



If Gender-Based Violence Knows no Racial Boundaries, what is Its Colour and Complexion in Africa? A Case of Mashonaland Province of Zimbabwe

Annah Moyo & Sinikiwe Mapangisana

Faculty of Education

Midlands State University, Zimbabwe

Email: Moyoan@staff.msu.ac.zw/mapangisanas@staff.msu.ac.zw

Abstract: Vehemence is largely an extreme human attribute, hence not new to Africa. However, violence is culturally relative, determined and handled. This means that culture is at the epicenter of gender instituted violence and schemes that curtail or control it. A people's epistemologies, metaphysics and cosmology are central to their behavior, notion of sexuality and gender relations. Africa is therefore a relatively unique grouping of humanity that has a unique philosophy and world view, tendencies, attributes, behaviors and conceptualization of gender and gender relations. This paper therefore explores the nature of gender-based violence in the African human landscape, its characteristics, causes and strategies of managing it. The research adopts the Cultural Relative Determinism Theory, which is a hybrid conceptual framework comprising Cultural relativism and Cultural Determinism tenets. The theoretical framework acknowledges how different human beings of variant cultures differ in the conceptualization of gender-based violence and strategies adopted to deal with it. This paper underscores that Africa has its own understanding of gender, violence and solutions to challenges surrounding Gender-based conflicts which are different from those of Eastern and Western countries. In so doing, the paper recommends for the understanding of the relative nature of gender-based violence across human societies and prescribe relative correctional measures, rather than generalizing theories across humanity. The paper also recommends pragmatic understanding of the nature of gender-based violence in the globalized Africa seeing how much Africa has shifted from its axis and how it can adapt its old strategies to conform to a new world order with universal rights and democracy.

Keywords: Metaphysics, epistemology, gender-based violence, Cultural Relativism, Cultural Determinism, Universal Human Rights, Contemporary democracy.

How to cite this work (APA):

Moyo, A. & Mapangisana, S. (2025). If gender-based violence knows no racial boundaries, what is its colour and complexion in Africa? A case of Mashonaland Province of Zimbabwe. *Journal of Research Innovation and Implications in Education*, 9(1), 154 – 162. <https://doi.org/10.59765/maht439jr>.

1. Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV) affects one in every three women globally (World Bank, 2019; Moses, 2020). In

Zimbabwe, 40% of women aged 15-49 have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner, including 19% who suffered such violence during the previous 12 months (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency

& UNICEF, 2019). Reports suggest that GBV intensified during the COVID-19 pandemic, perhaps because isolation made it harder for victims to escape abuse and access support (ZimFact, 2021). Whilst rigid gender roles in Zimbabwean societies seem to be common causes of GBV, various issues can be linked to these causes. Zimbabwe's weapons to fight GBV range from the Constitution and criminal codes to the Zimbabwe Republic Police specialised "victim friendly units" and the Zimbabwe Gender Commission. The Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development also works with civil society, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA, 2022), and other UN agencies to increase the availability and utilisation of GBV services and to reduce public tolerance for GBV (International Federation of the Red Cross, 2017; UN Women, 2021).

Nonetheless, GBV remains both prevalent and vastly under-reported, as many survivors decide to suffer in silence rather than risk stigmatization or an unresponsive legal system (Ahrens, 2006; Spotlight Initiative, 2021; UNICEF, 2021). This dispatch reports on a special survey module included in the Afrobarometer Round 9 (2021/2022) questionnaire to explore Africans' experiences and perceptions of gender-based violence. In Zimbabwe, most citizens say physical force is never justified to discipline women, but they report that GBV is a common occurrence and constitutes the most important women's-rights issue that the government and the society must address. Most people consider GBV as a criminal matter and believe that the police take GBV cases seriously, but almost half also say it's likely that a woman who reports GBV will be criticised, harassed, or shamed (Chimwamurombe and Mujaji 2021).

