mentioned during the drama when one woman stated that the justice system was mandated to punish criminals and perpetrators of violence in civil courts lacking emphasis on reconciliation and reparation between the conflicting parties. Hence the criminal justice system was not effective in dealing with domestic violence among ethnic groups. An elderly community member echoed the same sentiments highlighting that before the globalisation era, there had been a customary law system which used indigenous institutions, including family courts and community courts. In the Zimbabwean cultural context, the family is one unit which places emphasis on respect and Ubuntu. The researcher noted that the elderly people from the community advocated for the family system of solving disputes while the younger people opted for the criminal justice system as they mentioned that the family systems had been broken due to issues of migration. Chuma and Chazovachii (2012: 179) note that the Shona people generally believe that "family disputes should never come before a public court; they should be solved within the family". The family system was explained by one elder as:

For example, when a young married couple is having problems or are fighting in their marriage they would have to go to their in-laws and present their issues to (*tete* or *sekuru*) aunt or uncle who played this role of conflict resolution. They would be family meetings that would act as a court to solve the problems. The family structure was important as it was mandatory to respect the views of the elders. (Community Elder, Spect-actor)

In light of the above statements, the community of Makusha opted to mix the traditional and the contemporary ways of conflict resolution such as having informal men and women courts under the traditional leadership of the community, so as to bring GBV acts and solve cases of abuse against women and children in the public domain and isolate them from the abusive circumstances.

### 8.7.5 Family Clubs

Family clubs were yet another pathway that was suggested by other community members. The notion of family clubs came from the concept of peace clubs. As was noted in previous chapters (section 5.5), Peace Clubs are a platform where people learn from each other, exchanging ideas and experiences and applying the knowledge of peace in their way of living. This strategy was suggested as it was noted that there were some families who presented themselves as role model families who lived in peace and showed love for each other. A male participant from the forum theatre highlighted that the reason why there are many conflicts in families was that people did not know the meaning of love. He further stated that most women quantified love with material objects and suggested that community members are taught the true meaning of love. The saying that 'love conquers all' resonates with the observation. If love for one another is encouraged, then violence or conflicts will be reduced, as remarked by another participant.

Every action on a particular issue starts with an individual and cascades to the family and then the community, as mentioned by Bronfenbrenner's (1997) ecological systems theory that interactions and occurrences at the microsystem/individual level play a major role in -initiated gender-based violence.

The family clubs would function as get-together activities by different families such that there would be informal contact between members of different families. The children, mothers, and fathers would interact together. An example of how the families could meet was that three or four families could set a date to meet for a family gathering where they would have dinner, a braai, or even prayers. In this way, they would have an opportunity to tell each other stories or issues that might be of interest or issues on which they would need help, as stated by the community members. The showing of love for one another in the different context helps for people to have one goal on issues that affect them. Family clubs were to be initiated by the families themselves choosing the families that they would like to visit ensuring however that they would visit all the families in the community at least once. From this strategy, the researcher gathered that it meant all the people of Makusha will, at some point in their lives, know each other, hence a sense of unity and Ubuntu will prevail. As such, if done in an amicable manner, this will lead to a reduction of conflict in the community. Family clubs were meant for people to learn from each other's experiences and exchange ideas that would improve their standard of living. It was also mentioned that during these family clubs, the sharing of ideas was not limited to conflicts only but open to all issues that constituted everyday living. People could discuss about business, politics, fashion, and education, to name a few

topics. As the researcher reflected on the strategy, it gave her a sense of oneness, freedom, and a sense of belonging that echoes well with peace. This strategy of family clubs resonates well with Allport's (1954) contact theory which states that bringing people together from different backgrounds or groups has the ability to reduce prejudice, resulting in peaceful and sustainable outcomes.

#### **8.7.6 Self-Defense Clubs**

GBV, domestic violence, and sexual violence are mainly experienced by women in the Makusha community, as was reported by the police officers present, hence women also had to be empowered to be able to defend themselves. Self-defence clubs were highlighted as a means for women to be more confident and more at ease when moving around in the community. The self-defence clubs were to be set up in the community. The suggestions came from police officers who had been trained on self-defence and had volunteered to train women and girls in the community. Walker (1992) defines self-defence as the use of equivalent force or force necessary to resist danger when a person perceives that they are in looming danger of physical violence or threat of death. The police would offer weekly meetings at their premises with the goal of empowering and healing survivors of violence. This initiative was welcomed by many women from the community and it was named I Am Strength (IMS). The name was very appealing and conveyed the meaning clearly, 'I am strength' meaning that 'I have the power to conquer it all'. The pathway aimed to build self-defence knowledge to improve the participants' self-confidence and physical strength as they were to be trained in martial arts and boxing. This initiative had also been used and was successful in Malawi and Kenya, as noted by Decker *et al.* (2018).

#### **8.7.7 Sporting Development Initiatives**

The men suggested that there be sporting development initiatives set up in the community. This was exciting for the researcher as the suggestion was in line with a global youth violence reduction program drawing on the potential of sport as a peace-making instrument launched by the United Nations which was part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. It was noted that in the community, there existed forms of sporting activities such as soccer, netball, darts, as well as snooker. The pathway that the community members initiated meant that the sporting activities were going to be held in a more systematic way which would attract many community members to participate.

It was suggested that they would form teams according to the number of council wards in Makusha. This meant that there were four teams in the community. The teams were open for

everyone to participate and become a team member or even a team supporter. The idea behind this strategy was such that people would meet regularly for their different disciplines and interact such that they would get to know more about each other. It was noted that fair play and team spirit foster pro-social behaviour patterns and help to reduce aggressiveness among those who perpetrate violence within the communities (Commission of the European Communities 2007). This was an ideal innovation for the people of Makusha as it was going to bring in more men from the mines as sporting was deemed as a form of entertainment. During the baseline study of this thesis, the researcher observed that any form of entertainment was used as a means of attracting people to attend events held in the mining community.

Sporting as a tool to enhance the prevention of gender-based violence in Makusha was going to attract many participants and would also be a platform where people would meet regularly and more often than any other pathway that had been suggested. The participants agreed that there would be training for various sporting activities once every week on Wednesday at the community stadium. The councillors with four other identified people (two men and two women) had the responsibility to coordinate and facilitate to ensure the success of the weekly sporting activities. On the sport days, awareness campaigns and dialogues between the community members and any stakeholder such as the police and local authorities were to be held. The sporting platform would involve even the youth of the community as sporting is for everyone. Having the sporting activities every Wednesday meant that people in the community had more contact time and, as such, an opportunity to address factors that intensify gender-based violence. Taking part in sporting activities diverts attention from other activities such as drinking alcohol and gambling – this is in agreement with Allport's (1954) contact theory which states that a pre-condition to reduce prejudice is that when people or groups meet, they have to remove classifications such that everyone is of equal standing. The community members welcomed this initiative and expressed their enthusiasm.

#### **8.7.8 Women Empowerment Programmes**

The prevention of gender-based violence takes many different initiatives as the phenomenon is highly complex with many root causes. Women participants highlighted the need of empowerment programmes for women, empowerment programmes that would assist women to raise some form of income such that they become less dependent on their husbands. Research has shown that gender-based violence has caused women to remain in the background of economic, social, and political empowerment and that empowering women in economic and political activities makes peacebuilding and conflict resolution efforts more

sustainable (CEDAW 1979; United Nations Inter-parliamentary Union 2003; UN Women 2015).

