

WOMEN'S ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMMES IN REDUCING INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE

By

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**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Doctor of Philosophy Degree (PhD)**

in the

**DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
BLOEMFONTEIN**

NOVEMBER 2023

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DECLARATION

I, EZIWE MUTSIKIWA, declare that the Doctor of Philosophy Degree Thesis that I herewith submit at the University of the Free State, is my independent work and that I have not previously submitted it for qualification at another institution of higher education. I am aware that the copyright is vested in the University of the Free State and that the research may only be published with the Dean's approval. I also declare that all royalties as regards to intellectual property that was developed during the course of and/or in connection with the study at the University of the Free State, will accrue to the University.



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5 November 2023

.....
Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere acknowledgements go to the following:

God, the Almighty, for the gift of life and the opportunity to work with women's economic empowerment implementing organisations.

My mother, Enelith Hove, two brothers, children (Denzil, Takomborerwa and Tawanasha), and my husband, Ruramai Mutsikiwa, for giving moral support, motivation, and love.

Doctor Tatenda Manomano, for giving support and guidance. He would sometimes say, 'Hesi Doctor!' [Good day Doctor!]. This salutation made me feel so near to earning the title. I am grateful for his insights, comments, and critical questions that widened my appreciation of development and gender studies. A tribute goes to him as I managed to finalise this study under his supervision.

My exceptional colleagues for their moral and technical support. Their belief in me and unceasing constructive criticism kept me pushing even when it seemed too tough. Phrases such as, 'zvoita chete' [it can be done anyway], fuelled me to press on.

Members of staff at the University of Free State's (UFS) Centre for Development Support (CDS), particularly, Professor Deidre van Rooyen, for facilitating much of the needed support for a postgraduate student.

The Centre for Graduate Support (CGS) for providing face-to-face lectures in Zimbabwe and online lectures, writing spaces support, and other support services. Also for the UFS Tuition Bursary for financial support which encouraged me to press on to prove a point that their financial support will lead to a tangible piece of work.

Hesma van Tonder, postgraduate research librarian, from the Library and Information Services, for giving me technical support to navigate through the database of reading material.

All Zimbabwean organisations (governmental and non-governmental), that directly and indirectly shaped this study, for affording me the chance to conduct the study through and with their organisations and all the participants and respondents for their willingness to share their experiences and make time for the interviews and for completing questionnaires, respectively. I am grateful for their assistance and making this study a reality.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my son, Denzil Mutsikiwa.

ABSTRACT

This study sought to explore Women's Economic Empowerment (WEE) programmes implemented in Zimbabwe with the key objective of reducing Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). The study established that WEE programmes are increasingly being used as a tool for reducing IPV and could thus serve as a framework within which WEE programmes can be improved with the goal of reducing IPV in Zimbabwe. This novel single-embedded case study on WEE and IPV was underpinned by empowerment, capability, and liberal feminist and modernity theories.

Zimbabwe was purposively selected to provide a better understanding of why IPV cases are increasing in the wake of the implementation of WEE interventions embedding IPV reduction across the country. Methodologically, the sample included women who had been or were participating in WEE programmes at the time of the study, WEE implementing agencies, WEE programme funders, and government departments. Primary and secondary data were gathered using a questionnaire survey, semi-structured interviews, and document analysis. The data were analysed using descriptive statistics, the Multinomial Logistic Regression Model (MLRM) and thematic analysis.

The study established that the root cause of IPV in Zimbabwe is linked to household finances, leading to financial tension between intimate partners. However, this root cause is sometimes, exacerbated by socio-cultural and religious factors within the participants' context. In practice, access to finances is the key factor that the livelihood component of WEE interventions has been trying to strengthen and the relationship between the variables has been found to be statistically significant and contributing positively towards the reduction of IPV.

Sustainable livelihoods are believed to be critical in the reduction of IPV if coupled with relevant training, adequate funding, and well-structured partnerships between implementing agencies. The sustainability of livelihoods has however, remained a pipedream in Zimbabwe as is the case in most developing countries in Africa. The study recommends refinement of existing national policies, statutes, and instruments taking into account the local context relative to the causes of IPV.

In addition, innovation towards improving sustainability of financial and technical support to existing WEE programmes must also be prioritised. Funding agencies are further encouraged to avail more funding towards research as well as WEE-related Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) to ensure challenges are timely identified. Then, partnerships among agencies implementing WEE programmes with IPV reduction objectives must be strengthened to avoid duplicating certain activities whilst neglecting other important activities and actions. Beneficiaries are encouraged to identify champions among themselves who can lead in re-examining and strengthening women's associations, networks, and movements at every level of society. In conclusion, the study theoretically contributes to a WEE-strengthening framework that can be used in practice to reduce incidences of IPV.

Keywords: woman; empowerment; women's economic empowerment (WEE), intimate partner violence (IPV); livelihood; programmes

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFI	Alliance for Financial Inclusion
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
AIDS	acquired immunodeficiency virus
AU	African Union
BBWEEF	Broad-Based Women's Economic Empowerment Framework
BSR	Big Saturday Read
CA	Capacity Approach
CAMFED	Campaign for Female Education
CCMR	China Centre for Modernisation Research
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
co-op	cooperative
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease of 2019
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
DV	Domestic violence
DVA	Domestic Violence Act
EU	European Union
GAD	Gender and Development
GDI	Gender-related Development Index
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GGI	Gender Gap Index
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
ibid.	ibidem (in the same place)
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMAGE	Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
IRC	International Rescue Committee
M4W	Markets for Women
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MOC	Mavambo OrphanCare Christ
MoWA	Ministry of Women Affairs

MSMEs	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
NGP	National Gender Policy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PACT	Private Agencies Cooperating Together
RBM	results-based management
RMCS	Rural Medical Cooperative Scheme
SADHF	South African Demographic Health Survey
SAPS	South African Police Services
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SEWA	Self-Employed Women's Association
SME	small-medium enterprise
SNV	Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
SSA	sub-Saharan Africa
UCDW	unequal distribution of domestic and unpaid care
UN Women	United Nations Women
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VFU	Victim Friendly Unit
WAD	Women and Development
WEE	Women Economic Empowerment
WEI	Women's Empowerment Index
WEMC	Women's Empowerment in Muslim Context
WHO	World Health Organization
WID	Women in Development
WSI	Women's Self-Reliance Index
ZACH	Zimbabwe Association for Church Hospitals
ZDHS	Zimbabwe Demographic Health Survey
ZIMSTATS	Zimbabwe National Statistical Agency
ZLR	Zimbabwe Law Review
ZNGBVS	Zimbabwe National Gender-Based Violence Strategy
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZUNDAF	Zimbabwe United Nations Development Assistance Framework

CHAPTER 1:

GENERAL ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to investigate to what extent Women Economic Empowerment (WEE) programmes contribute to reducing cases of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in Zimbabwe. WEE programmes have long been a tool of great interest in the development sector and vary in scope and objectives (Taylor & Perezniето, 2014; Cornwall & Edwards, 2016; UNWOMEN, 2018). WEE programmes have been commended by UNWOMEN (2018) for their role in reducing the rate of IPV, among other roles. Oxfam (2017) has defined WEE programmes as the process by which women increased their rights to access economic resources, possession, and associated decision-making and Heidi, Amel & Aziza (2021) underscored the long-held assumption that families and communities significantly benefit when women are equally endowed with decision-making authority as men, which is often a direct outcome of WEE programmes.

Ranagathan, Pichon, Hidrobo, Tambet, Sintayehu, Tadesse & Buller (2021) used an example of the Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity (IMAGE) rolled out in South Africa to show how IPV was reduced by 50% in the intervention group over a two-year period. This programme was built on principles of promoting savings-based, self-expanding, and literacy-led savings adaptation. Outcomes and impacts of the programme that were noted were domestic conflict and violence reduction, wealth creation, and wealth sustainability.

Research has exposed that in addition to other intergenerational effects and demographic consequences of IPV, there were many health burdens as a result of physical violence on the women World Health Organisation (WHO) (2010). As a result, the WHO (2014:15) promotes WEE as a means of reducing all types of violence against women and girls and as the way to attain Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) number 5 to achieve universally empowered women and girls.

One accessible source has shown that, in Zimbabwe, close to 40 WEE thematically related programmes were implemented by several organisations in the past four

decades (Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers [SNV], 2017). One instrumental example is the Markets for Women (M4W) programme that was implemented in 2017 by the SNV. The main focus of this programme was to establish an adequate business knowledge base for women towards increased capacities for the mobilisation of capital and the improvement of their market access (SNV, 2017). Through this programme's interventions, women were equipped with knowledge and skills to grow horticultural cash crops, although the question remains; *on whose land did these women grow the crops?*

It must, however, be noted that in some cases, women do not fully participate in WEE programmes due to cultural constraints, social norms, laws, and a general lack of opportunities and knowledge (Oxfam, 2017). Furthermore, Oxfam noted that general lack of knowledge maybe due to little or no education about the existence of these programs and their benefits. According to Kabeer (2012), women are often confronted with limited opportunities due to low levels of economic development in societies and a general lack of requisite capacities on their part as a result of minimum investment in their growth. Thus, despite that a number of organisations have been implementing WEE programmes in Zimbabwe since its attainment of independence in 1980, the IPV prevalence rate nevertheless continued to rise (WHO, 2016).

As part of this study's purpose to investigate the extent to which WEE programmes contribute to reducing cases of IPV in Zimbabwe, the study identifies, explores and analyses WEE programmes implemented by diverse organisations with the aim of reducing incidences of IPV in Zimbabwe. The study further seeks to establish whether the WEE programmes achieved their intended outcome of producing economically empowered women and subsequently reduce the number of IPV cases in the country per year. Specifically, this chapter sets the scene for the study by giving background information, study objectives and its significance to theory, policy and practice. Perhaps, before discussing background information, it is prudent to define operational meanings of key terms used in this study. It must be noted that the meanings given in this section serve as proxies to scholarly meanings given in the review chapters (Chapters 2, 3, and 4). Specifically, four key terms have been singled out, not to over emphasise their individual importance, but to give readers a rough visual imprint of key issues discussed in the thesis:

- **Woman** refers to an adult biological female being. In Zimbabwe, an adult is anyone from the age of 18 upwards.
- **Empowerment** describes the giving of power to previously disadvantaged people to make decisions affecting their lives. This power takes various forms such as social, political, economic, and psychological enablement.
- **WEE** describes a wide range of intentionally designed initiatives to enhance women's control over economic resources and make decisions on how such resources can be used for the betterment of their lives and the society at large.
- **IPV** collectively describes all forms of abuse by an intimate partner to their spouse. This abuse includes emotional, verbal, physical, and financial variants.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Women empowerment is a global trend that has also been prioritised in Zimbabwe. In this spirit, thus, the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ), through its Reserve Bank, launched the Women Economic Empowerment and Financial Inclusion Initiative (WEEFII) in 2016. The programme was aimed at promoting financial inclusion and economic empowerment of women towards achieving long-term gender equality in all sectors of the economy (Alliance for Financial Inclusion [AFI], 2023). This initiative gave women better access to bank loans with special inclination towards providing these finances on terms reasonably favourable to women. Viewing WEE from another angle, Vyas & Watts (2018) noted that by introducing WEE programmes, poverty in homes could be addressed, thereby lowering the frequency of domestic violence experienced by women. However, if WEE programmes are effective in reducing incidences of IPV as suggested in some accessible studies (see SNV, 2017; UNWOMEN, 2018), then much more work needs to be done in Zimbabwe to complement or strengthen existing ones since cases of IPV in Zimbabwe are on upward trend. As can be seen by 2015-16 statistics published by the Zimbabwe Democratic Health Survey (ZDHS) on IPV in Zimbabwe which revealed that “35% of women between the ages of 15 and 49 years experienced IPV at least once between November 2015 and November 2016” (ZDHS Report, 2015-2016:321). These statistics are indicated in Table 1.1 below, which provides a time series of reported IPV cases.

Table 1.1: Trends of IPV from 2005 to 2016 in Zimbabwe

	2005/6	2010/11	2015/16
Physical violence	25.3%	29.9%	49%
Sexual violence	28.6%	32%	14%
Spousal rape	12.7%	14.1%	14%

Source: ZDHS Report (2015-16: 321)

Of the three variants of IPV collated in Table 1.1, physical violence rose sharply between 2005 and 2015 as compared to other forms of IPV. This trend raises numerous academic questions; is it because physical violence is largely denounced by relevant authorities? Are other forms of violence equally popularised among women? Do women have decent knowledge on other forms of violence? Could this suggest that other forms of violence such psychological and economic abuse are difficult to characterize and report? Could this suggest that WEE programmes are not the best tool for reducing IPV? Are WEE programmes in Zimbabwe not contextually applied? If so, what probable tools can be used to eliminate violence against women? Five-year interval studies by ZDHS are instrumental in carrying out time series analysis of these cases. A mathematical deduction indicates that 2020 was the year for carrying out another study which could have confirmed existing knowledge on the interplay between WEE and IPV. However, the ZDHS was not carried out in 2020 due to COVID-19 and the general economic meltdown at that time in Zimbabwe. In general, most surveys that were due in 2020 and 2021 were globally put to a halt not only because movement of people was restricted by COVID-19 induced lockdown, but also as some of the earmarked resources were diverted towards addressing the dreadful effects of that pandemic (Lung, 2020). This study seeks to understand the relationship between WEE and IPV using the case of Zimbabwe. It examines the use of WEE in reducing IPV and proffers workable solutions considering local context, existing capacities, constraints and opportunities.

In 2006, the GoZ enacted the Domestic Violence Act (DVA) [Chapter 5:16] to make provision for the protection and relief of victims of domestic violence, including IPV. Yet, despite the existence of legislation and ongoing efforts to protect women against violence, cases of IPV continue to increase. For instance, the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) recorded a 5.7% increase in cases of IPV between 2015 and 2016 (The Herald, 7 March 2017). Thus, if WEE programmes were successful, the magnitude of

IPV suggests that there is a need to strengthen WEE programmes so as to reduce incidences of IPV in Zimbabwe.

The case of rising IPV is not peculiar to Zimbabwe. For example, South Africa is heavily burdened with high levels of IPV. The South African Demographic Health Survey [SADHS] (Statistics South Africa, 2016) revealed that 26% women of at least 18 years of age who have been intimately involved with someone, have suffered physical, sexual or emotional abuse from their partners. It has further been reported that as of 2016, 21%, 17% and 6% of females in South Africa were suffering from physical, emotional and sexual violence, respectively. In 2020, the South African Police Services (SAPS) reported 42 289 and 7 749 rape and sexual assault cases, respectively (South African Police Services, 2021). It was further recorded that intimate femicide was five times the global average.

Statistics from South Africa is relevant for Zimbabwe due to two reasons, first, South Africa is a neighbouring country that partly shares common cultures with Zimbabwe and second, South Africa has always housed a sizeable number of the Zimbabwean migrant population. Statistics recorded in the two countries also tend to share resemblances that concern this study. Particularly, it remains a fact that, brutal acts perpetrated against women are rising. On the same note, women grapple with lesser opportunities in the workplace as they experience minimum access to training. These statistics provide a point of departure for to this study since this study seeks to establish the efficacy of WEE programmes as a pathway for reducing IPV in Zimbabwe. The similarity in the statistical trends of the two nations implies that results of studies that reveal IPV prevalence can provide insights into what has been prevailing in other countries in the region and beyond. As has been mentioned, in spite of many organisations implementing WEE programmes in Zimbabwe with the principal objective of reducing IPV cases, these cases are continuously rising. This is also confirmed by a 2019-report of the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey of 2019 [MICS] (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, 2019) which shows that nearly 73% of women who lived with or have been ever-married first experienced IPV during their stay with a partner whereas nearly 20% first suffered IPV before staying together and about 7% first experienced it after the relationship had dissolved.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Zimbabwe has been experiencing a steady increase in IPV cases, however, there has been a recent interest in the use of WEE programmes to empower women and subsequently reduce IPV. This approach has specifically been reinforced by Heidi *et al.* (2021), who stated that economic empowerment is one of the most promising approaches whereby IPV in Africa could be reduced, however evidence about economic factors and whether they play a role in reducing IPV are still vague. Regardless though that the use of WEE programmes in reducing IPV is commendable, such programmes do not necessarily take into account the differences in religious, cultural, and geographical contexts underlying individual cases UNWOMEN (2023). Thus, the interest of this study is to further examine the invisible issues relating WEE interventions and incidences of IPV according to specific contexts. In as far as it could be ascertained, there are only a few accessible studies that have been done to establish the underlying reasons behind the general increase in IPV cases despite the growing number of WEE programmes being implemented in Zimbabwe.

Because the desired scenario would be to see a decrease in IPV cases as the WEE programmes proliferate, the status quo thus raises numerous questions: is WEE the best approach to deal with IPV? If yes, has it been correctly adapted to local context? If no, what could work better towards reducing IPV in Zimbabwe? These questions have prompted a scholarly inquiry to strengthen existing WEE frameworks, thus with their answers I could make recommendations for adoption and could also contribute to the decrease in cases of IPV. It is furthermore envisioned that this study's findings would be useful in strengthening WEE programmes being implemented in Zimbabwe towards reducing IPV.

1.4 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this study was to assess the interplay between WEE and IPV with the view of developing a conceptual model for improving WEE interventions to effectively reduce IPV cases.

1.4.1 Specific objectives

In line with the main objective, the specific research objectives were to:

- i. determine the extent to which the theories underpinning this study influenced WEE programmes implementation globally, but specifically in Zimbabwe;
- ii. ascertain the impacts of existing international WEE guiding frameworks in relation to IPV incidences in Zimbabwe;
- iii. examine WEE programmes and policies implemented in Zimbabwe towards reducing IPV; and
- iv. develop a context-specific and evidence-based WEE strengthening conceptual model applicable towards sustainably reducing IPV in Zimbabwe.

1.4.2 Research questions

The research questions guiding this research were:

- i. To what extent do theoretical constructs underpinning the study influence the structure of WEE programmes implemented globally and in Zimbabwe?
- ii. How do existing international WEE guiding frameworks have an effect on IPV cases in Zimbabwe?
- iii. Why are IPV cases on the rise in Zimbabwe regardless of the continuous implementation of WEE interventions and policies?
- iv. Which is the developed context-specific and evidence-based WEE strengthening conceptual model applicable towards sustainably reducing IPV in Zimbabwe?

1.4.3 Research hypotheses

In this segment two conjectural statements are used as the starting points of the study about the relationship between WEE programmes and IPV cases in Zimbabwe. To establish whether these conjectural statements are rational empirical tests were undertaken in different parts of the study. These statements are:

- i. Under ideal conditions, there must be a negative relationship between WEE programmes implementation and IPV cases in Zimbabwe.

- ii. An upward trend of the relationship between WEE and IPV will continue into the foreseeable future if existing WEE frameworks are not adjusted to consider local contexts.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Findings of this study contribute to theoretical literature on the interplay between IPV and WEE since it has been argued that IPV is geographically skewed, and has economic, religious and cultural connotations. Most accessible and existing studies on the nexus between IPV and WEE are descriptive and even though such attempts provide invaluable data, they do not explain why IPV cases are continuously increasing despite the proliferation of WEE interventions in countries such as Zimbabwe. This Zimbabwean study thus edifies existing knowledge on the subject and furthermore, provides practical knowledge on the rising trend in IPV cases in Zimbabwe, while it helps proffer locally grown solutions and avoids use of generic approaches such as current WEE programmes. By using a case study-based reasoning approach, the understanding of IPV practical realities in Zimbabwe has been widened and deepened. Such an understanding could partly enable the generation of solutions from an informed viewpoint. Furthermore, findings from this study could assist WEE implementing agencies, by providing a better understanding of why incidences of IPV have remained unabated regardless of the number of WEE programme initiatives that have been implemented in practice. The study further adds to knowledge for use by WEE agencies and more particularly those that work with women. This is so because this study sought to prove or disprove the claim that WEE can reduce IPV. Finally, this study is a first of its kind in Zimbabwe and its findings and recommendations provide alternative strategies for improving women empowerment programmes that are being implemented by both government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study focussed on assessing WEE programmes implemented by development agencies in Zimbabwe, with the aim of building an improved model with regard to IPV reduction. In this study, development agencies have been taken to include government departments, NGOs as well as community-based organisations. The study sought to understand the design and implementation of WEE programmes with a view of tracing

what worked well, what could be improved, and if there were gaps to close in any existing approaches. The study was based on a purposive selection of various agencies and beneficiaries who participated in WEE programmes aimed at reducing IPV. Essentially, the study focused on organisations that have been implementing WEE programmes in Zimbabwe in the period 2015-2020. Theoretically, this study is underpinned by the Empowerment, Capability, Liberal Feminist, and Modernity theories, which are all discussed in Section 2.5 of Chapter 2. By applying all of these theories study variables could be predicted, assumptions could be drawn up, concepts could be shaped, hypotheses could be developed and relevant research strategies, methods and tools could be chosen. Finer details on the variables, assumptions and concepts entrenched in these of theories are given in Chapter 2.

1.7 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This study specifically focused on organisations that have been implementing WEE programmes towards reducing IPV prevalence in Zimbabwe even though those WEE interventions have had multiple other objectives and effects. Further, organisations that were responsible for overseeing WEE interventions also formed part of this study. The study was geographically skewed towards areas in which these organisations were implementing or had implemented WEE programmes in Zimbabwe. It must be noted that, although the results of this study may be observable, empowerment is a latent phenomenon that may not be directly observed causing the inner dynamism hard to be assessed. The study did, however, attempt to close this gap by employing data collection tools. In addition, for the purposes of this study, women empowerment was partially seen as increased economic freedoms and financial autonomy for women.

Despite the existence of limiting factors resulting from the delimitation of the study as noted above, the WEE conceptual model that resulted from this study provided some proxies that could be contextualised in other settings.

1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

This study has seven chapters. Chapter 1 provides the introduction and background, the problem statement, research questions, objectives, significance and scope of the

study. In the first chapter the study is introduced by specifying its background, context and focus. Chapter 2 reviews theories underpinning this study; specifically, the Empowerment, Capability’s, Liberal Feminist, and Modernity theories are discussed outlining how they have shaped this study. Chapter 3 gives a review of international WEE frameworks and most widely used strategies in reducing IPV, and Chapter 4 reviews institutional, policy, and legal frameworks used to manage incidences of IPV in Zimbabwe. Chapter 5 answers six questions around the methodology; namely what, why, when, where, who, and how data was used, gathered, analysed, and reported. Chapter 6 presents and discusses study findings in relation to accessible past studies by others. Finally, Chapter 7 provides the study’s conclusions and recommendations by revisiting the research problem, its hypotheses, its limitations, and the direction of further research. In Figure 1.1, below, a diagrammatic summary of the study’s structure is provided.

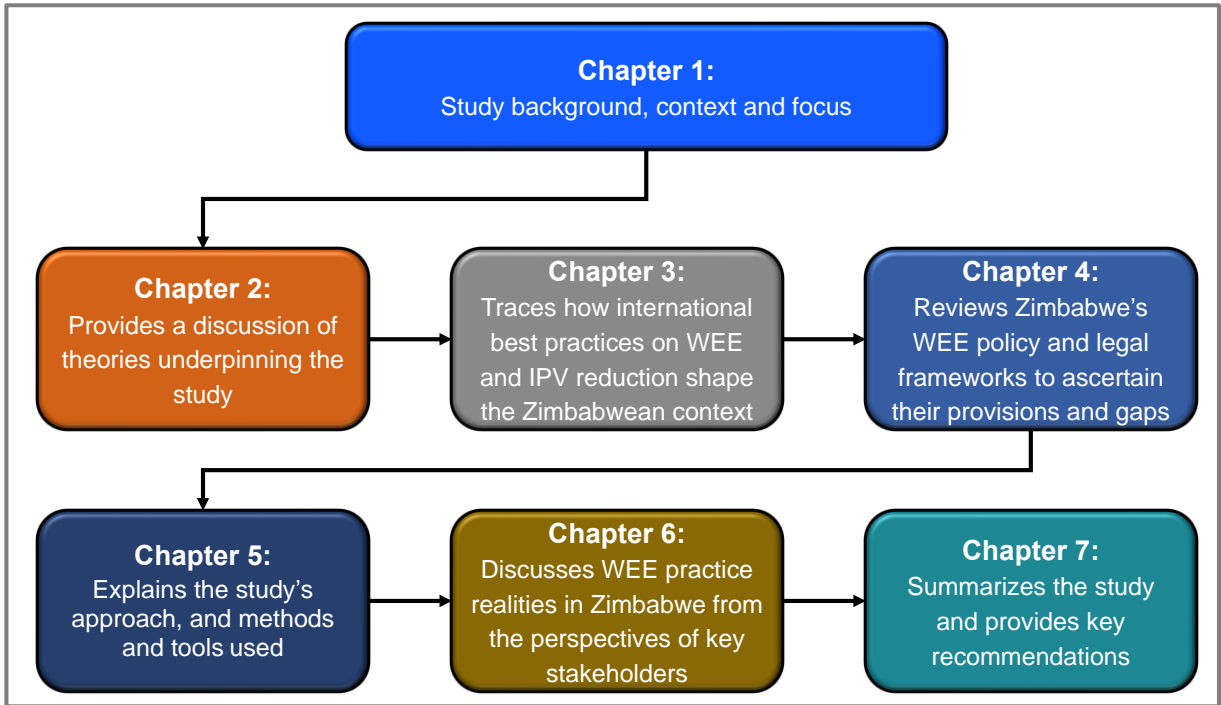


Figure 1.1: Schematic view of the study (Researcher’s construct, 2023)

1.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this section, the thesis and objectives thereof are introduced. The motivation of this study was to advance an improved WEE conceptual model for Zimbabwe, whose implementation could result in reduced IPV cases. The proposed model provides

parameters and practices of WEE interventions that are in sync with the country's unique context, which has proved to be vital as most accessible studies on WEE largely describe the relationship between WEE and IPV without examining underlying factors that may lead to an increase in IPV cases despite the continued implementation of WEE interventions. In Chapter 2, the research problem is expanded by providing a review of theoretical issues that have been proposed in literature. By developing the research problem, the research gap was indicated-a gap that this thesis attempts to fill.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON WEE AND IPV

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter has been inspired by the assertions of Monaghan (2009) and Nilsen (2015), namely that a solution to a challenge is best designed when the theory about its cause is well-known. The chapter starts with a discussing about the concept of a '*women*' as it is used in the practice of development. Then, the elements of women empowerment and IPV are discussed. These discussions particularly provide definitions that frame the study's foundation for enhanced understanding of WEE and IPV as concepts. This is followed by a discussion of theories underpinning this study, namely, the Empowerment, Capability, Liberal Feminist, and Modernity theories. Other aspects covered in this chapter are measuring IPV, using the results and logical frameworks as conceptual frames, and the theoretical and programmatic connections that exist between WEE and IPV.

2.2 '*WOMEN*' AS A STAND-ALONE CONCEPT

For the purposes of this study, it is critical to unravel the concept of '*women*' since this study focuses on women's empowerment. However, it is also important as an incorrect definition could present limitations or widen the scope of inclusivity of the targeted matter or population during the design and implementation of projects, which would have an effect on the outcomes of WEE interventions and their relationship with IPV in practice.

This discussion therefore aims to provide a working definition of the concept '*women*'. The concept is not monolithic or static, but rather varied and dynamic since diverse groups of women may have different aspirations, needs, preferences, and experiences as was argued by Mora & Piper (2021). Furthermore, contextual factors around socio-economic, political, cultural, and religious settings also matter in understanding this concept, which notion is expanded on in Section 2.5. Regarding the concept '*women*', Webster's dictionary (1961) and Power, Halwani & Soble (2017) define a '*woman*' as an adult female human person. Morrow & Massinger (2006) state that a woman is

usually identified as capable of giving birth from puberty until menopause. Deducing from Webster's (1961) meaning of a woman, it can be noted that the word is attached with servitude, while Morrow & Massinger (2006) emphasised giving birth which equally perceives women as servants of sex and creatures for giving birth Aneil (2021).

Nevertheless, some accessible definitions of women are paratactically oriented. For example, Feinberg (1996) defined some women as '*transwomen*', that is, males by birth who are then transitioned to the female gender identity, and '*transsexual*' who are women assigned a male gender identity at birth but whose sex identity is actually that of a woman. Transsexual women (*she*) may therefore undergo physical changes to align their bodies with their new gender identity (*he*) (Power *et al.*, 2017). In Zimbabwe, the term '*woman*' is also generalisable to mean the adult female person (*she*). It is nominally used as a gender identity that labels men who are not biological women but to denote the feminine personalities that may be identified in them. That kind of name-calling is usually associated with the characteristics of women that may be visible in a person who is not biologically a woman/(*she*) but a man/(*he*).

A woman can also be defined by characteristics expected of her as espoused in Williams (2013). These characteristics include aspects of being caring, attentive and nurturing and their concern on personal appearances and not being too aggressive when juxtaposed to men. However, these characteristics may not be shared by all humanity, but only particular societies that share the same cultures, traditions, stereotypical characters and gender role expectations. In Zimbabwe, as in most of African countries, considering the discussed characteristics, women have arguably been viewed as weaker than men. This has been a long tradition and is often also rooted in and backed by religion. These characteristics have in some instances been used in the allocation of roles in homes and societies, with implications on the economic vulnerability of some women when compared to their male counterparts. It has also been argued that such vulnerabilities, resulting from social beliefs, experience and social learning, have implications on the occurrence of IPV (Bandura & Watts, 1996).

A comprehensive international human rights treaty designed to advance women's plights, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) of 1979, does not define women as one might typically expect, but

instead establishes the articles that seek to end discrimination against the biologically gendered women (United Nations, 1979). The lack of definition of 'woman' in CEDAW left a gap with regards to establishing parameters that determine who may bring claims under CEDAW and who is the proper rights holder in the same context. In closing that gap, Meyer (2016) put forward that the term woman as used in CEDAW covers biological, anatomical, genetic, gender performance, and/or gender identity aspects. Meyer further presents that any definition of a woman is often a combination of some, or all of those facets (Meyer, 2016). Meyer's definition is broad and can fit in a society where 'transgender' issues exist as it covers aspects of gender performance and identity, although it is yet to be seen whether the same definition can be successfully embraced in women empowerment programming. Tinarwo and Pasura (2014) advanced that the concept 'women' is partially defined in the CEDAW and in Zimbabwe's Constitution. For example, the concept, 'women' was formerly defined through biological or physical (masculinity) make-up and gender dimension. Understanding this concept is important as this can present limitations or widen the scope of inclusivity of the targeted matter or population during the design and implementation of projects, with an effect on the outcomes of the WEE interventions and their relationship with IPV in practice.

2.3 ELEMENTS OF WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

It is important to appreciate that empowerment revolves around power relations. As such, this section characterises the relations of power that exist between men and women as they relate and are used to shape women empowerment endeavours due to a need to connect empowerment to economic empowerment. Kabeer (2019) argued that empowerment revolves around power relations between people; where power refers to people's ability to choose strategically and to exercise influence. According to Kabeer (2019), empowerment also refers to processes by which enablement was acquired by those who have earlier on been denied this capacity. For this study, empowerment can be understood in the sense that women who deserve to be empowered, have been disempowered before. So, the process of women empowerment is at the heart of our understanding of WEE and is fast becoming a key instrument in reducing cases of IPV. Scholars such as Jewkes, Flood & Lang (2015) postulated that the process is aimed at helping targeted women acquiring control of

their lives through fostering power that they could apply in their own lives and their communities, and to act on their important issues, specifically through their agency. Recent work by Miskiyah, Ridho, Jauhari & Purnamasari (2021) characterised dimensions of women empowerment as welfare, access, awareness, participation and control of the prevailing empowerment regime. Such characterisation provides parameters for structuring and shaping effective WEE programmes. Furthermore, understanding dimensions of empowerment is important for monitoring progress towards gender equality, identifying gaps and challenges, and informing policies and interventions. To measure empowerment, it is necessary to consider that the empowerment of women is a multidimensional concept which can be seen in the extent that women enjoy equal rights, chances, and options, the same way that men do.

Recently, Burton (2022) has posited that the impact of an empowered women is control and inner power since most women are deprived of this control. This view was corroborated by Mahajan (2022) who stated that when women have power to make decisions in day-to-day situations, then they are psychologically empowered. This position assumes that the other dimensions of women empowerment have been dealt with; that is why they are not mentioned in some accessible definitions. These dimensions, nevertheless, generally challenge societal perceptions on the status quo with regards to women's position and role in society. Some of the perceptual positions have already been held and disseminated by classical scholars such as Mill (1851, 1869), Wollstonecraft (1792), and reiterated by contemporary scholars such as Ozaya & Ozawa (2017) and De-Souza (2022). The main assumptions of Burton (2022) and Mahajan (2022) with regards to empowerment, revolve around power, the ability to help, achieving, succeeding and agency.

Similarly, the empowerment process is viewed as distributive, redistributive and transformative. This view advances the idea that empowerment ought to be unidirectional, emancipatory and seeking to reconfigure or undo hindrances against it that are usually perpetuated through the nature of existing societal systems, processes and agency as provided by the Social Learning Theory (Bandura & Watts, 1996; O'Neil, Domingo & Valters, 2014; Cherry, 2022). Some of the most widely reported limitations are imposed by the gender inclination of programmes in societies that are still predominantly patriarchal. These limitations could further be due to the hegemony

of multinational conglomerates that usually crowd-out budding initiatives with propensity to craft obstacles for women's empowerment and participation (Baumann-Pauly, Labowitz & Banerjee, 2015). If the postulations above are taken into consideration, it may appear that the conceptualisation of women empowerment could be easy to follow, however, it must be noted that its practice is not universally understood (Kabeer, 2016; Ozoya & Ozawa, 2017). For example, achieving a particular human goal is sometimes advanced as empowerment although that may be without due regard to the sustainability of the achievement (Cornwall & Edwards, 2014).