The high rate of violence against women and girls in the region is maintained by the persistence of harmful gender norms, alcohol use and overall increased poverty, violence in urban slum areas and conflict areas. Women and girls suffer in environments where rigid concepts of gender inequality exist. Violence towards these women is accepted as a social norm and usually these women are held responsible for what happen to them (Chimwamurombe and Mujaji 2021). They end up being victims of any kind of abuse that arises. Partner violence and the fear of abuse prevent women and girls from refusing sex and jeopardize their ability to negotiate condom use, studies in sub-Saharan Africa have found. General norms in societies tend to have great effect on women and girls leaving men on the upper hand whilst women remain suppressed.

The region has a high prevalence of GBV and harmful practices among adolescents and young women. Of girls aged 20 to 24 years, 31 per cent were married before the age of 18 (UNICEF 2022). Some of these girls even failed to finish school as they, besides being married, get

impregnated at their early ages. In some cases, young women and girls get into critical situations during intimacy, pregnancy and birth where their genitals are destructed or damaged. Harmful practices, including female genital mutilation and child marriage, continue to persist in the region with significant consequences to agency and bodily autonomy.

In seven countries in the region, about 20 per cent of people aged 15 to 24 years reported that they had experienced sexual violence from an intimate partner (Mathur 2018). Sexual violence against early adolescents aged 15 years and below is highest in the conflict and post-conflict countries of the DRC, Mozambique, Uganda and Zimbabwe. Women and girls with disabilities are estimated to be up to 10 times more likely to experience sexual violence, with a range of 40 to 68 per cent of girls with disabilities below 18 experiencing sexual violence. Fewer than 10 per cent of adolescent girls aged 15 to 19 who experienced forced sex asked for professional help, due to fear, stigma and discrimination and health problems such as HIV. In these adolescent girls, negative implications for physical and mental health outcomes in the short and long term contributes to the burden of poor health of those affected.

Gender-responsive legislation and policies are increasing in reach and momentum. In sub-Saharan Africa, around 65 per cent of countries have laws specifically criminalizing domestic violence. Legislation is, however, often limited in scope and coverage or is not enforced. Across countries, domestic violence legislation varies greatly in scope and applicability. Only 37 per cent of the sub-Saharan African countries have laws covering physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence.

The continent has achieved progress in terms of women's political participation in sub-Saharan Africa, with 24 per cent of women in parliament. Nevertheless, women's agency, especially among young women, and decision-making over their bodies is still limited. The latest UNFPA data show that globally, only 55 per cent of married or in-union women aged 15 to 49 make their own decisions regarding sexual and reproductive health and rights. Analysis of the data from 57 countries, including East and Southern Africa, shows that while women seem to have the most autonomy in deciding to use contraception, only three in four women can decide on their own health care or say no to sex.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Relative Determinism Theory

The position that the ideas, meanings, beliefs and values people learn as members of society determines human

nature. People are what they learn. An optimistic version of cultural determinism places no limits on the abilities of human beings to do or to be whatever they want. Some anthropologists suggest that there is no universal "right way" of being human. "Right way" is almost always "our way"; that "our way" in one society almost never corresponds to "our way" in any other society. The proper attitude of an informed human being could only be that of tolerance. The optimistic version of this theory postulates that human nature being infinitely malleable; human beings can choose the ways of life they prefer. Anthropologists suggest that no universal way is right of being human. The right way is considered right in a certain society but not in another. A proper attitude of informed human beings could be that of broadmindedness. Human beings tend to do whatever their culture entails them to do.

The pessimistic version maintains that people are what they are conditioned to be; this is something over which they have no control. When living in a society humans become passive creatures and do whatever their culture tells them to do. This explanation leads to behavior that locates the causes of human behavior in a realm that is totally beyond human control. Thus, women have certain ways they are entitled to do in a certain society while men strengthen the entitlement of the societal beliefs and norms. This, however, makes men to maintain their dominance in the society making women subjects to violence. In some cases, it becomes even unclear to explain where violence emanated from as all things in those societies are normalized even whether it affects someone in one way or another.

Different cultural groups think, feel, and act differently. There are no scientific standards for considering one group as intrinsically superior or inferior to another. Studying differences in culture among groups and societies presupposes a position of cultural relativism. It does not imply normalcy for oneself, or for one's society. It, however, calls for judgment when dealing with groups or societies different from one's own. Information about the nature of cultural differences between societies, their roots, and their consequences should precede judgment and action. Negotiation is more likely to succeed when the parties concerned understand the reasons for the differences in viewpoints.