The women spoke of engaging in small-scale soap, candle, perfume, and cleaning detergents production businesses to make themselves more self-reliant and ease some of the financial burden from their husbands as well. However, this initiative tended to be more individualistic rather than being a community initiative and needed more research for its success in the Makusha community. More engagement with NGOs, CBOs, and the government in conjunction with the women is needed to assist them in gaining access to leadership positions such that they may promote for human rights and the prevention of violence.

## **8.8 Chapter Summary**

This chapter presented the forum theatre as the tool for the social intervention of finding the pathways that could be used in the community to prevent gender-based violence. Forum theatre was used as a methodology of finding the community perceptions on gender-based violence. Three dramas were enacted and the community audiences participated in the forum theatre. The chapter highlighted the pathways that community members suggested for their community. The pathways included self-help initiatives, family clubs, the neighbour's keeper initiative, traditional methods, social media platforms, and sports initiatives. All the strategies that the community members developed had the support of the local community leadership. The initiatives drew people together and discussed the root causes of domestic violence and gender-based violence that was prevalent in the community, and through these platforms, taboo topics such as sex and abuse were openly discussed hence diffusing the privacy that imparts power to harmful practices. The programs varied in their targets but all had the same goal of the prevention of gender-based violence. The participants agreed that they would meet quarterly to evaluate the challenges and achievements of the interventions so as to improve or abandon the interventions. The next chapter will evaluate in detail and show results from the pathways that the community implemented.

## **CHAPTER 9**

### **EVALUATION OF THE FORUM THEATRE OUTCOMES**

#### **9.1 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on evaluating the community-based pathways to the prevention of GBV as suggested by community members of Makusha. Forum theatre was used and accepted as an approach to find home-grown community pathways to the prevention of GBV. Several strategies such as self-help initiatives, family clubs, the neighbour's keeper initiative, traditional methods, social media platforms, sporting initiatives, and women empowerment strategies were adopted to use in the community. Through the dialogues, forum theatre was an instrument of social analysis which made a deep impression among the spectators. A theatrical mode of communication enriches the growth of the person as well as the development of the society which is important for closed communities such as mining communities (Thakur 2013).

The evaluation of the forum theatre workshop (process evaluation) as well as the implementation of the pathways were highlighted in Chapter 7. This chapter will focus on the impact (outcome) evaluation as well as assessing whether there has been a change of behaviour and attitude towards relationship abuse and in the society at large. The evaluations were participatory in nature and carried out in collaboration with the Makusha community members. The aim of evaluation is to measure the impact of the pathways and determine the lessons learned from the study, proposing future improvements and places for development – it is also known as summative research (Durden 2003). This chapter will discuss the applicability/appropriateness, adeptness, effectiveness, connectedness, and impact of the pathways as implemented by the community. The evaluation, however, revealed that some of the interventions had made some positive improvements in attitudes and actions amongst the community members and their families despite the fact that it was not possible during the intervals of the evaluations to establish whether or not the pathways were sustainable. The purpose of the outcome evaluation was to determine whether positive progress was produced by the study interventions rather than by other superfluous factors.

#### **9.2 The Evaluation Process**

During the process of evaluation, the community developed a number of initiatives that were to be implemented for the prevention of gender-based violence in the community of Makusha.

The evaluations of the pathways started immediately after the drama was performed. Qualitative methods of evaluation included qualitative household interviews, FGDs, and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with the relevant stakeholders as well as community visits and observations. The issue of gender-based violence is complicated to evaluate as it requires the evaluation of behaviour change and attitudes. Qualitative research evaluation is a real issue, as one key informant commented:

The evaluation of human behaviour is not easy as evaluating the acquiring of a skill. It is a nightmare particularly if you think about someone's attitude towards another person, how do you measure someone attitude? It is unmeasurable before the forum theatre and remains unmeasurable even after the plays? (KII, Nurse)

### **9.2.1 Key Informant Interviews**

The researcher used key informant interviews to analyse predictive and causal influences as well as a qualitative review of the topics under evaluation. The key informant interviews were driven by semi-structured questions using generic open-ended questions, allowing for non-standardised follow-up questions that ranged between key informants to perform an in-depth review of key points when they appeared. In total, the researcher conducted twelve key informant interviews with various key stakeholders who included four police officers (two males and two females), two nurses, two church leaders, two traditional leaders, two ward counsellors, and four community elders (two males and two females).

### **9.2.2 Focus Group Discussions**

The researcher used FGDs to scrutinise informative and causal influences relevant to GBV, as with key informant interviews. The reason for using FGDs is that they are participatory debates. Specific FGDs consisted of around six to eight individuals, but in some situations, FGDs had more or fewer participants. A total of four FGDs were conducted across the community. The research team had four groups, two adult women and two adult men focus groups. The focus groups were focused on a series of open-ended questions aimed at promoting truthful opinions on the effectiveness of the strategies that had been used since the enactment of the dramas. The researcher's hope was also to determine whether the objectives of the forum theatre performance had been met. Prior to the collection of data, the researcher clarified the purpose of the evaluation and emphasised the importance of confidentiality.

### **9.2.3 Household Interviews**

Household interviews were conducted aided by semi-structured interview guides, with the majority of the questions being answered. The interviews were carried out by the assistant

researcher and five volunteer members from the Mbizi drama club. Household interviews are very essential forms of evaluation, as stated by Donovan (1997), and the household in many societies is the primary unit of production and consumption and in the social context where behaviours are learnt, whether good or bad. The qualitative data produced by the evaluation offered valuable insights into the magnitude of the effect of some of the strategies that were suggested for use through the forum theatre. The evaluation randomly selected a targeted total of 60 adult households, with equal representation of males and females in the community.

The respondents experienced forum theatre as an opportunity that helped them to develop better life skills, take on challenges, and recognise that they have power over their own lives (Linesch *et al.* 2014). The research team also examined women's views and attitudes towards their male peers. Specifically, the assessment aimed to evaluate the progress in achieving strategic outcomes and decide if the outcomes related to the ultimate objective of the prevention of gender-based violence and the viability of such strategies.

#### **9.2.4 Challenges and Limitations of the Evaluation**

The evaluation was complex and challenging due to the timeframe of the study, it was difficult to always conduct the field work with the stipulated timelines because of national issues such as the presidential elections which stirred much pre-election violence. The violence prevented the research team from holding any gatherings as they were restricted by the government. The election period consumed six months of the study period. Because of the power and gender dynamics, the evaluation process was polarised as the same questions and the evaluation findings were subjected to different interpretations. It proved difficult to contact informants and to collect data as some respondents still perceived the research team as *vafuriri* (deceivers) and as a potential danger. However, with the assistance of the Mbizi drama club members who were also community members, trust was built with the community.

Logistical arrangements were also challenging when conducting the household interviews, key informant interviews, as well as the FGDs because most respondents could not be contacted by phone to make appointments and thus much time was lost trying to make appointments at times that would be suitable for all the participants. This caused a dense schedule for many interviews. Another challenge that the researcher faced during the evaluation period was limited funds. This was caused by the scheduling and cancellations of appointments by some key respondents such that the researcher had to make more visits to Makusha than the anticipated field visits and also because of the evaluation.



The above-mentioned challenges caused very many delays in the evaluation process, however, the research team responded with additional efforts and working days to complete the evaluation as planned.