In spite of these differences in contexts and goals, empowerment is being implemented through the distinct or combined focus on age groups, such as youth in addition to gender category (women) and the previously disadvantaged racial or ethnic class categories (Black community within states). Thus, the previous exclusion of some groups of society can call for redistribution and reallocation of resources and control of power in a just manner (United Nations Social Development Network (UNSDN), 2012b; Cornwall & Edwards, 2014). As such, alternative views on women empowerment add to the understanding that the concept is multidimensional in nature. For example, a number of accessible studies (see Cornwall & Edwards, 2014; Vyas & Watts, 2018; O'Neil, Alldredge & Slocum, 2014) have suggested that women empowerment encompasses economic, psychological, political and social aspects. In light of this suggestion, Hornset & De Soysa (2022) have argued that women empowerment goes beyond democratic rights and good governance. As such, it is definitionally and practically complex, non-static, sometimes emotionally laden and often abused as a means to some end while its meaning and practice is largely contextual and not universal (Page & Czuba, 1995; Charmaz, 2005; UNSDN, 2012b; Kabeer, 2016). It is against this background that issues around women empowerment must be contextually analysed and not generalised.

Since women empowerment is broad and diverse, it was predominantly referred to in the nineties as a procedure of changing:

1. **power relations** among persons and social groupings (Scoones, 2006); and
2. **structures of institutions** that sustained and reinforced power arrangements in the state, education, media, and family systems (Chomsky, 2016).

By changing power relations, much emphasis is placed on restructuring social authority through questioning ideologies that validate inequality in social settings, while changing structures of institutions seeks to create spaces for women to lead.

Generally, women empowerment can be summarised as extending power over, to, with, and within women (O'Neil *et al.*, 2014). This is aptly summarised by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation [BMGF] (2021) which indicated that to focus on empowerment requires that people should stop viewing women and girls as beneficiaries of development programmes and start acknowledging them to be agents of change for their own individual and collective empowerment. This raises the question of 'power for what' which calls for the dissection of women empowerment domains which I expound in the subsequent section.

In dissecting the women empowerment domain, this study is inspired by authors O'Neil *et al.* (2014) whose definitions of empowerment domains characterised:

1. WEE as the process of assisting women in acquiring the capacity to make, influence, and act on decisions about their involvement in labour markets, their share of unpaid work, and the distribution and use of their own assets and household assets;
2. women's psychological empowerment as the development of their confidence to act on their beliefs and to build their ability to make or influence decisions that affect them;
3. women's political empowerment as giving women the power to influence social norms and decisions regarding who gets what, when, and how. This involves both formal and informal institutions at all societal levels. Here formal participation refers to women that can vote, be members of political parties, and stand as electorates, and informal participation would include activism, protesting, and campaigning; and
4. women's social empowerment as activities taken to acquire the power to decide or have a say in matters affecting their reproduction, health, and education.

It must be noted that the above definitions overlap into each other, and they all have a bearing on the psychographics of women. It is furthermore interesting that the invisible thread connecting domains of women empowerment spin around providing women with the ability to take the lead in matters concerning their lives by ensuring that they gain relevant skills, increase self-confidence, develop self-reliance, and reconfigure societal and household systems (Ademokoya, 2014; UN Women, 2020). This can generally be summarised as granting women the power to effect changes within their lives through improving their capabilities and capacities. Improving one's capacity must be approached as a continuous process and not an event. These processes and choices revolve around agency, that is, the capability of gaining control over several aspects of life (Kabeer, 2016; 2018).

Overall, measures of agency include financial independence, level of involvement in decision-making, freedom of movement, and the presence of individual or group identity that strengthens self-esteem. Agency integrates intentions and motivations that are not measurable. For example, negotiation and bargaining, attitudes towards subordination of women, and cognitive procedures of analysis and reflection (Stevano & Dinerstein, 2019). In the same vein, Molyneux (2020) reinforced that the other element of agency is access to and control of human, social, political and material resources that women often acquire from networking in their community, market and family. Agency focuses on creating the preconditions for empowerment, such as ideas, beliefs and attitudes; material and financial assets; social capital, and formal and informal institutional rules for individuals, the community and systems (Kabeer, 2018).

The building blocks for agency avail supportive resources to the process of women empowerment. Domingo, Hollingsworth, Rehm, Jarvis, Baliunas & Chou (2015) added that circumstances such as living arrangements, marriage, household wealth and family set-up also shape the accessibility to available choices and opportunities, which thus have an influence on agency. It is against this background that Kishor, Salem and Rabbani (2017), De La Vega & Ben-Ezra (2018), and Parveen & Gouda (2020) concluded that in any given setting, considering all elements of agency is of paramount importance in measuring the level of women empowerment.

Another perspective to understand empowerment is to dissect disempowerment. Disempowerment has been described as the denial of the ability to make choices

(Cornwall & Edwards, 2014; Kabeer, 2016; Sinclair & Yousafzai, 2019). As such, empowerment simply means the reversal of disempowerment, however, this process is conditional (De La Vega & Ben-Ezra, 2018). First, there must be alternative(s) that enable one to choose differently. In this regard, it should be noted that generally, poverty and disempowerment are closely linked. Thus, being unable to meet basic needs can lead to dependency on others and a constrained ability to choose. Gender-related inequalities, combined with poverty among women, further intensify the effects of the inability to make choices, which then further constrain the ability to be in control of one's own life (UNDP, 2013; Sampson, 2017; Sanchez-Paramo & Huesca-Reynoso, 2022). Second, in this context, the alternatives to choose from must also be realistically visible and provide opportunities for being accessible (Kishor *et al.*, 2017; De La Vega & Ben-Ezra, 2018; Horne & Mollborn, 2020).

Gender inequalities, nevertheless, often operate through unquestioned power relations (Sinclair *et al.*, 2012; De La Vega & Ben-Ezra, 2018; Miskiyah *et al.*, 2021). As a result, unequal gender relations, especially at household level, make women claim less of the household income or make them accept domestic violence in its various forms (O'Neil *et al.*, 2019). Whereas this behaviour of accepting the status quo can be considered a choice, it is rather based on being denied the ability to choose, hence not having a free will to choose. In this regard, Sinclair and Yousafzai (2019) had posited that gender-related norms prevalent in a specific context, play a crucial role, relative to the concept and practice of women empowerment. Thus, Stewart, White & Fleming (2021) advised that when one looks at the issue of gender inequality, the underlying drivers such as social norms and gendered stereotypes must be considered. This reality is even worse where women's social network such as their parents are either poor or have already died. In that case, the woman may have fewer options except to cling to the matrimonial home where her closest relatives are their children. Further clarifying the issue of violence, classical scholars, Garcia-Moreno, Guedes & Knerr (2012), have noted that the problem of having no second home or basically no guaranteed refuge, furthermore, presents the monopoly of options which are that there is no choice at all.

Factors that could possibly enable empowerment are not enough in themselves. Arora-Jonsson & Aagard-Hansen (2019) argue that the ability of women to responsibly utilise resources in the manner in which they want, is important as grounds that enable

empowerment. Tools, such as the Gender Development Index (GDI), are now being increasingly used to capture both achievements and dispossessions of women in dissimilar scopes of empowerment. Yet, coming up with an instrument for quantifying empowerment that cuts across different cultural settings offers overwhelming challenges. These challenges include that the methods of achieving empowerment or agency, may show empowerment factors relevant in some settings but not in others (Kabeer, 2018). Normative measures, usually based on perceptions, largely show the tenets for quantifying empowerment instead of the extent to which empowerment has been achieved (Kabeer, 2018). Regarding indicators based on perception, respondents are required to think about and measure their power, necessitating a high level of awareness of making decisions systems (Arora-Jonsson & Aagard-Hansen, 2019). Donald & Donald (2021) advised development practitioners to consider goal-establishment, capability-perception of agency and perceived control, and most importantly, acting on those goals.

Since empowerment is perceptual in nature, it can be deduced that it is a latent phenomenon that cannot be observed directly because inner dynamism of the concept in practice may be hard to assess. To this effect, Kabeer (2016) advanced that empowerment is partially seen as increased freedom and autonomy for women; yet that it adds to their responsibility which may not lead to outcomes that enhance their welfare. According to Arora-Jonsson & Aagard-Hansen (2019), visibility and mobility for women often lead to exposure that in turn leads to IPV. In clarifying this latent challenge, Donalds & Donald (2021) argued that an increase in women decision-makers causes men to be less responsible and for men to often withdraw their support in making important decisions such as seeking and accessing health care in the household. Consequently, it has been argued that empowerment brings responsibilities and rights that may also curtail some of the freedoms that it intended to provide (Sen, 2018). Therefore, assessing the relationship between empowerment and outcomes of development is difficult even though there is a relationship; this is something that was characterised by Narayan-Parker (2020) who argued that empowerment is a journey not a destination. Further gravitating the matter, the process of empowering women also has certain unforeseen consequences that are increasingly becoming apparent (Garcia-Moreno *et al.*, 2012). These unintended

implications include having less time, dealing with sex-segregated labour markets, gender-based violence, co-optation or income loss, and suffering from poor health.

Reviewing various dimensions of '*women empowerment*' reveals that some definitions concentrate on issues about attaining authority and being able to control their choices and resources which affect their quality of life. Other definitions consider structural disparities that impact whole social groups as opposed to just individual traits. For example, on the one hand, UNICEF's Women's Equality and Empowerment Framework (WEEF) emphasises women's access, people's awareness of the causes of inequality, and women's capacity to direct their own interests, to take control and to overcome obstacles that reduce structural inequality (UNICEF, 2020). These are, however, already covered in the four domains of women empowerment as classified by Al-Aali & Al-Yaqoob (2018). On the other hand, the UNDP Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) focuses on the existing inequalities in taking part in economic and political decisions, the power to make decisions, and having power over economic resources (UNDP, 2019). Therefore, this study takes into account the different definitions to enable a diverse conceptualisation of ideas on how the nature of WEE programmes that have been implemented and/or are being implemented are faring in reducing IPV. The various dimensions of WEE programmes that are implemented in Zimbabwe are outlined and explained in Chapter 6; Table 6.9.

Even though there are challenges around measuring empowerment, women empowerment remains a multidimensional phenomenon with various indicators used to measure it (Kabeer, 1999; Kabir & Khan, 2019; Hansen, Lund & Røhr, 2020). For example, Kabeer & Huq (2016) and Hansen *et al.* (2020) proposed three dimensions namely:

1. personal (where there is a sense of self-confidence and capability and where effects of oppression are undone);
2. relational (where there are negotiation abilities and where the nature and decisions made in relationships are negotiated and influenced), and
3. collective relationships (where individuals are working together to achieve a combined outcome instead of aiming to achieve their own outcomes).

Contrary to this view, scholars such as Robeyns & Byskov (2021) argued for a less-discussed dimension that could be linked to the ability of a given community to convert human, social and environmental factors into products or outcomes which can lead to empowerment.

Kabir & Khan (2019) narrowed the measures of women empowerment down to an individual level by referring to a household. Key factors they considered include the being able to make decisions and having some control over financial issues and reproductive health. The duo further noted that these forms of empowerment require a strong sense of self-worth and self-confidence.

Thus, despite the fact that several broad domains can be deduced from literature, I make a conclusion that there are no universal agreed indicators of women empowerment. As such, this study adopted the position of Hansen *et al.* (2020) in terms whereof women empowerment is viewed as a function of a women's access to and control over resources and their ability to use these resources to improve their well-being within families, communities and societies. This position does however have a bias towards WEE as shall be further explained in forthcoming sections of this thesis. Interestingly, empowerment has been taken to relate to expanding women's ability to make strategic life choices using agency, resources and achievement. This study is furthermore premised on the assumption that, if IPV operates at personal, relational, and societal levels, then empowerment that impacts women at the same levels might as well be protective.

Of particular note, '*economic empowerment*' has been defined by Braid & Wood, (2020:131-145) as the capacity of women and men to participate in, contribute to, and benefit from growth processes in ways that recognise the value of their contributions, respect their dignity and make it possible to negotiate a fairer distribution of the benefits of growth. Economic empowerment, in context of this study, is about increasing women's access to economic resources and opportunities, such as having access to employment, financial services, property, productive assets, skills development, market information, and the overlaps related to other forms of empowerment. According to the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (2021), participating in economies and being empowered are the foundations that allow women's rights to be strengthened thus enabling them to control their lives and exert influence in society.

Arguably, women usually spend more of their earnings and time on their families and communities than men. In this regard, a Brazilian study showed that a child's chances of survival increased by 20% if the mother was in control of the household (Hunt & Samman, 2016). This partly justifies the need to empower women considering that women are often discriminated against as they are not given the same opportunities as those that are accessible to men (O'Neil *et al.*, 2014; Buvinic, Alkire & Bronckers, 2020).

From the issues discussed in this section, I deduce that the overall concept of women empowerment is foundational while WEE is a narrow concept that is only a component of the broader puzzle. So, the broader objective of WEE feeds into the overall women empowerment agenda. Previous studies have reported that WEE focuses on giving women control over ideology and resources while addressing gender inequality in its various forms (Cornwall & Edwards, 2014; Miskiyah *et al.*, 2021). Evidence of '*what works*' better in promoting WEE has expanded in recent years although the knowledge and practice have remained geographically skewed, with English-speaking countries and those societies with long-standing research cultures, being more represented (Buvinic *et al.*, 2020). Furthermore, reduction of IPV has also been singled out as one of the objectives of women empowerment initiatives.

2.4 INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE: A CRITICAL REVIEW

Considering that this study seeks to assess the effectiveness of WEE interventions in reducing incidences of IPV in Zimbabwe, it is prudent to discuss elements of IPV with regards to its characteristics, drivers, and the forms it takes. A considerable amount of literature such as Almeida & Durkin (1999), Garcia-Moreno *et al.* (2012) and Garg, Das, Goyal & Verma (2021) converge and has described IPV as one partner in an intimate relationship that uses power through being verbally, emotionally, physically or sexually abusive, or a combination of some sort towards the other with the view of taking control. Over the past two decades, Almeida & Durkin (1999) popularised the terms that are often used to describe IPV to include '*wife beating*', '*battering*' or '*domestic violence*'. In the past decade, Garcia-Moreno *et al.* (2012) categorised the forms of IPV into four groups, namely: first, there are acts of physical violence, such as slapping, striking, kicking, and beating; second, there are acts of sexual violence, such as coercing or forcing sex; third, there is emotional (psychological) abuse such

as being insulting, persistently humiliating, intimidating, threatening harm, and threatening to take children away; and fourth, there is controlling behaviour that includes cutting off a person from their family and friends, keeping tabs on their whereabouts, and limiting access to financial resources, employment, education, or medical care. It has been argued that these factors can be summarised as forms of disempowerment (Johnson & Ferns, 2022). Krug, Ramisetty, Williams & Hansen (2022) clarified Almeida & Durkin's (1999) terminology because domestic violence generally encompasses children and elderly members of a family, while IPV narrows it down to intimate partners only. This is the definition of IPV that is used in the Zimbabwean context where I conducted this study.

There is general consensus in some accessible studies that IPV affects women across all societies, cultures, ethnicities and socio-economic classes although the cause of and interventions against IPV cannot be generalised (Kabeer, 2018). IPV has become a social issue due to the rise in reported cases of battered women, the increase in activists' voices and the growth of the shelter movement that was witnessed from around the 1970s (Barner & Carney, 2019). According to WHO (2016) and Garg (2021), this social issue has been investigated in a wide range of academic fields, with the studies mostly focusing on its causes, hazards, and preventive strategies. Oyediran (2021) argues that some past practices kept a blind eye to IPV and its resultant effects. For example, in certain instances where the husband beats his wife, the police could not intervene because IPV was predominantly viewed as a domestic affair, with legal instruments failing to accommodate it among existing legal categories of offences. Similar reactions of turning a blind eye to acts of IPV were witnessed in some parts of the societies of Zimbabwe although it now changing for the better. It is critical to note that epidemiologists, social workers, and feminists' earlier work served as the foundation for the current IPV discourse at societal level. I have observed that there are now significant platforms formed by the aforementioned discipline members that propel discussions of the IPV topic in Zimbabwe. Hence, the complexity of conceptualising IPV has been made more explicit through the multidisciplinary approach mainly used in characterising, studying and preventing it (Demitriades & O'Neil, 2016).

Both evolutionary and cultural processes have influenced IPV over time. In the context of its evolutionary processes, Buss & Duntley (2013) and Jensen-Campbell & Buss (2021) note that IPV has evolved because it facilitated survival strategies such as self-defence and reproductive strategies such as preventing mates. These traits may have been imprinted in our species' genetic coding as a result of the reproductive advantages that IPV provided. On the contrary, scholars inclined to feminism have proposed that IPV arose out of a structurally patriarchal system where men seek to dominate and subdue women (Goodmark, 2019). In addition, some socio-cultural pressures (such as norms) have been perceived to have cultivated aggressive attitudes that lead to IPV. Interestingly, these viewpoints do not conflict with one another, but view the same subject from different perspectives. As such, Garcia-Moreno *et al.* (2012) coined that IPV typically comes about as a result of a synthesis of innate and socially produced processes. For example, the respondents on Table 6.2 (Chapter 6) asserted that violence is used as form of control, supporting that it is a socially produced process.

Classical sources have shown that, historically, women were considered to be the property of men, and that it was acceptable for husbands to beat their wives as a way of punishing or controlling them (Wollstonecraft, 1792; Mill, 1851; Mill, 1869; Weitzman, 2000; Ozaya & Ozawa, 2017). Old time scholars inclined to feminism, such as Yllö & Straus (2005) have argued that the power imbalance within marriages is a cause of IPV. It has also been argued that women in heterosexual relationships had less power than their partners and were constantly experiencing fear of abuse (Garcia-Moreno *et al.*, 2012). Another classical scholar, Freire (1970) further elaborated that, in reality, individuals can feel powerless where they perceive themselves as objects under the influence of the oppressive systems in their environment. According to scholars such as Herman (1992) and Foa & Riggs (2019), women in relationships with IPV would regularly deny experiencing abuse and would sometimes not to bring this to light due to feeling guilt and shame. In light of this revealed reality, one classical scholar, Landenburger (1989) advised women to expose violent relationships as an important step in the recovery process. Based on the periodicity of literature in the recent previous assertions and other I posit that the issue of women and gender inequality entered that discourse of scholarly discussion a long time ago traversing across times.

Oyediran (2021), and Zuo & Bian (2023) clarified reasons why some women would rather continue to endure IPV by citing three factors. Firstly, if a woman is financially dependent on her abusive partner, she may continue to live with him. She might also be a housewife with children who are unemployed or unskilled. As a result, the fear of parenting kids alone may squash any dreams of a future independent of a partner. Secondly, she might continue living with an abusive husband because society accepts the husband's bad behaviour. Her choices in that regard may further be influenced by social conventions that could portray her as a disobedient and uneducated lady. Thirdly, a woman who experiences IPV would prefer to keep her identity intact by being referred to as someone's spouse. Women may compete for the title of 'Mrs' at the expense of their personal safety. Shedding more light on the third variant, García-Moreno & Patel (2020) advanced that this emanates from the notion that society deems that a woman's identity is attached to men. Garcia-Moreno, Hegarty, d'Oliveira, Koziol-McLain, Colombini & Feder (2014:1568) summarised these reasons by noting that:

... some women may feel that they have no identity or value outside of their relationship with a man and may therefore be reluctant to leave an abusive partner or seek help. This may be particularly true in settings where women have limited access to education, employment and other opportunities for social and economic empowerment.

These three factors as summarised by Garcia-Moreno *et al.* (2014) could thus be the contributing factors to ever rising cases of IPV in Zimbabwe, due to repeat perpetration. This approach of Garcia-Moreno *et al.* (2014) should stimulate WEE practitioners to pay close attention to the nuisances and dynamics that characterise IPV.

Three decades after IPV had been recognised as a human rights issue, it was recognised globally as having reached the status of an epidemic among all races, ethnicities and socio-economic classes (Al-Aghbari, Al-Omari & Al-Shaarani, 2010; Garcia-Moreno & Patel, 2020; Vickers & Stark, 2021). A joint study of over 80 countries done by the WHO, the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM), and the South African Medical Research Council (SAMRC) (2013) revealed that globally, 30% of women in relationships experienced some form of IPV, and that in 38% of women being murdered, such crimes were committed by their intimate partners. Similarly, in the United States of America (USA), one in four women have

been exposed to IPV in their lifetime (Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDCP), 2022; Ogbe, Harmon, Van den Bergh & Degomme, 2020). Statistics revealed by these classical and comprehensive studies have shown that the scope and prevalence of IPV forms part of a complicated social problem that significantly and disproportionately affects the health and happiness of women. The USA Department of Justice (2010) also acknowledged that, although literature indicates an increase of domestic violence perpetrated by women on men, 85% of victims of IPV are still women. Following is a picture of the prevalence of IPV in India.

Before zeroing down on India, growing evidence has shown that IPV is emerging as one of the most common forms of gender-based violence around the world (Word Bank Group, 2014; UNWomen, 2018; WHO, 2021; World Bank Group, 2023). As of 2017, in India, nearly 18% of women reported having experienced some form of violence from their partners (Ritchie Rose & Farley, 2018). In support of this revelation and further on the case of India, national data released by the Indian National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) (2020) revealed that approximately 30% of all documented crimes against women in India can be attributed to 'cruelty by the husband or his relatives'. Furthermore, GolderOxfam India (2018) commented on the country's National Family Health Survey (NFH)-3 results which demonstrated the gravity of domestic violence against women in India by noting that 39% of married women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence GolderOxfam India (2018). What could be the driving force to the perpetration of violence against an intimate partner?

Since the eighties, most literature on IPV distinguished between two motives that often translate into IPV, namely instrumental and expressive. These motives can work independently or conjointly (Campbell & Muncer, 1987; Campbell, Sapochnik & Muncer, 1997; Archer & Haigh, 1999). Eswaran & Malhotra (2011) and Schuler & Mueller (2018) noted that threatened or realised violence was instrumental. This is normally evident in cases where husbands extract resources from their wives to increase their own consumption. Then, on the contrary, violence could also be expressive when it contributes directly to the husband's utility (Tauchen, Witte & Long, 1991). This variant may have non-financial benefits since husbands may take pleasure in using violence to demonstrate their authority or by sexually abusing their wives. In

some situations, the person who commits violence could find it to be expressly gratifying.

Instrumental IPV such as financial abuse is mostly invisible when compared to other forms of abuse such as physical abuse. For some time now, practitioners and qualitative researchers have acknowledged that IPV causes poverty, financial risk, and financial instability in women, sometimes long after the abusive relationship has ended (Lin *et al.*, 2022). From this viewpoint, economic insecurity is presented as a potential outcome for women leaving a violent relationship. Abramsky, Lees, Stöckl, Harvey, Kapinga, Ranganathan, Mshana & Kapiga (2019) have noted that financial deprivation is a separate form of emotional and psychological abuse with some overlaps. Similarly, Corrie & McGuire (2013), and Vyas & Watts (2018) concluded that researchers must still really establish how prevalent economic abuse is, as victims may find it difficult to distinguish between economically abusive patterns and the economic insecurity that they experience as women. I find it is not surprising that the backdrop of women's economic insecurity may contribute to economic abuse if the former is capitalised on by their male counterparts.

Some of the metrics employed in IPV research contain indicators that look at different types of financial abuse, but they are unable to accurately represent the breadth, complexity, or scale of WEE programmes that help reduce IPV. The Scale of Economic Abuse (SEA) was tested by Postmus, Plummer & Stylianou (2016) by using 12 questions. Three conceptual categories of economic abuse, namely economic control, economic exploitation, and job sabotage were discovered. An independent sample was separately used to test the SEA, and the results showed it to be a valid and reliable indicator of economic abuse that differs significantly from physical, emotional, and sexual abuse (Stylianou, Postmus & McMahon, 2013). The test also revealed that the three constructs were distinct from each other. Although the tests did not give an understanding of WEE programmes as a means of preventing IPV, their tests are pertinent to the current investigation since they classified and clarified metrics used to measure IPV.

Population-based studies on the use of violence by men revealed that the factors associated with being violent were different across various settings in Southern Africa. However, these violent acts mostly had something to do with socio-economic status,

alcohol abuse, history of child abuse, risky sexual behaviours, educational status, conservative attitudes that condoned violence, and ill-mental health (Musariri, Mushati & Nyika, 2014; Patel, Verma, Patel & Patel, 2022). It was further noted that socio-demographic characteristics associated with IPV are related to being poor, having little education, low income and being unemployed. These three variables are linked by the fact that decent education facilitates access to resources through formal means or well-paying jobs. The inability to get adequate resources by men caused them to feel less masculine and, to compensate for this, they become violent to assert their power over women or to gain women's cooperation (Jewkes *et al.*, 2015).

Ajayi, Chantler & Radford (2021) found that, in Nigeria, cultural practices in terms whereof men pay the bride price, are one of the factors that predisposes women to IPV. The authors pointed out that, despite the fact that this practice could inspire some respect for women, it has also been linked to instances of sexual assault and violence. The payment of bride price applies to a number of developing countries, Zimbabwe included. In Zimbabwe, bride price has been viewed as a token meant to unite two families, although patriarchal dimensions have led men to exercise their masculinity by engaging in IPV using bride price as an excuse for their right to discipline women in the relationship. In the same study, Ajayi *et al.* (2021) indicated that because women were child bearing, their sexual autonomy and reproductive rights within the marriage were completely diminished to such an extent that it had been used to justify men being sexually abusive and violent.

In a study on the interplay between domestic violence, masculinity, culture and traditions in South Africa, Heise (1998) found that men who supported patriarchal norms and male dominance were more prone to be violent, while sexual entitlement was more prevalent among men who used violence. In support of this finding Islam, Rasel & Begum (2022) added that men who enacted harmful forms of hyper-masculinity were more likely to perpetrate IPV. Mshweshwe (2020) and Ajayi *et al.* (2021) also established that IPV was a consequence of men's desire to demonstrate power over women as well as a result of the complex interplay of culture and masculinity. It can, therefore, be deduced that IPV is partly influenced by traditional beliefs that emphasise female dominance and assertiveness.

Viewing the same subject through psychological lenses, Heilman & Baker (2018) contended that men were often socially advised to avoid displaying emotional openness across the world. For example, men's display of grief, loneliness, affection, love, and friendship were socially perceived as signs of weakness rather than being accepted as genuine and essential components of human life. Not being able to display these traits have tended to predispose men to act barbarically towards their spouses when expressing their emotions.

To further unpack issues around IPV, studies by Alsaker, Overlien & Schei (2016) and Alsaker *et al.* (2016) focused on the unfavourable impact of IPV on women's unpaid work. These authors argued that when women suffering from IPV are paid for work, they are allowed to be financially and socially independent as they would have access to resources and would experience a sense of belonging through social networks. It can thus be argued that employee empowerment has been widely covered in accessible literature, but that little is known about the basic process of WEE programmes designed to reduce IPV. Arguably, understanding WEE initiatives can help clarify gender-specific distinctions and can have good spillover effects that indirectly contribute to the reduction of IPV. Therefore, this study was structured to dissect WEE programmes in their quest to reduce IPV using case study data emanating from Zimbabwe. Thus, this approach is different from other accessible studies that acknowledge WEE-IPV without interrogating the effectiveness of WEE programmes (Angelucci & Heath, 2020). Complex subjects such as the one under review are best understood through examining frameworks, theories, and models as was advised by Monaghan (2009:16) who noted that "... *frameworks help identify elements; theories help specify components for specific questions; and models clarify assumptions about variables*". Therefore, the next section provides a review of theories underpinning this study.

2.5 THEORIES UNDERPINNING THIS STUDY

Sections 2.2 to 2.4 have provided working definitions of the concepts: *'women'*, *'empowerment'*, and *'IPV'* by characterising them. These working definitions have set the scene for discussion theories that shaped this study. Empowerment, capability, liberal feminist, and modernity theories are the topics discussed in sub-sections 2.51 to 2.5.4. These theories were used to better understand and interpret the WEE phenomenon in reducing incidences of IPV. The empowerment theory is, however, predominant as it explains the nexus between women's income and access to resources, and their ability to make choices and decisions that affect their lives. The empowerment theory is thus partly enabled by three other theories.

First, the capability theory underscores the need to centre development on the person's innate ability and not on making profits. In view of this study, the capability theory shapes the concept of making the emerge out of the WEE programmes with abilities, such as agency, confidence, and the capacity to voice against IPV or reach a point of making a firm decision to walk away from a violent relationship. Second, the liberal feminist theory concentrates on propelling attainment of gender equality through legal reforms, rights-based approaches, and ensuring equality in all facets of life. Third, the modernity theory explains that if women can be empowered to achieve educational, economic, and socio-cultural rights as men, I perceive that their meaningful participation in WEE programmes. Eventually will leading them to contribute to their partnerships, thus limiting and preventing the rise in cases of IPV.

Therefore, this section describes the connection between reviewed theories and the present study. These four theories collectively helped in; clarifying elements of empowerment in the context of women's capacities and constraints; explaining the non-excludability, indivisibility, and interdependent nature of social, economic and political rights through the lens of women; and explaining the role of culture in shaping women's empowerment, and how to embed women empowerment in culture.

2.5.1 Empowerment theory

The empowerment theory can be traced back to the famous theorist Paulo Freire (1970) and his educational theory and philosophy. Paulo Freire was interested in understanding the humanity of marginalised people and the socio-cultural barriers they

faced in their daily lives. As a result, Freire advocated for the designing of educational curricula based on life experiences of students who faced social and cultural discrimination as barriers to empowerment in schools. It has been argued that Freire's critical concept of consciousness impacts how the process of empowerment is understood because it raises an awareness of oppression and because it has ripple effects on certain communities in society (Gutierrez, 2015; Freire & Marcedo, 2017; Hipilito-Delgado & Lee, 2018). Freire & Marcedo (2017) advanced Gutierrez's (2015) arguments by explaining that empowerment can be seen as a process of increasing personal, interpersonal and political power to improve the lives of marginalised people. In that respect, empowerment can also be seen as the goal of achieving socio-political freedom in society.

The duo, Cattaneo & Chapman (2010) made an attempt to extend previous work on empowerment theory and introduced the empowerment process model. In this model, the authors conceptualised empowerment as an iterative process with component parts presented in a way that can be easily followed by diverse users. The components of the model are personal (implying power-oriented goals such as self-efficacy), knowledge, competence, actions and influence. In their assertion, individuals move through a process of specific goals, doubling repeatedly as experience promotes reflection. Therefore, it has been argued that the development of empowerment theory has focused on awareness of social structures (Christens, 2012; Hipólito-Delgado & Lee (2018), understanding that empowerment is both a process and an outcome (Christens, Perkins & Peterson, 2018) and that the focus must be on the core elements of empowerment combined with a reflective process aligned to the individual goals.

Around the late eighties, the notion of empowerment was premised on the belief that the betterment of people's lives depended on their capacity to control their surroundings through exercising power (Hasenfeld, 1987). In line with this premise, Gutierrez, DeLois & Glen Maye (1995) outlined three foundational concepts of empowerment, namely, power, powerlessness, and oppression. A classical scholar, Solomon (1976), emphasised how important it was to engage in activities that reduced a feeling of powerlessness due to the negative valuations of stigmatised groups. Hence, the need to help these people exert greater control and influence over their personal and professional lives (Gitterman, 1994). Empowerment theorists of the same

era (late eighties) such as Rappaport (1987) and Bookman & Morgen (1988) clarified that this power and control applied at all system levels, but that these must be considered within the given cultural context.

In addition, and furthering their scholarship, Cattaneo & Chapman's (2020) perspective on empowerment placed much emphasis on developing one's capacity to express their own truth and to be included in making decisions that impacted their lives. In context of this study, victims of violence are typically involved in power relations. In that vein, sexual assault, child abuse, elder abuse, and other forms of relationship violence, stem from the power of one person or group of people over others (Rappaport, 2018; Buvinic *et al.* 2020). In reference to the building blocks of empowerment theory, Hipilito-Delgado & Lee (2007) endorsed them because they provide the necessary footing in informing empowerment practices towards women suffering from IPV.

In 1990, Sara Longwe conceptualised the theory of empowerment with special focus on women's empowerment and gender equality to evaluate women's progress and empowerment. Longwe's theoretical approach advanced the idea that empowering women entails giving them the same life opportunities as are given to men. For example, it has been argued that, regardless of cultural background, women must gain control over the factors of production in addition to taking part in the development process. The theory, therefore, aims to ensure that equal opportunities for all genders are availed to achieve gender equity. Several sources (Longwe, 1991; World Bank, 2022) have concurred that the theory of empowerment advances that if gender equality is achieved in the economic sector, gender gaps in commercial enterprises leadership and ownership will be reduced.