2.2 Review of Gender-based violence matrix in Africa in general

Domestic violence is a significant public health problem with high economic and social costs. This column discusses the roots of domestic violence in sub-Saharan countries. The evidence shows that the economic value of women affects violence perpetrated against them by men.

Where ancient socioeconomic arrangements made women economically valuable, social norms developed in ways that viewed women as productive and more equal to men. These gender roles bring about less intra-family violence today. Violence against women become more detrimental to economic development in countries without protective laws against domestic violence, in natural resource rich countries, in countries where women are deprived of decision-making power and during economic downturns (Ouedraogo and Stenzel 2021). During the COVID 19 era, cases of violence rose due to these economic and health problems. In this case, violence, health problems or pandemics and economic challenges tend to move at the same time hence have great impact on society and family management.

Violence perpetrated by men against their female partners is one of the most common yet perplexing forms of violent behavior. Besides being a fundamental violation of women's human rights, domestic violence is becoming a significant public health problem, spawning high economic and social costs. Ripple effects throughout society is enormous – victims of violence suffer physical and psychological anguish and experience a deterioration in labor productivity and a resulting loss of wages, with limited ability to care for their children. In the sub-Saharan African region, there is a high level of domestic violence against women and empirical studies about its possible economic impact are scarce, mainly due to data limitations (Ouedraogo and Stenzel, 2021). Studies reveals that South Africa records between 0.9 and 1.3 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) annually (KPMG, 2014), while another study reveals that violence against women and girls costs the Ghanaian economy around 0.9 percent of GDP (Raghavendra et al., 2019).

Domestic violence is not an isolated phenomenon. The World Health Organisation (2013) estimates that more than one third of women in the world have been victims of either physical or sexual violence, with low-income countries disproportionately affected. It causes untold misery, cutting short lives and leaving countless women living in pain and fear in every country of the world. It harms families across the generations, impoverishes communities and reinforces other forms of violence throughout society. Violence against women stops them from fulfilling their potential, restricts economic growth and undermines development. The scope and extent of violence against women are a reflection of the degree and persistence of discrimination that women continue to face.

The situation is especially worrisome in sub-Saharan Africa. Using the most recent data from the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) for those African countries for

which data on domestic violence are available, we estimate that 29% of women have experienced either sexual or physical violence since the age of 15. In addition, 46% of women in our sample justify wife beating, while the corresponding figure for men is 34%. In Africa, violence against women is maintained by how boys and girls are socialised in different societies. From an early age, girls are socialised to tolerate and even accept domestic violence. Domestic violence is generally normalised in societies as women tend to be the most affected from it. GBV reflects inequalities and disparities between men and women, which are rooted in a social system based on the patriarchy. This social system generates and sustains negative social stereotypes and prejudices which mostly affect women. West Africa is still marked by persistent socio-cultural pressures and harmful traditional and customary practices, thus contributing to increased violence against women in their communities, (Ndiaye 2021).

Alesina et al. (2015) investigated how economic and cultural factors influence current spousal violence in 18 Sub-Saharan African countries. We find evidence that the economic value of women affects men's violence against them. When ancient socioeconomic arrangements made women economically valuable, social norms developed in ways that viewed women as productive, more equal to men, and these gender roles bring about less intra-family violence today. The COVID-19 pandemic has made reporting and seeking help even harder, particularly if a survivor is unable to leave the house to go to work or carry out other routine tasks (UN Women, 2020 Ouedraogo and Stenzel, 2021).

2.3 Gender Violence in Zimbabwe

Table 1: Nature of Domestic Violence

Form of Abuse	Grand Fraction	Percentage
Physical	60/100	60%
Sexual	20/100	20%
Emotional	20/100	20%

(Source: Primary Data)

Up to 60% of the total domestic violence is physical, meaning that beatings and physical punches are on the increase in Zimbabwe, particularly in the urban areas where economic hardships are the order of the day and men tend to neglect their families and in the event that women probe, they are then subjected to violence as a way of silencing them. Sexual abuse is up to 20% where men

sexually harass women, call them names making reference to their sexuality. In most cases they torture them, touching or damaging their private parts. Women are also emotionally abused, thus harassing them, upsetting their emotions, feelings and their moral side.