### **9.3 Findings based on the Evaluation**

This section outlines the key findings of the evaluation. The findings focus on the applicability/appropriateness, adeptness, effectiveness, connectedness, and impact of the pathways as implemented by the community. The strategies that were adopted by the community included self-help initiatives, family clubs, the neighbour's keeper initiative, traditional methods, social media platforms, sporting initiatives, and women empowerment strategies.

#### **9.3.1 Relevance and Appropriateness**

This section analyses the degree to which the aims, implementation plans, programs, and methodologies have been tailored to the beneficiaries' needs and preferences and discusses community issues. Data from the assessment shows that its importance lay in the effectiveness of the treatments. In the project area, GBV has been identified as a concern. This indicates that interventions are guided by demand rather than by supply, indirectly indicating that they are important to the needs of the community members. During the key informant interviews, it was mentioned by the health personnel that there was a significant drop in the numbers of people who would come to the hospital due to violence/assault for treatment and they attributed this to the community strategies that have been employed in the community:

After the forum theatre workshops there was a buss of excitement in the community that people talked about it and showed great appreciation of the strategies. The WhatsApp platform was very good as it complemented the neighbour's keeper and the family clubs. I am a member of all these strategies and the results are not only at the hospital they are seen even in the way people relate to each other in the community. It was like all of a sudden we are all relatives. (KII- Nurse)

Findings from the focus group discussions depicted that the community received the strategies and were willing to try them out for the benefit of the individual, family, community, and society at large. There were a few programs or events prior to the launch of these initiatives that discussed the needs of survivors of GBV in Makusha which were also a top-down approach to the prevention of GBV. Sensitive issues or issues that require the change in behaviour or attitude of an individual require in-depth analysis to find the root causes of such behaviour as well as consultation with the people and communities involved. The initiatives were inclusive

and comprehensive, hence they were relevant to the community of Makusha. The interventions delivered results of relevance to the needs of everyone for several reasons. It was mentioned that:

Because interventions were identified in a participatory manner with the involvement of all key stakeholders in the community, including community leaders, community elders, church leaders, women, men and youth leaders, local authorities, and the police, health personnel, among others, it gave a sense of ownership/sense of responsibility to all. (FGD-Male group)

This observation resonates with Brauch *et al.* (2016) who state that instilling a sense of ownership inspires a person to be responsible and accountable. If a person is accountable and responsible, it leads to sustainability which involves fulfilling one's own desires without undermining future generations' capacity to meet their needs.

The neighbour's keeper strategy was one of the most popular pathways that was adopted by the community. This was observed through the key informant interviews as well as the FGDs as it was highlighted that everyone in the community was participating, looking out for one another, and describing that if one community member was affected it affected the whole community, as a community elder mentioned.

The researcher noted that the neighbour's keeper strategy combined with the social media platforms (WhatsApp groups) made it easier and quicker for information to circulate to members of the community. Participants of the interviews further mentioned that it was cheaper and there was no risk of being accused of being a sell-out since on the WhatsApp group chats, everyone was a ghost participant (a ghost participant is a participant who is anonymous). It was also through this platform that notices for events taking place in the community would be posted, as well as awareness material for GBV issues and other issues concerning the community. The social media platform was highly relevant to the prevention of GBV in the community as it was open and people would discuss issues that affect them or others. Issues that were discussed included sexual abuse of minors, rape cases, denial of resources such as money to supplement livelihoods, the effects of early marriages, the merits and demerits of polygamy, the awareness of the available legal frameworks, and HIV and AIDS, among many other issues in the community.

The use of traditional methods of conflict resolution in the community was however as unpopular as was hoped for by the advocates. The neighbours' keeper was taken as a new concept that was useful in these contemporary times of technology. This was because, as mentioned in the focus group discussions, the method would have been ideal in a rural area

context where traditional courts were being used. The migration of people from different communities left no room for traditional efforts of conflict resolution. A key informant stated that:

Violence had been part and parcel of life but not to the extent as it is being experienced nowadays, the mixture of cultures due to migration contributes to erosion of culture which can cause violence. What is perceived in the Ndebele culture for example, that a man can live with his in-laws even before marriage is perceived in the Shona culture as a taboo. Henceforth to solve conflict with differences in traditions in a homogenous community is difficult (KII- Traditional Leader).

The political atmosphere in the community also hinders the revival of the traditional methods of conflict resolution. These sentiments were highlighted by the community elders during interviews, who believed that because of the different political parties in the community, there were tensions created by political conflict and a lack of confidence between community members. Political unrest was usually noticeable just before, during, and just after elections and caused community members to fear participation in community development initiatives. During the election phase in politics, Rukuni (2018) notes that most elected leaders ignore social order and reverence and it creates disunity in communities. Chikwanda (2014) mentions that political violence and elections cause complications including forced displacements (migration), abductions, kidnapping, murders, the rape of women and children, as well as broken ties. These effects affected the social community order and family relations, hence as a result of political differences, approaching elders in the community for conflict resolution became difficult because of their conflicting political affiliations, and conversing well together with children and parents or wives and husbands have failed. To overcome this negative politics (Rukuni, 2018) in his study recommended that a bottom-up approach and not a trickle-down practice for the attainment of durable and sustainable peace was step in the right direction. Communities need to be involved in the formulation of intervention strategies that benefit them as that enhances the concept of ownership of intervention strategies.

According to the findings from the key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and the household interviews the traditional methods of conflict resolution were not relevant for the community of Makusha. The researcher felt that this evaluation, if it had been done at a different time, would yield different results, or if the political environment was made safer for community members, and perhaps this called for more research. As noted by Rukuni (2018), African traditions call for *Hunhu* which is a concept that emboldens people to love each other and accept each other, and to live in peace. However, this concept has become an empty word in the community of Makusha as people have become selfish – this is shown even

through statements as “each man for himself and God for us all”. During the forum theatre dialogues, the researcher felt encouraged when the suggestion of traditional dialogues was mentioned, since the researcher thought that the resuscitation of traditional platforms such as *dare* (consultative meetings) and the council of elders (*makurukota*) would yield better results and provide the right platform encouraging people to think about how their behaviour affects others and the importance of accepting other people’s opinions.

The family clubs, however replaced the traditional methods, as was mentioned by participants from the household interviews. It was noted that the family clubs were very appropriate and relevant to the community of Makusha. The family clubs brought many families together and community members were still keen to continue with the interactions. It was noted that (at the time of the evaluation) more than thirteen families have visited each other, some making two to three visits to different families:

Many things have changed through these family clubs. They are a modern way of bringing people closer to each other. My family and I have had more than three family visits and we have learnt how to talk and listen to each other because of one of the families we visited. Through this I discovered that my son was mingling with the wrong crowd. I really appreciate these family clubs (household interview participant).

I learnt that our individual actions always affect the whole family as well as the community in one way or another and as such, the family club opened my eyes to think about my own behaviour and how it affects even other families in the community and that when I am a better person the family and community reaps dividend and when there are acts of violence and conflict everyone in the family, community and society suffers (household interview participant).

I have observed that there is a calmness that is prevailing in our community. People know one another in the community and from which family they belong to. It becomes very awkward for one to behave indifferently towards another when you are known by many people. How will you face your family and community if you are caught up in a bad situation will be the question (men’s focus group discussion participant).