Gaining control over productive resources without adequate knowledge and skills will not generate desired results. As such, Longwe (1991) argued that empowerment must be '*catch-all*' including empowering women through access to education as this helps in bridging the gap between gender disparities sustainably. So, Longwe's framework covers five levels of empowerment; (1) conscientiousness, (2) access, (3) welfare, (4) participation, and (5) control. This approach places much emphasis on conscientiousness since it helps women realise that their lack of opportunities is not due to their lack of ability, but rather to their gender. More importantly, the theory is a

concern for the differences in sympathy between genders, and the recognition that gender attributes are traditional and can be changed.

Overall, the use of the empowerment theory advanced by Longwe (1990) to provide comprehensive assistance to female victims of violence, not only in providing them with basic resources, but also addressing the inequalities they faced, was noted in Sen & Mukherjee (2014). In support of this viewpoint, Islam *et al.* (2022) noted that addressing gender disparities served as a key mechanism for achieving outcomes such as mental health, safety, and recovery from IPV. Among victims of IPV housed in shelters, Patel & Patel (2021) argued that empowerment models played a catalytic role in mitigating the relationship between IPV severity and symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), rather than just promoting access to resources. Interestingly, in one randomised trial, empowerment-oriented interventions were associated with less severe PTSD symptoms and low-replication of abuse over time (Alsaker & Moen, 2019). Could the successes recorded in the randomised trial have been partly enabled by the capabilities of sampled women? The next section examines theoretical constructs enshrined in the capability's theory and their role in ensuring success of empowerment initiatives.

2.5.2 Capability theory

Gasper (1997) and Nussbaum (2000) postulated that the capability theory is firmly planted in Sen's work on the '*competency method*' and Nussbaum's work on the '*competency approach*', that were later extended by Putnam's (2002) work on the '*method of ability*'. Generally, '*ability*' refers to a set of realistic alternatives to the life that a person currently leads in functional and commodity spaces. Then, '*competence*' conveys a more specific concern for specific achievable functions in life and is associated with references to people's skills and abilities. Sen's (1984; 1987; 1993) elaboration of the '*Capacity Approach (CA)*' has greater potential in addressing gender inequality and in further assessing gender justice through empowerment.

Sen (2011) noted that the CA can be used to explain variables around a wide range of areas including poverty, inequality, and human development. For example, it can serve as a reference point in explaining women entrepreneurship and indigenous policies. When one considers entrepreneurship to simply mean the start-up of new '*small*' firms,

the CA is premised on the belief that a person's ability to deal with life's issues is not dependent on their access to education, political involvement, or economic activities, but on their creativity. The CA can, therefore, be used to assess women's lives from a cultural and creativity context (Sen, 2014). This is important because human diversity is an aspect of equality that should be considered as such. Walker (2010) supported this view by pointing out that the CA promotes access to opportunities based on values.

For one thing, the CA values competences embedded in individuals and rejects women's well-being as subsumed in the broader entities of families or communities, whilst also not denying the impact that care, social relations, and interdependence among family or community members have (Robeyns, 2006). For the other, the CA examines people's presence and conduct in both market and non-market situations rather than just the market. Further, it explicitly recognises human diversity, such as race, age, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and geographical location (Robeyns, 2006). All in all, the capability framework has a two-stage structure: first, it identifies valuable features, and second, it gives people an opportunity to focus on features they could achieve with ease if they decided to pursue them. Against this background, Peter Fabienne (2006) succinctly noted that this approach embodied a positive concept of freedom within one's range of opportunities.

The CA, as was articulated by Sen (1999), the UNDP (1999), and Nussbaum (2009), is based on the idea that human freedom and access to opportunities are central to social development. It offers a framework for social development that may be incorporated into these realities because women make up the majority of those who live in poverty and are more susceptible to violence and other injustices than men. The giving of goods to society as advocated by the philosopher, Rawls (1971), is a significant development in economic theory, but Sen (1999) contended that the manner in which people used these goods depended on the circumstances of their personal and societal circular positions. Individual heterogeneity, environmental diversity, shifts in the social climate, variations in relationship viewpoints, and distribution within the family are only a few examples of these conditions. The ability of individuals to activate these basic products varies between and with families and societies. Thus, Sen (1999) stressed the importance of studying the practical life that people wanted to achieve. Brown (2017) seconded the emphasis made by Sen because it ensures that every

individual has a real opportunity to achieve their desires, and that each one can successfully do what they could with the main product that they might have mastered. This can be taken as the basis of the philosophy of the CA to development.

Viewing the CA from another perspective, Nussbaum (2011) has underscored that people succeeded through and with other people (that is, through relationships, as long as they have a positive impact on material well-being). While the CA is based on the notion that increased freedom and choice would likely lead to better welfare, utilitarian measurements of human welfare are premised on the idea that people are worse off when living standards are lower. It should be noted that not simply low income is considered to be a sign of poverty, but material deprivation, hunger, exclusion in decision-making are also indicators of poverty. In this regard, Sen (1999) asserted that income was not necessarily an end, but a means to an end since the final goal was to increase people's functions and capabilities.

Sen (1985) argued that commodities themselves were limited because they did not provide enough information about people's well-being or the lives they have lived or may want to live. Freedom is about respecting people's wishes to do what they value freely, decide what they want to do, and being able to make decisions based on available choices (Sen, 1985). I view this assertion is essential to understand how women's actual and perceived status in societies influences their freedom and decision-making in light of available options. However, many countries around the world continue to struggle to accept women as full members of society due to patriarchal hegemony as argued in earlier sections of this chapter. In this regard, Müsman (2015) and the UN Advisory Group of Experts (AGE) (2020) bemoaned that the rule of law and constitutionalism were frequently overshadowed by patriarchy in the social and political organizations in the countries where patriarchy is a system is dominant. Women's rights are thus often largely stigmatised, obscured and ignored, and their ability to choose and function in tandem with their own preferences and aspirations are often diminished and weakened. It is therefore imperative to dissect theoretical perspectives on rights-based programming in the use of WEE programmes to reduce incidences of IPV.

2.5.3 Liberal feminist theory

The concept of individual rights was advocated for by classical philosophers such as Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), John Stewart Mill (1806-1873), and Harriet Taylor Mill (1807-1858) in the liberal political ideologies of the 18th and 19th centuries. Works of these philosophers from 1807 to 1858 gave birth to liberal feminism. Feminism is one of the movements that brought to light how women are discriminated against in contemporary society. In the USA, feminism succeeded in breaking down barriers that prevented women from entering previously male-dominated jobs and occupations and helped bring about equal wage levels and legalise abortion and other reproductive rights. However, feminism failed to disprove the widely held belief that men and women are essentially different (Purnamawati & Utama, 2019). Feminism is more effective in demonstrating that women are not less than men, despite their differences.

Prior to Wollstonecraft, philosophers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) made it clear that men and women differed not only in diversity but also in the natural hierarchy, pointing out that women were weak in the physical, intellectual, and emotional domains. It was advanced that men were more rational and women were more emotional; their respective education had to, therefore, reflect those differences. Contrary to this view, philosophers such as John Locke (1632-1704) argued that both sexes had to receive the same education and had to enjoy equal rights and responsibilities. Nevertheless, this crop of philosophers did not fully defend gender equality (whether social roles or legal rights), and the assumed gender difference had always been, and remained, the basis of the law in some parts of the world. Such an ideology deprived women the right to retain property in marriage and the right to vote.

Feminism arose from the political philosophy of liberalism which was founded on the principles of human reasoning, rational capacity, and the natural right to freedom. The liberal worldview rose as a distinct political tradition during the enlightenment era of the 17th and 18th centuries, however, the empowering vision of freedom and equality that was associated with this worldview primarily applied to men. The principles enshrined in the liberal feminist theory are, probably, the most familiar and universal form of feminism because of its emphasis on individual rights and its impact in advancing equity initiatives in the legal, political, and social spheres. As such, these principles have gained popularity as a guiding philosophy in most women's organisations.

Different feminist schools of thought conceptualised different causes and remedies for gender inequality. Thus, liberal feminism encompasses a variety of approaches that focus on removing legal and social restrictions or improving conditions that support women's equality.

When it first emerged, liberal thought flourished as a cohesive school of thought and people began to question long-respected traditions of religion and hereditary authority. Feminist ideas arose from these powerful philosophical traditions that invested in freedom and extended these concepts to women by adopting a gendered perspective to the concept of rights. In this way, traditional approaches have been criticised for failing to uphold women's right to their individual freedoms (Chandra, 2022). For example, in some situations, women are systematically excluded from the vision of freedom, including owning property, participating in political processes or agreeing to govern and shape their personal, social and political situation. Thus, scholars such as Frasier (2013) and Brown (2019) argued that liberal feminists challenged the patriarchal structures that violated women's personal and political choices.

Sen (2019) postulated that gender inequality was created by reducing women and girls' access to civil rights and the allocation of social resources such as education and employment. This view implies that increasing women's access to education and employment would reverse long held inequalities. In support of this view, Epstein (2022) underscored that successful reversal was a function of focusing on individual rights and the concepts of equality, justice and equal opportunities, in which changes in laws and social policies were seen as tools for promoting equality between women and men. Some aspects of feminist politics are thus shifting from autonomous forms of organisation to increasing engagement with the state as women are just beginning to enter the era of liberal democracy (Mansbridge, 2020).

Liberal feminist theory states that society has a false belief that women are inherently intellectually and physically less capable than men (Tong, 2018). According to Nussbaum (2019), this mindset excludes women from influential positions in society. For women to achieve gender equality, society must not only give women the same education, but also provide them with the same civil liberties and economic opportunities as men (Tong, 2013). In Zimbabwe, the study area, social relationships have their roots in the historical framework that shaped women's participation in the

capitalist economy. Thus, there have been numerous intellectual and political discussions about the socio-economic status of women in the nation. This saw Zimbabwe become a signatory in some international conventions on women empowerment, such as the CEDAW. In general, the feminist agenda focuses on improving the economic situation of women in the capitalist system by making their contribution more visible in the economy (Nussbaum, 2019; Tong, 2018).

Overall, although feminism has some constructs on economic empowerment, it is deeply rooted in advancing women's participation in political systems. This does not disregard its contribution in explaining the women empowerment agenda, but some of its main tenets can be inferred to WEE. For example, feminism challenges men's rights and privileges and the traditional notion that domestic violence is a private family affair. Ignoring these issues exacerbates incidences of IPV where men are the main perpetrators of violence. As a result, contemporary feminists are calling for remedies, such as the creation of shelters and empowerment programmes (including economic-oriented ones) for victimised women, and the use of civil and criminal justice systems to hold violent men accountable. All these and similar remedies are meant to reject some traditional values. Hence, the modernity theory is discussed next as it explains and clarifies some of the traditional values in need of rejection.

2.5.4 Modernity theory

This study adopted two strands of the modernity theory, that is, the cultural and classical modernity theories.

2.5.4.1 Cultural modernity theory

This strand of the modernity theory is a theoretical interpretation of cultural modernity from the 18th to the 20th century (Research Group on China Modernisation Strategies (RGCMS), 2009). It places much emphasis on converting economic progress into cultural processes of human development. These processes give rise to self-expression that emphasise human choice and autonomy, particularly for women. The term '*cultural modernisation*' also refers to a type of frontier of change in the field of culture, encompassing information, development, and innovation. This suggests that traditional cultures that are characterised by oppression of women are replaced by modern cultures informed by globalisation, resulting in women empowerment

(Yenilmez & Celik, 2019). In addition, cultural modernity encompasses actions and procedures involved in advancing and maintaining the worldwide borders of cultural change. It includes the transition from traditional culture to modern culture and from modern culture to post-modern culture, and the improvement to cultural creativity, equity of cultural life, the development of cultural facilities and cultural industry as well as self-emancipation and all-round development of mankind (Li, 2022). The Research Group on China Modernisation Strategies (RGCMS, 2009) classified two forms of cultural modernisation which I have illustrated in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1: Basic requirements of cultural modernisation

Requirements of the 1st Cultural Modernisation	Requirements of the 2nd Cultural Modernisation
<i>Cultural specialisation</i> : differentiation, professionalisation and autonomy of culture	<i>Cultural industrialisation</i> : development of cultural commodities and services, cultural consumption and trades
<i>Cultural rationalisation</i> : secularisation, scientific evolvement, and self-discipline of culture	<i>Cultural pluralisation</i> : protection of cultural heritage, cultural diversity, and ecological culture
<i>Cultural commercialisation</i> : commercialisation of cultural production and dissemination	<i>Cultural democratisation</i> : humanisation and network-based development of culture and cultural freedom
<i>Promotion of economic development</i> : be conducive to the emancipation and improvement of productivity	<i>Promotion of all-round development of mankind</i> : improvement of citizen quality and expansion of personal choices

Source: Adapted from RGCMS (2009)

The rise in emancipative orientation developed mass expectations targeted at making those in control responsive and inclusive pertaining to demands of the powerless. Karl Marx’s claim that economic growth causes predictable social and political change is, however, debatable. To Karl Marx, cultural modernity offers to foretell what will happen in future in addition to claiming to explain historical changes that make it intellectually stimulating. Yet, many attempts to anticipate human behaviour using Marx’s propositions have been unsuccessful. Thus, from a theoretical perspective, there are three major objectives for cultural modernisation: (1) to complete the first cultural modernisation, (2) to complete the second cultural modernisation, and (3) to catch up with, reach, and keep up with the global frontiers of cultural changes (CCMR, 2014). This implies that if nations are abreast with the global frontiers of cultural changes,

WEE will be certain. Still on modernity the subsequent section discusses the classical modernity theory.

2.5.4.2 Classical modernity theory

In understanding classical modernity theory, it is important to note that the idea of modernity as a historical period denotes a shift away from traditional agrarian cultures towards industrial societies that are increasingly secular and rational as nation-states arise. Peters (2015) noted that the early modern era started from around 1500 to the start of the French Revolution in 1789. Then, late modernity began around 1989 with the dissolution of the East/West division after the conclusion of the cold war, while classical modernity is associated with the so-called long nineteenth century (1789-1900). Thereafter, various theorists have drawn on the developments of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and the growth of different forms of mass and social media to talk of postmodernity (Peters, 2015). All these developments, which mainly took place in the West and that were characterised by more women involvement in economic development, were emulated by underdeveloped countries as they rushed to catch on with this wave of globalisation.

Classical sources have shown that the classical modernity theory assumes that an increase in democracy is a direct implication of economic development that also emancipate women (Lipset, 1959; Rostow, 1960; Deutsch, 1964; Inkeles & Smith, 1974). The theoretical constructs embedded in the classical modernity theory imply that realising a feminism proposal of politically empowering women, largely depend on economic development. As such, socio-politico and economic empowerment are interdependent. Economic development is also associated with an increase in the wider area of educational and health amenities as well occupational resources; hence economic development increases opportunities for women. More social services such as schools and health facilities are at the disposal of every citizen if economic development is advanced. Economic development further reduces distances travelled by the citizenry (particularly women) to seek education and health services which gives them more time to engage in economic activities that can uplift their lives. Arguably, the association between WEE and IPV reduction in a modern society is such that, once empowered, women do not depend on men for everything. They can fend for their children on equal basis with men and this partly reduces the tension between men and

women. The income women make in a modern society can thus no longer be regarded as additional income, but as *'bread winner'* income.

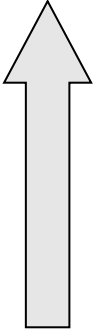
Different theoretical perceptions on WEE in the wake of IPV are firmly rooted in different philosophical backgrounds. Regardless of the philosophical background, these theoretical perceptions all seek to improve on the designing and implementation of empowerment programmes. To ensure their success, most programmes are guided by predetermined frameworks, which are discussed next.

2.6 FRAMEWORKS FOR WEE AND IPV PROGRAMMES MEASUREMENT

As women empowerment is a complex and multidimensional subject it is guided by predetermined frameworks. In this section some of the frameworks used to assess the relationship between WEE and IPV are thus discussed. According to Frasier (2013) women empowerment is understood differently by different people, suggesting that this concept has varied meanings and interpretations depending on the society, region or era one happens to be in. Women empowerment, however, is understood to be linked to gender equality and equity although it cannot be used interchangeably with these terms. Bhutti (2012) and Marcus (2018) asserted that community norms and values weigh a lot in the determinants of what defines women empowerment.

In the general sense, I posit that women empowerment is aimed at making women self-reliant by providing them with access to all those freedoms and opportunities that they were previously denied. In a specific sense, women empowerment refers to enhancing their position in the power structures of a society. Lone & Zargar (2017) added that the term *'women empowerment'* has connotations of giving women the power or capacity to regulate their day-to-day lives in social, political and economic terms; power that enables them to move from the periphery to the centre. Longwe (1995) explained that there is a structure to women's empowerment that uses various levels of empowerment presented in a ladder. This ladder of women empowerment is set out in Table 2.2, below.

Table 2.2: Ladder of women empowerment

Direction	Levels	Description
	Control	Women and men have equal control over factors of production and distribution of benefits without dominance and subordination.
	Participation	Women have equal participation in decision-making in all programmes and policies.
	Conscientisation	Women believe that gender roles can be changed and gender equality is possible.
	Access	Women gain access to resources such as land, labour, credit, training, market facilities, public services, and benefits on equal basis with men. Reforms of law and practice may be prerequisites for such access.
	Welfare	Meeting women’s material needs, such as food, income and medical care.

Source: Adapted from Longwe (1991)

In Longwe’s line of argument, women empowerment is hierarchical in nature, which serves to analyse the objectives of projects from a women’s perspective. The five degrees of empowerment are organised in a linear manner, in the direction shown by the arrow, for the purpose of gender analysis, with women forming a homogenous group as they go through each level, and men and institutions involved are not considered. Alsop & Hein (2018) questioned the excludable nature of this approach since empowerment is a relational concept and programmes that use this approach decontextualize women’s empowerment since women are not empowered in a vacuum.

Unceasing debates about women empowerment suggest that it is difficult to measure its success since there is no universally agreed definition or approach to empowerment. Commonly used variables to measure women empowerment leave out individuals’ feelings, telling details, and subjective experiences that could give a complex picture of living realities (Longwe, 1996). However, it remains important to measure empowerment to have a broader picture as this will enable informed decision-making for future interventions. Women’s status at any given point in time is measured by instruments such as the Gender Gap Index (GGI). The GGI considers four factors (*economic participation and opportunity, educational success, political empowerment, and health and survival*) to establish the degree of inequality between male and female (UNDP, 2010). This instrument is actualised by two indexes; the GDI, and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM that use life expectancy, education, and estimated

earned income as reference criterion (March *et al.*, 1999). March *et al.* further noted that even if these indexes serve as the foundation for various initiatives by the government and other development actors, they do not reveal the invisible and hidden aspects of empowerment and women's daily existence.

As such, in 2010, the Gender Inequality Index (GII) replaced the two indexes with a composite measure that more accurately reflects the disparity in gender-based accomplishments across three domains, namely reproductive health, empowerment, and the labour market. To highlight the disparities in the distribution of achievements between men and women, the GII considers and depicts the disadvantages that women and girls experience in these three core facets of human existence (UNDP, 2023). In an attempt to measure women's empowerment as a variable in international development, Molyneux & Kabeer (2022) proposed six dimensions of empowerment. These are the economic, socio-cultural, familial-interpersonal, legal, political, and psychological dimensions. However, such a measurement is intricate and challenging to distil it, particularly when several settings are taken into account. Additionally, each dimension is intricately related to the other (March *et al.* 1999). Thus, to cover-up for the weaknesses of the GII, outcome-focused and/or stakeholder-focused approaches should be used as an addendum to the GII.

2.6.1 Outcome-focused approaches

Also known as change-perspective approaches, outcome-focused approaches are based on pathway models to impact. Under change frameworks, there are tools such as the Logical Framework Approach (LFA), Theory of Change Approach (TCA), and the Results Framework (RF). They all map change by bringing to light numerous invisible threads that relate to the problem and desired impact. Such approaches encompass perspective(s) that can be applied to any kind of change framework, especially systems thinking. Richard (2009) noted that systems thinking, which forms the basis of change-perspective approaches, has numerous advantages including, but not limited to: more effective ways to deal with complexity and complex situations; new ways to understand situations; attention to coalitions by project evaluators; focus on properties that emerge unexpectedly; help in identifying leverage points; and recognition the evolutionary nature of programmes.

Specifically, the RF is used to illustrate the direct relationships between the intermediate results of activities and the achievement of their overall objectives (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Results frameworks describe how each of the intermediate results, outputs, and outcomes relate to and support the attainment of each objective and how objectives are related to one another and to the overall goal. They also articulate the causal links between programme objectives. In this way results frameworks provide the basis for monitoring and evaluating activities in an objective manner Pawson and Manzo (2018).

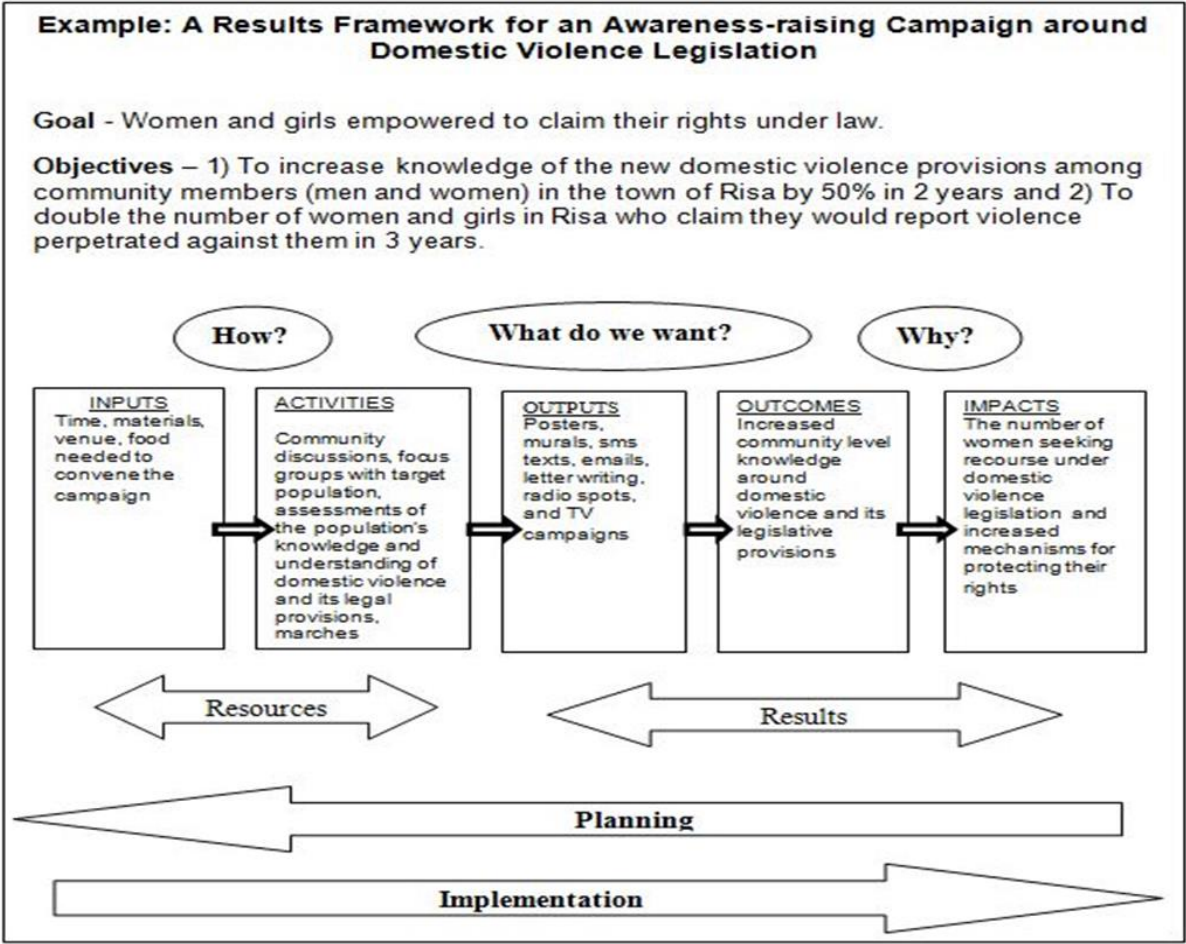


Figure 2.1: Results framework for domestic violence (Source: Gage & Dunn, 2009)

For this study, outputs represent achievements which need to be tracked to assess whether the outputs are in line with the objective of empowering women. Results-based monitoring enables the operational work of projects to be appropriately tracked. Figure 2.1 above provides an example of a results framework that guides the implementation of a programme aimed at economically empowering women with the view to reduce domestic violence that include IPV (Gage & Dunn, 2009). It must be

noted that this study intended to provide answers to questions such as; had the women empowerment programmes in Zimbabwe been implemented in a manner that facilitates the optimal attainment of their objectives? Had the activities been carried out in accordance with an appropriately formulated plan whose results could be evaluated periodically? Did the empowerment programmes for women produce the results that had been anticipated? Is the work of the projects progressing in the manner in which they had been intended to progress?

As shown in Figure 2.1, a results framework is used to facilitate planning of the implementation of an intervention aimed at reducing IPV. Interestingly, the framework demonstrates that the basic components of a programme are coordinated to ensure that results are emphasised in all phases of an intervention. The framework also demonstrates that appropriate inputs must be provided from the outset to achieve the desired outcomes. For the purposes of this study, such frameworks provide the means to measure the results of both previous and current empowerment programmes (Reed, Nutley & Morton 2021). This study used this thinking in assessing the effectiveness of reviewed programmes.

2.6.2 Stakeholder-focused approaches

These approaches emphasise why and how to engage optimal involvement of two key stakeholders in programme planning; beneficiaries and programme sponsors. Hummelbrunner (2010) and the World Bank (2018) referred to these approaches as social frameworks. Such social frameworks seek to use a '*half-way through*' approach, taking into account the ideas of visionaries (*implementing organisations working hand-in-glove with funders and the government*), and needs of the beneficiaries. Visionaries and beneficiaries can be likened to two sides of the same coin. It can be argued that analysing WEE programmes from one side of the coin generates skewed results. So, to get a balanced view of the coin, this study drew data from both the beneficiaries and implementing organisations so that they can both relay their experiences in the use of WEE interventions to reduce incidences of IPV in Zimbabwe.

2.6.3 Monitoring and evaluation best practices

Outcome-focused and stakeholder-focused approaches are partly operationalised by the adoption of Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) best practices such as carrying out needs assessments, baseline studies, routine monitoring surveys, and summative evaluations (Nkwake, 2020). This sub-section reviews the main tenets of these best practices, setting the scene for the assessment of WEE programmes being implemented in Zimbabwe. Specifically, discussed in this sub-section are the needs assessment, situational analysis, formative evaluation, and reviews.

Firstly, the Office of Migrant Education (2001) has noted that a needs assessment is a systematic process whereby the **needs** or **gaps** between current and desired conditions or **wants** is determined and addressed. The UNDP Handbook on Planning, Monitoring and Evaluating for Development Results (HPMEDR, 2019:62) noted that *"... needs assessments are critical tools for identifying and understanding the needs of target populations and stakeholders, as well as the broader social, economic, and political context in which development interventions will be implemented ... they help ensure that development interventions are based on evidence and are tailored to the specific needs and priorities of the target population and stakeholders"*. Contextualising this characterisation to this study, current conditions can be loosely used to define IPV being experienced by women, where the desired condition is the reduction or total eradication of this form of violence against women. One of the prominent classical submissions asserts that "needs assessment are conducted to help programme planners to identify and select the right job before doing the job right" (Office of Migrant Organisation, 1995). From this classical quote, it can be noted that the essence of a needs assessment is to help development planners better understand problems at hand, by examining their nature, causes and seriousness in order to set priorities for future action. As such, the difference between the current and expected conditions must be measured to appropriately identify the need. This is precisely the task that implementing organisations are spending considerable efforts on, namely to establish the needs of victims of IPV.

Secondly, a situational analysis seeks to understand the status quo or the situation in which beneficiaries of a programme find themselves in. Such an understanding informs programme implementers about the best steps to consider in order to remove the

beneficiaries from undesirable situations and to promote desirable situations. Some sections of literatures refer to situational analysis and baseline study (HPMEDR, 2019; Nkwake, 2020). The issue of undertaking a baseline study is really about attribution; what change occurred as a result of a programme or project intervention. When a baseline is established after a survey has been conducted, the change brought on by the programme/project can be measured, a picture can be provided before the inception of the programme, and the results can then be compared with a follow-up assessment towards the end of the programme, in order to understand the effects that the programme has had on the target population. This process could also be referred to as an impact assessment. A seasoned researcher on Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development (SARD), Patton (2020) emphasised the importance of baseline studies by noting that they make it possible to measure the success of projects and help participants to make informed decisions about future projects.

Thirdly, a formative evaluation reviews the existing status in the targeted population just after implementation, which in turn informs project focus (Nkwake, 2020). It is the starting point of a project/programme and largely constitutes the basis for programme re-design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Furthermore, Nkwake (2020) argued that with a formative evaluation specific emphasis is placed on six critical factors, namely the **scope** in terms of programmes' broadness; **schedule** defining duration and sequence of activities; implementing **team satisfaction**; **beneficiaries' satisfaction**; **budgetary alignment**; and **quality** regarding the holistic picture of the '*whole story*' of the programme to completion to fulfil its stated and implied needs.

Lastly, reviews take on the form of routine monitoring to assess if objectives are being met and to seek answers to the questions such as; are targets being met? Where are we now? Are things working as they are supposed to? Is there a need for change? If so, in what direction? It must be noted that the totality of complementary studies enables implementing organisations to adopt sound programme designs that address the needs of beneficiaries and take them out of their undesired situations that are characterised by violence. The core finding from M&E best practices is that effective WEE programmes must be well-structured, informed and guided by studies before, during and after interventions.

2.7 'THEORETICAL – PROGRAMMING' LINKAGES BETWEEN WEE AND IPV

The adoption of WEE as a strategy to combat poverty, enhance child welfare, improve health, and increase food security is on the rise (see earlier sections of this chapter). However, WEE is not consistently defined due to its vast and varied interpretations. A small tracking of the definitions of WEE straddling a span of three decades leaving out legends on women and development and development economics such as Kabeer, Nussbaum and Sen, and others, I found that scholars, such as Schuler and Hashemi (1996) concluded that WEE refers to the expansion of women's capacity to make choices and transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. Similarly, the United Nations Foundation (UNF) (2015) asserted that WEE must represent '*meaningful*' empowerment that includes not only economic agency but also all types of agencies that women exercise throughout their lives (Alsop, 2015). Furthermore, Borenstein (2013) claimed that since women perform the majority of the world's unpaid care work (non-market work and work of social reproduction), WEE can be used to enable social, political, and cultural empowerment to compensate for their involvement in such unpaid work. As earlier alluded WEE has become much nuanced therefore the following segment explores WEE from the dimension of livelihoods.

Looking WEE from the livelihoods dimension, Ahmed & Hossain (2019) argued that the concept of livelihoods is also broad and has diverse conceptualisations with varying interpretations within development. A livelihood, in its most fundamental sense, is a way of supporting oneself. Loosely defined, livelihoods are the skills and resources, including both material and social ones, and activities necessary to subsist. Theoretically, Scoones (2019) advanced that livelihoods are largely dependent on one's capabilities, that is, one's ability to do, act and be, while assets refer to human, social, financial and physical elements, and activities include production, consumption and investment events. Related to the capabilities component of livelihoods are life skills, defined by UNDP (2020) as psychosocial abilities for adaptive behaviour that enable individuals to effectively deal with the demands of everyday life. Where individuals get the required skills, resources, and exposure remains unclear. Arguably, WEE implementing organisations must consider these pre-conditions for successful execution of their mandate.

Livelihoods is widely appreciated in the bigger UN family as UNICEF (2022) in furtherance of the concept, underscored that since components of WEE programmes aim to provide life skills to set the foundation for livelihoods, their programming must include aspects of training on communication with families and/or partners, negotiation, self-esteem, and gender norms. Similarly, while not explicitly defining livelihoods, Golla & Agrawal (2022) noted that WEE consists of two components: (1) skills and resources to compete in markets and fair and equal access to economic institutions; and (2) power and agency to benefit from economic activities and the ability to make and act on decisions and control resources and profits resulting from economic ventures. As alluded to earlier, these resources may include physical, financial, social, and human capital. Elements raised by Golla & Agrawal (2022) are both influenced by *social norms* that specify expectations, taboos, and prohibitions about women's position in the workplace and public arena, and by *institutions* including laws, policies, market structures, marriage inheritance, and educational systems.

It has also been revealed that WEE is associated with more positive outcomes in various spheres of health and development. During the climax of HIV and AIDs, economic empowerment is gained increasing attention as a structural driver of beneficial outcomes for HIV/AIDS and reproductive health (Dworkin, 2009). In Haiti, the evaluation of a microfinance programme found that long-term exposure to microfinance was associated with reduced HIV/AIDS risk behaviour (Rosenberg, 2011). Similarly, Darney (2013) revealed that in Mexico, the *Oportunidades* Cash Transfer Programme (OCTP) had a significant effect on increasing education and contraceptive use among rural adolescents aged 15-19 and among women aged 20-24 years. Analysing the forgoing conceptualisations of WEE I can conclude that it is also very contextual as can be supported by the last scholar who wrote during the period of the heat of HIV and AIDS. They conceptualised in view of HIV and AIDS and health outcomes.