The Evidence below supports this claim:

Table 2: Evidence-based tabulation

Form of Abuse	Intensity	Province
Physical	62% in the province	Mashonaland West Province
	60% in the province	Mashonaland Central
	65% in the province	Mashonaland East Province
	70% in the city	Harare Metropolitan

(Source: Primary Data)

Physical abuse is very common in Mashonaland, thus among the Shona. Where 62% of people sampled in the province expressed that physical violence tops whilst emotional and sexual violence are at 20% each. Mashonaland Central also indicates that 60% of the total population sample reiterated that physical violence is the most prominent kind of abuse in the province and normally 20% of such women lose their lives. 65% of the sample in

Mashonaland East also noted that physical violence is on the rise in the districts of this province. Harare Metropolitan tops the province where 70% consented to idea that physical violence is more pronounced because of economic hardships. There are more conflicts, quarrels, misunderstandings and disputes leading to fights, beatings and physical harassment at the detriment of women.

Table 3: Gender Violence and sectors

Form of Abuse	Sector	Reason
Physical	Informal mining	Multi-partners
Sexual	Informal Traders	Abuse of income
Emotional	Professionals	poverty
Others	Politicians	mistrust

(Source: Primary Data)

The so-called artisanal miners top the sectors in terms of physical violence. They are hardened by hard work and become violent to their spouses especially on issues of abuse of income and multiple partners. People in this sector become lawless and violently injure, beat and kill their spouses in the process of arguing because of infidelity and misappropriation use of income from artisanal mining.

In terms of sexual abuse, informal traders top the sectors as they often fight for clients and use provocative language

during their business errands such that men abuse women in the process. Politicians are often associated with mistrust of female and often regard them as sale outs and are often physically abused. Poverty affects professionals because they are generally poorly remunerated and they fight with their spouses for that lean cake of survival especially nonworking spouses. Working spouses are often accused of adultery at work with their bosses and are also victims of physical abuse by men in this sector.

Table 4: Violence and age groups

Age	Form of Abuse	Settings
20-30	60% Physical, 20% Sexual, 20% Emotional	Before 8:00 am and after 6:00pm and weekends at home
31-40	58% Physical, 22% Sexual, 20% Emotional	Before 8:00 am and after 6:00pm and weekends at home, they are starting to work, or some are doing higher degrees
41-50	40% Physical 25% Sexual 35% Emotional	Weekends, Holidays, since they are at the peak of working class
51-60	Physical 20% Sexual 15% Emotional 65%	Weekends and Holidays, family gatherings since most of them are still going to work or running businesses.
61+	5% Physical 5% sexual 90% Emotional	Every day, since most of them are retired from work and spend time running businesses.

(Source: Primary Data)

In Mashonaland, which is a Shona community, young adults are still energetic and sexually active such that physical and sexual violence dominate society. This is evidenced by the following reported cases as of December 2023: 60% Physical, 20% Sexual and 20% Emotional. In the early 30s to early 40s the trend shifts slightly because of age and demands of work or businesses such that life between wife and husband, fathers and their girl children is reduced. Physical contact is also reduced as shown by the following trend of reported cases:

- 58% Physical,
- 22% Sexual,

- 20% Emotional

At old age spouses are both physically and sexually inactive. On top of that children will have grown up such that physical violence may not be palatable to them and parents’ resort to emotional abuse, verbal abuse and cold wars to ensure that children don’t see that. This is evidenced by the following statistics:

- 5% Physical
- 5% Sexual
- 90% Emotional

Young adults normally confront each other during weekends and holidays because during the week they will be at work all the time, as they grow physical violence goes down and emotional abuse increases. This emotional violence is witnessed every day since most of which will have retired from work and businesses. Contact increases but physical violence is at the decrease due to inactivity.