Family clubs have also become a form of another family that someone had never had. My husband has become concerned about what others perceive of his behaviour. This was after we paid a visit to one of the families within the community for dinner and night prayer. He was impressed by how the husband was behaving around his family and since that day we have never fought and he has actually been taking full responsibility of his duties as a husband and father (women focus group participant).

It was through these family clubs that in my family we can now eat together at the same time and even plan on issues that improve our wellbeing (women focus group participant).

I got ideas on how I can involve my family in my business without fearing anything, I now have this sense of unity since the family club visits. I realised that my family is the most important part of my life and that my violent behaviour was going to ruin everything. The family we visited taught us to talk to each other and solve disputes in a peaceful manner without involving a lot of other people. My solution usually was to assault my wife and get my children arrested (men's focus group discussion participant).

I am a polygamous man, I have three wives and if it was not because of my wives who forced me, I would never have visited this other polygamous family in the community. I however want to appreciate them together with the community for initiating these family clubs' platforms. I have never been happier in my life. Learning from others has made my family to become more united than ever and there are a few disputes (men's focus group discussion participant).

From the above narrations, the family clubs' pathway was in line with the prioritised needs of the community members, hence they were relevant as the clubs addressed that which the community members lacked. Through these discussions, there is evidence that the popularity of family clubs was facilitated by their unique concept and execution approach of having all members of the family interact in an informal way where the family members would enjoy each other's company more. The testimonies from the community members on how the family club initiative has changed their attitudes and behaviour towards each other in the family and community reflects on the positive change to various issues such as shared roles in homes, women and men contributing economically to the welfare of the family, women having a platform for making decisions, solving cultural problems that were rooted in power relations in polygamous families, and peaceful resolutions to conflicts, among others.

The sporting initiative was another pathway that was evaluated for its relevance to the prevention of GBV in the community of Makusha. From the discussions, it was noted that the way in which the sporting activities were designed for the benefit of the community was such that they were accessible to every member of the community. The sporting activities brought people from different backgrounds to mix and mingle in an informal way. The activities that were held before the start of any activity was relevant for the awareness of gender-based violence. The activities included soccer, netball, volleyball, snooker, and darts. The teams were from the community wards. People in the various teams, as was highlighted during the household interviews, had a sense of responsibility of not letting the team down. A sense of belonging also built a oneness sought of behaviour and it did not end at the sporting venue

but cascaded to the community. People tended to look out for each other with regards to violence and any negative social norms. Sporting brings people together, as Lederach's (2003) conflict transformation theory has posited that relationships and transactions between parties in a conflict address the sources of conflict and seek to transform the conflict into positive social change, Nelson Mandela (2000), stated:

Sports have the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire, the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sports can create hope, where there was once only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination. Sports is the game of lovers.

The community leaders had an opportunity to invite other stakeholders from other communities to educate them and raise awareness on GBV issues. From the researcher's point of view, the sporting activities were relevant and an appropriate initiative for the prevention of gender-based violence. One of the focus group discussions highlighted that this initiative was very popular, with one respondent stating that:

Initially the sporting events were held only on Wednesday in the afternoon but because of the many participants and also that some other community members would be working, another day was introduced (Saturday). The men coming back from the mines have joined in the sports and that many men are no longer spending their Saturday drinking alcohol the whole day (men's focus group discussion participant).

During these activities, members from different organisations such as the ministry of health, the law enforcers (police), community elders, civic organisations such as the Musasa project, ZWLA, and Padare Men's Forum (when invited) would have short dialogues with the community members so as to avoid dragging the issues and causing boredom. The community members who had questions would approach the organisations at their convenience during the sporting activities, and this meant that these organisations would be present throughout the sporting sessions. The discussions highlighted that the sporting initiative in the community was relevant as it also made it easier for community members to access help free of charge.

### **9.3.2 Efficiency and Effectiveness**

The interventions implemented in Makusha effectively improved the community's knowledge of GBV. The community members became more aware of the demerits of violence in the community despite more gender-based violence knowledge building needing more time and resources for it to be more effective. The outcome evaluation findings show that the

effectiveness of the pathways used in the community have seen many victims relying on their families and community for emotional and practical support as well as being in a better position to deal with and express their feelings which is beneficial to their mental health.

The effectiveness of the interventions is shown through the achievements that are witnessed in the community which include, but which are not limited to, the decrease in victimisation and prevalence rates of GBV and violence in general, and women and girls reporting feeling safer in the family and in the community as there was an improved number of women showing increased joint family decision-making responsibility. It was noted that the expertise and skills of community members in the response and prevention of gender-based violence had increased through these various community-based initiatives. The police also highlighted an increase of reported cases of assault through different channels such as community elders, tip offs, and WhatsApp platforms, and also that law enforcement and health services were now being provided effectively and fair treatment was being given to gender-based violence survivors.

These results show that community members actively participated in the initiatives' pathways that they had developed. The pathways implemented increased understanding of the pros and cons of the motives and actions of the perpetrator and the victim/survivor and provided the community with improved clarity and understanding regarding their own protection needs.

The evaluation assessed the efficiency of the interventions, noting that efficiency is the extent that a project operation is used and did not allow for the most cost-effective use of resources in light of developed standards and best practices for related programmes (Afande 2017). Some of the interventions were implemented immediately after the forum theatre, such as the WhatsApp platform and the neighbour's keeper initiatives, and the other ones were the responsibility of the community leaders who reported that the initiatives were carried out in a timely manner, and that all the activities were implemented in accordance with the initiative proposals and work plan, as highlighted by the community members. The general comment was that the partial and largely inconsequential limitations were corrected with adjustments as the initiatives implemented progressed. The initiatives depend on community members themselves and community leaders on their success and prevention of gender-based violence in the community. Because the initiatives were community-based, no financial obligations were necessary. In light of the findings from the evaluation, it can be stated that the community-based pathways managed to challenge the social norms and the rooted gender norms.

### 9.3.3 Impact of the Initiatives

The researcher assessed and documented the negative and positive impacts, and the projected and unpremeditated impacts of the implemented initiatives used in the community. The evaluation established that the pathways were, to a large extent, promoting the prevention of gender-based violence in the community which was beneficial to the individual, family, neighbours, community, and the society at large. The pathways focused on raising awareness on and providing training for peace mobilisation throughout the community; making referrals for counselling and guidance for cases of survivors to the relevant service providers such as the ward councillors, religious leaders, and the community elders; and networking and collaboration through the family clubs, sporting activities, and WhatsApp platform.

The community pathways conveyed skills and understanding to the community on the different opportunities that can be utilised to prevent GBV and violence in general. Through the evaluation, it was noted that the pathways have made progress in strengthening the relationships of the community members of Makusha as most community members were able to actively participate in activities designed to prevent GBV in the community as well as being in a better position of seeking help from organisations such as the police, health facilities, and community and religious leaders. However, despite the all-inclusiveness and impact of the pathways, they could not satisfy the needs of all the community members which led to the dissatisfaction of other members of the community who felt left out. An example of such claims was given during the focus group discussions:

Some of us in the community members are poor that we cannot afford a smart phone to access the WhatsApp platform such that we feel discriminated and are also not part of well-established families that we cannot also take part in the family clubs (household interviews).

The sentiments were echoed:

My family and I speak Venda and we have found that participation in most of these activities is very difficult and we are left out in the decision-making process but we are also part of the community (household interviews).

I am a sex worker and I feel that the pathways implemented favour the married women and as sex workers I feel that we are still as vulnerable to violence (women focus group).