In as much as WEE programmes place emphasis on women, Darney (2013) advised that all-inclusive approaches must be used since the objectives they strive to answer involve both men and women; making the gender issue central. Darney proposed the adaption of the Interagency Gender Working Group's Gender Equality Continuum (IGWGEC) in evaluating how WEE programmes take gender into account when

developing their programme plans. This tool categorises initiatives as those that accommodate gender differences, and those that strive to change gender roles, norms, and interactions towards achieving equity. Accommodation of gender differences is something that has been reinforced by the capability's theory since abilities of women differ from those of men (see Sub-section 2.5.2).

Growing evidence has shown that economic interventions are gaining popularity in many low-income countries (Samayilova, 2016). These interventions have inconsistent effects of either increasing or decreasing incidences of IPV. Samayilova (2016) revealed that increased decision-making authority of women in homes is linked to decreases in violence, while an increase in violence is linked to a disturbed balance of power and gender norms within intimate relationships. Increasing women's decision-making authority in households includes deciding on the administration of income and assets, and control over their own well-being and meeting with family and friends (UN Women, 2015). As such, the inextricable link between WEE programmes and the reduction of IPV in several setups, justifies a contextual investigation in Zimbabwe. This is supported by the empowerment theory which explains that empowerment is contextual and must be treated as such, and the modernity theory which explains that empowerment has cultural connotations and that culture differs between and within countries.

2.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has examined theoretical perspectives guiding this study. Specifically, it has been revealed that empowerment is a broad, diverse, and theoretically complex issue since it can be viewed through different lenses. As such, it is a subject that must be contextually studied, taking into account cultural and religious differences, abilities of both men and women, and the rights enshrined in international conventions such as the CEDAW. Furthermore, it has been established that understanding the root causes of IPV serves as an essential ingredient in designing workable and effective empowerment programmes. In as much as the theoretical survey has shown that contextual factors are crucial in dissecting WEE initiatives, the role of international WEE practices remains an important building block in localising their provisions. The next chapter provides an examination of international practices aimed at reducing IPV with the view of drawing lessons for Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 3: INTERNATIONAL WEE PRACTICE AND IPV REDUCTION STRATEGIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 2 provided a theoretical review of issues around WEE and IPV after which it became evident that these issues have long pedigrees, dating as far back as the 18th century. However, in 1975, the United Nations (UN) started emphasising women economic empowerment with the view of bringing about gender equality. This was followed by global policies that point towards empowering women, such as the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BDPA) of 1995, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of 2005 (particularly MDG 3), and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of 2015 (particularly SDG 5) which were signed by all UN member states. To localise these international conventions and goals, the member states made use of various strategies (UNWOMEN, 2018). It is therefore imperative to examine the practical bearing of international conventions, protocols, aspirations, and goals on their localisation in member states. As such, this chapter explores existing literature about international WEE frameworks, women empowerment approaches, and global IPV trends to further explore gaps in existing literature and situate this study.

3.2 INTERNATIONAL WEE FRAMEWORKS

The economic empowerment of all women and girls is clearly prioritised by the UN and spelt out in SDG5 that seeks to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. There is an acknowledgement by the UN that there has been progress over the last decades as more girls are going to school, fewer girls are forced into early marriage, more women are serving in parliament and positions of leadership, and laws are being reformed to advance gender equality (Franco, Chatterji, Derbyshire & Tracey, 2020).

There has further been global consensus on the need for gender equality and economic empowerment of women, with UN conferences held in Mexico in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, Nairobi in 1985, and Beijing in 1995. According to Waldron

(1995), the 1995 UN conference culminated into the BDPA that was unanimously embraced and adopted by 189 countries. Waldron further asserted that the BDPA became a key global policy document on gender equality and women empowerment. Vinkenburg (2016) noted that the BDPA outlines strategic objectives and actions in 12 critical areas that include women and the economy. Years after this declaration, the UN started having five yearly reviews to check on the progress of member states regarding agreed targets. Then, the 2015 UN review conference culminated into SDG 5 which aims to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls by the year 2030, hence reinforcing the Beijing Declaration.

Despite the global emphasis on empowering women and thwarting GBV, there are mixed reports on the state of IPV in member countries. For example, Mondesire (2015) and Iman'Ishimwe Mukamana, Machakanja & Adjei (2020) reported a decrease in IPV, while Boserup, McKenney & Elkbuli (2020) reported alarming increases especially after the COVID-19 induced lockdowns where partners were grounded at home for long periods. Recently, in one instrumental case, the South African president, Cyril Ramaphosa, addressed his nation over the ever-rising cases of GBV, some inclined to IPV. He vehemently stated that this has become a second pandemic after COVID-19, and in 2022 alone, he appeared three times on the national platform over this issue.

Evidence from South Africa and proceedings from selected UN conferences serve as a true image that most countries, particularly African countries, are far from achieving global targets on women empowerment. For example, the UN 8989th Security Council meeting concluded that far-reaching results can be achieved by first mobilising locally available resources before facilitating dialogue with financial partners. Then, the 2022 UNWOMEN report revealed that it will take up to 286 years to close gender gaps in legal protection, 140 years for women to be represented equally in positions of leadership in the workplace, and at least 40 years to achieve equal representation in national parliaments. So, a fair amount of work must still be done to speedy up processes of closing gender gaps. These reported results have seen the advent of numerous frameworks and protocols all aimed at closing the gender gap. Some of the accessible framework at international and regional levels are summarised in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: Synthesis of accessible WEE Frameworks (Researcher’s compilation, 2023)

Framework	Year	Key provisions	Remarks
BDPA	1995	The BDPA spells out the overarching domains of women, poverty and WEE as essential areas that drive achievement of gender equality. The framework posits that economic empowerment can be achieved through access to resources which culminates in power for women to decide for themselves. Furthermore, it is premised on the notion that empowerment must be punctuated by access to income, credit, education and training.	This framework is regarded as a landmark as it gives a clear road map on how member states are going to set out and work towards achieving economic empowerment. This study reveals the extent to which the Zimbabwe government and WEE implemented agencies have tapped into this historic framework in the design and implementation of WEE programmes that outline the basic tenets and markers of achievement of the economic empowerment encompassing women’s ability to make decisions in the country.
SDGs (Specifically, Goal # 5)	2015	The SDG 5 motivates the realisation of gender equality and empowering all women and girls. SDG 5 has clear-cut targets, including supporting the economy and ending discrimination and harmful practices against women and others. Harmful practice encompasses the social, cultural and religious environments. Another prominent target incorporated in the SDG framework is to increase women’s participation in decision-making processes.	The SDG framework is the overarching developmental framework heightening the agenda for 2030. Goal 5 stands out for women and girls. This framework houses all elements that are required in a WEE programme that is geared to achieve IPV reduction. The SGD framework for goal 5 also resonates well with the empowerment, capability, and the liberal feminist theories to achieve an all-round empowered women who can be free from the shackles of IPV. The WEE implementing agencies can consult the SDG and ensure that, as they implement SDG 5 they are in sync with the set target and the country’s domesticated targets as well. The framework for SDG 5 refers to the use of technology and digital platforms which is undeniable the strategy to adopt in today’s running of economic activities. Further, the framework contains elements of data collection and monitoring and evaluation. However, the WEE implementing agencies still need to analyse and strategies how they can tap from the global framework and localise it.

Framework	Year	Key provisions	Remarks
SADC protocol on gender and development: Parliamentary legal services	-----	The protocol seeks to provide for the: empowerment of women; elimination of discrimination; and achievement of gender equality and equity through the development and implementation of legislation, policies, and programmes by signatory member states. This initiative led to the promotion of women's projects in the areas of tourism, transport, agro-processing, and commerce through the SADC challenge fund. This protocol receives some of its support from the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (MECD).	This framework supports the development of WEE projects in diverse sectors of the economy. The SADC challenge fund supports agencies and associations that are already supporting the capacity building and/or training of women entrepreneurs to improve their skills in business and product development. This contributes towards increasing the participation of women-led businesses and female entrepreneurs in selected priority sectors and value chains.
SADC gender and development monitor: Knowledge for development	2022	This is a Monitoring, Evaluation, and Reporting Framework (MERF) designed to trace issues on women in politics and development. This tool is used to collect data from SADC member states (Zimbabwe included) which is then used to assess progress by member states on women's participation in politics and decision-making.	This monitoring framework gives information on observed and reported transformations, that is, the impact made by member states' interventions in achieving gender parity in politics and decision-making in the southern Africa region. Essentially, it aims to catalyse and accelerate actions on realising gender parity by the year 2030.
Current legislative frameworks on procurement allocations for WEE in South Africa	2023	This legislative framework was tailor-made to suit the South African context, but it draws much of its contents from Agenda 2063, BDPA, SDGs, CEDAW, SADC protocol for gender equality, among other international and regional frameworks on women empowerment.	The provisions of this framework are comprehensive and 'catch-all' in nature since they tap from all conventions that South Africa is a signatory. Then, it was localized to reflect on the country's unique cultural and religious norms.
USAID's gender equality and women's empowerment policy	2023	This initiative brings together global leadership, technical expertise and strategic partnerships to facilitate and ensure equitable access, opportunity, and benefits for women and girls across the world.	USAID provides financial and technical support to the Biden-Harris Administration's agenda on uplifting the rights of women and girls around the world. USAID supports WEE programmes in Zimbabwe however there is a need to analyse this framework to ascertain if it contains the fundamentals of programmes that contribute to IPV reduction. Furthermore, it must be assessed if it contains sustainability elements and if it is contextualised enough to meet the needs of women who experience IPV in Zimbabwe.
Employment and decent work for peace and resilience [Framework developed by ILO]	2022	This framework provides a platform and tools that enhance gender equality and non-discrimination and that strengthens women's empowerment and leadership in settings of fragility, conflict and disaster.	Decent work is used to describe engagements that enable one to earn and save. Recently, this framework was used to champion a human-centred recovery from the COVID-19 crisis in an inclusive, sustainable, and resilient manner.

Framework	Year	Key provisions	Remarks
<p>Women, Business and the Law</p> <p>[Framework developed by the World Bank].</p>	2023	<p>This framework identifies barriers to women’s economic participation and encourages the reform of discriminatory laws. It also provides indicators to use in building evidence on the relationship between legal issues, gender equality, and women’s employment and entrepreneurship.</p>	<p>The World Bank, through this framework, is encouraging individual countries to develop integrated frameworks for the assessment of growth of women-oriented enterprises in both formal and informal sectors. It is believed that gender equality is not only good for women; it is also good for society and the economy as gender equality more dynamic and resilient.</p>
<p>Maputo Protocol on women’s rights</p>	2003	<p>This is a protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (ACHPRWA) and is one of the world’s most comprehensive women’s rights instruments. The intention of this protocol is to protect, promote, and affirm women’s human rights to exercise civil and political, economic, social, and cultural rights through reaffirming the universality, indivisibility, and interdependency of human rights for African women.</p>	<p>The Maputo Protocol is inspired by the LFT which asserts the protection, respect, and fulfilment of women’s rights as being at the core of realising development goals. It also has connotations of the modernity theory where it draws its cultural rights and how they can be incorporated best in development processes. The protocol also emphasises the role of digital technologies in increasing women’s economic involvement, social autonomy, and activism that can engineer and bring about social change.</p>
<p>Tackling legal impediments to WEE</p> <p>[Framework developed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF)]</p>	2022	<p>This framework was designed to address a wide range of legal impediments in countries’ domestic laws that have prevented women from achieving full economic empowerment. It was designed following the realisation that, in many countries, laws often reflect and perpetuate gender norms that limit women’s economic participation. So, it is believed that the removal of these impediments through legal reforms catalyses greater participation of women in the economy that comes along with related macro-economic benefits.</p>	<p>The IMF framework uses legal impediments to WEE as a point of entry in addressing existing challenges. This approach is premised on the assumption that once legal barriers are removed and provisions for more equal treatment under the law are embedded, the law can also be employed as a tool to incentivise women to pursue equal opportunities, change mind-sets regarding the role of women, and hold institutions and individuals accountable for achieving desired results. As such, countries must focus on eliminating existing legal impediments and designing incentives to increase women’s participation in the economy.</p>

Some technologies provided for by the Maputo Protocol on women's rights give women the chance to get around some of the conventional cultural and mobility hurdles they encounter offline. For instance, Global Entrepreneurship Monitor [GEM] (2017) reported that women who were unable to participate in the protests in Sudan, especially rural women who were frequently restrained by deeply ingrained patriarchal norms, recorded and shared their support on social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter. Similarly, in South Africa, thousands of women, mobilised through social media groups, took to the streets and voiced their concerns about the high rate of GBV against women under the '#totalshutdown' campaign in August 2018. They marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to hand over a list of demands to President Cyril Ramaphosa. It can, therefore, be deduced that the spirit and purpose of most international frameworks are to spell out the parameters and practice of WEE with the view of closing the gender gap. In the next section the global trends on IPV are reviewed.

3.3 GLOBAL IPV TRENDS AND INTERACTION WITH WEE

This section brings to light the prevalence of IPV cases globally, and how WEE interventions have been used to reduce IPV cases. This is important in establishing the effectiveness of WEE programmes in reducing incidences of IPV at global level. Mayer (2019) revealed that in every two and a half minutes in America, someone is sexually assaulted, and that one in six American women has been a victim of attempted or completed rape. It was further revealed that two thirds of rape cases that occurred were carried out by people known to the victims; in some case, their intimate partners (*ibid*). Mayer (2019) further noted that in 2003, 10% of violent crimes were committed by victims' intimate partners, and 9% of murder victims were killed by their spouses. Notably, 79% of the victims were female. The current study, therefore, sets to investigate and reveal if such a high rate of IPV resulting in loss of life has prevalently happened to women who were not economically empowered or if it was a mix of women, thus those that were economically empowered and those that were not.

In 2021, WHO reported that more than one quarter of women between 15 and 49 years old who were in relationships, had experienced IPV in one or more attempts. As of 2021, the spatial distribution of IPV cases in sub-Saharan Africa and South East Asia

was 33%; 20% in the Western Pacific, 22% in high-income nations and Europe, and 25% in the Americas (WHO, 2021). This confirms that IPV is a global problem, but that it is very high in sub-Saharan Africa and South East Asia as compared to other regions of the world. This spatial distribution reinforces an earlier finding by Meier (1997) who argued that IPV cuts across all social divisions and that it is a societal problem of gender oppression, not of class or ethnicity. Evidently, a significant portion of the population is impacted by IPV that is primarily committed by men and primarily experienced by women.

In South Africa, Statistics South Africa (2016) revealed that 26% of ever-partnered women have experienced physical, sexual, or emotional violence at the hands of their partners. Furthermore, the COVID-19 pandemic caused women to be more exposed to risk factors due to widely imposed lockdowns which also negatively affected societies and economies. These negative effects impacted many people's health, education, and employment to such an extent that it could last a lifetime and transcend generations. Some of the drivers of risk factors can be classified into '*Perpetration*' (*P*) and '*Experience*' (*E*). For example, lower levels of education (P&E), history of exposure to child maltreatment (P&E), an antisocial personality disorder (P), harmful alcohol use (P&E), and harmful masculine behaviours (P). Since IPV is cross-cutting with spreading effects, it could be regarded as a violation of human rights.

Empowerment, as one of the most widely used instruments to contain incidences of IPV, raises the issue of individual agency, one that connects behaviour to needs and social change. Additionally, the idea encompasses a wider examination of social justice and human rights rather than to focus only on one's own identity. Women are introduced to politics through the topic of empowerment, both in public and in private domains. In this sense, empowerment refers to a process to alter how men and women hold power in institutions across society and in interpersonal relationships. The women's movement generated significant criticisms and discussions throughout the world in the 1980s, when feminists expressed dissatisfaction using concepts such as Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), and Gender and Development (GAD). Detailed discussions on the concepts WID, WAD, and GAD are expanded on in Sections 3.4 to 3.6 as these critiques and discussions gave rise to the concept of women's empowerment.

Feminism and popular education, based on the '*conscientisation*' strategy, were created by Paulo Freire in Latin America in the 1970s as part of his '*liberation theology*'. Mid-way through 1980s, the interaction of these potent discourses gave rise to the idea of '*women's empowerment*' as a more political and transformative strategy for struggles against, not only patriarchy, but also the mediating structures of class, race, ethnicity, and religion that shaped women's status and condition in developing societies. So, its original, incisive political viewpoint was spread and diluted. Multilateral, bilateral, and corporate development assistance organisations were constantly looking for buzzwords and shortcuts that would somehow engineer social change.

The breadth of empowerment implies that, when women are able to manage risk, their financial situation would be advanced, and would they enjoy their rights to control and profit from their time, resources, assets, and income, meaning they would effectively be empowered (see Section 2.3). However, Pluess & Pruzan-Jorgensen (2016) underscored that for WEE to translate into meaningful empowerment, women must also have the autonomy and self-belief to make changes in their own lives, including having the agency and power to organise and influence decision-making, while enjoying equal rights as men and freedom from violence. This assertion speaks categorically to the relationship between WEE and reduction of IPV, which is what this study seeks to explore. It must be noted that women's empowerment involves the process of achieving a broader range of women's political, economic, and social rights, making it more complete than WEE alone. So, WEE must be viewed as a significant part of the larger movement for women's empowerment. Thus, although WEE is this study's main focus, the history of women's empowerment is also discussed to clarify and specify certain issues.

Today, WEE is still a concern on the international agenda as it often headlines some of UN conferences. For approximately 50 years, the international community implicitly included the economic emancipation of women in its global agenda and have governments and the business communities dedicated to international development all over the world concurred that WEE was crucial to the advancement of society, thriving economies, and commercial success. This is why the SDGs also prioritised gender equality and women's economic development (BSR, 2017). The realisation that

women, despite having been marginalised for decades, can make a major contribution to sustainable development, just like their male counterparts, prompted calls for their economic emancipation. Taking heed of this call, however, means that communities are often confronted with inherent challenges as described by Purnamawati & Utama (2018). For example, low women participation in education has an impact on women participation in the economy. This can be demonstrated by the low opportunities that women have to work, and low access to technology, information, markets, and working capital. Furthermore, uneven distribution in terms of health and domestic work, and discrimination in the public sector, remains an obstacle for WEE (*ibid*).

Therefore, it is against this background that advocacy for women economic emancipation is gaining ground in most regions. This has been characterised by women empowerment dominating development agendas for more than half a century. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948 guaranteed the rights to employment, education, health and security, and freedom of thoughts, expression and movement without distinction of sex. All these were efforts not only to address gender inequality, but also to ensure that worldwide, women could participate in mainstream economies. Sub-sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 of the UDHR, examine how WEE programmes were developed considering women's involvement in positions of leadership, and how the feminist ideology influenced initiatives meant to close the gender gap.

3.3.1 Positions of leadership

Placing women in positions of leadership has been used as a vehicle for advancing women empowerment. This section examines how this initiative has been pushed at global level to close the gender gap. The BDPA, for example, was centred on advancing viewpoints concerning obstacles that women encounter around the world when pursuing professional career growth (see Table 3.1). It was noted that women were frequently confronted with unique challenges that were not necessarily equivalent to those encountered by men. Emerging from the BDPA conference was that women in academia deserved particular attention, as they were not spared from oppressive policies that favoured men. Commenting on this position, Ventura, Morillas, Martins-Loução & Cruz (2021) argued that women were concentrated in lower positions of the academic career ladder, especially in fields like humanities that are thought to be more

gender-appropriate. Ventura *et al.* (2021) also argued that this phenomenon was referred to as the '*glass ceiling*' for women; explaining an imperceptible barrier that prevented women from progressing to more influential leadership positions. In support of the argument of Ventura *et al.* (2021), Shava & Chasokela (2021) used case data from the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) to assess women in leadership roles at the institution and established that women leaders faced many challenges deeply entrenched in organisational structures, culture, parenthood, and having to fulfil dual roles of mother and administrator.

All the difficulties noted by Shava & Chasokela (2021) significantly restrict women leaders' ability to serve effectively in institutions of higher learning, and this partly explains why there are few women in higher education leadership positions, even though women constitute a majority ($\pm 60\%$) of the university population. Arguably, culture negatively impacts their capacity to assume constructive leadership roles. According to the modernity theory, culture is expressed in the set of beliefs and practices associated with communities and workplaces (see Sub-section 2.5.4). The logical assumption would be that in a profession represented largely by females, there would be numerous women in leadership positions (Shava & Chasokela, 2021). Thus, barriers that impede the progression of women to decision-making positions must be removed rather than focusing on WEE only.

Nusbaum (2009) argued that, the world over, women are unequal to men. The idea of social justice is based on the notion that everyone should have access to basic opportunities in life, including education. However, a publication by Lawson, Butt, Harvey, Sarosi, Coffey, Piaget & Thekkudan (2020) noted that in forty-three countries under their investigation, male literacy rates were at least fifteen percentage points higher than that of females; this constitutes 25% of nations in the world, which finding suggests that education is a powerful factor that contributes to women economic empowerment, yet women were still being lowly educated despite being the majority in many countries, including in Zimbabwe.

Female empowerment, through having them in positions of leadership, is frequently linked to Western nations' historical era of women's rights movements. This suffrage movement can be classified into three waves; the first wave that started in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the second wave that was characterised by the sexual

revolution, came to being in the 1960s, and the third wave of feminism started in the 1990s (Ventura *et al.*, 2021). It has been noted that, despite these noble movements, progress on gender equality has stalled and according to Lawson *et al.* (2020), at the current rate of change, it will take more than 100 years to close the overall gender gap, and more than 200 years to close the economic gender gap. This assertion by Lawson *et al.* (2020) needs to be reflected in terms of the growth rate and strength of WEE, and the impact that WEE programmes can bring on any of its objectives. As such, it was the aim of this study to ascertain how far WEE programmes implemented in Zimbabwe had achieved the objective of reducing IPV. What was found at the conclusion of the study was that gender gap still exist, which wholly contributed to the evidence informed discourse on gender equality and women empowerment.

As alluded to in Section 3.2, the period between 1975 and 1985 was defined as the UN decade for women where much attention was paid to accessible laws and how they affected women; this included pay fairness, gendered violence, land ownership, and other human rights. Following the adoption of the UN general assembly on December 15, 1975, women empowerment was debated at subsequent conferences, such as the Copenhagen in 1980 and the Kenya World Conference on Women (KWCW) in 1985. By declaring that women rights are a subset of human rights, the BDPA of 1995 made one positive step towards the empowerment of women. Feminists still believe that, regardless of the decisions they make for their own lives, most of them picture a world for their daughters, nieces, and grandchildren where all girls and women will have the chance to follow their goals and develop their individual abilities. At the basis of WEE are watershed resolutions made by the BDPA. In addition, the following strategic objectives to be implemented by member nations were also identified:

- Promote women's economic rights and independence, including promoting access to employment, appropriate working conditions and control over economic resources;
- Provide business services and training, and access to markets, trade, and information and technology, particularly to women earning low-incomes;
- Strengthen women's economic capacity and commercial networks;

- Eliminate occupational segregation and all forms of employment discrimination; and
- Promote harmonisation of work and family responsibilities for women and men.

The objectives of the BDPA offered a framework of WEE programmes that authors allude to when they write about WEE practices. However, for the purposes of this study, questions that remain unanswered include if the BDPA served as a springboard to many countries that implemented WEE programmes and if the member states domesticated and implemented the BDPA objectives? This study attempts to answer these questions by investigating whether WEE programmes implemented in Zimbabwe are aligned to the objectives set for global players, which investigation placed much emphasis on WEE programmes' ability to reduce IPV in Zimbabwe.

Using some of the prescribed strategies, many initiatives over the world that have been carried out to improve the economic standing of women in society, have faced heavy criticism. Further has WEE in most nations, only promoted small-scale business owners, which often would not give beneficiaries decent income. In a publication titled *'Decent work and informal employment: A survey of workers in Glen View, Harare'*, Luebker (2008) defined decent work as any engagement in terms whereof someone could earn an income that enabled them to consume and save. Scholars such as Chant & Sweetman (2012) have argued that this strategy burdened women with more work as they were expected to work in the productive sector whilst having little of their care work lifted from their shoulders. It has also been argued that, where funding has been provided, it has come with a lot of debt burdens due to punitive interest rates charged by most microfinance institutions (Roberts & Soederberg, 2012). As such, this study is premised on the belief that empowerment must be realistic and not come with burdensome conditions. It is against this background that Rai (2014) argued that if empowerment came with such burdens, it further bred violent backlashes from men who resented resources going to women.

One classical scholar explained that economic empowerment where jobs were low-paying with some gender stereotypes work such as basket-weaving, sewing, beading, hair-styling, and cleaning tended to further trap women in the same predicament that they were trying to move away from (International Labour Organisation, 2016). Real women empowerment must have the result that women could live equally to male

counterparts in all areas of life. In carrying out this study, I was very much aware of the challenges that exist around the concept of empowerment, where something put forward by Ganle, Kwadwo & Segbefia (2015) as change in one society may show empowerment while in another society it may not mean empowerment. Kabeer (1999), therefore, advised that proper indicators of empowerment that are based neither on social issues nor perceptions must be devised and used in assessing situations.

Two indices proposed by Longwe & Clarke (2012) for measuring empowerment were adapted and used in this study. These are the: Women's Empowerment Index (WEI) that gauges the proportion of women in managerial and political roles; and the Women's Self-reliance Index (WSI) that assesses women's individual ability to advance in terms of education, training, and resource availability. It can be deduced that the WEI is anchored on tenets of the empowerment and liberal feminist theories, while the WSI is anchored on the main tenets of the capability's theory (see Section 2.5). Regardless of the measure of empowerment used, Ventura *et al.* (2021) noted that most of them were premised on the feminism ideology. The next section reviews how feminism has influenced women's rights and women empowerment.

3.3.2 The Influence of feminism on women's rights

One of the fundamental concerns of feminism is to use women rights as one of the vehicles for empowering women as was discussed in Sub-section 2.5.3. It has been long argued by Bacchi (1999), Humm (1992), and Hamington & FitzGerald (2022) that the incorporation of feminism into the theoretical and philosophical dialogue represented a significant departure from mainstream philosophies, as it queries the social structures of gender in society. Classical scholars have concurred that the genesis of feminism highlighted that gender relations were crucial in understanding social life (see Connelly, MacDonald, Li & Parpart, 2000; supported by Molyneux, Dey, Gatto & Rowden, 2021). Considering its building blocks, feminism serves as a tool for representing women in the implementation of economic empowerment initiatives that aim to reduce incidences of IPV. This sub-section interrogates how principles of feminism have influenced women rights in closing the gender gap. Essentially, it historicizes feminism with the view of tracing how its movements have shaped economic empowerment activities aimed at reducing IPV globally.

Notable feminist movements include the Marxist Feminism (MF), Black Feminism (BF), and Post Modernism (PM). It has been argued that Liberal Feminism (LF) which failed to go beyond equal rights, gave rise to Marxist and Socialist feminism that were influenced by Marxism (Gatwiri & McLaren, 2016; Wondimu, 2021). It can be deduced that legal emancipation alone, as advanced by feminism, cannot '*liberate*' women because it does not end patriarchy in social interactions; as such, equal rights are insufficient to alleviate economic injustice. Marxist and Socialist feminism was particularly popular in the 1960s and 1970s, when Karl Marx's ideas resounded the most, although their origins could be traced back to the late 19th century (Boughton, 1997; Purdy, 2016).

Several scholars (such as, Razavi & Miller 1995; Pyle 1999; Connelly *et al.*, 2000) have argued that the shortcomings of initiatives informed by Marxism in the late 1970s was evidenced by a shift away from discussions around inefficient economies of the Global South to discussions around state of indebtedness and ways to deal with economic decline. This shift in empowerment discourse was led by global institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) following the growing debt in the economies of the Global South (Beneria & Sen, 1981). So, the focus was on strategies for improving economic efficiency and since the Marxism ideology was premised on redressing economic inefficiencies, it provided a point of departure in assessing if the frameworks for WEE programmes were sensitive to economic inefficiencies. This helped in answering whether WEE programmes implemented in Zimbabwe were effective in changing the status of women? To what extent thus, is women's agency enhanced by WEE programmes to challenge IPV?

In Africa, women empowerment is not such a recent movement as the concept dates back to a century ago. Activism and the role of UN has been pivotal in the BF and PM movements. Both the BF and PM movements placed much emphasis on the individual with an inclination towards issues related to policy and education of women (Drake, 1997; Strauss, 2008; Adedini & Odugbesan, 2021). PM has celebrated femininity, visibility, realness, and emotions while the movement was challenging the stereotypes of the patriarchal society at the same time (Haraway, 2016). The goal of PM is to influence how women think about themselves by focusing on their mind-sets. In terms of this movement, women were thus encouraged to be outspoken and to express

emotions of anger and aggression (Dweck, 2017). It has also been argued that PM rejected a strict definition of being feminine as being weak, helpless, and needy (Lannelo, 2006). This has been countered in recent times where feminism is viewed as being strong, compassionate and innovative (Valenti, 2020).

The above short history of the development of feminism in the context of women empowerment, provided tools to explore if the frameworks for WEE programmes implemented in Zimbabwe have responded to the issues entrenched in MF, BF and PM. However, it was noted that the history of feminism did not raise the issue of IPV. As such, this study used the history of feminism to understand WEE programmes through the lens of IPV since it continues to prevail.

When BF is considered, it is clear that its goals include developing theories and methods of action that are more appropriate to the African context than that of Western Feminism (WF). Many feminists in Africa prefer to refer to themselves as womanists, black feminists, African feminists, or postcolonial feminists because they believe that WF is either too white or simply too ignorant to understand the lives of black women (Angela, 2016). It is against this background that Kamau (2014) likened WF to a heterogeneous movement. For example, in Africa, WF has remained questionable and is perceived as incompatible with African values (Atanga, 2013). Scholars such as Salzman (2018) described WF as being anti-men, hence against values of marriage, childbearing, and preservation of the family. Thus, Salzman recognised the existence of the inequities between the sexes. Similarly, Hooks (2000) argued that WF failed to address significant issues of race, class, and gender that affect Black African women in America. In addition, Gatwiri & McLaren (2016) noted the failure of WF to comprehend some concerns of African women. These criticisms indicate that African and Western feminism do not share the same principles.

African feminism, on the other hand, considers the history and diversity of Africa, including colonialism as exemplified by Maathai (2006). African feminism is concerned with the realities of the challenges that African women encounter in their daily lives (George, 2021) and that can be traced to historical injustices. However, feminism in Africa is contentious and poorly understood. In Kenya, for instance, many presume that it pursues equality with men, whereas it only seeks inclusion of women in nation-building and societal participation (Kamau, 2014). Being misunderstood and

misinterpreted are issues that women movements constantly face. This situation of misinterpreted and misunderstood is however crucial in directing this study towards investigating if WEE frameworks that are used and that have been used in Zimbabwe have an African orientation considering that Zimbabwe is in Africa.

It was noted that African feminism differs between and within continents due to contextual and environmental differences (Atanga, 2013). For example, North African women may identify with topics from Arab cultures of their origin and not with issues of Black women in other parts of Africa. On the same note, White African women would rather identify with WF than African feminism (Stuhlhofer, 2020). Due to racial and cultural distinctions, the realities of the two groups are different. Therefore, culture is an important element in understanding feminism as is premised in the modernity theory (see Sub-section 2.5.4). According to Kamau (2014) and Gatwiri & McLaren (2016), African feminism thus focuses on the needs of Black women in Africa, while considering the contextual and environmental differences which shape socio-economic differences within African nations. This categorisation introduces class stratification. The African Women's Development Fund [AWDF] (2019), had this to say about contextual differences in Africa:

... we have multiple and varied identities as African Feminists. We are African women when we live here in Africa and even when we live elsewhere, our focus is on the lives of African women on the continent. Our current struggles as African Feminists are inextricably linked to our past as a continent, diverse pre-colonial contexts, slavery, colonization, liberation struggles, neo-colonialism, and globalization ...

Sentiments by the AWDF have shown that multiple perspectives on BF have historical connotations. So, African feminism's entire premise is to challenge conventional gender conceptions in the west that are frequently biased toward men. The major issues of contention for many African feminists centre on motherhood and other family relationships. For instance, motherhood is appreciated in the West, yet it may also be viewed as a sacrifice and a barrier in a woman's life. In Africa, being a mother is a position of authority in itself. According to Ojwang (2020), motherhood is a form of empowering; not disempowering as it is seen in the West. Theorists such as Oyewumi have critiqued and questioned the discrepancies between the Western and African terminology for kinship, function of motherhood, and the fundamental idea of women.

Since many African societies use gender-neutral kinship terms, gender equality in Africa is not synonymous with western norms. For instance, in many African communities, seniority is a considerably more important indicator of hierarchy than gender. Being a mother is one of the most important roles a woman may have in many African societies, whereas WF is normally challenged for viewing motherhood as a securing force within the patriarchal structure that impacts social status. Not only is the tradition of motherhood changing, but the cultural critique is also concerned that as motherhood and its significance are being questioned, the entire basic philosophy of African women may also shift. Western women can start working and making money for themselves, but they still need someone to look after their children, hence having someone to look after their children has enabled this shift in various countries and times. Thus, the escape from domesticity needs socio-economic structures that are often missing on the African continent (Oyewumi, 2003).

Culminating evidence from accessible literature has shown that the contested space between international norms and regional values has resulted from the challenge of bringing and situating feminist theories within the context of African women. This discussion is particularly pertinent to the human rights debate. However, because most women in Africa are dealing with financial struggles, some theoretical concerns are not pertinent to African feminists. This is a contested, yet understandable, assumption made by certain African feminists. These and other factors have led to scepticism of WF among African feminist movements are; WF issues are too affluent and bourgeois for African feminists to comprehend. Additionally, African feminism also claims that WF has a utopian notion of a homogenous sisterhood. In this study the feminist north-south argument has been observed by emphasising how geography, economic development, and factors like WEE initiatives all intersect to have a real impact on black women's experiences of reducing IPV.