2.4 Afrobarometer Survey

Afrobarometer is a pan-African, nonpartisan survey research network that provides reliable data on African experiences and evaluations of democracy, governance, and quality of life. Eight rounds of surveys have been completed in up to 39 countries since 1999, and Round 9 surveys are currently underway. Afrobarometer conducts face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice, (Copyright Afrobarometer, 2022). The Afrobarometer team in Zimbabwe, led by the Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI), interviewed 1,200 adult citizens of Zimbabwe between 28 March 2022 and 10 April 2022. A sample of this size yields country-level results with a margin of error of +/-3 percentage points at a 95% confidence level. Previous standard surveys were conducted in Zimbabwe in 1999, 2004, 2005, 2009, 2012, 2014, 2017, and 2021. Key findings. Zimbabweans see gender-based violence (GBV) as the most important weapon on women's rights issue that the government and society must address.

More than half (52%) of citizens say violence against women and girls is a "somewhat common" (35%) or "very common" (17%) occurrence in their community. Close to 8 in 10 Zimbabweans (78%) say it is "never" justified for a man to physically discipline his wife. Almost half (45%) of respondents consider it "somewhat likely" (27%) or "very likely" (18%) that a woman will be criticised, harassed, or shamed if she reports GBV to the authorities. But most (78%) believe that the police are "very likely" (50%) or "somewhat likely" (28%) to take cases of GBV seriously. Six in 10 Zimbabweans (61%) say domestic violence should be treated as a criminal matter (Moyo 2022), while 37% see it as a private matter to be resolved within the family. Is gender-based violence (GBV) an important problem in Zimbabwe? In Zimbabwe, GBV tops the list of important women's-rights issues that citizens say the government and society must address. One-third (34%) of survey respondents cite GBV as their top priority, followed by too few women in influential positions in government (28%), unequal rights of property ownership and inheritance (17%), unequal access to education.

3. Methodology

The study employed a qualitative research approach to explore the intersection of gender-based violence (GBV)

and racial boundaries in the Mashonaland Provinces of Zimbabwe. A sample of about 100 women from the age 20 to 60 years and above (+) from different provinces in Mashonaland were conducted. The study employed in-depth interviews, where survivors of GBV, community leaders; focus group discussions in groups of 20 women were conducted to deduce the nature of abuse experienced in different women and various provinces.

The study incorporated a case study research design which focuses on Mashonaland Provinces of Zimbabwe. The case study approach allows for in-depth examination of the research phenomenon within a specific context, in this case the nature and color of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in Mashonaland Provinces. By adopting the Cultural determinism theory, the study brings out the fate of women and their languish in Mashonaland societies. Cultural determinism according to Mahommed (2013), was developed to accommodate culture, which is the decisive factor that determines the fate of a nation. The study examines the reliability and validity of including the study of the nature of GBV in societies. Validity was assessed using sampling of participants and the use of case study which was effective in giving a diversity in the nature of GBV and age of women mostly affected. Reliability on the other hand was measured through conceptualising gender and gender relations in the provinces.

Interviews were transcribed and coded based on preliminary analysis of available samples of interviews. A descriptive approach to the analysis of data was used based on the application of critical level analysis. The approach was used to examine the nature and color of GBV experienced by participants. This brings out ideas that enable researchers to draw meanings by interpreting and making sense of the data. Participants and the researcher's lives come together to create a co-constructed story (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000).

4. Results and Discussion

The analysis shows the rise of violence against women and girls across a demographic society. Most women tend to have encountered violence while violence differs with age. There is also no systematic evidence showing that young girls increase the risk of sexual, physical and emotional violence. Across Mashonaland Province adolescent girls in communities are significantly likely to have experienced sexual violence. There are statistically higher rates of physical violence in partners where women counterparts are the most affected. This has shown to be common in Most African countries where Palermo et al. (2019) evaluated the association of exposure to different forms of violence of girls aged 13–17 years old using VACS for six countries: Cambodia, Haiti, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria where the researchers reported their experience in physical or

sexual violence. They find that girls that were not in school are at high risk of violence compared to girls at school. Considering both the pandemics and economic factors, girls fail to attend school exposing themselves to all sorts of abuse. Early marriages, unwanted pregnancies associated with early or pre-birth conditions are common in these situations. These girls are also exposed to health challenges that include STIs and HIV. Age and environment are crucial as they are crucial settings that inform on the degree and type of abuse that is common.