The narrations highlighted areas of concern for the success of the pathways in the community which had not been anticipated by the community and the researcher, however to counter the concerns, it was noted that the pathways can be used independent of each other. This meant that a community member could use the sporting platform to engage with other community



members and other stakeholders to contribute to the prevention of GBV. Despite some conflicts of interest among community members, the pathways functioned well.

#### **9.3.4 Sustainability**

Sustainability is a challenge for many projects in many communities. Sustainability is subjective to many factors which can be financial, the commitment by local community members to continue with the project, and can be of an external nature if external stakeholders are involved. According to the FGD and key informant participants as well as the household interview participants, the community-based pathways implemented in Makusha were responsive to the needs of community members to prevent violence, and it was highlighted that the initiatives should not only continue in Makusha, but should also be replicated in other mining communities. The evaluation noted that the innovations have been instrumental in bringing the community members closer together, showing concern for one another, as well as love and compassion and the transferring of knowledge and experiences which are ingredients for peace. This is echoed by Allport's (1954) contact theory, which states that bringing people together from different backgrounds has the ability to reduce prejudice which results in peaceful and sustainable outcomes.

The community of Makusha is heterogenous which makes it vulnerable in terms of the continuity of activities or projects, however the implemented initiatives demonstrated positive evidence on sustainability. This was attributed to the oneness that was instilled in community members and the atmosphere in which gender-based violence was being talked about. The manner in which the issue of GBV was being talked about in the community was similar to the notion of differential reinforcement by Akers (1998) in his social learning theory when he states that the proximity and exposure of a person to those tolerant of a certain behaviour increases the likelihood that the person will copy the behaviour. The establishment of the sporting platform (now held on Saturdays and Wednesdays) in the community has been a unique pathway that will ensure community members interacting regularly.

Another method of ensuring the sustainability of these innovations was through engaging and by working through existing organisations such as the police and health institutions, as well as local leadership assemblies (political and non-political), opinion leaders, and community elders and community members themselves. The evaluation analyses submit that the pathways worked in incorporating and improving the capacity of community members.

The willingness of the community members to participate through the suggested pathways to the prevention of GBV has continued to grow in status and expertise as was seen in the formulation of other initiatives such as the soup kitchen that assisted the less privileged in the community by cooking a meal every Friday, and the formation of Women Teams. Women's participation in society and the economy was fully evident, hence the saying that gender equality is and should be an end in itself. The community members were creative, and in addition to the pathways as suggested during the process, new participatory skills were also obtained through the formation of forum theatre clubs with the assistance of the Mbizi drama clubs. The forum theatre approach will further contribute to increased ownership of the strategies in the community and possibly the eradication of the phenomena.

Addressing the challenge of negative cultural norms and stereotypes that discriminate against women and girls, the restoration of family and community institutions and support networks, the development of requirements for developing accounting systems, the design of appropriate programs and facilities, collaborating with structured and conventional legal processes, the tracking and recording of gender-based violence, and involving men and boys in the prevention of and reaction to gender-based violence, are important issues to consider.

## **9.4 Chapter Summary**

The chapter presented the outcome evaluation process. Evaluation of the community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence, as suggested by community members of Makusha, was carried out through focus group discussions, key informant interviews, as well as household interviews. Assessments on whether there had been a change of behaviour and attitude towards violence in relationships and in the community at large were made. The evaluations were participatory in nature and carried out in collaboration with the Makusha community members. The chapter discussed the applicability/appropriateness, adeptness, effectiveness, connectedness, and impact of the pathways as implemented by the community. The outcome evaluation found significant attitudinal and behavioural improvements in the interventions in the community and families.

## **CHAPTER 10**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **10.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the overview of the study. It summarises the study based on the objectives. The chapter concludes by formulating recommendations. The main objective of the study was to develop sustainable community-based pathways to prevent gender-based violence in mining communities, and the specific objectives, covered earlier in Section 1.7 of Chapter 1, include:

- To identify and analyse factors contributing to gender-based violence in mining communities in Zimbabwe
- To examine the forms and patterns of GBV in mining communities
- To identify and evaluate strategies used in the prevention of GBV
- To develop interventions to prevent GBV using forum theatre
- To evaluate the community-based pathways implemented by the community

#### **10.2 Summary of the Research Findings**

The research study was carried out in the mining community of Makusha, a residential area in a mining town of Shurugwi in the Midlands province of Zimbabwe. The research sought to find and implement community-based pathways that aimed to prevent GBV. The social learning and the ecological systems theories were amalgamated as they combined the individual and social traits in relation to the interaction of a person and the environment and they allowed for clarity on violent behaviour in multilevel variables in the Makusha community. The social learning theory, propounded by Akers (1998), provided the lenses for understanding how an individual becomes a perpetrator of violence, while the ecological systems theory by Bronfenbrenner (1997) explained the way in which people are led into criminal or violent behaviour through the environment around them. The research analysed how a person as an individual relates to others in terms of deviance and violent behaviour evaluating how the immediate surrounding with which the individual is in contact is affected.

Lederach's conflict theory informs that conflict creates life, and that it is through conflict that people react, revolutionise, and change. Hence, without conflict, life and people's relationships

would be superficial and have an uninterestingly flat geography of sameness. However, that which is important is how one deals with managing, resolving, or transforming the conflict. Allport's (1954) contact theory then states that bringing people together from different backgrounds or groups has the ability to reduce prejudice which will result in peaceful and sustainable solutions to their problems.

By amalgamating these theories, a combination of individual and social traits provided a platform of understanding of the linkages between the causes of violence and how these linkages are adapted for the prevention of GBV in the mining communities. Emphasis on individual traits in relation with the interaction of a person and the environment allowed for a better explanation of rare violent behaviour in multilevel variables. It was suggested that citizens themselves should provide solutions to their dilemmas and ultimately, contact is an effective instrument when used in combination with other forms of dispute mediation, resolution, thereby sound public policy frames are created for prevention and building of sustainable peace.

### **10.3 Factors contributing to Gender-Based Violence in Mining Communities in Zimbabwe**

The research noted that the main contributing factors to gender-based violence in Zimbabwe were structured in the manner in which a society is organised such as the distribution of economic opportunities for both men and women, the legislation available for the protection of citizens, and also the institutional resources. It is also worth noting that GBV in Makusha is engraved in patriarchal societal values and behaviours perpetuating discrimination and the subjugation of women and girls. Poverty, the lack of education and employment opportunities, and tolerance for criminality and harassment are common factors leading to and reinforcing the community's culture of violence and discrimination. Observation and exposure to violence at a young age, exposure to media violence, the normalisation of violence, jealousy and insecurity, unemployment, stress and economic insecurity, poverty, alcohol and drug abuse, as well as oppressive societal roles limit the access of opportunities that may lead to peace and sustainable development.

However, findings from the interviews, focus group discussions, and forum theatre revealed that community members had limited knowledge on GBV as most could not provide a comprehensive definition of the term, tending to focus on dominant and visible forms of gender-based violence, such as physical assault.

It was noted that stigma and shame legitimise silence as a coping mechanism for GBV enhancing the normalisation of GBV at the individual level, within relationships as well as at the community level through social norms.