Thus, the environment has been favourable for a major change in how women are perceived and treated in the development discourse and policy and in 1988, Eva Rathgeber identified three distinct schools of thought on gender and development. These were Women in Development (WID), WID, Women and Development (WAD), and Gender and Development (GAD). WID is the oldest and most popular approach that sprang from the search for real-world remedies to the shortcomings of the

development concept and the rise of feminism based on a more methodical evaluation of the causes of women's disadvantage. Due to the fact that it "... *was born as a trans-national movement, its birth was built upon a strong sense of togetherness among women beyond national lines*" (Grant & Newland, 1991:122). These three schools of thought on gendered perspective to development are discussed in Sections 3.4 to 3.6 in context of their practical bearing on WEE programmes aimed at reducing IPV.

3.4 WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT (WID)

The term 'WID' came into vogue in the early 1970s when it was first used by the Women's Committee of the Washington DC Chapter of the Society for International Development (WCWDCCSID). According to Maguire (1984), WCWDCCSID is a network of female development professionals that attempted to bring to the attention of American policymakers the works of Ester Boserup on Third World development. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) later embraced the phrase in its WID strategy with the underlying premise that women can economically contribute to development even though they are still a resource that is underutilised. Routine UN Conferences for Women, since 1975, have given significant attention to programmes that increased women's educational and employment prospects, political representation and participation, and physical and social welfare, even though the original primary objective of WID was economic development (see Table 3.1). It has further been argued that these conferences promoted the expansion of women's movement internationally by emphasising that women's rights must be recognised as human rights (Khalid & Choudhry, 2021).

The WID approach was criticised for failing to examine shortfalls of previous development plans with regards to women empowerment; instead, it accepted existing societal institutions (Khalid & Choudhry, 2021). So, WID promoted women's equal participation in education, employment, and other areas of society instead of challenging the source and nature of women's subordination and oppression. This is in line with more radical structuralist viewpoints enshrined in Marxist approaches that people involved are the problem, and that the solution lies in removing the internalised barriers that poor women face. The WID approach also overlooked the important classes and relations of exploitation among women (see Mbilinyi, 1984; Lycklama & Nijeholt, 1987); nor did it recognise this exploitation as being in itself a component of

a global system of capital accumulation (Beneria & Sen, 1981). Structuralists such as Lycklama & Nijeholt (1987) and Plewes and Stuart (1991) believed that since the system was inherently exploitative of women, further incorporation into the system could not be the solution. This is so because women are already fully integrated into the global economy, but on an unequal basis, through domestic and subsistence labour. Structuralists, therefore, portray WID as a '*blame-the-victim-tactic*' that fails to recognise the systemic factors that contribute to women's underdevelopment. According to Naiman (1995), factors determining people's lives are internalised culture and external material factors that must both be reckoned with.

During the era of liberal feminism, the WID approach questioned whether development was equally beneficial to all groups in society (Beneria & Sen, 1981; Connelly *et al.*, 2000). In light of this question, the WID responded to two main challenges. First, there was a lack of transformational thought regarding the training of women (Connelly *et al.*, 2000) meaning that while women participated in the economy, their productive activities were seldom recognised as they mostly participated in welfare programmes such as nutrition and home economics (Razavi & Miller, 1995; Connelly *et al.*, 2000). Second, WID came through as response to conclusions in some sources of literature that it was not enough to explain women's poverty based on their involvement in the economy (Razavi & Miller, 1995; Connelly *et al.*, 2000). Based on these philosophical foundations, this study scrutinizes the shift that has been adopted in the implementation of the WEE programmes in Zimbabwe in addressing the weaknesses identified in the use of the WID approach. Essentially, assessing if women's participation in WEE is proving to be ending poverty and resulting in reduced IPV.

Pioneering research by Boserup (1970) focused on the role of women in economic development in Asia. According to Beneria & Sen (1981), Boserup was the first to disaggregate existing research for gender as an independent variable in the discipline of economics. She was also the first to delineate the gender division of labour in agrarian economies (Beneria & Sen, 1988; Aguiar, 2022). Boserup analysed changes that occurred in traditional agricultural practices as societies became modernised and examined the differential impact of these changes on the work done by men and women. Connelly *et al.* (2000) has shown that where women were traditionally involved in productive work outside of the home, their status tended to improve. A follow-up

study by Connelly *et al.* (2000) on Boserup's ground breaking work concluded that there are three critical relational issues at the heart of women's subordination:

1. Lack of full participation in the economy due to poor access to markets;
2. Technologies that alienate women from their produce; and
3. Specialisation and division of labour that further marginalises and reduces the value of women's work.

WID faced heavy criticism from a crop of scholars that felt that women empowerment founded on neo-Marxist feminism had more impact when compared to other forms of empowerment. One of these forms of empowerment was a women and development included approaches such as WAD.

3.5 WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT (WAD)

In the latter half of the 1970s, a new movement called WAD, founded on neo-Marxist feminism, emerged to cover for the explanatory limitations of the modernisation theory that served as the foundation of WID. A portion of WAD's theoretical framework was derived from the dependency theory which, contrary to the upbeat assertions of the modernisation theory, argued that the inability of Third World countries to achieve adequate and sustainable levels of development was due to their reliance on the developed capitalist world. In essence, the WAD approach starts from the premise that women have always been an essential component of development processes in a global system of exploitation and inequality. It is from this perspective that scholars question the causes and characteristics of women's subordination and oppression in order to understand why women have not benefited from past development strategies. Marxist and liberal feminists both hold the view that the lower status of women has been determined by the structures of production; however, where liberals only focus on the technological progress as the causative mechanism, Marxists also take into account the impact of this change on class difference (Jaquette, 1982). A study by a Marxist feminist, Bandarage (1984:502), revealed that:

... the changing roles of women in economic production are determined by the confluence of a number of historical factors: the sexual division of labour in reproduction, local class structure, the articulation of specific regions and sectors of production within national economies and the international economy. The result is a great diversity and complexity in the integration of women into the processes of capitalist development.

This confluence of factors, noted by Bandarage (1984), all converging on women, could be valid reasons why WEE programmes' vibrancy and outcomes are not adequate to impact positively on IPV prevalence. The WAD perspective appears to implicitly assume that more equitable international structures will improve the status of women, and it agrees with WID that the issue of women's underrepresentation in economic, political, and social structures can be resolved by carefully planned intervention strategies rather than by more significant changes in the social relations of gender.

Such widespread WID-WAD emphasis on intervention strategies for the growth of income-generating activities, without consideration for the time demands that such strategies place on women, demonstrates the approaches' exclusive preoccupation with the productive sector at the expense of the reproductive aspects of women's work and lives. According to Rathgeber (1988:11) "*... the labour invested in family maintenance has been considered to belong to the 'private' domain and outside the purview of development projects aimed at enhancing income-generating activities*". This labour investment significantly interferes with economic productivity and has potential of negatively affecting women's participation in WEE programmes in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. Compromising women's participation in WEE activities due to shared time has a negative bearing on the level of attainment of set objectives. Time as a resource is equally important as a financial investment in the viability of WEE programmes.

The WAD approach contended that women are part of development interventions as they are an integral part of society (Haider, 1995; Connelly *et al.*, 2000). They argued that the position of women in the economy within the context of the Global South could not be understood in isolation from the position of men because both are affected by the structures of inequality in an international system (Rathgeber, 1988; Connelly *et al.*, 2000). Proponents of the WAD approach have argued that integrating women in

development without addressing their peculiar circumstances is part of maintaining the repressive system (Collins, 2000; Smith, 2004; Gallardo Garrido, 2018). So, in assessing WEE programmes implemented in Zimbabwe, this study considered if peculiar circumstances surrounding women were taken into account in their incorporation in the mainstream economy. It must be noted that shortcomings of WID and WAD approaches are partly covered by the GAD approach.

3.6 GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT (GAD)

As was already indicated, feminists in general have noted that while WID policies have been somewhat successful in enhancing women's economic conditions, they have been significantly less successful in enhancing women's social and economic power in comparison to men in developmental contexts. The concern over this problem led to a consensus to reform the WID, with arguments for approaches informed by a gender analysis of social relations (Kabeer, 1994) and aspiration for the ultimate empowerment of women (Moser, 1989; 1993); hence the shift to Gender Analysis in Development or simply GAD in the 1980s. The focus on '*gender*' rather than '*women*' was influenced by feminist writers, such as Oakley (1972) and Rubin (1975), who were worried about the general way of perceiving the problems of women in terms of their sex, i.e., their biological difference from men, rather than in terms of their gender, and the social relationship between men and women where women have been systematically subordinated.

GAD draws its theoretical roots from the strands of socialist feminism that challenged the conventional Marxist assertion that only class analysis could explain women's oppression. GAD further complemented the modernisation theory by linking the relations of production to the relations of reproduction and by taking into account all aspects of women's lives (Jaquette, 1982). It entails a challenge to the development process as a whole and requires more than just a name change. On the one hand, the WID strategy was built on a politics of access to include women in development initiatives. Kabeer (2019) posits that on the other, the GAD approach acknowledges the significance of redistributing power in social relationships as was espoused by:

... beyond improving women's access to the same development resources as are directed to men, the GAD approach stresses direct challenges to male cultural, social and economic privileges, so that women are enabled to

make equal social and economic profit out of the same resources. It involves levelling the playing field, in other words, changing institutional rules.

If this is achieved, WEE programmes that are implemented should make a positive impact on the lives of women who participate in them. This study explores the extent to which GAD approach is taken into account in the Zimbabwean WEE programmes.

GAD was founded on the premise that an analysis that only examined women could not effectively reflect the nature of subordination without also taking into consideration the relevant social and institutional laws and practices that shape how gender relations are created. In addition, an ancient author, Whitehead (1979) argued that '*power*' is a general characteristic of gender relations. Hence, an analysis of social relations of gender and development must start from the domestic arena and extend to the economic arena where these relations are articulated and reconstituted (Kabeer, 2021). Despite the fact that gender subordination is ingrained in the hierarchical structures of the division of labour, there are other types of social inequality that affect both men and women's lives, including those brought in by differences in class and ethnicity. Therefore, to comprehend any specific facet of connections, a holistic framework that considers the entirety of social organisations is required.

The WID approach is essential insofar as its productive goal is to raise the bargaining power of women in the economic system, but the focus is on women's self-organisation that contributes to the rise of political power inside the economic system. The process of production alone would not put an end to women's subordinate position in society. An investigation into the position of women in socialist countries highlighted the inadequacy of '*economistic analyses*' of gender relations (Young *et al.*, 1984) as it found that women are agents but may not have perfect knowledge or understanding of their social situation or structural roots of discrimination and subordination (Young, 1992; Cohn, 2020).

Thus, 'conscientization' has been seen as "*... an important step in the struggle through that woman increase their capacity to define and analyse their subordination, to construct a vision of the kind of world they want, and to act in pursuit of that vision*" (Kabeer, 1995:299). The welfare and anti-poverty initiatives are acknowledged by this social connection approach as a prerequisite for equity. When considering subverting

welfare for equity, "... whether relying on fighting for reforms is sufficient or whether radical social change is imperative" (Young, 1992:51), women must be able to trace the cause of their subordination and define what they want. Critics of this approach have argued that while this line of argument has had considerable influence in the academic arena, in reality, it has only rarely been integrated into development planning (Young, Wolkowitz & McCullagh, 1984; Moser, 1989).

With this conceptual shift, development programmes have begun to place as much emphasis on the politics of gender relations and institutional reform than on resource equality. As such, '*gender mainstreaming*' has emerged as the common action plan driving these initiatives. The concept of gender mainstreaming was initially developed during the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 as a '*transformative strategy*' to achieve gender equality. Then in 1997, the Economic and Social Council (ESC) of the UN accepted gender mainstreaming as "... *the practice of examining the ramifications for men and women of any planned action, including laws, policies, and programmes, in all fields and at all levels*". Essentially, gender mainstreaming is a method for ensuring that the concerns and experiences of both men and women are taken into account when designing, implementing, overseeing, and evaluating policies and programmes across all political, economic, and social spheres. This way, both men and women can benefit equally; thereby eliminating inequality (Albin, 2017).

Rearranging gender roles and fundamental structures of society (that is, the family, the state, and the market) is necessary to achieve gender equality. Therefore, gender mainstreaming seeks to effect transformational change to create a partnership where men and women are on equal footing. This calls on women to actively participate in politics and decision-making at all societal levels. The most aspirational objective of '*women empowerment*' also gains significance in development discourse and policy at this point. A rights-based approach to economic policy that directly aims at strengthening the realisation of human rights (including social, economic, and cultural rights, and civil and political rights) must also be noted as women today are demanding the full exercise of their human rights; that is, beyond GAD and gender mainstreaming. This is so because the rights-based approach acknowledges women's agency and their rights and obligations as citizens. It challenges and seeks to redress long held beliefs that gender issues are primarily instrumental to growth.

This strategy exemplifies the profound political shift that was made apparent at the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, where women demanded a voice in all areas of economic and social policymaking instead of just concentrating on a small number of so-called women's economic and social issues. In light of this shift, as opposed to WID, gender planning, with its fundamental goal of emancipation, is by definition a more '*confrontational*' approach. Based on the premise that "... *the major issue is one of subordination and inequality, its purpose is that women, through empowerment, achieve equality with men in society*" (Moser, 1993:4). The main tenets of the GAD approach partly shaped this study by providing tools for examining how gender mainstreaming has been used in WEE interventions aimed at reducing IPV. The next section reviews how most accessible WEE programmes around the world are informed or shaped by concepts entrenched in WID, WAD, and GAD approaches.

3.7 DEVELOPMENT OF WEE APPROACHES AND PROGRAMMES

This study aims to develop a framework for strengthening WEE approaches with the view of reducing IPV. This is so because some studies have shown that women still have significantly less economic power than their brothers and husbands in terms of earnings, education, ownership, and other factors (see Chapter 2). This inequality detrimentally affects women's health, education, employment opportunities, and even the amount of power they have or don't have over their own lives and decisions. This section reviews the extent to which WEE interventions, the world over, have been partly shaped by the main tenets of WID, WAD, and GAD approaches to development. This review sets the scene for assessing the WEE intervention rolled out in Zimbabwe with the view of reducing incidences of IPV.

In the recent past, Karlan, Pande & Zinman (2016) reiterated that financial tools can empower women within households to make decisions and gain greater control over resource allocation. For example, in the Philippines, the opening of a goal-based commitment account increased savings by 81% and resulted in; greater bargaining power for women within the household, and increased expenditure on female oriented consumer durables (Dupas & Robinson, 2013). Similarly, Holloway, Niazi & Rouse (2017) argued that providing low-income women with the right financial tools to save and borrow money, make and receive payments, and manage risk is a critical factor that cements women's empowerment. Therefore, financial inclusion is a panacea to

economically empower women. This study partly borrows its inspiration from the importance of financial inclusion in empowering women. However, this study extends to unravel the inherent link between financial inclusion and its ability to reduce IPV. It is part of a rapidly expanding body of research that employs rigorous designs to evaluate what works to economically empower women in developing countries.

Ibanez, Sahoo, Balasubramanian, & Khan (2018) carried out a meta-analytic review of micro studies of interventions to promote WEE. They concluded that initiatives which advanced WEE (for example, expanding financial access, encouraging entrepreneurship, fostering employment opportunities, or aiding female farmers) have little effect on global human development in low-to-middle-income nations. These strategies boost income, subjective well-being and income security while promoting work while some result in raising training enrolment. However, there are no appreciable consequences on savings, credit availability, or health and are domestic violence, consumption, or female empowerment within homes not significantly impacted either. Thus, this study will closely look at how WEE programmes have failed or have been able to reduce IPV using case data from Zimbabwe.

It has long been recognised that economic development and women's empowerment are closely linked (Jayachandran, 2015; Cull, Demirgüç-Kunt & Morduch, 2019) and that the core dimensions of disadvantage stemmed from women having limited agency over their bodies, facing barriers to invest in their human capital, and having poor labour market prospects (Jensen, 2012; Kleven & Landais, 2017). Most importantly, hard-earned gains in women's empowerment can quickly be erased by aggregate economic shocks; it is in times when households face the greatest crises, which gender differentials in outcomes are most likely to open up (Duo, 2012). There is long established literature from across disciplines that discusses WEE using observational data (Duo, 2012; Jayachandran, 2015; Hanushek & Woessmann, 2020), and nascent experimental literature that evaluated interventions designed to empower women in periods of stability, not crisis (Ashraf, Bandiera & Rasul, 2017; Buchmann, Khan & Schneider, 2017; Dhar, Munshi & Viswanathan, 2018). This presents a knowledge gap regarding the contribution of WEE in reducing IPV in crises environs.

A study by Roy, Hidrobo, Hoddinott, Koch & Ahmed (2019) carried out in Bangladesh found that cash transfers only reduced violence when combined with behaviour change

communication. Relatedly, Tankard, Levy Paluck & Prentice (2016) found that an economic empowerment programme for women in Colombia led to an increase in IPV among women who experienced IPV at baseline level. This study adds another piece of data to these inconsistent results. Additionally, earlier studies did not explicitly evaluate the empirical impact of the husband's salary changes on IPV. In their study of Mali's national cash transfer programme for household heads, the majority of whom are men, Heath, Hidrobo & Roy (2020) compared the effects on IPV in polygamous versus non-polygamous homes. By directly measuring and contrasting the impact of cash transfers to the husband and wife, this study expands on earlier research. The research then makes use of these two estimations to determine the fundamental causes of violence that is crucial for directing the development of policies in the Zimbabwean context.

Careful consideration of the evidence in the study calls into question the presumption of gender neutrality and inquires whether some of these interventions might be more effective for women than for men (and vice versa). The research also outlines potential underlying mechanisms that could account for why these therapies would be more successful for women. The research also identifies '*gender savvy*' design elements that might improve the success of interventions aimed at empowering women economically by addressing the challenges they experience. This inquiry is best informed by regional WEE programmes and IPV reduction strategies used elsewhere.

3.8 CONTINENTAL AND REGIONAL WEE PROGRAMMES AND IPV INTERVENTIONS

To date, several WEE programmes have been implemented all over the world. In Africa, these include savings programmes, access to microfinance programmes, women participation in economic cooperatives, and IMAGE (see Chapter 2 and Sections 3.2 to 3.7 in Chapter 3). Currently, the African Union (AU) is implementing the 2018-2028 Gender Equality and Women Empowerment Strategy (GEWES). The goal of this strategy is to tackle stumbling blocks to achieve gender equality and women empowerment. The strategy further aims to increase women's activities in the economic, political and social activities. This is a continental framework from which all African countries are expected to draw guidance regarding the design and implementation of WEE programmes, including response to IPV.

A supplement to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) that was approved in 1981, the AU enacted the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa (PRWA) on July 11, 2003. Amnesty International (2005) revealed that this Protocol filled a major gap in the regional human rights system and called for the protection of the rights of women in reproductive health, violence against women, and elimination of all forms of harmful traditional practices (including early marriage, female genital mutilation, and equal right to education and training). To protect women's economic and social rights, it is necessary to ensure that women have equal access to: control over productive resources; pay for work of equal value; inherit property; their share of the marital estate upon divorce; engage in economic activity, particularly in the informal sector. The Protocol was entered into force in 2005 and as of January 2006, was ratified by Benin, Cape Verde, the Comoros, Djibouti, the Gambia, Lesotho, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa and Togo.

In 2005, in Côte d'Ivoire, nearly half (47.5%) of women reported experiencing domestic violence (Institut National de la Statistique, Ministère de la Lutte contre le Sida & ORC Macro, 2006, cited in Gupta, Asgary, Falkingham, Palmieri & Ayi-Bonful, 2013). In an effort to improve WEE and decrease violence against women, a savings programme was created for Ivorian women who had no prior experience with this kind of project. The savings programme comprised eight sessions where groups with women and their partners were invited to debates. The workshops featured forum theatre exercises, group conversations, and exercises that covered a variety of subjects, including the value of communication, gender equality in the home, non-violence, and marital well-being. During the Côte d'Ivoire study, the effects of male and female spouses' participation in dialogue groups on victimisation were examined. In all, 934 coupled women were evaluated of which some had just participated in the savings programme, while others had also attended dialogue group meetings in addition to the savings programme. Participants responded to a questionnaire about their beliefs toward gender norms and their experiences with economic, physical, and sexual domestic violence. The feedback of the participants who attended the savings programme along with dialogue group meetings indicated that they had the lowest level of acceptance of domestic abuse. Results specifically indicated a decrease in physical, sexual, and economic violence against women when the combined strategy was

adopted. Additionally, following involvement in the combined method, opinions toward gender norms remained unaltered. Participants in discourse groups continued to hold the view that women cannot decline sexual interactions.

In another study by Falb, Asghar, Pardo, Hategekimana, Kakay, Roth & O'Connor (2014), the attitudes towards WEE programming, their motivation to participate, and their perceived benefits for participating of 32 Ivorian male partners who had taken part in the savings programme were documented. The majority of these participants, first and foremost, understood the importance of this kind of training, both for their spouses and for their families. The men also reported benefits in their marriages as a result of their participation in the programme that was primarily designed for their wives. They believed that their involvement improved financial planning with their female spouses. Additionally, they stated that the programme made them question their ideas of what it meant to be a man and what their gender roles were.

Other accessible evidence has shown that the marital arrangements favoured by the communities and the allocation of home chores varied between Ethiopia's Amhara and Southern regions. In the Amhara region, monogamous marriages in which men and women made joint decisions and shared equal ownership of household property, were valued (Central Statistics Agency and ORC Macro, 2006, cited in Haile, Bock & Folmer, 2012). However, in the Southern region, polygamous unions are accepted but only by a few ethnic groups. Here women were relatively independent when it came to disposing of their own income but men made all decisions pertaining to household expenses (Central Statistics Agency & ORC Macro, 2006, cited in Haile *et al.*, 2012). In both regions, women were expected to handle childcare and domestic tasks and to take part in farm work (Haile *et al.*, 2012).

To determine the sociological, economic, and organisational factors that enable the expansion of WEE, a study by Haile *et al.* (2012) evaluated two microfinance projects that were run in Ethiopia and surrounding regions. 142 married women from the Amhara and Southern regions participated in group interviews to discuss the perceived consequences of their participation in microfinance programmes on their spending, assets, savings and marital conflicts. It appeared that their participation in the microfinance programmes had a good overall impact on the participating women's decisions about household spending and asset ownership that, for the most part, led

to lower levels of marital conflict. However, the participants stated that if they refused to obtain a loan, which would then be controlled by their male spouses, confrontation and even violence could result. In addition, the effects of the microfinance programmes varied depending on the socio-cultural setting of each place. The programme with the most positive impacts on WEE and access to power was the one implemented in the Amhara region, where traditional gender roles tended to be under transformation.

In Mayaga, Rwanda, assault and crimes against women are relatively widespread and violence against women and girls is mostly accepted by society (Desilets, Fernett & Videau, 2019). Relationships between men and their wives are highly unequal. In addition, very few girls had access to education due to a pervasive patriarchal system. The goal of the study was to provide evidence of the role that regional economic cooperatives played in the advancement of WEE and the reduction of domestic violence. To discuss their perspectives and experiences regarding the perceived effects of their membership in a cooperative on relationships between women and men, marital dynamics, and their own financial independence, women members of twelve local economic cooperatives took part in group interviews.

The study revealed that those women who enrolled as cooperative members had opportunities to take part in financial decision-making, held positions with significant responsibility, had better access to credit and finance sources, and got greater access to land and property. Additionally, their cooperative participation strengthened their marriage and ushered in more equitable power dynamics in their homes. Due to these advancements, there was a decrease in marital conflict, improved control over sexual health (such as the ability to refuse a man's desire for sex), and participation of women in decisions affecting household expenditure. It was further revealed that public safety reforms, and public policies that supported the prevention and eradication of violence against women all appeared to help reduce domestic violence exposure among women who took part in economic initiatives.

In Northern Uganda, a microenterprise programme geared towards women was launched to combat poverty brought on by the civil war (Obura & Busingye, 2019). In this region, the protracted war period (eight years) had a negative impact on agricultural operations due to the many communities that were uprooted who could no longer provide livelihoods to the Ugandan people (Obura & Busingye, 2019). In

Uganda, women typically participate in activities such as selling, animal husbandry, and crop production, which activities are frequently under the control of men. Furthermore, women typically lack the independent financial resources needed to support the growth of businesses that generate income.

In a similar approach, a programme called IMAGE (Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity) was rolled out in South Africa to prevent HIV, lessen domestic violence, and advance economic and sexual health of women by making microfinance more accessible (Knight, Ranganathan, Abramsky, Polzer-Ngwato, Muvhango, Molebatsi, Stöckl, Lees & Watts, 2017). Women who participated in the programme were less likely to later report suffering domestic violence. The results of the evaluation of IMAGE were broadly grouped into the following analysis units:

1. Women exposed to the IMAGE programme along with a health training programme and an intervention to access microfinance;
2. Women that gained access to microfinance alone; and
3. Women not targeted by any intervention (control group).

Compared to the control group, the two intervention-benefited groups displayed increased economic autonomy. Both groups 1 and 2 reported similar sentiments; they reported favourable outcomes in terms of their households' ability to make independent decisions and to live well economically. However, group 1 had a larger reduction in exposure to domestic violence than group 2. These findings imply that interventions targeting gender inequality and violence against women were effective when they were broadly designed to include elements other than microfinance (Knight *et al.*, 2017). This may have a greater influence on a couple's ability to make decisions together. A summary of accessible WEE interventions aimed at reducing IPV in Africa and selected parts of the world are given in Table 3.2. Specifically, Table 3.2 below, provides the overviews, objectives, key outcomes, and lessons learnt of WEE programmes that could be used in assessing other programmes.

Table 3.2: Summary of accessible WEE programmes implemented across the world

Source and overview	Programme objective and key outcomes	Remarks
<p>Ranganathan, M., Knight, L., Abramsky, T., Muvhango, L., Polzer Ngwato, T., Mbobelatsi, M., Ferrari, G., Watts, C. & Stöckl, H. (2021). Associations between women's economic and social empowerment and intimate partner violence: findings from a microfinance plus program in rural North West province, South Africa. <i>Journal of interpersonal violence</i>, 36(15-16):7747–7775. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260519836952</p> <p>Findings from a microfinance plus programme in rural North West province, South Africa.</p>	<p>The Intervention with Microfinance for Aids and Gender Equity (IMAGE) had a dual objective of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establishing whether women's economic and social empowerment have a combined effect of reducing IPV; and • assessing whether involvement of men in WEE programmes results in reduced incidences of IPV. <p>It was concluded that mixing WEE with other social empowerment components resulted in the reduction of IPV cases. It was also revealed that it was difficult to bring women solely for social empowerment programmes. As such, it could be concluded that social empowerment activities can only be impactful if combined with WEE.</p> <p>It was further revealed that designing WEE programmes that involved active participation of men and women enabled the discussion of gender and power relations within relationships and communities. This intervention managed to reduce domestic violence by 50% in the intervention group over a two-year period. A comparative assessment of baseline and end-line indicators showed that men were less likely to perpetrate IPV in its various forms when involved in WEE programmes.</p>	<p>WEE programmes structured in a comprehensive fashion to incorporate men and other social components have an overall effect of reducing IPV when contextually designed. This is so because perpetrators (men in this case) will get first-hand information on the benefits of WEE interventions rather than getting indirect information from their spouses. It was also learnt that programmes that were rolled out over an extended period, say, at least two years, led to tangible changes.</p>
<p>Dai, J. & Sarkar, S.D. (2019). At the edge of the mainstream: social role changes of minority women at a Chinese rural tourism destination. <i>International Journal of Tourism Sciences</i>. 19(4):307-323.</p>	<p>The programme sought to trace the change in social roles of women after participating in rural tourism development.</p> <p>The aftermath of the programme resulted in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • economic independence, experience, empowerment, and self-transformation of women; • improved women's self-confidence and development of new and improved type of family relationships; and 	<p>This study also provides evidence that if women have access to more equal opportunities, families are harmonised and stabilised. As such, it can be deduced that women are the key stakeholders in rural tourism development. However, these findings were based on a small-scale pilot project. As such, more concrete conclusions could be</p>

Source and overview	Programme objective and key outcomes	Remarks
<p>10.1080/15980634.2019.1708584.</p> <p>Findings from a tourism inclined WEE programme in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> bringing to light problems such as unequal division of social and family labour, and weak gender consciousness and a sense of self-development. 	<p>drawn when the programme is rolled out at a larger scale in different parts of the world.</p>
<p>Peterman, A., Valli, E. & Parlermo, T. (2022). Government antipoverty programming and IPV in Ghana. <i>Economic Development and Cultural Change</i>, 70(2):529-566.</p> <p>Findings from a cash transfer programme paired with health insurance premium in two northern regions of Ghana.</p>	<p>The intervention sought to evaluate the effectiveness of cash transfer programmes in reducing incidences of IPV.</p> <p>Results of the summative evaluation showed that there was a significant decrease in emotional and physical forms of IPV over one year.</p>	<p>Social protection programmes such as cash transfers have the latent potential of reducing IPV cases when they are contextually designed.</p>
<p>Chatterjee, B., Caffarelli, L. & Ranawana, A.M. (2022). Grandmother, breadwinner, caregiver, widow, entrepreneur: COVID-19, older women, and challenges for the implementation of the women's economic empowerment agenda. <i>Gender and Development</i>, 30(1/2):247-264.</p> <p>Findings from a cash transfer programme targeting disproportionately affected groups of women in Myanmar, Bangladesh, Ghana and Nigeria.</p>	<p>This cash transfer programme was designed to analyse the contribution of economic security and women empowerment in reducing cases of IPV.</p> <p>Results of the programme indicated a promising role of social protection in improving the lives of pregnant women and new mothers.</p> <p>However, there remains a gap in the policy agenda on the impact of COVID-19 on older women in the 55+ age group, including those with disabilities since this programme only focused on women below the age of 55.</p>	<p>This study revealed that studies targeting women from diverse backgrounds have more spread effects and cater for more vulnerable and underrepresented groups such as disabled women and the elderly.</p>

Source and overview	Programme objective and key outcomes	Remarks
<p>Halima, M.J. (2020). Integrating gender norms in economic empowerment projects. <i>Journal of Development Studies</i>, 18(2):42-69.</p> <p>Findings from a WEE programme targeting young women in Tanzania to ascertain the influence of institutional factors in programming.</p>	<p>The intervention was designed to test the bearing of discriminatory gender norms on economic empowerment developmental projects.</p> <p>The conclusion of the invention revealed that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social relations, cultural values, power differentials, gendered norms around marriage, femininity/masculinity, and division of labour prevented young women from fully engaging in the projects; • gender norms partly enabled the achievement of gender equality; • changes in emotional and sexual IPV were marginally significant and insignificant, respectively; and • couples reported improved communication and trust, enhanced conflict management skills, and increased mutual respect due to participation across intervention arms, which may have facilitated the reduction of violence in their relationships. 	<p>Key lessons from this intervention revolve around the preconditions for designing effective WEE programmes. It can be deduced that for WEE programmes to achieve their objectives, they must integrate the critical gender empowerment framework in its overall design, implementation and evaluation.</p>
<p>Hillesland, M., Kaaria, S., Mane, E., Alemu, M. & Slavchevska, V. (2022). Does a joint United Nations microfinance 'Plus' program empower female farmers in rural Ethiopia? Evidence using the Pro-WEAI. World Development. Rome.</p> <p>Findings from a WEE programme on agricultural savings and credit cooperatives in Oromia, Ethiopia.</p>	<p>This intervention investigated the effectiveness of a joint UN program to empower rural women through women-run rural savings and credit cooperatives, using the Women's Empowerment in Agricultural Index project.</p> <p>The programme had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • positive impact on the inherent agency for the beneficiaries with continued access to credit. It also increased the trust and respect between spouses for this group of beneficiaries and • drop outs from the second group of beneficiaries during the initial stages of the programme or lost access to credit, suggesting there may have been problems with the programme or possible resistance by spouses or community members. 	<p>Lessons learnt include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • That there is a need to develop and use a standardised metric of empowerment that is implemented consistently. • there is a need to adhere to standard M&E best practices, such as carrying out needs assessments, baseline studies and summative evaluations. Specifically, needs assessments are key in ensuring that programmes are designed to cater for the exact needs of beneficiaries to minimise dropouts.
<p>Subhiya, M., Shahribonu, S., Parvina, G., Rachel, J., Nwabisa, S., Chirwa, E. & Myrntinen, H. (2022).</p>	<p>This study was designed to evaluate an intervention developed to reduce Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) through a combination of gender-norm-change, communication skills, and</p>	<p>This programme recorded numerous positive outcomes but did not mention anything along the lines of sustainability or continuity of the</p>

Source and overview	Programme objective and key outcomes	Remarks
<p>Quantitative evaluation of Zindagii Shoista (Living with Dignity) intervention to prevent violence against women in Tajikistan. <i>Global Health Action</i>, 15(1):1-11.</p> <p>Findings from a WEE programme on combination of living with dignity and income generating activities in Tajikistan.</p>	<p>income-generating activities.</p> <p>It was found that both women’s and men’s attitudes towards gender became significantly less patriarchal, and they reported less harmful gender norms in the community after the intervention.</p> <p>Women's reports of experience of emotional, physical, and sexual IPV significantly reduced. Depressive symptoms and suicidal thoughts reduced significantly for both men and women, and self-rated health improved.</p>	<p>programmes. It must, therefore, be emphasised that continuity of programmes must be prioritised when designing, implementing and evaluating programmes.</p>
<p>Priyanka, G., Milan, D., Devi, G.L. & Madhur, V. (2021). Trends and correlates of intimate partner violence experienced by ever-married women of India: Results from National Family Health Survey round III and IV. <i>BMC Public Health</i>, 21(1):1-17.</p> <p>Findings from a National Family Health Survey (NFHS) round III and IV in India.</p>	<p>The study aimed to estimate the prevalence of IPV in India and changes observed over a decade as per the nationally representative datasets from NFHS Round 3 and 4.</p> <p>Study’s findings suggest high prevalence of IPV with state-wide variations in the prevalence. It was recommended that couples involved in IPV be afforded adequate screening and counselling services, especially in healthcare settings so that they speak up against IPV and are offered timely help to prevent long-term physical and mental health challenges.</p>	<p>This study brought to light the importance of counselling and psychosocial support in reducing cases of IPV. Counselling services must be offered to couples, at the same time, so that they speak up against IPV.</p>
<p>Overall, the WEE programmes summarised in this table have showed mixed results depending on the nature of the intervention, its scope, geographical coverage, socio-economic demographics of beneficiaries, and duration of the intervention. It was furthermore revealed that most successful programmes did not focus on one component of empowerment. Thus, WEE depends on social, psychological, political and other variants of empowerment. It was also discovered that the use of predetermined comprehensive frameworks such as the transformative framework and gender norms framework edifies the quality of outcomes. As such, there are many dynamics in WEE initiatives and strategies for IPV reduction of which some are discussed in Section 3.9.</p>		

3.9 OTHER DYNAMICS IN WEE INITIATIVES AND STRATEGIES FOR IPV REDUCTION

Given its inherent significance for women's well-being and capacity to grow in all spheres of life, decent work is a key component of economic empowerment across socio-economic and age categories (Luebker, 2008). Nevertheless, despite the fact that everyone should value hard effort, men and women have different perspectives on the workplace. For instance, when respondents were asked how much their livelihood activities depended on receiving a wage or a salary across 31 sub-Saharan nations, gender variations were noticeable. In comparison to 15% of women, 25% of men said that having a good job or salary was important to them; this was the outcome in every country where the question was asked (Hunt & Samman, 2016; Cook, 2022).