In Table 1, the table shows a high rate of physical abuse in the Mashonaland Province. The researcher identified economic hardships as key factors that influence the intensity of abuse in certain societies. Sexual and emotional abuse is low in urban areas while physical abuse is high. The paper examines a slightly older group of girls (20–30 years old) and uses different controls such as multi partners of intimate partners in describing physical violence in different provinces. In this study, young age is positively associated with physical violence in various provinces. The data shows us that girls/young women are vulnerable to abuse in different contexts, suggesting an urgent need for reforms to allow girls to study or go to work and to live their lives safely. Most countries have some type of national policy in place to reduce violence against children, but none are fully funded. Hypothesis explain why young women not working or furthering their studies are potentially at high risk of abuse.

Table 2 presents a high rate of physical abuse in most provinces while it is significantly high in Harare Metropolitan. In this society, one can argue that the rate of increase is determined by the alertness of affected people to go and report these issues to the police. Whilst some areas could have relatively high rates, there could be possibilities that most cases are not reported hence affecting the records of status. In these societies there are small, negative association between the share of women who believe wife beating is justified for at least one reason and while others experience physical violence or combined physical and sexual violence consider it to be offensive. This may result from the relative beliefs of girls versus community members, where most community members justify domestic violence, educated partners (Evans et al. 2023).

The study further expressed how gender violence seems to be high in people with multiple partners that include societies with informal mining sectors. People in these societies seem to be more violent to the extent that they end up killing their partners. Generally, partners in such societies believe that women have to be submissive to their partners while women tend to be carried away by the need for an improved economic life. Women therefore look for multiple partners to cover the gap between poverty and improved life. This is where violence starts and affect

women significantly. Table 3 expresses how societies differ in terms of the typology of abuse and its extent.

Gender-based violence is presented to be at the peak during the early years of about 20-40 years while it depreciates as partners grow old. In some instances, at a late age, partners avoid quarreling in public to avoid their children from hearing them. In these cases, violence is usually swept below the table as serious cases of GBV are not reported. Both women and men believe that issues are not spoken out although some people especially women could be affected either physically, emotionally or sexually.

Societies differ in how they manage domestic violence. In some societies, domestic violence is treated as a criminal matter, where perpetrators are reported to the police and measures are taken to settle the issue depending on the degree of violence. In some instances, perpetrators end up in jail for a certain period. In some societies, especially rural environments, perpetrators report abuse to close relatives where counseling is done and maybe visit chiefs for further counselling when it continues. In rural settings, domestic violence is normalized, where elders argue that it is what homes are like (Ndozvinoita dzimba). In this case issues of domestic violence are normalized and considered as a private matter that can be resolved.

The study shows the various types of abuses in the African society. Gender-based-violence is widespread between girls and women in these African countries. Physical, verbal, emotional abuses are common and strategies of managing it sometimes seem fruitless as men take rigid positions that suppresses women unconsciously. The study shows a high rate of abuse in verbal violence which usually end up being physical whilst in other societies perpetrators are involved in cold wars in trying to hide their behaviors to children and individuals around them. Statics show how gender-based violence is also common not only in intimate partners but in young women/ girls. Various situations have contributed to this violence where social and economic factors are dominant. Situations such as pandemics and economic challenges contribute greatly to GBV.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

Whilst GBV is a common feature in most African countries, the study shows how it differs from society to society and age of perpetrators. Women and girls seem to be the mostly affected as GBV affects them from an early age of about 12-15 years. The nature of abuse ranges from sexual to physical abuse at these stages and/or extends to emotional and verbal as years develop. Societies somehow contribute to gender through the adoption and use of norms they believe to be useful in the development and

management of their homes. Most women in those societies suffer emotionally as they sometimes fail to report their issues to elders in fear and knowledge that they are always pointed as wrong or sometimes silenced by usual statements of how homes are.

5.2 Recommendations

The paper also recommends pragmatic understanding of the nature of gender-based violence in the globalized Africa seeing how much Africa has shifted from its axis and how it can adapt its old strategies to conform to a new world order with universal rights and democracy.