Unemployment is a major challenge that is experienced in the community. Being unemployed and futile leads to boredom and frustration in the home and manifests or exposes women and girls to gender-based violence. Findings from the study indicated that poverty forces many people to adopt negative coping mechanisms, including alcoholism, drug abuse, and prostitution, all of which perpetuate gender-based violence.

Another important highlight was that Gender-based violence is caused by learning from observational abuse and childhood experiences, strict family expectations, and patriarchal social norms that prevent males or females from obtaining resources that can contribute to sustainable development.

#### **10.4 Prevention of Gender-Based Violence in Makusha**

The research noted that the community has some measures of gender-based violence in place. The responsibility to prevent gender-based violence/domestic violence in the community rested mainly on the law enforcer and the police. Because of the heterogeneity of the mining community, it was noted that there was a decrease in the use of traditional courts as ways of prevention and handling cases of all types of conflict that are experienced in the community. The importance of the indigenous ways of carrying out activities for community development was noted to have the Ubuntu aspect that fosters unity and harmony within the family and the community at large.

Religious leaders were noted to be conflict resolution agents whom people, at times, would approach for assistance especially on domestic family issues. However, women were the vast majority of church goers, unlike the men who would be drinking alcohol at the beerhalls in the community. the church provided a safe haven for women in the community.

The strategies and actors engaged in raising awareness are not yet clearly mapped across actors working on gender-based violence in the community. Women and men in Makusha are relatively unaware of gender-based violence campaigns that are carried out by NGOs, and those who are aware of the campaigns have heard about them from community meetings. Compared to the main towns such as Gweru, the research found that services on gender-based violence in Makusha were extremely limited, unsystematic, and sporadic. Hence, the

prevention programmes of gender-based violence in the mining community of Makusha tackled gender norms and expectations of that which is normal to them and applicable to their everyday lives for men and women.

## **10.5 Interventions to prevent Gender-Based Violence in Makusha Community**

Prevention interventions were noted in Chapter 7 of the thesis. Forum theatre acts held in the community developed the interventions including self-help initiatives, family clubs, the neighbour's keeper initiative, traditional methods, social media platforms, and sporting initiatives. All the strategies that the community members developed had the support of the local community leadership. The initiatives drew people together and discussed the root causes of GBV that was prevalent in the community. Taboo topics, such as openly discussing sex and abuse, were discussed, hence diffusing the privacy that imparts power to harmful practices. The programs varied in their targets, but all had the same goal of the prevention of GBV.

## **10.6 Evaluating the Community-Based Pathways implemented by the Community**

The evaluation revealed that the interventions had achieved positive attitudinal and behavioural changes among the community members and their families despite the fact that it was not possible during the intervals of the evaluations to establish whether or not the pathways were sustainable. The interventions delivered results with relevance to the needs of everyone and there was a sense of ownership that was established which was ideal for sustainable development. The social media platform was highly relevant to the prevention of GBV in the community. The family club initiative changed the attitudes and behaviour of community members towards each other. The sporting activities brought people from different backgrounds to mix and mingle in an informal environment and unity was built among community members having a sense of oneness and unity of purpose.

The interventions implemented in Makusha effectively improved the community knowledge of gender-based violence and community members became more aware of the demerits of violence in the community despite more gender-based violence knowledge building and more time and resources being required to be more effective. Through the evaluation, it was noted that the pathways have made progress in strengthening the relationships of the community

members of Makusha as most community members were able to actively participate in activities designed to prevent gender-based violence in the community as well as being in a better position of seeking help from organisations as the police, health facilities, and community and religious leaders.

## **10.7 Reflection of study findings and lessons**

As I reflect on the study, the findings from the forum theatre intervention showed that as individuals, the participants arrived at personal change because they had developed a deep understanding of themselves, their desires, their emotions and their relationships, in part because they felt understood and accepted by the facilitators, their peers, and the audience members. This made me to realize that theatre was only the beginning in coming up with community based pathways to the prevention of gender based violence. Indeed, forum theatre can shift perspectives and change attitudes, heal old wounds, and a viable platform for community members to propose new policies. The PAR practice was exciting and enlightening enough to allow me to combine both theory and practice by not sacrificing the study's analytical dimension.

Participating in forum theatre had mostly positive impacts on the community itself as benefits emerged from community members coming up with interventions that suited them in their context. Augusto Boal (1995) spoke about the importance of forum theatre being real. According to Brechtian philosophy, in which the character is both subject and object (Boal, 1979), it is important for the actor to experience a dichotomy of being self and other, of rehearsing and playing scenes that are both real and imagined. Ultimately, this realness leads to the ability for participants, both actors in the play and the audience members, to intervene with solution after solution.

The participants confirmed that at the core of their experiences with forum theatre, they gained many benefits that positively impacted their concept of self, their ability to think about their problems, and an increased capacity in repairing relationships or moving away from unhealthy relationships. During the PAR process, there was ample evidence that the participatory dialogue approach to social change embraced by Makusha community members has contributed to personal communication. Women's transitions from disadvantaged families, who at home overcame patriarchal environments and took on leading roles in the forum theatre plays.

While participating in forum theatre, community members developed self-esteem, overcame dark emotions, and they gained a deeper understanding about themselves. The participants

also made decisions that moved them towards having positive relationships with self and others and having a sense of ownership on the interventions which came up. This made me realise that this initiative of using forum theatre to find community based pathways to the prevention of a phenomenon could be replicated in other communities as it brings with it sustainable peace.

There was a clear indication that relations between among community and family members improved significantly. These developments concurred well with the theories which underpinned this study (see chapter three) and as I observed the community member interactions I felt a heart-warming and encouraging experience. A woman community member encouraged me more by stating that:

The forum theatre workshops helped me to understand and analyse problems in my community and to look broadly at the issues happening around me in society. Most girls in my community don't have this privilege.  
(forum theatre participant).

## **10.8 Recommendations**

Recommendations for the study are stated as follows:

- Based on the research findings, it is worth noting that community-based pathways of a participatory nature are effective in the prevention of gender-based violence, hence local authorities, the government, and organisations must adopt such so as to attain sustainable development.
- Edutainment in the form of forum theatre was embraced immensely by the community members of Makusha as a method of interaction and identifying solutions. The researcher recommended that forum theatres be used in communities and in schools to find interventions that are suitable for themselves on all other issues that affect them other than gender-based violence.
- The sustainability of collective action in ending gender-based violence in its various forms at the community level is important, hence more understanding is needed on that which drives community action which encourages ownership of the change process and finding resources that enable this.
- The study demonstrated that women are mostly at risk of violence in the home because of poverty and the lack of education and livelihood opportunities. It is imperative for communities to work with various organisations to have more women empowerment programmes to reduce their vulnerability and dependency such that they equip them with life skills.



- Traditional court was not embraced as a method of conflict resolution by the community members – it is therefore recommended that the powers that are in the community of Makusha conscientise residents on the effectiveness of using traditional methods of conflict resolution.
- Alternative income-generating platforms such as embarking on agricultural farming activities should be implemented for both men and women as mining activities in the community tend to cause conflict, as was noted in the study.
- The community of Makusha did not have faith in the law enforcement agents (police), noting that services rendered in police stations in other communities were missing in Makusha. The recommendation is that the Ministry of Justice should put in place measures that promote good governance in the force as well as raising awareness of the effects of violence and setting up a victim friendly unit at the station in Makusha with the professional personnel.
- The government should make information on the impact and available services on gender-based violence more accessible as this would assist in avoiding the duplication of efforts by institutions, donors, and the community itself.
- The community itself, with the help of the community leadership, should engage with other stakeholders (mining companies, NGOs, civic organisations) that promote the eradication of gender-based violence such that information on the impact and prevention is availed to everyone in the community.