Scholars such as Kabeer *et al.* (2018) argued that the nature and quality of work, and its potential to offer a stable income, determined the extent of empowerment. According to Kabeer *et al.* (2018), evidence from Egypt, Ghana and Bangladesh confirmed that decent work was predominantly found in the public sector, and to a lesser extent, in private firms and NGOs. Helmond & Samara (2019) proposed that empowerment through employment is best analysed on a continuum scale with 'good' jobs on one extreme of the continuum, and 'bad' jobs on the other. However, this classification is subjective according to the interpreter's disposition. For example, some viewed casual and agricultural work as the last resort because of its low pay, physical demands, seasonal variability, and low social standing, whilst others viewed it as decent work (Nettle, Crawford, Brightling & Hickey, 2020).

It has also been argued that the poorest, including the chronically poor, were more likely to be working at the 'bad' end of the scale (Chronic Poverty Research Centre, 2005; Rank, 2021). Specifically, a study by Rank (2021) confirmed that these women engaged in distress-driven work (engaging in economic activity to survive when household income falls below sustenance levels) that often forced them into the least empowering forms of work. A large proportion of women in developing countries are classified as 'own account workers' engaged in least empowering initiatives, particularly in Africa (42.5%) and South Asia (47.7%) (ILO, 2016). Another perspective to the continuum of women's self-employment might be imagined with 'informal,

survival-oriented income-generation' at one end, and *'formal, growth-oriented'* enterprise at the other. Self-employed women are predominantly found closer to the survival, distress-driven end, where opportunities to increase profitability are limited and "... *there is very little evidence of active choice*" (Kabeer, 2012:24). On the contrary, women on the *'accumulation-oriented enterprise'* end would often run big and formal companies. For example, studies in Brazil, Guinea, India and Pakistan have shown that educated women were less likely to work in informal sectors characterised by low or subsistence wages and little job security Malhotra & Sarkar (2018). So, making self-employment more empowering requires advancing women along the spectrum so that they have skills, knowledge, and capital to run big-time ventures. However, Sperling *et al.* (2016) clarified that the quality of education provision was closely related to girls' ability to access decent work after school.

Several sources have concurred that cultural filters drove many women into the informal sector (El-Ghonemy, 2019; Esim & Nyame, 2020). For instance, in some areas, such as South Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, severe cultural constraints hindered women's mobility outside their homes. This was exacerbated when women's domestic responsibilities limited their ability to travel long distances for work. So, some low-income women are particularly restricted to jobs that are only available close to their homes. In many countries, legal restrictions constrain women's ability to engage in employment or set up businesses; for example, 100 out of 173 recently surveyed countries restricted women from pursuing the same economic activities as men or directly prohibited women from holding particular jobs (WB, 2022). Because many women are employed in low-quality positions, targeted interventions are required to both encourage women's entry into better, more lucrative, and empowering jobs and to enhance working conditions in insecure positions. While this can be long term and costly Paraskevopoulou (2020) asserted that the benefits (to women's empowerment) exceeded the comparatively high initial investment. Domingo *et al.* (2015) reiterated that transformational gains for gender equality in the community and within broader political structures outweighed the initial investment required.

Instead of focusing on empowering women individually, initiatives for integrated economic development with an emphasis on group action can be advantageous in many ways. For instance, studies conducted in Ethiopia, Mali, and Tanzania revealed

that large economic gains were realised when female agricultural sector employees joined collective action groups focused on improving members' economic results through supporting their use of advanced technologies (Gammage & Jarre, 2020). Higher output and product quality and easier access to funding and market knowledge were all recorded as advantages. Importantly, the study also indicated that wider empowerment outcomes can be achieved when focus is placed on addressing social norms, including women's increased control over decisions and financial resources at community and sometimes household levels (Gammage & Jarre, 2020; Alkire & Foster-Mercer, 2022).

Women's leadership in group initiatives can also be a crucial opportunity to boost self-assurance, confidence, and leadership abilities. This opens up opportunities for women to develop their leadership abilities and gather the support they need to advance into positions of authority in other informal or formal structures, such as public or political office (Domingo *et al.*, 2015). Dalit women from all around Nepal who organised themselves into groups to create savings and credit schemes used this setting to hone their leadership abilities. Some members joined political parties and were elected to committees for the Ward Citizens' Forum and Forest User Group (WCFFUG), utilising their positions to make sure public funds designated for Dalits were distributed to these groups, where they had previously been spent elsewhere (Jackson & Wallace, 2015). Similarly, O'Neil (2016) and Hunt & Samman (2016) noted that alliances and coalitions between women's movements can be effective in developing a supportive enabling environment for WEE.

Social protection is another most widely used strategy to empower women. World Bank (2022) defined social protection as "*...a set of public and private policies and programmes that aim to reduce poverty and vulnerability by providing income support and enhancing the capabilities of poor and vulnerable people*". Social protection aims to reduce poverty and vulnerability to economic hazards by assisting women in overcoming obstacles to economic involvements (Gopinath, 2021). Initiatives for social protection do not, however, always empower women; instead, care must be taken to consider unique risks and limitations faced by women to prevent unintended consequences. For example, public works programmes intended to support women's income generation or conditional cash transfer programmes can add to women's time

poverty where they fail to recognise unpaid care work (Hunt & Samman, 2016). It has been argued that social protection is more effective if it is offered as a component of a larger package of long-term investments and not as a stand-alone measure (Kabeer, 2020). This is so because it cannot compensate for inadequate macroeconomic and labour or industrial policies that underpin women's economic marginalisation and (dis)empowerment. Although social protection tools that can support WEE vary greatly, they typically focus on legal protections for maternity and parental leave, unemployment benefits, childcare assistance, and employment guarantee schemes.

Factors such as global financial crises indirectly affect social protection expenditure through fiscal consolidation and adjustment measures but with notable exceptions (Holmes & Scott, 2016). Due to macroeconomic policy responses to the current global economic crisis induced by COVID-19, barriers to women's economic empowerment have increased. Expenditure cuts across public services and social benefits in many countries have had an overwhelmingly disproportionate effect on women and girls (Stavropoulou & Jones, 2013; UN Women, 2014). For example, the scaling back of public sector jobs, where women are overrepresented (particularly in developed countries), has decreased women's opportunities for decent employment (Braunstein, 2012; Cook & WB, 2021). As household and government budgets have shrunk, women have had to work longer hours to cover basic household necessities, contributing to a rise in time poverty. Furthermore, women's unpaid care burden increases as women fill the gap left by diminished social protection and public services, such as health or childcare (Hunt & Samman, 2016; BMJ, 2021).

In this context, redressing women's disadvantage is necessary to achieve policy goals related to gender equality and women's economic empowerment. The potential benefit of creating fiscal space to invest in public services, such as gender-responsive education and social protection, is enormous. For instance, research has indicated that boosting education spending in Indian states by 1% of GDP would increase female labour force participation by 2% (Hattopadhyay & Chowdhury, 2022). Such strategies necessitate macroeconomic management that increases income while preserving government solvency. The means of expansion of fiscal space and priority expenditures will differ from country to country, with taxation serving as a key means of revenue generation (Arbache & Pagés, 2019).

Eberhard, Kotschy and Maisto (2022) have argued that there are other invisible factors that affect WEE social norms that are frequently thought of as '*culture*' in contemporary development discussions, and that those factors govern behaviour within social groups and across all levels of society. Gender norms are societal traditions regarding the behaviours, interests, and knowledge that are appropriate for women and men in certain situations. As a result, they serve as the major mechanism for maintaining "... *gender-inequitable ideology, relationships, and societal institutions*" (Eberhard *et al.*, 2022:12). Discriminatory gender norms impose significant obstacles on WEE, particularly by restricting girls' access to education, women's choices regarding domestic responsibilities, early marriage and childbearing, and their access to financial resources and employment.

Violence against women and girls is a widespread manifestation of discriminatory gender norms and unequal power relations. Aside from its harmful consequences for women's physical safety, self-esteem and agency, violence is associated with decreased productivity and lost income for women and their families (WHO, 2021). For example, in Tanzania, the earnings of women in formal wage work who had experienced severe partner violence were 60% lower than those of women who had not been exposed to violence, especially in cases where employees were paid according to their output (Vyas, 2013). Penalties to businesses are also substantial; in Papua New Guinea, gender-based violence was estimated to cost up to 9% of a company's total salary bill, with the total cost to one firm rising to 45% when other direct costs (for counselling, recruitment, induction and medical bills) were included (Darko, Balzer & Skeates, 2015).

Norm change processes are extremely context-specific, complicated, and non-linear. Key drivers include changes in: economic well-being; social and political collective mobilisation, including community dialogue; support for groups traditionally holding power; access to media challenging discriminatory norms; legal stature; education; role models; and broader changes such as urbanisation and demographic or economic change (Marcus & Harper, 2014; WHO, 2021). Working with children and adolescents, especially males, to change entrenched and discriminatory societal norms passed down through generations is one of the most successful ways for changing gender norms. One example is Promundo, an implementing non-governmental organisation

(NGO) that carries out research and interventions in 10 countries and is geared at engaging men to work towards greater gender equality (Santos, 2015). Complementary gender-targeted approaches can bolster girls' ability to challenge discriminatory norms, such as after-school programmes that create a safe space for adolescent girls to discuss their aspirations and support them to challenge gender norms in the workplace and economic life (WB, 2015). This section has shown that there are numerous issues that affect WEE initiatives that must be attended to if effective empowerment is to be realised.

3.10 Chapter summary

In this Chapter 3 various international WEE frameworks and global IPV trends were discussed with a view of understanding how international frameworks have been localised in individual countries. This chapter also examined how the feminist ideology to addressing women's rights has been adapted around the world in designing WEE interventions. Development approaches involving women (that is, WID, WAD, and GAD) were also reviewed with regards to their main tenets and how they have shaped WEE approaches worldwide. Accessible WEE programmes and IPV reduction strategies used across the world were also discussed with the view of flagging out lessons learnt. The chapter concluded by looking at other dynamics that could be considered in assessing WEE initiatives and IPV reduction strategies.

CHAPTER 4: THE CONTEXT OF WEE PRACTICE AND IPV REDUCTION STRATEGIES IN ZIMBABWE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, WEE international frameworks and IPV reduction strategies that have been used globally since the 17th century and how they have been localised by national governments across the world, have been discussed. This chapter seeks to extend this discussion by reviewing WEE and IPV reduction strategies that have specifically been used in Zimbabwe. This review sets the scene for the discussion of contemporary WEE programmes implemented in Zimbabwe as Zimbabwe has been selected as the case study country for purposes of this study (see Section 5.5). The question that this chapter sought to answer is: What are the historical, political, legal and cultural contexts that define WEE practices and IPV reduction strategies in Zimbabwe, and how do these same factors echo the principles and practices enshrined in international frameworks?

This chapter is premised on the fact that Zimbabwe has a legislative and policy framework for women empowerment and IPV reduction, and that Zimbabwe is a signatory to some UN and AU WEE frameworks as discussed in Chapter 3. For example, Zimbabwe has a broad-based WEEF, which will be expanded on in this chapter and which framework is supported by many other policies, and legislative frameworks and guidelines. In this chapter the approaches that worked and those that failed (lessons learnt) in the implementation of past WEE interventions in Zimbabwe are also discussed. As such, this chapter historicises WEE interventions in Zimbabwe through the lens of international frameworks by bringing to light legal connotations of such interventions, their successes and their failures as well as the players that have been active in the space of women empowerment.

4.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This section historicises the development of WEE in Zimbabwe since the attainment of independence in 1980 through tracing WEE progression in Zimbabwe. There are very few accessible sources that comment on WEE practice in Zimbabwe before 1980, considering that the United Nation (UN) made the initial gesture to close the gender gap and economically empower women in 1975 at the UN conferences held in Mexico. This conference was to be followed by five-year review conferences to check on progress made in the individual member states (Vinkenburg, 2016). Commenting on the struggle for women empowerment in Zimbabwe, Muzondidya (2010) noted that between 1975 and 1980, the liberation struggle was at its height in Zimbabwe and that little attention was paid to developmental issues, including women empowerment. So, the first UN review conference that was held in Copenhagen in 1980 coincided with the attainment of independence in Zimbabwe.

The post-independence period saw the implementation of numerous WEE programmes. Immediately after independence, the Women's Bureau was established in 1980 (Muzondidya, 2010; Ndhlovu, 2021). This unit was responsible for training of and providing technical support to women entrepreneurs. Then, in 1983, the Women's Development Fund was set up, primarily to provide loans to women-owned businesses. This programme was later expanded to include the Rural Development Fund (RDF) in 1987, which focused on empowering women in rural areas. Then, according to Ndlovu (2021) a landmark step was taken regarding WEE with the establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Community Development (MWACD) in 1991 which ministry was operational until 2000. The funding of WEE programs in Zimbabwe has been noted by one participant from government representative in Chapter 6, Section 6.1.

After 2000, this ministry transitioned to the Ministry of Women's Affairs Community Small to Medium Enterprise Development (MWACSMED). This line ministry was mandated to promote women's empowerment and close the gender gap. The ministry championed programmes such as the Women's Credit and Savings Scheme, and Women in the Development, to improve women's access to wider economic opportunities, education, and health care (Kanyenze & Zvobgo, 2005). It has been argued that since 2000/2001, WEE programmes did not flow smoothly as Zimbabwe

faced serious economic challenges following the chaotic land reform exercise that transferred land from the White minority to the Black majority (Ndhlovu, 2021). Among many other government initiatives, this exercise significantly affected WEE. In addition, did the land reform exercise also alienate the majority of the very same black people that the policy sought to empower and so lessened the chances for beneficiaries to contribute towards recognition of the models and aspirational goals of pushing back the frontiers of colonially inherited social and economic inequalities (*ibid*). WEE initiatives that were attempted during this period did not yield much of the desired outcome of reducing IPV.

Another significant development was the establishment of the Zimbabwe Gender Commission (ZGC) in 2012 whose responsibility it was to promote gender equality and defending women's rights. Additional initiatives that were directed at upholding WEE encompassed the release of a second National Gender Policy (NGP) of 2013-17 which replaced the first one of 2004. This second NGP had eight interventions, of which one specifically focused on WEE. Then, in 2016, Zimbabwe Women's Microfinance Bank (ZWMB) was established (GoZ, 2004). This bank was designed to provide financial services to women entrepreneurs of all levels of society, including supporting women in the agricultural sector.

Recently, the Women's Economic Empowerment Framework (WEEF) was formulated in 2018 (Ndlovu, 2021). This framework is composed of five domains that emphasise women's access to:

- markets;
- information;
- finance;
- capacity building; and
- technology.

This WEEF is largely aligned to the National Development Strategy One (NDS1). Reports from the MWACSMED revealed that the economic status of women generally improved since the inception of the WEEF. However, these reports lacked statistical backing since most of them were narrations. Zimbabwe government agencies did not have M&E functions until 2022, so the design, implementation and evaluation of most

programmes implemented before this period are seriously questionable. At the time of compiling this report, some GoZ departments were still setting up M&E arms to improve on their data culture. This implies that there was very little accountability and credibility of all WEE initiatives implement since the attainment of independence. Overall, it can be concluded that WEE has been a key primacy in Zimbabwe for a long period of time. However, much still needs to be explored as the theoretical progress on WEE are mainly outlines of blueprints of which the implementation, results, outcomes, and impact need to be evaluated and publicly communicated. Thus, the effectiveness of the interventions implemented since independence remains questionable since IPV cases are on the rise in the wake of all these blue prints and initiatives.

4.3 POLITICAL CONTEXT IN RELATION TO OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES

While it has been argued that Zimbabwe has made strides towards empowering women, it is prudent to examine if what has been done in Zimbabwe is in sync with what other countries considered as examples of best practices regarding WEE. For example, women constitute 52% of the entire population of Cameroon (AU, 2015) and they are actively involved in fighting poverty in households and are thus contributing to development of society. While it has been argued that the status of women in the Cameroonian society was often dwarfed and subordinated to that of men by culture and state institutions, Cameroonian women are gradually being transitioned with the adoption of the AU's institutional and legal framework on gender equality and the economic empowerment of women (AU, 2015). Combining the political representation of women with grassroot approaches of economic empowerment using micro projects, has also proved effective in reaching out to women in all spectrums of Cameroon. Furthermore, has the state of Cameroon significantly increased the number of women in parliament. As of 2014, Cameroon had 180 parliamentarians drawn from various political parties and women constituted 31% of elected parliamentarians while men constituted 69% (National Assembly of Cameroon, 2014).

Maphosa, Tshuma & Maviza (2015) noted that Zimbabwe is on a similar path with the increase in women's representation. For example, Zimbabwe use a quarter system to ensure women's participation in positions of leadership at parliamentary level. However, despite progressive legislation and policies that have been enacted, women

are not adequately represented in parliament or local authorities. Just like in Cameroon, women constitute 52% of the Zimbabwe's population, but following the 2018 general election, only 31.5% of parliamentarians and 48% of senators were women despite the presence of the quota system. The Zimbabwe Election Watch 9-2023 (Veritas, 2023) revealed three key factors that hindered women's participation in politics:

- Violence in the political system of Zimbabwe. Women are particularly vulnerable to violence.
- Negative perceptions of women politicians. Women who engage in political activities are labelled loose and immoral and their private lives are put under a spotlight. Their marital status is of key interest while few people bother about a male politician's marital or extra-marital affairs.
- The patriarchal nature of Zimbabwean society discourages women from participating in politics. Women are viewed as weak and inferior, suitable for homemaking, childbearing and doing household chores. This attitude is shared by women voters as well as men, so male candidates often get more votes from women than female candidates.

The Zimbabwe Election Watch 9-2023 concluded that Zimbabwe has done a great deal to enact laws encouraging women's participation in politics. However, good laws are not enough. There is need for the electorate and women themselves to change their perceptions and attitudes before they can take their rightful place in the country's political arena.

In its implementation of the AU's gender parity vision, the state of Cameroon had been encouraging numerous micro-projects towards enhancing the economic empowerment of women in rural and peri-urban terrains. Women were also being encouraged to improve their status in the previously constricting male-dominated Cameroonian society by becoming dynamic in the production of bio-gas and other cheap renewables for income generation (AU, 2015). The Rural Women Development Centre (RWDC), a local NGO in Cameroon has made significant contribution in promoting female emancipation through the creation of rural solar electrification centres in the South West region of Cameroon. A major highlight of the AU's initiative to empower women in local Cameroonian communities through solar electrification

involved the training of women by the Barefoot College of *'grandmothers'* as solar engineers. This was a ground-breaking project because Cameroonian women would otherwise hardly rise to the position of engineers (AU, 2015).

In the case of Zimbabwe, land is a chief asset that drives economic empowerment. It is in this view, therefore, that each adult citizen of Zimbabwe must be entitled to access a piece of land (livelihood). The Zimbabwean government made positive attempts to redistribute land in phases since the attainment of independence in 1980. However, according to Nundu (1999), women did not benefit directly from the first phase of land redistribution that took place in all farming sectors, namely, communal, commercial, large and small-scale farming as this form of economic empowerment did not meaningfully benefit women as most beneficiaries were men.

In 1994, the Zimbabwe's Land Tenure Commission confirmed that women did not have equal access to land, however the Commission did not present any recommendations to address women's marginalisation in this form of empowerment. Then, in 1998, women groups congregated to put up a petition in the form of a proposed road map on land policy to push for women's inclusion. This petition was presented to the Donor's Conference on Land in September 1998. As in the Cameroonian case, it has been recognised that land was an important form of empowerment in Zimbabwe, but that most of the focus areas on women empowerment had been on other forms of empowerment that were not land related (Pemunta, 2017). Gaidzanwa (2011) argued that redistribution of land could have made significant contributions to empowering women in many respects, however, this has not been the case for WEE in Zimbabwe. What could explain this phenomenon? In Cameroon, it was revealed that culture and institutional factors such as legal instruments partly explained why women were not fully empowered (AU, 2015). Could the legal and policy framework in Zimbabwe be a limiting factor in realising effective women empowerment?

4.4 LEGAL AND POLICY CONTEXT

This section reviews the strides made in developing and operationalising legal and policy instruments that seek to empower women and close the gender gap. Post-1995, the Zimbabwe government took measures to implement the Gender Equality Policy Framework (GEPF). These measures included the amendment of the Zimbabwe Constitution in 1996 through Amendment Number 14 that provided for ‘gender’ as grounds upon which one could not be discriminated against. The judiciary also took progressive steps to address gender equality in the period under review. Key legal decisions include the case of Lloyd Chaduka and Morgenster Teachers College versus Enita Mandizvidza [2002 (1) ZLR(S):72] in which the Supreme Court ruled that excluding female students who fell pregnant from a private teacher’s college constituted gender-based discrimination. The key lesson learnt from this case is that gender discrimination based on one’s reproductive status is a violation of law because it widens the gender gap.

The Zimbabwean government has further shown commitment towards the emancipation of women since the government became signatory of the BDPA. In addition, the New Constitution of Zimbabwe recognises the rights of women and men to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural, and social spheres, and also guarantees the right to equal pay. Specifically, Section 4.28 of the New Zimbabwe Constitution provides that all customs, traditions and cultural practices that infringed on the rights of women were void. It further calls for the state to ensure gender balance and fair representation of disadvantaged groups, and promotion of women’s participation in all spheres of society (Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment 20, 2013). All women, whether single or married, are entitled to own property that they retain in the event of the death of their husband or divorce. Regarding financial inclusion, national legislation further guarantees access to bank loans for women as much as it does for men. Section 5 of the Immovable Property (Prevention of Discrimination) Act (IPPDA) [Chapter 10:12] prohibits financial institutions from perpetuating discrimination by refusing to grant loans or other financial assistance for the acquisition, hire, construction, maintenance or repair of any immovable property on the basis of sex. However, despite these strides in empowering women, many women are still suffering in silence because of a lack knowledge about their rights enshrined in the

Constitution and other legislative documents (Dziva, 2018). The legal principle '*ignorantia legis neminem excusat*', meaning that ignorance of the law excuses no one, calls for actors in the women empowerment space to raise awareness and educate women, particularly those in the rural areas so that they are not left behind.

In its efforts to address domestic violence and the issues of gender equality and women empowerment, the Zimbabwean Government came up with a framework to address domestic violence by enacting the Domestic Violence Act [Chapter 5:16] in 2006. While violence against women was initially not a priority for Zimbabwe in terms of the critical areas it chose to focus on, significant work has been undertaken in the area because of its centrality in achieving gender equality. Thus, violence against women remains the key obstacle to achieving gender equality, as it perpetuates the subjugation of women by men. Thus, efforts to address gender equality must necessarily complement efforts to address gender-based violence (Bengesai & Derera, 2022).

The enactment of the DVA [Chapter 5:16] aimed at containing all forms of GBV. The Act defines domestic violence broadly enough to cover most instances of gender-based violence and criminalises the acts of domestic violence. The DVA also provides for various forms of relief for survivors of domestic violence, including protection from potential violence. A key aspect of the DVA is its provision for third parties to report domestic violence, where the person experiencing domestic violence is unable to report it themselves. The Act also established a Domestic Violence Council (DVC) tasked with overseeing the implementation of the Act and monitoring the domestic violence in general. It also provided parameters for the development of a National Gender Based Violence Strategy (NGBVS) based on the four pillars of GBV programming, namely prevention, service provision, coordination, and research and documentation. Yet, despite these efforts by government and stakeholders, many violent cases are still being unreported as perpetrators of IPV are usually close members of the victim's household.

Tagwira & Nhorro (2021) that apart from the Domestic Violence Act (DVA) [Chapter 5:16], the Broad-Based Women's Economic Empowerment Framework (BBWEEF) was created in 2012 to provide a systematic way to mainstream women into key economic sectors. This BBWEEF targets the mobilisation of financial resources and

capacity building to ensure effective participation by women in all economic sectors, hence the term '*broad-based*'. Additionally, the Gender-responsive Economic Policy Management Initiative (GEPMI) was established in 2013 with technical assistance from the UNDP and other UN agencies in Zimbabwe. This initiative, which is still being implemented across all government ministries, includes gender-responsive budgeting and aims to ensure gender equality in all sectors of the economy. The main objective of the GEPMI is to ensure that economic policies are formulated, designed and implemented in such a manner that the different roles and needs of all women, men, girls and boys in the country are considered Tagwira & Nhoru (2021).

4.5 ADMINISTRATIVE CONTEXT

Administratively, the Ministry of Women's Affairs Community Small to Medium Enterprise Development (MWACSMED) oversees all women empowerment initiatives in Zimbabwe. According to Kanyenze & Zvobgo (2005), this ministry is mandated to formulate and implement policies, strategies, and programmes that promote women, gender equity, and community development. Interestingly, one its key functions is to prevent and ensure total eradication of GBV. This key function forms the core of this study; using WEE interventions to reduce incidences of IPV. This is achieved through promoting entrepreneurial skills development for women and raising public awareness and opportunities for women development in consultation with other line Ministries and stakeholders. All organisations implementing WEE programmes in Zimbabwe are registered with this parent ministry. As such, the MWACSMED works hand-in-glove with many other stakeholders such as the ZGC, the police, and NGOs.

Working closely with the MWACSMED is the ZGC that was established in 2012. The ZGC was established in terms of Section 245 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, and it is operationalised through the Zimbabwe Gender Commission Act (ZGCA) [Chapter 10:31]. Following the escalation of gender related issues in Zimbabwe (see the ZDHS Report, 2015-16), an independent institution was set to specifically look into gender issues. The ZGC is one of the 12 independent commissions supporting democracy whose objectives are set out in Section 233 of the constitution as to:

- Support and entrench human rights and democracy;
- Protect the sovereignty and interests of the people;

- Promote constitutionalism;
- Secure the observance of democratic values and principles by the state and all institutions and agencies of government, and government-controlled entities Promote transparency and accountability in public institutions; and
- Ensure that injustices are remedied.

The ZGC has six thematic groups on: gender, socio, cultural and religious issues; gender and economic empowerment; gender, politics and decision making; gender and health; gender, environment and climate change; and gender, constitutional and legal rights. Overall, the ZGC has cross-cutting thematic areas and its responsibility is to promote gender equality and defend people's rights with a greater inclination towards women's rights.

The Constitution of Zimbabwe provide for reporting all IPV cases to the police. In 1996, the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) established the Victim Friendly Unit (VFU) to proactively and reactively police crimes of sexual nature committed against women and children in a manner sensitive to the victim (Muzondidya, 2010). The Unit aims to be supportive of victims and to make the environment conducive, private and friendly. It further aims to be empathetic, meticulous, professional, expeditious, and maintain confidentiality when handling victims of sexual abuse. Officers working in the VFU are trained to deal with victims in a professional, private and confidential manner. The VFU also offers counselling to victims of sexual abuse in conjunction with its other partners in the multi-sectoral approach (*ibid*). Since the establishment of the VFU, a remarkable increase has been realized in the number of sexual abuse cases. So, the VFU has the dual role of overseeing law enforcement and direct contact with the survivors of IPV.

Then, numerous organisations, particularly NGOs join hands with other stakeholders in funding and implementing WEE interventions aimed at reducing incidences of IPV. Such organisations are registered with the MWACSMED. So, the register of implementing organisations is easily accessible from the MWACSMED (Kanyenze & Zvobgo, 2005). Recently, SNV (2017) reported that 40 WEE thematically related programmes were implemented in Zimbabwe by several organisations since 1980. Although the GoZ has, with the help of partners such as NGOs, managed to ensure that women now have the same rights as men and girls have equal opportunities to attend school as boys, a gender gap remains in public sector higher education,

particularly in science and engineering disciplines. And in spite of efforts that are being made to ensure more women are admitted to tertiary institutions through the introduction of a quota system and allowing women with less points to pursue science and engineering courses, the system does not benefit poor rural women who are mostly facing financial constraints.

4.6 CULTURAL CONTEXT

Cultural factors are important in understanding gender and related developments. As argued by Goldberg (2009:408), humans “make frames that delimit what they perceive, and those frames determine what is important, irrelevant, good, bad, and so on, about those perceptions - that is, some things are ruled in, and others are thrown out”. Although Goldberg prefers to call these frames, I call them culture in this study. People tend to behave or embrace, resist, reject or accept change because they hold a certain view, which then becomes institutionalised to constitute a form of culture. This culture also changes through time, tending towards shaping the behaviour of the whole gamut of community that observe it. The desire to have one’s own intimate relationships has roots in tradition and culture. Whether people stay in or move away from a violent relationship, they normally try to maintain how they behave in their culture sometimes for the sake of identity (Gienow-Hecht, 2004). Traditionally, in the culture of the Shona (the dominant ethnic group in Zimbabwe), the concept of *musha* (stable relationship) is at the centre of the *unhu/ubuntu* wisdom (Du Toit, 1981).

It has recently been argued that having policies and frameworks do not translate to their effective operationalisation (Dziva, 2018; Bengesai & Derera, 2022). Gathered evidence has shown that the GoZ has made significant commitment towards empowering women through constitutional provision, enactment of statutory acts, and policy pronouncements. However, it must be noted that programmes, policies and frameworks on their own cannot necessarily lead to women empowerment and reduction of IPV, hence suggesting the need for more research to investigate the extent to which these instruments have resulted in the expected empowerment. More research, monitoring and evaluation of outcomes are required to measure performance indicators regarding women empowerment. Furthermore, research and evaluation are needed to establish the extent to which gender has been mainstreamed in policies and how these have empowered women economically. The Zimbabwean constitution does

aim to address some of the cultural, traditions and practices that infringe on women's rights, however its intended objectives are yet to be tested with regards to their attainment. This is important because some authors have argued that there is a discrepancy between policy and practice due to cultural filters (Bengesai & Derera, 2022).

For instance, Tsunga (2019) argued that the recent drive in Zimbabwe to revitalise traditional leadership and their attendant institutions was undermining the positive achievements in the emancipation and empowerment of rural women that was made since independence, by further strengthening the patriarchal hold. Tsunga further argued that, since independence, Zimbabwe has been a patriarchal society and that the reforms being instituted by traditional leaders were invariably patriarchal driven and pro-male. There seems to be a clear resuscitation of male dominance in the rural areas which negatively affects women and their capacity to participate openly in the affairs of their communities and make decisions for themselves (Tsunga, 2019). This drive has thus raised the need for further study to identify weaknesses and strengths of the GoZ's interventions. It is in the light of such debates, that this study investigated the truism of the achievement highlighted in this section through the lens of key stakeholders in the empowerment space since many players have been joining hands in Zimbabwe to close the gender gap.

4.7 GOZ'S PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING WEE GLOBAL FRAMEWORKS

All the Zimbabwean government's efforts to close the gender gap were to some degree inspired by global frameworks on women empowerment. It is therefore prudent to examine the extent to which Zimbabwe has implemented some of these global frameworks since the country is a signatory to most of them. Kabeer (2020) argued that women are key agents for feminist social change, and that change results in those who have a stake to be able to question the current state of affairs. The Zimbabwean government took heed of Kabeer's call by the implementation of IPV reduction strategies that encouraged women to speak out, or third parties to speak out and report cases of GBV. However, Dziva (2018) raised an important concern regarding ignorance of many victims of IPV and called for scaling up of awareness efforts. In as much as the GoZ has localised this provision, more must be done to educate women about their rights.