References

- Ahrens, C. E. (2006). *Being Silenced: The Impact of Negative Social Reactions on the Disclosure of Rape*. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 38, 31-34. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-006-9069-9>.
- Alberto A., B. Brioschi and E. L. Ferrara. (2021). *Violence Against Women: A Cross-cultural Analysis for Africa*, *Economica*, vol 88(349), pages 70-104.
- Chimwamurombe F. and T. Mujaji. (2021). *Zimbabwe Gender Based violence: The Legal underpinning Mandaq*. Zenas. <https://wwwmomdaq.com>
- Clandinin, J. D. and Connelly, M. F. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research* (1st ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Evans D. K., Hares S., Holland P. A. and A. M. Acosta (2023). *Adolescent Girls' Safety In and Out of School: Evidence on Physical and Sexual Violence from Across Sub-Saharan Africa*, *The Journal of Development Studies*, 59:5, 739-757. International Federation of the Red Cross, 2017. DOI: 10.1080/00220388.2023.2172333
- Moses, S. (2022). *Eliminating gender-based violence in Zimbabwe*. Borgen Project.
- Moyo S. (2022). *Zimbabweans see gender-based violence as most important women's-rights issue to address Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 557*. IJR.
- Ndiaye, N. A. (2021). *Violences basées sur le genre en Afrique de l'Ouest: Cas du Sénégal, du Mali, du Burkina Faso et du Niger*. Séries FES sur la Paix et la Sécurité en Afrique, No. 42, 21-23.
- Ouedraogo, R. and Stenzel, D. (2021). *The Heavy Economic Toll of Genderbased Violence: Evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa*. IMF WP/21/277. Washington DC: USA
- Palermo T. M., Black J. and A. Peterson. (2019). *Respond to Disclosure of Gender-Based Violence*. *American Journal of Epidemiology* 179(5). DOI:10.1093/aje/kwt297.
- Raghavendra, S., Kim, K., Ashe, S., Chadha, M., Asante, F. A., Piironen, P. T., & Duvvury, N. (2019). *The macroeconomic loss due to violence against women and girls: the case of Ghana*. Levy Economics Institute.
- Report of the Secretary-General 'In-depth study on all forms of violence against women' A/ 61/122/Add 1. in *Intensification of efforts at the United Nations level to eliminate gender-based violence. Authors info. Fm. 2006*
- Mohamed, R. (2013). *Cultural Determinism*. In book: *Global Economic and Cultural Transformation: The Making of World History* (pp.155-175) First Edition. Chapter 9. Palgrave Macmillan. DOI:10.1057/9781137365330_9
- Mathur S., Okal J., Musheke M., Pilgrim N., Patel S. K., Bhattacharya R., Jani N., Matheka J., Banda J., Mulenga D. and J. Pulerwitz. (2018). *High rates of sexual violence by both intimate and non-intimate partners experienced by adolescent girls and young women in Kenya and Zambia: Findings around violence and other negative health outcomes*. "DREAMS Implementation Science: Phase 1 Analysis Data, Zambia. Harvard Dataverse, V1. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/BYD9JF>.
- Spotlight Initiative. (2021). *High rates of sexual violence by both intimate and non-intimate partners experienced by adolescent girls and young women in Kenya and Zambia: Findings around violence and other negative health outcomes*. https://mptf.undp.org/sites/default/files/documents/40000/spotlight_initiative_zimbabwe_interim_annual_report_2021.pdf.
- United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA, 2022). *Gender based violence*. Accessed July 2024
- UN Women, (2020). *COVID-19 and Ending Violence Against Women and Girls*. New York: UN Women.
- World Health Organisation. (2013). *Global and regional estimates of violence against women: prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence: executive summary*. Global Sexual violence and health outcomes among adolescent girls and young women PLOS

ONE.

<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0203929>

September 13, 2018 11/ 13 and regional estimates of violence against women: prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence: executive summary.

World Bank. (2019). *Gender-based violence (violence against women and girls)*. Zimbabwe National Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency & UNICEF. (2019). Zimbabwe multiple indicator cluster survey 2019: Snapshots of key findings.

Zimbabwe Republic Police. (2022). *Victim friendly unit*. Accessed August 2024.

ZimFact. (2021). *Factsheet: Gender-based violence cases*. 22 November. Accessed July 2024