## 10.9 Conclusions

The study sought to develop community-based pathways for the prevention of gender-based violence in mining communities (Makusha community to be precise). A bottom-up approach to peacebuilding is reflective of sustainable development, and prevention programmes are driven by the people who are facing the problem situations, hence finding solutions to which they can relate. The researcher concludes the research by stating that participatory forum theatre is a sustainable pathway to finding interventions that can be used in communities. It is not a perfect tool, like all others known, suitable for all occasions, but what it has to offer, as shown in this research, is superior to and sometimes essential to aspects of certain problems (GBV), such as building relationships between groups, generating fresh energy and ideas for tackling problems, connecting with emotional experiences for healing among affected people.

In as much as gender-based violence is multi-dimensional, the pathways implemented by the Makusha community have a significant impact on peacebuilding and sustainable development and the effects would be witnessed in the duplication of the forum theatre dramas that were enacted in the community. The study helped the researcher to acknowledge that conflict

transformation is a collective action. The researcher's understanding of action research increased and she also developed new research skills.

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## Appendix 1: Letter of Information



### LETTER OF INFORMATION

Community based Pathways to the prevention of gender-based violence in mining communities.

My name is Everjoy Magwegwe, a PhD candidate in Management Science (Peacebuilding) with Durban University of Technology in Durban, South Africa. I am currently doing a research on finding community based pathways to the prevention of gender based violence in mining communities under the supervision of Dr. S. Kaye and Professor G. Harris. The main purpose of the study is to come up with locally homegrown methods of preventing and reducing gender based violence in mining communities.

As a willing participant in this study you are required to go through an interview with me and to respond to questions that you are comfortable to respond to. Participation is voluntary. It is important for you to understand that you can pull out of this research at any time you wish to do so at any level of the study. All recorded material will be edited for presentation and you will be availed with an opportunity to preview the material and raise your discomfort and suggest changes if any. At any time of the research process, as a participant (s) you have a right to disapprove or stop the use of any audio and video material made about you.

I will write a journal article on how your community has come up with preventative measures on gender based violence and conduct workshops where I will discuss the papers. I will avail to participants the final research report and give each of them a copy of the abstract from the research.

You are not required to pay anything for this research. If for any reason you feel that the research might put you at risk and you do not want to be referred by your name you are obliged to say so and your anonymity is assured as I will maintain confidentiality by using a pseudonyms.

Persons to Contact in the Event of Any Problems or Queries:

Please contact the researcher on +263 772559039

My supervisor Dr. Sylvia Kaye (tel no.) +27-373-6860

The Institutional Research Ethics administrator on +277 31 373 2900.

Complaints can be reported to the DVC: TIP, Prof F. Otieno on +27731 373 2382 or [dvctip@dut.ac.za](mailto:dvctip@dut.ac.za).

## Appendix 2: Request to Conduct Research in Makusha



6 August 2017

The Mayor  
Shurugwi City Council

Dear Sir

### REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN MAKUSHA ON GENDER BASED VIOLENCE AND FINDING COMMUNITY BASED PATHWAYS TO ITS PREVENTION.

My name is Everjoy Magwegwe, a PhD candidate in Management Science (Peacebuilding) with Durban University of Technology in Durban, South Africa. I am kindly requesting for permission to carry out this research in the Makusha community. The main purpose of the study is to come up with locally homegrown methods of preventing and reducing gender based violence in mining communities. The objectives are:

- 1 To identify and analyse factors contributing to gender-based violence in the community
- 2 To examine forms and prevalence of GBV
- 3 To identify and evaluate strategies used in the prevention of gender-based violence
- 4 To develop community-based interventions to prevent gender-based violence
- 5 To evaluate the effectiveness of the interventions as tools in bringing about peace and social change in mining communities

The data will be collected through ten key informants' interviews, three focus groups (a man only, women only and another one with both men and women together). Forum theatre drama acts will also be held. The performances will be held in open spaces at the Makusha shopping centres. Therefore, the audience will also be participants in this research. The forum theatre group will consist of six members drawn from the community.

Participation is voluntary and no harm will occur on participants during and after the study has been completed. The study and myself are guided by the code of ethics of Durban University of Technology to guarantee confidentiality of information provided to me by the participant. A letter of information and informed consent forms will be given to participants in which they will find details of the research process and what is expected of them.

Your permission to conduct the research will be greatly appreciated.

For more information regarding the study please, do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor using contact details provided below.

Yours faithfully

.....

Everjoy Magwegwe

Phone: +263 772 559 039

Email: [everjoymagwegwe@gmail.com](mailto:everjoymagwegwe@gmail.com)

Supervisor: Dr. Sylvia Kaye

Durban University of Technology, Peacebuilding Programme

Phone: +27-373-6860

Email: [sylviak@dut.ac.za](mailto:sylviak@dut.ac.za)

## Appendix 3: Letter of Consent



### CONSENT

Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

- I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, \_\_\_\_\_ (name of researcher), about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study - Research Ethics Clearance Number: \_\_\_\_\_,
- I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.
- I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.
- In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.
- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.
- I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Full Name of Participant  
Thumbprint

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

\_\_\_\_\_

Time

Signature / Right

I, \_\_\_\_\_ (name of researcher) herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

\_\_\_\_\_

Full Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Full Name of Witness (If applicable) Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Full Name of Legal Guardian (If applicable) Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

## Appendix 4: Key Informant Interview Guide 1

Key informants Interview Guide 1 (Community opinion leaders, traditional leaders)

Name of interviewer : .....

Age : .....

Sex : .....

Pseudonym : .....

Date : .....

### Questions

1. What do you understand by GBV?
2. What are the gender differences in economic independence, marriage and family decision-making?
3. How common is GBV in this community?
4. Who is the most abused in your community?
5. What do you think are the main causes of GBV?
6. Under what circumstances is violence usually committed by a man/woman?
7. What stigma is attached which may prompt unreported attacks?
8. What other causes can trigger accidents not to be reported?
9. What does culture say about GBV against women?
10. What services are on offer to victims of gender based violence?
11. What challenges, if any, have been encountered in terms of access to these services?
12. What do you think should be done to reduce gender based violence?
13. What do you think a community plan for preventing sexual violence in our community should include?
14. Who else do you think we should talk to or interview about gender based violence in this community?



## Appendix 5: Key Informant Interview Guide 2

### Key informants Interview Guide 2

Name of interviewer : .....

Age : .....

Sex : .....

Pseudonym : .....

Date : .....

1. What are the gender disparities in schooling, work training, employment opportunities and economic independence?
2. What is the perception of gender-based violence among the community members?
3. Are the victims perceived as responsible?
4. Do treatment procedures exist and are they in use for multiple forms of gender-based violence?
5. Is the health-care facilities sufficiently prepared and staffed to provide assistance with trained personnel?
6. Do health care staff actively screen GBV? How?
7. Do community health workers provide outreach to the community?
8. How many cases of GBV are reported annually?
9. Of these, how many perpetrators were tried, convicted and sentenced?
10. What are the community laws and policies related to various forms of gender based violence?
11. Are women active in the (formal and informal) group leadership structures?
12. Are they fair delegates and decision-makers?
13. Do formal or informal communities of women or cooperative networks exists?
14. Who else do you think we should talk about on GBV in this community?