Kabeer (2021) noted that choices open to women were often limited compared to men of the same community, which truly reflects gender inequality. The critical factor, according to Kabeer, is whether the choices that people make are based on their own preferences and priorities, or on limitations in their options. To show a link between individual choice and wider social change, Kabeer (2021) suggested evaluating the consequences of choices in terms of their transforming significance, the extent to which the choices made have the potential for challenging and destabilising social inequalities and the extent to which they merely reproduced these inequalities. In an earlier publication, Kabeer (2001) defined three levels at which empowerment and presumably wider social change may be achieved, namely, individual or immediate level, the intermediate level of institutions, and deeper level in terms of structural relations of class. According to Nhuta & Muklumba (2017), this measurement criteria has also been adopted in Zimbabwe in the design and implementation of its empowerment frameworks discussed in Section 4.2. Thus, at individual level, victims of violence have been empowered to report any cases of IPV; at institutional level, the DVC and the Gender Commission (GC) have been put in place to oversee issues of women empowerment; and at a deeper level, the New Constitution of Zimbabwe prohibits discrimination against gender and race, among other forms of discrimination.

Contextualising the levels of empowerment, scholars such as Dziva (2018), and Bengesai & Derera (2022) asserted that WEE programmes in Zimbabwe have three spheres; individual, group, and close relationships empowerment. This classification is based on the view that once an individual is empowered it spreads to the society. The forms are distinct and complementary in nature. According to Rowlands (1998:22), the first key issue is *“a personal and unique experience, even though one woman may go through some similar experiences”* to others. Then, there is group empowerment which is both the result of and the building stone of the capacity of a group of people to work together to achieve common goals; it also contributes to the individual empowerment of each member by building their confidence and sense of agency. Finally, there is also empowerment in close relationships with husbands, parents and mothers-in-law which *“...is the area of change that comes hardest; it is the place where the individual woman is 'up against it on her own', and where positive and negative aspects of her life tend to be most closely intertwined”* (Rowlands, 1998:23). According to sources, the GoZ has localised the three levels of empowerment in its quest to close the gender

gap and can the results be witnessed in the case of Zimbabwe (Dziva, 2018; Bengesai & Derera, 2022). The main concern of this study is thus to unravel Zimbabweans' experience regarding empowerment in close relationships while focusing on how the country has managed to reduce incidences of IPV.

Most international WEE frameworks are premised on the idea that reducing financial precarity in households may be an effective strategy for reducing domestic violence (see Table 3.1). So, addressing poverty reduction in the home seems to have a positive impact in lowering the frequency of IPV experienced by women (Jewkes & Levin, 2015). However, this is not always the case as is witnessed in some instances in Zimbabwe as it is observed that IPV incidences knows to know no boundaries of poverty. As such, it could be that being employed and transitioning to the labour market could increase women's risk of victimisations (Vyas & Sen, 2015). Nevertheless, it is still unclear why localising such ideas results in victimisation of women in some cases. This study, therefore, seeks to understand underlying factors around the link between reduction in financial precarity in households and IPV.

4.8 GOVERNMENT AND OTHER PLAYERS' INITIATIVES AND GAPS

The Protocol to the ACHPR on the Rights of Women in Africa, better known as the Maputo Protocol, is an international human rights instrument established by the African Union that went into effect in 2003. According to Amnesty International (2005), the Protocol fills a major gap in the regional human rights system and calls for the protection of the rights of women in reproductive health, violence against women, elimination of all forms of harmful traditional practices (including early marriage and female genital mutilation) and having equal rights to education and training. In protecting women's economic and social rights, it calls for women's equal access to:

- employment and equal pay for jobs of equal value;
- the right to inherit property;
- the right to an equal share of matrimonial property at the time of divorce;
- control over productive resources and a guarantee of their property rights;
- promote and support the occupations and economic activities of women, in particular, within the informal sector;
- establish a system of protection and social insurance for women working in the informal sector; and

- take necessary measures to recognise the economic value of women's work.

The Maputo Protocol was entered into force in 2005 and as of January 2006 it was ratified by Benin, Cape Verde, The Comoros, Djibouti, The Gambia, Lesotho, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa and Togo.

While these developments and attainments are important, there is a growing realisation that gender equality and empowerment of women in Africa has not been fully integrated into policy formulation and project design. Considerable gaps between men and women in education attainment, economic opportunities, voices and decision-making, and well-being have been persistent in many parts of Africa. Therefore, this study, using available data in various disciplines, examined the efforts of WEE in Zimbabwe. In particular, it examined the challenges of promoting WEE through the empowerment programmes in which women are highly represented. In addition, the study presented the condition of gender inequality in Africa in general and in Zimbabwe in particular. The study also assessed women's employment and income level relative to men. It further presented the constraints women faced in advancing the economic activities and income level to reduce IPV. In this connection, there are, however, some promising policy and operational measures that are likely to make greater impacts in Zimbabwe.

This particular study further aimed to fill the gap in research as the area of WEE and entrepreneurship is an under-researched area that has negatively affected WEE advocacy. Derera, Croce, Phiri & O'Neill (2020), in their research on entrepreneurship and WEE, established that there is a dearth in research on women entrepreneurship and WEE. This is a cause for concern as high impact research often lays a foundation for the development of entrepreneurship and WEE. Thus, the scarcity of studies on women entrepreneurship and economic empowerment in Zimbabwe implies that this research field is in its infancy with vast research opportunities that can be explored (Derera *et al.*, 2020). Table 4.1 below, provides a summary of WEE programmes implemented in Zimbabwe since the attainment of independence in 1980. Emphasis is placed on bringing to light programmes' objectives, their key outcomes, and players involved.

Table 4.1: Issues around WEE programmes implemented in Zimbabwe since independence

Source and Overview	Issues, Context and Focus	Remarks
<p>This section historicises the development of WEE in Zimbabwe since independence in 1980 through tracing WEE progression in Zimbabwe. The following sources informed this historical overview:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government of Zimbabwe [GoZ]. (2004). <i>Women's Economic Empowerment Framework</i>. Ministry of Women's Affairs, Gender and Community Development: Harare. • Kanyenze, G. & Zvobgo, C. (2005). <i>Gender, economic empowerment and social transformation in Africa: The case of Zimbabwe</i>. Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network: Harare. • Muzondidya, J. (2010). The struggle for women's empowerment in Zimbabwe. <i>Journal of Southern African Studies</i>, 36(2):441-455. • Ndhlovu, F. (2021). Reading Robert Mugabe through the third chimurenga: Language, discourse, and exclusion. 	<p>The post-independence period saw the implementation of numerous WEE programmes. Immediately after independence, the Women's Bureau was established in 1980. This unit was responsible for training and providing technical support to women entrepreneurs. This development was followed with the setting up of the Women's Development Fund in 1983, primarily to provide loans to women-owned businesses. This programme was later expanded to include the Rural Development Fund (RDF) in 1987, which focused on empowering women in rural areas. Then, a landmark step regarding WEE was the establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Community Development (MWACD) in 1991 which was operational until 2000.</p> <p>After 2000, this ministry transitioned to the Ministry of Women's Affairs Community Small to Medium Enterprise Development (MWACSMED). This ministry was mandated to promote women's empowerment and close the gender gap such as championing programmes such as the Women's Credit and Savings Scheme, and Women in Development to improve women's access to wider economic opportunities, education, and health care. However, these WEE programmes did not flow smoothly as Zimbabwe has been facing serious economic challenges since 2000/2001 following the chaotic land reform exercise that transferred land from the White minority to the Black majority. This exercise significantly affected WEE, among other government's initiatives. The land reform exercise alienated the majority of the very same black people that the policy sought to empower and lessened the chances for beneficiaries to contribute towards recognition of the models and aspirational goals of pushing back the frontiers of colonially inherited social and economic inequalities. WEE initiatives that were attempted during this period did not yield much of the desired outcome of reducing IPV.</p> <p>Another significant development was the establishment of the Zimbabwe Gender Commission (ZGC) in 2012 whose responsibility is to promote gender equality and defend women's rights. Additional initiatives directed at upholding WEE encompassed the release of a second National Gender Policy (NGP) of</p>	<p>Accessible reports from the MWACSMED revealed that the economic status of women generally improved since its inception. However, these reports lack statistical backing since most of them are largely narrations. GoZ agencies did not have monitoring and evaluation (M&E) functions until 2022, so the design, implementation and evaluation of most programmes implemented before this period are seriously questionable. At the time of compiling this report, some GoZ departments were still setting up M&E arms to improve on their data culture. This implies, there is very little accountability and credibility of all WEE initiatives implement since the attainment of independence.</p> <p>Overall, it can be concluded that WEE has been of great importance in Zimbabwe for some time. However, much still needs to be explored as the theoretical progress on WEE are mainly outlines of blueprints whose implementation, results, outcomes, and impact need to be evaluated and publicly communicated. The effectiveness of the interventions implemented since independence remain questionable since IPV cases</p>

<p><i>International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society</i>, 34. 10.1007/s10767-019-09333-8.</p>	<p>2013-17, replacing the first one of 2004. This second NGP had eight interventions with one that specifically focuses on WEE.</p> <p>In 2016, Zimbabwe Women's Microfinance Bank (ZWMB) was established. It was designed to provide financial services to women entrepreneurs of all levels of society, including supporting women in the agricultural sector.</p> <p>Recently, in 2018, the Women's Economic Empowerment Framework (WEEF) was formulated. This framework is composed of five domains that emphasise women's access to: (1) markets; (2) information; (3) finance; (4) capacity building; and (5) technology. This framework is largely aligned to the National Development Strategy One (NDS1).</p>	<p>are on the rise in the wake of all these blueprints and initiatives.</p>
Specific studies on WEE programmes implemented in Zimbabwe		
Source	Objective and Key Findings	Remarks
<p>Derera, E., Croce, F., Phiri, M. & O'Neill, C. (2020). Entrepreneurship and women's economic empowerment in Zimbabwe: Research themes and future research perspectives. <i>Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa</i>, 16(1):1-13. 10.4102/td.v16i1.787.</p>	<p>The study of Derera <i>et al.</i> (2020) explored whether socio-cultural factors are a concern in the design and implementation of WEE programmes.</p> <p>It was revealed that supporting women's entrepreneurship positively affected poverty reduction in agreement with the SDGs. However, these successes are negatively affected by obstacles in entrepreneurship and socio-cultural challenges such as controlling of spouses.</p>	<p>It must be noted that socio-cultural factors truly impede the progress of the WEE activities. Therefore, an equal measure of efforts employed to implement WEE must also be employed on socio-cultural issues to achieve the intended outcomes.</p>
<p>Chadambuka, C. & Warri, A. (2020). Examining support systems available for victims of IPV in rural areas in Zimbabwe. <i>Social work in action</i>, 32(5):381-399.</p>	<p>The study of Chadambuka and Warri (2020) sought to examine support systems available to victims of IPV.</p> <p>It was revealed that the use of a collaborative approach among stakeholders goes a long way in facilitating the formulation of efficient community-based strategies for reducing IPV in communities.</p>	<p>Rural societies mainly circulate informal information through informal institutions due to the spontaneous association of people. So, WEE implementing organisations must collaborate with rural societies and their informal institutions to get a real time prevalence rate of IPV cases and then reach out to potential beneficiaries as they may not approach WEE organisations out of their own accord.</p>

<p>Masvotore, P. & Tsara, L. (2023). Theologising the feminization of poverty in Mutasa District, Zimbabwe. <i>Hervormde Theologies</i>, 79(3): 1-7.</p>	<p>This study of Masvotore and Tsara (2023) explored the feminisation of poverty in Zimbabwe following the revelation that women are marginalised and excluded by social discrimination and poverty.</p> <p>The study discovered that the feminisation of poverty creates a defective cultural system that negates women opportunities to realise their full potential.</p>	<p>Culture bears much of the blame in widening the gender gap; therefore, a robust transformative strategy, anchored in culture, must be put in place to ensure effective empowerment of women and girls.</p>
<p>Dziva, C., Dewa, D. & Khumalo, P. (2020). Recurrent male-to-female partner violence in Mkoba high density suburb of Gweru town in Zimbabwe. <i>Africa Social Science Research Review</i>, 36(2):35-52.</p>	<p>The study of Dziva, Dewa and Khumalo (2020) aimed to analyse and classify the reasons behind recurrent IPV in the Mkoba suburb of Gweru town in Zimbabwe.</p> <p>It was found that repeated IPV emanates from economic and patriarchal factors amongst administrative insufficiencies of service providers. The consequences of recurring IPV then results in inhibited social development and violation of women rights. This implies that WEE programmes, in their own, are weak without the support of these transformative activities</p>	<p>There is a need to transform the mentality and attitude of communities through designing transformative programmes to effectively deal with IPV because, besides economic conflicts as a cause, the anti-human rights attitudes equally contribute to IPV.</p>
<p>Overall, literature on WEE programmes in Zimbabwe is scanty, as only a few reports on such programmes could be found. Most WEE-implementing organisations do not record and/or publish what they do, despite their good initiatives. This oversight could be a reason why the impact of WEE in reducing IPV, seems to be weak. Having hardly any reporting or recording of WEE programme's initiatives may imply that no deliberate effort has been undertaken to follow through the performance of WEE programmes. This failure illustrates the inefficiencies and incapacities of government departments to coordinate WEE programmes and to measure and report on the impact thereof at national level. It could, with reason, be asked why WEE programmes, some of which have an objective of IPV reduction, are ongoing in the country while IPV is soaring. Therefore, this study aimed to contribute to raising awareness in Zimbabwe of the assortment of WEE initiatives that agencies are applying, and to contribute to the visibility of WEE by highlighting good practices that lead to replication and scaling up of women. Furthermore, this study unravelled gaps regarding WEE and its expected results, to encourage consistent efforts by major players in closing the gaps and reviewing WEE frameworks and IPV legal frameworks. This study also indicated that there are no clear-cut IPV reduction indicators in most WEE programmes, resulting therein that IPV reduction is left to assumption and chance.</p>		

4.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter it was discussed how Zimbabwe has been faring in implementing international frameworks. It was indicated that Zimbabwe has various legal and institutional frameworks for the advancement of women empowerment and reduction of IPV and that the women empowerment approaches used in Zimbabwe are largely similar to those in other countries. Further, it was found that the existing WEE programmes are being implemented by the Zimbabwe government, NGOs and other private institutions. The following chapter details the design and approach that was followed in this study and sets the scene for the discussion of study findings.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter frames the research approach and design adopted for this study. It answers six questions; what, why, where, how, who, and when data feeding into the WEE strengthening conceptual model was collected, collated, presented, and analysed. I, thus, assembled current, complete, authentic and reliable, and relational data about WEE programmes in Zimbabwe in order to generate knowledge. More importantly, the answers to the six questions hinged on my global views of what constitute acceptable knowledge. Such views and beliefs were deeply entrenched in the research paradigm and philosophy.

5.2 PHILOSOPHICAL AND PARADIGMATIC PERSPECTIVE

Many researchers have coined that research aims to create knowledge (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2016; Kumar & Ranjit, 2019; Creswell, 2021). A recent study by Creswell (2021) established that how knowledge is created and what constitutes acceptable knowledge is contextual and debatable. It was also found that most accessible studies on women empowerment were framed using the pragmatism philosophy. The rationalisation for using pragmatism spins on the basis that reality is multiple and must be extracted from all accessible units of analysis through objective and subjective interpretation. Against this background, I structured this thesis with a greater inclination towards pragmatism philosophy which hinges on the belief that both objective and subjective points of view give the truth through integrating different perspectives in interpreting the data (Saunders *et al.*, 2016).

Considering the character of this study, assessing the effectiveness of WEE programmes in reducing incidences of IPV, a wide spectrum of variables feed into the study. Some variables seek to describe the quality of data whilst others aim to describe its quantity. As such, I used the mixed methodology to critically analyse issues surrounding WEE interventions in Zimbabwe. The qualitative component, on one hand, was largely guided by the advice given by De Vos, Strydom, Fouché and Delport

(2017) to take cognisance of diverse perspectives of study participants regarding their interpretation and meaning they attach to WEE programmes and IPV in this case. Then, in the other, the quantitative component holds a more positivist view of the world; it suggests that reality is something that can be objectively measured using quantitative tools (Kielmann, Cataldo & Seeley, 2012). The use of mixed methods has been justified because it helps bring in different perspectives thereby giving a fuller picture and deeper meaning of the phenomenon under investigation (Yin, 2014; Cropley, 2019; Tracy, 2019).

Further justifying the use of a mixed methods approach, scholars such as Quinton & Reynolds (2018) and Morse (2018) have collectively posited that for mixed methods researchers, pragmatism opened the door to multiple methods, different worldviews and different assumptions that would enrich the outcome of studies. The research plan details how mixed methodology was employed to structure the study, in the same vein exposing the stage at which mixing took place. Different authors (Saunders *et al.*, 2016; Cropley, 2019; Creswell, 2021) have concurred that this exposition is crucial since there is no clear-cut distinction in literature in accordance with the stage at which mixing should take place.

5.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design feeds from a needs assessment. Its function is to detail the sort of data needed to answer research questions, and to detail its uses and intended users. This is essential in ensuring that only relevant data is collected with the intention of responding to research questions in an explicit manner. Yin (2018) confirmed this and noted that the main purpose of the research design is to help avoid a situation in which the evidence does not address the initial research questions. A research design could thus briefly be summarised as a procedure of transforming research questions into a research project (Robson, 2002); it collectively encompasses settling on research strategies, research choices, and time horizons (Saunders *et al.*, 2016). It is important to note that a research design is independent of research methodology and sources of data (Yin, 2014). The current study sought to develop a conceptual model for strengthening WEE programmes with the view of reducing incidences of IPV in Zimbabwe. For this study, clearly described data needs partly enabled the progression

of a plan on how, when and where data addressing the research questions was collected and analysed.

In agreement, Rahi (2017), Adams & Lawrence (2018), and Bryman, Bell & Tee (2018) stressed that a research design should provide the overall structure and orientation of an investigation and a framework within which data can be collected and analysed. In terms of time horizons, the research plan of this thesis was twofold. As indicated in Figure 5.1 below, the current study officially started in September 2019. The first leg of the research took approximately two years; from December 2017 to August 2019. During this period, I applied to study at the University of the Free State, developed a proposal for acceptance, and secured a supervisor. The second leg of the study was divided into three parts. The first part took approximately two years; from September 2019 to August 2021, during which time I focused on the literature and theoretical review to establish a knowledge gap and to situate the present study in the existing body of knowledge. This was followed by the second part of approximately one year that stretched from September 2021 to July 2022, when I focused on getting clearance and doing fieldwork. The final and third part of the second leg of the study took another year, from August 2022 to July 2023, when I focused on data analysis and reporting.

To gather primary data, a case (situational) study research design was employed. This decision was largely influenced by the fact that the situational study strategy enabled me to gather extremely rich, detailed, and in-depth information characterising a particular group of people or sector of society (Yin, 2014; Saunders *et al.*, 2016). Yin (2014) noted that case studies could be categorised using two discrete dimensions; single versus multiple cases and holistic versus embedded cases. Using the first dimension, a single situational study focuses on one case only and aims to reveal unusual or peculiar issues, whereas multiple a case study focuses on at least two similar, but not identical cases. This study used the single case study of Zimbabwe. In Section 5.5.2 concrete information is given on the reasons why this study area was selected. Concerning the second dimension, Yin (2014) observed that a holistic case involves studying selected case(s) in total whereas an embedded case has a bias towards studying particular section(s) within selected case(s). This thesis used the embedded case of WEE interventions biased towards reducing IPV within the single case study of Zimbabwe. Perhaps, justifying why WEE interventions aimed at reducing

IPV was chosen as an embedded case, will bring about clarity. The justification on selecting WEE interventions is provided in Section 5.5.1.

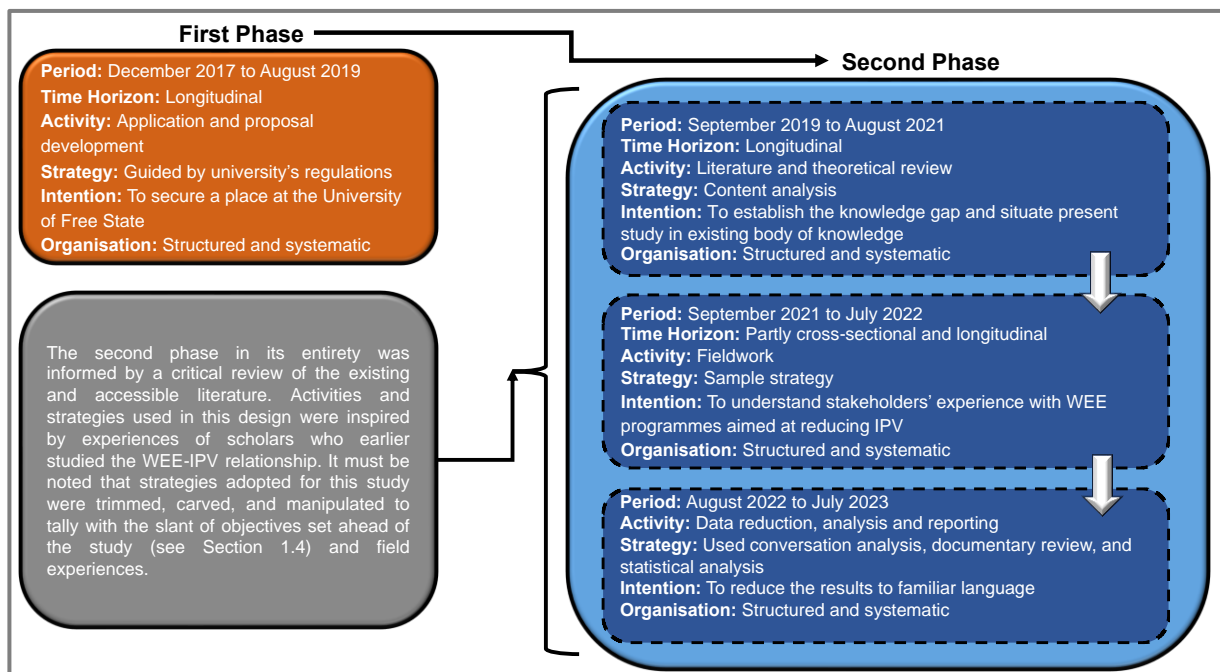


Figure 5.1: Research design in summary (Researcher's Compilation, 2023)

Within the single-embedded case study, a sample strategy was used to collect data from the beneficiaries of WEE interventions and implementing organisations (working hand-in-glove with government departments and funders). This means that a survey strategy and narrative inquiry were used to gather hard data on beneficiaries' and implementers' experiences, and the perspectives of the police regarding the interplay between IPV and WEE interventions. It has been opined that research strategies should not be thought of as being mutually exclusive (Saunders *et al.*, 2016). As such, more than one strategy can be made use of in one study; in this case, the case study, survey strategy, and narrative inquiry were all used. A summarised version of the explained research design appears in Figure 5.1, above.

Figure 5.1 above, indicates that, concerning time frames, the research plan was divided into two phases (first phase depicting the period before the onset of the study and the second period outlining the study period). The second phase was split into three sub-phases where the first tier addressed the review of theoretical, conceptual and analytical issues in literature, the second tier was about the designing and testing of data collection tools and fieldwork, and the last tier focused on data reduction,

analyses and reporting. The last tier of the second part is expanded on in Section 5.7. It is crucial to note that strategies adopted in the second phase were largely informed by the lessons obtained from the review of literature.

In the forthcoming sections the following are discussed: the determinants of the study population and the sampling procedure that was used; the methods, tools and strategies that were used to gather data; the techniques that were used in data reduction and analysis; how ethical issues were handled; and matters relating to reliability and validity of study findings.

5.4 SOURCES OF DATA USED TO ANSWER RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this research, primary and secondary data were made use of in the development of a WEE strengthening conceptual model. Harris, Taylor & Thiel (2019) held the view that secondary data adds to a wide range of facts that have already been collected for purposes other than the problem at hand, while Bryman & Bell (2019) noted that primary data refers to current facts gathered by a researcher for the purpose of addressing the problem at hand. To guide the gathering of both primary and secondary data, I used literature review as the main evoker of experiences in the second part of this study. Textbooks, journals, unpublished studies and conference papers were the main sources of literature. These sources helped in establishing what has been and what is yet to be studied and they also provided rich, historical and current scholarly information on WEE and IPV. Following insights from literature, I gathered secondary data through documentary examination of administrative documents. Documents reviewed include programme plans, routine monitoring reports and evaluation reports of implementing organisations. So, it was sensible to review these documents to assess their provisions and contents.

The primary data I gathered was from two camps; those of the beneficiaries and implementers. Representatives from implementing organisations, government departments, and funding partners provided data related to their experience in implementing WEE interventions with an IPV reduction component. Much emphasis was placed on programmes' characteristics and operational enablers and inhibitors. Then, beneficiaries provided data relating to their participation in WEE programmes and how these programmes have impacted their intimate relationships. By shedding

light on how study respondents and participants were selected, clarity would be provided on the sources used to gather data in order to answer research questions.

5.5 POPULATION AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

In this section sampling techniques and the strategies used to collect data on WEE programmes aimed at reducing incidences of IPV are explained. Details are specifically given on how and why WEE programmes as a conceptual study area, Zimbabwe as a geographical study area, key informers, and respondents were chosen. Mazongonda & Mandebvu (2014) maintained that population refers to the entire family of the variable under study. For example, in this study that sought to assess the interplay between WEE and IPV in Zimbabwe, population refers to all organisations implementing WEE programmes aimed at reducing incidences of IPV in Zimbabwe. The duo argued that a population is, in most cases, large and complex and expensive to study. Also, as it is simply unmanageable and inconvenient, it has been advocated that sample surveys should be done. Sample denotes part of the population as it is a subset of the entire group being researched (McCombes, 2019), in the case of this study, the subset of the entire population was a selected pool of organisations implementing WEE interventions in Zimbabwe.

5.5.1 Selecting WEE programmes (Conceptual study area)

In the preceding chapters of this thesis, it was shown that globally, WEE programmes are one of the instruments used to reduce IPV. However, O'Neil *et al.* (2014) and Cornwall & Edwards (2014) noted that WEE interventions serve diverse purposes, including reducing IPV cases. So, I specifically avoided selecting organisations that were implementing WEE interventions that were not specifically designed to reduce incidences of IPV in Zimbabwe. Since this study sought to assess WEE interventions aimed at reducing incidences of IPV, it was, therefore, prudent to **purposively** select interventions specifically designed to reduce incidences of IPV in Zimbabwe.

The MWACSMED in Zimbabwe oversees all the activities undertaken by various organisations (state and non-state actors) concerning women affairs. As such, the MWACSMED keeps a register and profile of organisations that are involved in women affairs (see Section 4.5). Through the consent that I was given by the relevant

authorities and with the help of a representative from the MWACSMED, I was allowed to peruse the register for WEE organisations whose interventions could reduce IPV. A total of 30 organisations, whose operations were scattered throughout Zimbabwe, were singled out as active players in WEE interventions with a bias towards reducing IPV. So, these 30 organisations represent the population of implementing organisations. Since I used all the 30 organisations as units of analysis, it implies that I used a **census survey** of implementing organisations. It must also be noted that these WEE-implementing organisations usually work hand-in-glove with funding organisations and government departments. Through **snowballing**, I was then referred to selected representatives of government departments and funding organisations. Interestingly, as maintained by Hummelbrunner (2010), the chosen conceptual area (WEE interventions aimed at reducing IPV) was fairly represented by two key stakeholders as social frameworks advocate for. In this case, the two key stakeholders considered can be likened to two sides of the same coin (beneficiaries and programme implementers). Sub-sections 5.5.3 and 5.5.4 explain how and why these two sides of the same coin were selected.

5.5.2 Selecting Zimbabwe (Geographical study area)

A recent study by Buvinic, Latif & Zaki (2020) has shown that WEE interventions are geographically skewed due to diverse religious and cultural values. This finding is deeply rooted in empowerment, capability, and cultural modernity theories whose constructs explain how differences in geographical locations result in different shared values and cultures. These theories suggest that effective empowerment must take into account contextual factors such as religious and cultural practices, women's capabilities, and shared values. Using logical deduction, Zimbabwe has a unique context that, arguably, influences the outcomes of WEE interventions, and that warrants a study specifically designed for Zimbabwe.

Studies by Panda & Agarwal (2005) and Ackerson & Subramanian (2008) in India, the studies' debate revisited in 2017 and 2022 respectively, revealed that inherent differences between regions within the same country are inevitable. In the above studies, WEE interventions resulted in different results leading to an increase in incidences of IPV in one case, and the reduction of IPV in the other. Against this background, I **purposively** selected Zimbabwe because there were few accessible

studies (for example the ZDHS Report, 2015-16) that presented data on the prevalence of IPV and its interplay with WEE programmes in Zimbabwe. Of the data that was accessible, an upward trend of IPV was indicated, even though the country has been implementing WEE programmes, some which have a specific objective of reducing IPV. Furthermore, it was **convenient** for me to select this study area since I am from Zimbabwe. Then, studying all WEE organisations operating in Zimbabwe gave this study conclusive power since it navigated through diverse religious and cultural practices in Zimbabwe.

5.5.3 Selecting respondents during the survey

In this study, the questionnaire survey was twofold; one questionnaire was administered to beneficiaries of WEE interventions, and the other was administered to representatives of implementing organisations. Registers of selected organisations were used to select individual beneficiaries that had recently benefited from concluded programmes and that were benefiting from ongoing programmes. This selection was done by using simple random sampling. This random exercise presented two challenges: some beneficiaries were not reachable; and some were not willing to participate in the study. So, only reachable and willing respondents constituted the final list of 90 respondents that responded to the questionnaire survey. For the implementing organisations, all 30 selected organisations allocated a representative to respond to the questionnaire survey. Thus, I had no control over the selection of the organisations' representatives as this was internally driven. It must be noted that, during the questionnaire survey, beneficiaries and implementing organisations were served with different questions, though there was an overlap in some of the issues in the questionnaires. This was done to get a two-sided view based on experiences of beneficiaries and implementing organisations.

5.5.4 Selecting participants during interviews

To gain deeper insights and rich, explanatory data regarding the interplay between WEE and IPV, interviews were conducted with 20 key participants. It must be noted that the point of entry for approaching these participants were the implementing organisations. Since the implementing organisations worked through and with funding partners and government departments, in certain instances, I was referred

(snowballing) to other participants in the implementation side to get clarity on specific matters. So, the implementation side was represented by participants drawn from some selected implementing organisations (those who had participated in the questionnaire survey), funding organisations, and government departments. The selection was based on individuals' experience and expertise since they dealt with WEE issues on a daily basis. Table 5.1 below, provides an outline of the respondents and participants that constituted the study sample.

Table 5.1: Sampling respondents

Respondents	Method	Tool/Instrument	Size
Women participating or who have participated in WEE programmes with the IPV reduction component in the last 5 to 7 years	Survey	Questionnaire	90
Organisations implementing WEE programmes with an IPV component in Zimbabwe	Survey	Questionnaire	30
Representatives of key government departments, funding partners and few selected WEE Implementing organisations.	Interview	Interview Guide	20
Total Sample Size			140

Source: Researcher's construct (2022)

Overall, the total sample size of 140 respondents constituted of 90 beneficiaries who participated in the questionnaire survey, 30 representatives of implementing organisations who participated in the questionnaire survey, and 20 interviewees who were drawn from implementing organisations, government departments and funding partners. In the next section details on the three methods used to collect data are provided.

5.6 DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND TOOLS

This section explains how data was gathered using questionnaire surveys, in-depth interviews, and content analysis.

5.6.1 Questionnaire survey

Using Greenhalgh, Thorne and Malterud (2018) guide, the two questionnaires (see Section 5.5) were structured using a sequence of questions relating to the research problem under study. In this study, I used self-administered questionnaires to give the respondents a fair environment to respond to questions. Respondents were given the

questionnaires to complete during their free time, without being supervised. This gave them time to respond at their own pace and in environments conducive to them. Upon completion they contacted me and returned the completed questionnaires. It must be noted that there are a few cases where some women could not complete the questionnaire on their own and they asked for my help in completing it. In such cases, I endeavoured to assist them to complete the questionnaire in a supportive manner without influencing their choice of responses. Also worth to note, the respondents were asked if they wanted to complete the questionnaires in English or in one of the two main local languages (Shona and Ndebele) since the questionnaire were made available in the three most widely used languages in Zimbabwe.

Data on beneficiaries' and implementers experiences, ages of beneficiaries, drivers of IPV, resources availed, income realised by beneficiaries, structures of WEE programmes, among other data sets, were captured using structured questions and scenario-based questions on a Likert Scale of one to five (see Appendices 11 and 12). Both questionnaires commenced with an introduction to inform the participants about the purpose of the research. This introduction also assured the respondents of their privacy, anonymity and confidentiality of the data. Both questionnaires ended with closing remarks which signalled the end of survey. In total, 90 respondents from the beneficiaries' side and 30 respondents from the implementers' side responded to the two questionnaires.