## **Appendix 6:**

### **Women and Men Focus Group Discussion Guide**

#### Women and Men Focus Group Discussion Guide

##### Introduction:

My name is Everjoy Magwegwe, a PhD candidate in Management Science (Peacebuilding) with Durban University of Technology in Durban, South Africa. I am currently doing a research on finding community based pathways to the prevention of gender based violence in mining communities under the supervision of Dr. S. Kaye and Professor G. Harris. The main purpose of the study is to come up with locally homegrown methods of preventing and reducing gender based violence. I would like to ask you some questions about the issues of gender based violence in your community so that you can identify strategies for prevention and reduction of gender based violence.

If you feel awkward you should leave at any moment. Discussion participation is purely optional, and you don't have to answer any questions you don't want to answer. I have nothing to offer but listening, there will be no more direct advantages involved. I don't want your names and don't want to write down your names. I will therefore not be sharing any other information remotely identifying in everything I create based on this topic. I will kindly take all you say today and we'll only share the responses you give as general responses in tandem with those from all the people who talk to me. I also ask you to keep everything confidential too. I will be recording this discussion to make sure that I do not miss what you have to say. I hope that this is OK with you? I want you to answer my questions however you want. There is no wrong answer to any question.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

15. How do you spend your time in this community?
16. What are the problems/challenges that you are facing in this community?
17. Without mentioning any names or indicating anyone, can you tell me what kinds of incidents of violence against men and women take place in your community?
18. Without mentioning any names or indicating anyone specific, who are the perpetrators of this kind of violence?
19. Without naming any names or identifying anybody, may you inform me what kind of cases of violence against women exist in your society? And, why?
20. What other types of GBV affect community members?
21. If a woman or man suffers violence, are they likely to tell anyone about it?
22. What is being done to support gender-based abuse survivors in that community?
23. What community structures exist to do this?

24. What do you think would improve the safety of community members?
25. What do you think is a person's most important thing to do after witnessing sexual assault, and especially rape (female or male)?
26. If a member in your society sought justice for the perpetrator, should they do this?
27. Please identify any obstacles they can experience.
28. What could be done to prevent gender based violence from occurring in this community?

## **Appendix 7: Observation Guide**

### **OBSERVATION GUIDE**

1. Behaviours of community men and women
2. Attitudes of men and women towards each other
3. Communication gesticulations of community members
4. Records from Police files on violence in the community including gender based violence
5. Health records from the community clinic cases of GBV
6. Living conditions and livelihood.
7. Social interactions of community members
8. Infrastructural development
9. Level of participation of community members during the forum theatre
10. Reactions from the audiences during the performances and after the performances.

## Appendix 8 - Bedroom Setting Scene

### Bedroom Setting

It is during the night and Mary and her children are sleeping. Her children sleep in the kitchen. There is a very loud banging noise on the door. The children take a few minutes to open the door after ascertaining that it is Nhamoinesu, their father. He storms in angrily and starts insulting them, calling them all types of names for taking time to open the door. He goes straight to the bedroom where his wife, Mary, is. She has woken up because of the noise in the kitchen. She is very scared.

**Mary:** (Shaking, she greets her husband)

*Maswera sei Baba* (good evening my husband)

Nhamoinesu:

(Replies on top of his voice angrily)

*Chii chakanaka manheru ano* (what's good about this evening), *vana voko vanoda kumborohwa, mangamuchitei kunonoka kuvhura mukova heeee* (I am going to hit your children, what were you all doing taking long to open the door?)

Mary:

(Pleadingly)

*Ruregerero baba tanga takarara hatinakuzvinwa* (I am very sorry my husband, we were sleeping, we could not hear you)

Nhamoinesu:

(Moves closer to Mary and bashes her hard and she falls)

*Ruregerero gwechii hamudzidzi nhai simuka undipe chikafu* (sorry for what you don't learn do you get up and give me some food)

Mary:

(Now sobbing still on the floor)

*Hapana chikafu isutatorawo nenzara* (there is no food, we did not eat again today)

Nhamoinesu:

(Very angry, biting her and shouting)

*Unehusimbe mukadzirudzii asingasiiri muruwake chikafu* (you are lazy, what kind of wife are you who can't keep food for her husband)

Mary:

(Cries out for help)

*Unodiuraya kani murume wangu ndiregererewo* (you will kill me please, please forgive me my husband)

(Mary calls out to her children for help. The children try to come into the bedroom but are overpowered by their father who continues to insult their mother. The children appear to be helpless and run out the door to their neighbours.)

Children:

(Breathing frantically, knocking and shouting for help on three different neighbour's doors but getting the same response)

*Tibatsireiwo tibatsirewo baba varikurova amai tibatsireiwo* (help us, father is beating mommy, help us)

Neighbours:

(The neighbours are annoyed and shout back at the children)

*Dzokerai kumba handiti ndozvinogara zvichiitika kumba kwenyu tanete nehunhu hwekumba kwenyu* (go back home, isn't it what usually happens, we are tired of your family behaviour)

## Appendix 9 - Hospital Scene

Nurse:

(Shocked at the site of Mary talking to Nhamoinesu and his children)

*Chiichaitika nhai* (What happened?)

Nhamoinesu:

(Quickly responding)

Nodofunga kuti vango donhawo (I think she just fell)

Nurse:

(appears very shocked)

AAAA imi baba mavanga aya haasi ekuddonha zvamucheso panezvimwe chete zviripo apa  
(ahhh the bruises cannot be from just falling, there is more to it)

Nhamoinesu:

(now agitated replies)

*Sechii nhai mbuya* (local name given to female nurse) *ndakuudzai kuti vadonha wani* (like  
what nurse I told you that she fell already)

Nurse:

(annoyed by his response and replies authoritatively)

*Panyaya dzakadai tinowanzo shevedza venutemo regai tivachedze sozvo Mary amuka* (in  
such cases we usually call the police, in fact let me call them since Mary is awake now)

Nhamoinesu:

(shocked and still agitated, unable to sit still)

*Kondokwayatosvika here nyaya yacho* (have we reached to that level already?)

Nurse:

(explains to Nhamoinesu)

Kana pakauya munhu arohwa kumba nemurume kana munharaunda nemumwe munhu zvake  
mutemo unoraira kuti chiitiko chakadai chinofanigwa kurairwa pamberi pemutemo (when  
anyone is assaulted at home or in the community, it is required by law that such cases be  
reported to the police and the police will investigate the matter further)

Nhamoinesu:

(appears to be shocked)

*Hapana kanawo akambondi udzawo wani* (nobody has ever told me about all that)



## Appendix 10 - Police station scene

Nhamoinesu:

(to the arresting officer, pushing some money into his pocket)

*Ko tsano, shuwa ndandisinga zivi kuti ndonyaya yacho kobatai neapaka* (my brother, I really didn't think it will come to this, here you are)

Police officer:

(looking very alarmed)

Ahh ndochiichocho nyaya iripano yaka kurisa (ahhh what is that your case is too big)

Nhamoinesu:

(putting on a grin and giving him more money)

*Tsano regai ndiwedzire pachedu kani* (my brother, it's between us, let me give you more)

Police officer:

(smiling)

*Pakanaka asi ukazvipamha handipo* (it is alright but if you try it again, I will not be available for you)