5.6.2 Interviews

Dawson (2019) postulated that interviews are a powerful data collection method in which people articulate their tacit perceptions, feelings, and understanding. In support of this view, Delen & Zolbanin (2018) maintained that personal interviews are used because more information can be gathered in greater depth and with greater flexibility as they gave an opportunity to restructure questions during discussion sessions. Following the guide given in some accessible methodological literature, one-on-one in-depth interviews with 20 representatives from government departments, funding partners, and implementing organisations were undertaken. Funding partners were represented by UN agencies such as UNWOMEN and other international organisations in the area of women empowerment. These are organisations deliberately fund diverse WEE interventions. Then, government departments were

represented at different levels and mandates within the broad areas of Women's Affairs, Gender Equality and GBV since IPV is a sub-area of GBV. These representatives included a key line Ministry of Women Affairs, a commissioner, IPV law enforcement agents, Victim Friendly Unit, a parliamentary wing of women affairs, and a councillor for Anti-Domestic Violence Council (ADVC). Their strong interest in WEE and IPV issues better positioned them to spell out the invisible issues around the WEE-IPV relationship. Emphasis was placed on specifying, follow-up and probing questions. This helped in getting the interviewees to clarify hidden and less-discussed issues. A few representatives of WEE implementing organisations were selected from the same units of analysis that participated in the survey. The reason for bringing the WEE implementing organisation in the in-depth interviews was for them to provide more details and to shed more light on some of the responses given in the survey and on some key elements of WEE programming.

All interviews were guided by an interview guide to ensure that the answers relate to the study and the guide was structured to give background information on the study's purpose and a brief profile of myself. Following this background narration, questions could then be modelled on the implications of the discoveries of the study on the role of implementing organisations, the nature of their programmes, factors that drove WEE interventions, gaps in funding, and the role that culture and religion play in shaping programmes. These interviews were semi-structured to give practitioners room to comment without limit. Short notes were jotted down during interviews, and then expanded and structured after the individual interviews were conducted.

5.6.3 Content analysis

Content analysis has been defined as the technique of extracting important facts and deriving themes from existing data (Saunders *et al.*, 2016). To partly address the research problem; secondary data was gathered using content analysis of international and regional WEE frameworks, programme documents, routine monitoring reports, and evaluation reports of implementing organisations. This review helped me with better understanding of programmes' structure, their alignment to M&E best practices, and their effectiveness. In this instance, I used content analysis to peruse through, skim, collate and generate themes from existing administrative documents and WEE frameworks.

5.7 DATA ORGANISATION AND ANALYSIS

It has been argued that data analysis is a process used by a researcher to reduce data to familiar language to subsequently tell a story (Smith, 2019). Data collected using methods and tools outlined in the previous section were examined using qualitative and quantitative techniques. Detailed information on data reduction, organisation and analysis is outlined in sub-sections 5.7.1 and 5.7.2 below.

5.7.1 Organisation and analysis of qualitative data

The examination of qualitative findings (mainly interview data) was done through interpreting experiences (conversation analysis) from stories narrated by the participants. The interpretation of experiences was guided by post-structural perspectives that recognised the importance of language and discourse as primary determinants of how people understood themselves, others, and the world (Crowe, 1998). Within this perspective, Beasley (1999) underscored that language is understood as lacking fixed meanings since it is used in particular ways and with particular meanings by dominant social groups. In terms of the significance of language, however, there is no automatic or direct pathway to understanding, as language meanings are shifting, highly contextual, and multiple (Crowe, 1998; Beasley, 1999). Therefore, post-structural researchers seek to avoid essentialist generalisations of participants' experiences and seek instead to focus on the local, subjective, partial, or even contradictory accounts (Hardy, 2012). The work of a post-structural researcher involves readings of text, typically in intensive ways to identify assumptions and locate contradictions and conflicts. This perspective was instrumental in understanding contextual implementation and understanding of WEE interventions in their quest to reduce IPV.

In tracing participants' accounts and experiences, I was partly enabled by thematic analysis defined by Clarke (2020) as a qualitative research analysis technique that focuses on examining themes within collected data. So, conversation analysis was done using ATLAS.ti, a computer assisted software to organise narrative data into categories or themes. In this study, themes were camps of similar sentiments, but not

necessarily identical. Where possible, coding of themes was used for ease of frequency analysis. This technique was also used in analysing descriptive data captured through using digital questionnaires and content analysis. Clarke (2020) claimed that content analysis is both a data collection and data analysis technique. According to Quinlan, content analysis is a diverse domain technique designed to explore and describe qualitative verbal, written and multimedia communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner. Following this revelation, content analysis was used to derive themes from reviewed documents, such as programme documents, monitoring reports, and WEE frameworks. Reporting of interview data was done using codes such as Participants 01 to 20 (**P01 to P20**) as will be illustrated in the next chapter.

5.7.2 Organisation and analysis of quantitative data

With the help of a data scientist, quantitative data was first cleaned through removal of null responses and erroneous data due to typographic errors made by respondents. For example, the value of age more than 100. The cleaned-up data was largely descriptively analysed using frequency analysis to show the absolute and percentage distribution of responses. Then, the Multinomial Logistic Regression Model (MLRM) was used to determine the statistical significance of each of the components of the WEE interventions against their efficacy in reducing IPV. Mazongonda & Mandebvu (2014) noted that MLRM is used when the outcome variable being predicted is nominal and has at least two categories that do not have a given rank or order. Furthermore, this model can be used with any number of independent variables that are categorical or continuous. In this case, the dependent variable was two-fold without a given order (IPV reduction or IPV increment), and there were three independent variables (see Section 6.6). This test was carried out at a 0.01 level of significance (see the results). Both frequency analysis and MLRM were done using version 16.0 of the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) program. Outcomes of the analysis were then presented in the form of tables and graphs for ease of interpretation. To ensure credibility, dependability, replicability, and generalisability of study findings, Saunders *et al.* (2016) advised researchers to adhere to the elements of data quality.

5.8 ELEMENTS OF DATA QUALITY

To ensure the quality of collected and analysed data, four quality standards were taken into consideration; these were, data validity and reliability (for quantitative data), and confirmability and transferability (for qualitative data).

5.8.1 Validity

Validity has been defined as the extent to which data collection methods capture relevant data to answer research questions, and to which the analysis plan is in sync with the study objectives and type of data collected (Saunders *et al.*, 2016). Therefore, validity loosely defines the level of accuracy with which the findings describe the studied phenomena. In a 2018 publication, Yin highlighted that validity was mainly hinged to the research plan (Section 5.3), sampling procedure (Section 5.5) and data collection and analysis methods (Sections 5.6 and 5.7). In that regard, the following issues ensured the validity of the data that was used to answer research questions:

- Data was collected from reliable and specific sources.
- Questionnaires were both pre-tested and pilot-tested before they were distributed to respondents.
- Data collection time was reasonably defined so that no major event influenced the data collection procedure.

Pre-testing was used to ensure that designed questionnaires were interpreted well by respondents. To investigate whether they were capable to precisely capture the data intended to answer research questions, the twin questionnaire was given to three experts in the field of WEE programming to identify and eliminate potential problems. This form of pre-testing refined and removed obscurity in terms of meaning.

After the pre-test, the twin questionnaire was revised and given to a smaller subset of the target population (seven respondents who were not part of the 90 beneficiaries and 30 representatives of the implementing organisations). Respondents were also asked to identify vague points that could have led to misinterpretation of questionnaires. Following this exercise, minor changes were made to the final questionnaires. Overall, pre-testing and pilot-testing helped improve the quality of questionnaires through the mopping and refinement exercise.

5.8.2 Reliability

Scholars such as Saunders *et al.* (2016), Hannington & Martin (2019), and Mays & Pope (2020) share the same view that reliability defines the extent to which data collection methods yielded consistent results. Furthermore, these authors concurred that reliability occurs when one instrument measures the same thing more than once (cross examination) and yields the same results, or when multiple instruments measure the same attribute and yield similar results. As such, reliability has connotations of dependability, consistence, honesty, predictability, and faithfulness as semantic denotations. This assertion was reinforced by Walliman (2017) who indicated that reliability ensures that similar conclusions could be arrived at by other researchers if they were to replicate the study.

To ensure reliability of study findings, this study used the advice given by Hummelbrunner (2010) who argued that in assessing development programmes, reliability is very high when data is gathered from two key stakeholders; that is, from beneficiaries and implementers (see Sub-section 2.6.2). Furthermore, the implementation side was disaggregated to tap the sentiments of all stakeholders that constitute that side. The participants were implementing organisations, government departments, and funding partners (see Sections 5.5 and 5.6). In this study, beneficiaries responded to the questionnaire survey, and implementers responded to the questionnaire survey, with some of them participating as interviewees during the interviews that were held. By using multiple methods to study the same subject from different perspectives, arguably, increased the reliability of the study findings.

5.8.3 Confirmability

Confirmability has been collectively defined by Cropley (2019) and Tracy (2019) as a criterion of trustworthiness that must be established in qualitative research. This criterion seeks to ascertain the level of confidence that a study's findings are based on the participants' narratives and words rather than potential researcher biases. To meet this criterion, my analysis of qualitative data was largely guided by the post-structural perspectives as was explained in Section 5.7.2. Within this perspective I thoroughly read transcribed text to locate contradictions and conflicts, and reduce the influence of the assumptions I had as a researcher with background practice in women

empowerment. In my reporting, I tried as much as possible to balance between participants voices and my voices as a researcher. To this effect, I largely relied on verbatims to back the interpretations on major narrations by participants, and I used my voice on minor narrations (see Chapter 6). Arguably, this study's findings are shaped by participants more so than they are shaped by own interpretation.

5.8.4 Transferability

In qualitative research, transferability can be likened to generalizability or external validity in quantitative research (Hannington & Martin, 2019). It has been argued that it is key for researchers to provide readers with evidence that the research study's findings could be applicable to other contexts, times, and populations (Yin, 2018). In this study, I gave thick descriptions of the research approach in a step-by-step manner to provide readers with a robust and detailed account of my experiences during data collection and analysis. I provided comprehensive answers to the essential questions regarding the collection, organization, presentation, and analysis of data. I further offered a detailed timeline of the research process, highlighting the various stages and sub-stages of the study (see Sections 5.3 and 5.10). This timeline provides a clear structure for the study's execution, helping readers to understand the progression of the study. Arguably, these meticulous details help provide a richer and fuller understanding of the research setting and this information helps readers to construct the scene that surrounded this study. It is against this background that Yin (2028) concluded that such finer details allow outside researchers and readers to make the transferability judgements themselves.

5.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical issues are regarded as rules of contact, typically conforming to a set of principles by which people can judge their actions as right or wrong, and good or bad. Ethical issues have moral implications in social science inquiry (Lindlof & Taylor, 2017; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Respondents and participants were told that taking part in the study was voluntary. All the respondents who served as units of analysis in this study expressed unconditional willingness to share their thoughts regarding the WEE-IPV relationship. So, they accepted to participate at their own free will, without being coerced, deceived or induced to do so. The purpose, objectives and how the results of

the study were to be communicated were explained to participants before they signed the consent forms. I made the consent more operationally defined by being explicit that the study sought to explore the impact of WEE programmes on IPV. Furthermore, permission to get access to participants was sought from relevant authorities and participants themselves and all units of analysis were assured that their thoughts were to be used for academic purposes only.

Since participation was strictly voluntary, it was explained to participants that they had the right to withdraw their participation at any time without fear of any negative repercussions whatsoever during and after the study. Again, participants were informed that they could refuse to answer those questions which they found discomforting, without any negative consequences. As such, I adhered to the advice given by Bell, Harley & Bryman (2022) who maintained that informed consent requires researchers to provide adequate information pertaining to their research studies to prospective participants, to enable them to understand the implications of agreeing to participate and to arrive at informed decisions without being subjected to any form of force or duress.

The respondents' privacy was maintained through anonymising their responses. Therefore, confidentiality was guaranteed through attaching codes rather than real names or identities of the individual participants. It must also be noted that the results were reported in such a way that they did not reveal the identities of the respondents except where consent was sought and granted by the participants within academic and professional ethical limitations. Every respondent was issued with a consent form that was used to check the respondents' understanding of the purpose of the study and to check on their awareness of their rights as participants and to confirm their willingness to take part in the study. I did not disclose any information to individuals or organisations in order to protect the participants. In addition, I took heed of Gray's (2019) advice of avoiding the use of offensive, discriminatory, or unacceptable language in formulating questions for interviews and questionnaire survey. Thus, the two questionnaires and interview guide were all language checked, through pre-testing and pilot-testing, before they were applied.

Part of the data collection period coincided with COVID-19 induced lockdowns where all human interactions were forced to adhere to World Health Organization's (WHO)

protocols. Some of the measures included maintaining reasonable physical distance between people, regular and proper hand washing, and proper wearing of face masks in public. So, during the physical meetings with the participants, myself and participants properly wore facemasks, sanitised their hands, and observed the recommended physical distancing of one and a half meters from one another in line with established WHO protocols. Furthermore, I did not administer any questionnaire or conduct any interview when not feeling well. In the same vein, participants were discouraged to participate in a situation where they were not feeling well or when they were presenting symptoms of COVID-19.

Taking part in the study had the potential of exposing participants to mental, psychological and emotional risks since the issue of IPV is sensitive. With that in mind, the foremost mitigation measure was to let participants know that they had the choice of not answering questions they were uncomfortable with. Additionally, I applied all reasonable measures to ensure their safety and comfort during the conduct of the study. Further, appropriate discussions were conducted to reduce stress or other negative emotions on participants' part, particularly where it was felt that the participants experienced traumatic incidences of IPV. Two professional counsellors were therefore engaged to take care of the participants' immediate emotional distress during the data collection process. There were one male and one female social worker, of which one was also a clinical psychologist. Thus, the participants that required counselling could decide whether they wanted to see a male or female professional. Interestingly, I did not experience any case needing such services during the study.

For further management of emotional distress, a registered counselling services organisation, CONNECT, was also engaged to provide counselling services to individuals who suffered emotional distress during and after data collection, especially where there was a delay in '*spontaneous recovery*' from such emotions. Added to the above team of social workers, I have a postgraduate qualification in social work. Therefore, I was sensitive and deciphered emotional responses. Through my social work skills, I equally minimised the participants' distress during the process of engagement in data collection. So, I endeavoured to assist women to complete questionnaires in a supportive manner, in cases of women that could complete the

questionnaire on their own. In the unlikely event that some of the women participants would be exposed to stress, I had some mechanisms in place. I thus:

- enrolled participants who were no longer in abusive relationships;
- ensured that women were safe from reprisal by letting them complete the questionnaires in privacy;
- mapped a referral pathway through an arrangement to engage two experienced social workers and the CONNECT counselling services organisation; and
- gave the participating women who were threatened of IPV due to their participation in the research, GBV toll-free numbers to call should it be necessary.

5.10 SYNTHESIS OF METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Overall, Figure 5.2 provides a diagrammatic summary of the study design, sources of data used to answer research questions, and sampling procedure, data collection methods, and data analysis techniques used. The study was guided by pragmatism philosophy which is premised on the belief that truth is constantly negotiated, debated or interpreted and must be examined using whatever tools that best suit the given context.

Considering the problem at hand, the mixed methods approach was used since some of the variables characterising the research problem sought to explain its quality, whilst some sought to explain its quantity. Since there is no clear-cut distinction regarding the stage at which mixing takes place in mixed methods studies (Saunders *et al.*, 2016; Copley, 2019; Creswell, 2021), this section explains how and when mixing was considered. As depicted in Figure 5.2, the study was designed using the mixed methods approach. Concerning the nature of the mixed methods approach, data collection was sequential, starting with the collection of data from beneficiaries of WEE interventions, followed by the completion of the questionnaire by implementing organisations, and participation in interviews by stakeholders from the implementation side. Interviews were taken during the last leg to help clarify and specify some of the issues raised during the questionnaire survey. Then, concerning analysis and presentation of results, all issues were concurrently discussed to easily trace similarities, congruencies and differences in findings. All discussions were juxtaposed

with accessible literature and theories to show where findings supported, extended, or contradicted existing knowledge. Data was gathered from two key stakeholders; beneficiaries and implementers using two questionnaires and an interview guide. Then, qualitative data was analysed using conversation and thematic analyses and quantitative data was analysed using frequency analysis and MLRM. Use of multiple methods, arguably, improved the reliability and validity of the study findings.

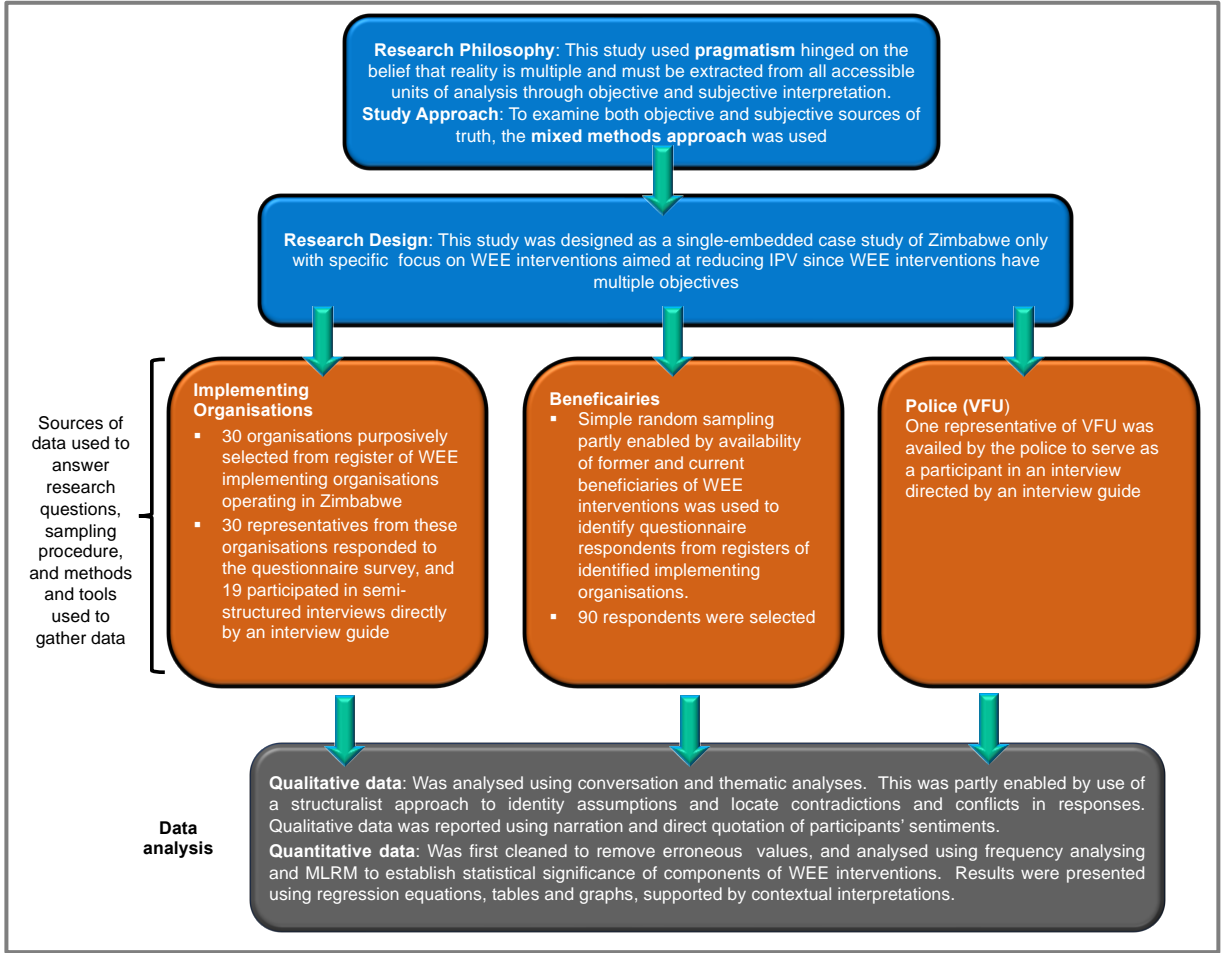


Figure 5.2: Summary of the methodology (Researcher’s analysis, 2022)

It must be noted that research activities are not without their financial implications (Creswell, 2021). All activities undertaken to produce this study were supported by the budget given in Table 5.2 below. The first three years’ academic years of the study were fully funded by a bursary that I was awarded by the University of Free State. The study then extended beyond the bursary time by two academic years that were self-funded. The total budget of carrying out study reduced to US\$16 302 as shown by the itemised activities as shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Research budget

Activity	Description	Cost (US\$)
Internet	36 months internet subscriptions @\$40 per month	1 920
Transport	Travel to and from data collection sites	1 500
Travel to campus	Travel to and from Bloemfontein Campus (two times) @ 800 per trip	1600
Data collection activities	Enumeration fees	1 200
Tuition fee	Three academic years (2019 – 2021)	UFS PhD Tuition Fee Bursary
Tuition fee	Two additional academic years (2022-2023) @ R12 700 per year (approximately US\$1 400)	2 800
Annual registry fee	Four academic years @ 300 per year	1 200
Editor's fees	Editing of the thesis	3 000
Stationary	Bond paper; printing and other utilities	300
Equipment	Laptop, Voice Recording devices,	1 300
Total		14 820
Contingency	Unforeseen events (10% of total)	1 482
Grand Total	Money expended to conduct the research	16 302

Source: Researcher's compilation (2023)

5.11 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This Chapter 5 provided the detailed research approach and strategy used in gathering and analysing data to address the research problem. Essentially, the details relating to the philosophy and paradigm that informed the study design, sampling procedures and processes used, data collection techniques and tools used, and techniques of analysis used, have been unveiled and justified. Issues relating to reliability and validity of the findings of the study and lessons obtained during data gathering and analysis were also discussed. Overall, the foregoing chapter answered the six questions, namely, what, why, where, how, who, and when data on the WEE-IPV relationship in Zimbabwe was collected, collated, presented, and analysed. Since large volumes of varied data were collected with the view of developing a WEE strengthening framework, the following chapter presents study findings and discussions thereof in the context of existing knowledge. The scrutiny of the user data needs would further justify why huge volumes of varied data were collected. This was crucial as this research was a reactionary study to the data needs of different end users.

CHAPTER 6: THE NEXUS BETWEEN WEE AND IPV BASED ON EVIDENCE FROM ZIMBABWE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 discussed the research methodology which established that this study is both positivist and interpretivist nature as expounded in chapter 5.

The core purpose of this chapter is to present and discuss the results obtained from the data analysis. The results are discussed in light of the existing literature. The core objective of this study as stated in Section 1.4, was to assess the interplay between WEE and IPV to with the view of developing of a conceptual model for strengthening and improving WEE interventions and for reducing IPV cases using case data from Zimbabwe. The claim of the relationship between the concept of WEE and IPV has been justified where most accessible studies on women empowerment have indicated that WEE programmes are one of the key strategies for reducing IPV cases. Furthermore, the roll out of WEE programmes has largely been informed by theoretical and empirical perspectives mainly from developed countries and to a lesser extent from developing countries, thereby lacking contextual appropriateness necessary for guiding application that should produce the desired outcomes. In an inquisitive attempt to fill this knowledge gap, previous chapters assembled theoretical explanations, global practices, and the Zimbabwean context regarding WEE aimed at reducing IPV. Furthermore, details on the study approach used was fully discussed in the preceding Chapter 5.

The concern of this chapter is to profile WEE participants in Zimbabwe with the view of improving the understanding of the link between WEE programmes as a development facilitation mechanism and reducing IPV cases which would also be a solution that should promote sustainable human development. This profiling provides a prescriptive and penetrative analysis of WEE in the evolving face of IPV and brings to light the root causes of IPV, women's participation in WEE programmes, sustainability and the effectiveness of WEE interventions in reducing incidences of IPV. As such, this chapter is two thronged; first, it looks at the mapping of IPV and

participation context in WEE interventions at individual level reported from the perspective of beneficiaries, and secondly, it discusses the role of selected organisations and institutions in the implementation of WEE programmes and their impact on reducing IPV cases.

As discussed in the methodology chapter, both qualitative and quantitative approaches were used to present evidence from Zimbabwe in this study. It should further be noted that in Zimbabwe, as is the approach elsewhere, different efforts for mainstreaming WEE in society exist, thus it is a collaborative work between the government, NGOs, business and individuals at all levels to promote an inclusive and whole of society development approach where no one is left behind.

6.2 BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF WEE PROGRAMMES BENEFICIARIES

In this part the socio-economic data of 90 women participants that benefited from WEE interventions, are discussed and illustrated in Table 6.1 below. Details on how and why these women were selected to participate in this study were given in the preceding chapter (see Section 5.5). Specific issues discussed include the age of respondents, their level of education, marriage status, number of children (if they had any), and affiliation status to a women's association. The first column in Table 6.1 shows each of the demographic features according to their clusters. Then, the second and third columns, respectively, show the absolute and percentage distribution of each feature. Compiling demographic data was inspired by Li *et al.* (2021:3) who argued that "... *demographic variables, such as age, gender, education, and income, are essential for understanding and describing sample characteristics in research*". Min *et al.* (2018) further justified the role of biographical data by maintaining that it improves the clarity, trustworthiness, and validity of a study's findings. As such, the skewedness of a study's findings, arguably, depends on the demographic profile of the respondents.

Table 6.1: Demographic data of WEE programmes' participants

Demographic feature	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Age		
15-19	3	3
20-24	6	7
25-29	8	9
30-34	10	11
35-39	15	17
40-44	13	14
45-49	14	16
50-54	6	7
55-59	7	8
60-64	7	8
65-70	1	1
70-74		
Type of marriage		
Customary	45	50
Civil	18	20
Co-habitation	12	13
Not married	15	17
Have children		
Do have Children	86	96
Do not Children	4	4
Number of children		
0	4	4
1	6	7
2	16	18
3	24	27
4	21	23
5	14	16
6	3	3
7	1	1
8	1	1
Race		
Black	89	99
Coloured	1	1
Education level		
Primary School	21	23
Secondary	57	63
Certificate/Diploma	5	6
Degree	7	8
Women association affiliation		
Affiliated to an association	23	26
No affiliation	67	74
TOTAL PER CONSTRUCT	90	100

Results shown in Table 6.1 above suggest that a significant number (58%) of women who benefited from WEE programmes were between the ages of 30 and 49. The

numbers of WEE programme beneficiary participants decreased relatively with the rise in age and the decrease in age of the participants. The number of participants that were aged between 30 and 40 years, showed that these were the ages that women have mainly been participating in WEE programmes targeting the reduction of IPV. Generally, age groups below 30 years and above 50 years constituted insignificant numbers of beneficiaries. Perhaps, younger women were still in more peaceful relationships and many challenges arose where the family would be having more responsibilities associated with a bigger household within the context of minimum resources. Furthermore, at older ages, women would have embraced the challenges associated with marriage leading to low IPV cases and IPV tolerance. Overall, women that responded to this research were between the ages of 15 and 74, and this age group partly tallies with the definition of a woman given Power, Halwani & Soble (2017) who defined a 'woman' as an adult female human person. However, the Constitution of Zimbabwe defines an adult as anyone with at least 18 years of age. This implies that an insignificant percentage (3%) of respondents fall in the group of children, but equally benefited from WEE programmes under review. Viewing the same through the lens of international conventions such as CEDAW, Meyer (2016) argued that CEDAW does not define a woman in terms of age, but uses biological, anatomical, genetic, gender performance, and/or gender identity aspects.

With respect to race, 99% of the participants were black. This finding is in coherence with the racial population characteristics of Zimbabwe because the majority of the people are from the black community. In one discussion session that was held with a representative from a WEE implementing organisation, it was indicated that their main target was the black community due to this community's comparatively high levels of poverty when compared to the White, Coloured and Indian communities residing in Zimbabwe. Most of the WEE implementing agencies implement their programmes in high density areas where low-income groups are found. These areas included Budiriro, Mabvuku and Epworth in Harare, Cowdry Park in Bulawayo, Mkoba in Midlands, and Vhengere and Sakubva in Manicaland. These were some of the areas where I largely collected data from towards achieving the objectives of this study.

This observed and reported reality is supported by Chikukwa & Makuvaza (2019) who voiced that in such communities, participants are more likely to endure social

exclusion, economic hardship, and limited agency. Women who lived in high-density suburbs in Zimbabwe's low-income areas were characterised by significant challenges related to poverty and meagre basic resources. They usually tussled to access education, healthcare, and employment opportunities due to systemic inequalities and limited government support. The Indians, Whites, Coloureds and other middle to high income category blacks predominantly reside in middle to low density suburbs.

A significant number of respondents (63.3%) had attained a general certificate of secondary education, which, in Zimbabwe is commonly known as Ordinary Level, implying that they had reached the bare minimum recognised educational qualification in Zimbabwe. Then, 14% of the respondents attained higher qualifications. So, in basic terms, the participants in the questionnaire sample were universally educated although for deriving meaningful economic activity in Zimbabwe, the tertiary level education would be more effective for job searches. In some societies, the value of women's education was underrated due to cultural norms and conventional gender roles (Charmes, 2019). Jobs create more certain income flows and can provide a base for increased household earnings. As a result, most of the WEE interventions included teaching beneficiaries some skills that could support them as part of their livelihood since most of them had no skills to help them secure better employment opportunities. One reported finding was that education was not often used by WEE implementing organisations or beneficiaries as both often overlooked education as a tool for empowering women. Longwe (1991) posited that women's dearth in education and skills development exacerbates gender inequality. This view on education has been explained by the capabilities theory which argues that if women develop new skills and knowledge, they enhance their employability (Sen, 1999).

It is often observed that WEE implementing organisations prioritised providing financial assistance or promoting entrepreneurship over investing in educational opportunities for women. Furthermore, these organisations largely lacked adequate resources to support comprehensive education programmes which required protracted periods of time of support. In support of this finding, a study by Ali & Tariq (2021) found that a lack of political will, inadequate funding, and partial access to education facilities are among the critical impediments to women's empowerment. The authors also found that this limitation is compounded by other factors such as cultural, social, and

patriarchal practices, and a generalised view that women were as not deserving of equal chances as men.

This study also found that 70% of the respondents were married (50% customarily; 20% registered). In Zimbabwe, both customary and civil marriages are recognised in law, although civil marriage provides more benefits and security to women than customary marriage. Interestingly, almost all the respondents had between 2 to 5 children, implying that they had responsibilities of raising the children.

The inquiry about respondents' affiliation to women associations helped establish the major activities of these associations and their contribution in empowering women towards IPV reduction, both as an agent and a beneficiary. According to Kabeer (2021), women associations play a critical role in promoting women's empowerment and in advancing gender equality because they provide a platform for women to voice their concerns, mobilise resources, and advocate for policies and programmes that address their needs and interests. In this study, only 26% of the respondents were affiliated to women's associations. It can be seen from these results that most beneficiaries included in the study were not part of any women association besides the WEE programmes they benefited from. Associations are, by their nature, significant for socialisation, and they are good entry points for advocacy and broadening access to opportunities and agency for the representation of defined interests. One participant representing a WEE implementing organisation revealed that, in most communities in Zimbabwe, women who were taking part in associations were often perceived as wayward, unstable, and not loyal to their husbands. Those unsubstantiated assertions are usually directed to those affiliated with political associations and women's rights groups. Furthermore, it revealed that such negative views were sometimes influencing divorces among married women as they were viewed as incompatible with their husbands, and in some instances, as being '*unfaithful*' to their husbands.

Common names of the associations that respondents were affiliated to include Emthonjeni Women's Forum (EWF), Zimbabwe Women and Lawyers Association (ZWLA), Silundika Family Foundation (SFF), and Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCZ). Whereas these names were mentioned, some women noted that they also belonged to political parties where they also got support as part of women groups within such parties. These associations mainly catered for different classes of women.

For example, WCZ has one specific cluster on WEE that caters for grassroots women. Some respondents participate through WEE implementing organisations affiliated to WCZ. WCZ is a network of women's rights entities aimed at advancing gender parity and women's empowerment in Zimbabwe. The coalition participates in activism, capacity building, and research to operationalise policies and legislation that promote women's rights in Zimbabwe (Mawere & Dube, 2013). None of the women respondents belonged to the association called PROWEB (a business women's forum) since it mainly caters for professional women and women executives. This observation shows that WEE programmes are not homogenous across society but regard empowerment as a continuous, multi-stakeholder, and cross-cutting process, cognisant of the different economic interests of women of different economic classes.

There are some women associations around the world which play a role that resonates to those implemented by WCZ. These organisations are, for example: the National Organization for Women (NOW) which is one of the largest feminist associations in the USA, with over 500 000 members and 550 clusters; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) from Switzerland that was founded in 1915 and has national sections in over 40 countries; and the African Women's Development Fund (AWDF) from Ghana which gives grants that supports women's rights organisations and movements across Africa as argued in Mawere & Dube (2013). AWDF has actively presented more than US\$41 million in grants to at least 1 300 WEE organisations in 42 African nations. Dube and Mawere (2019) have indicated that women associations create opportunities for networking and knowledge sharing, including providing access to resources that may not have been afforded to individuals.

6.3 PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF WEE PROGRAMMES AND IPV AMONG PARTICIPANTS

This section dissected the concept of IPV and placed much emphasis on the causes of IPV, the forms IPV takes on, and forms in which one partner controls the other. It was of the utmost importance to understand the similarities, differences, and congruencies in the case data by using accessible theoretical explanations and literature.

6.3.1 Root causes of IPV

Figure 6.1 below, classifies reported causes of IPV in Zimbabwe. Five key causes for IPV were identified as extended family, nucleus family, infidelity, step-parenting, and finances.

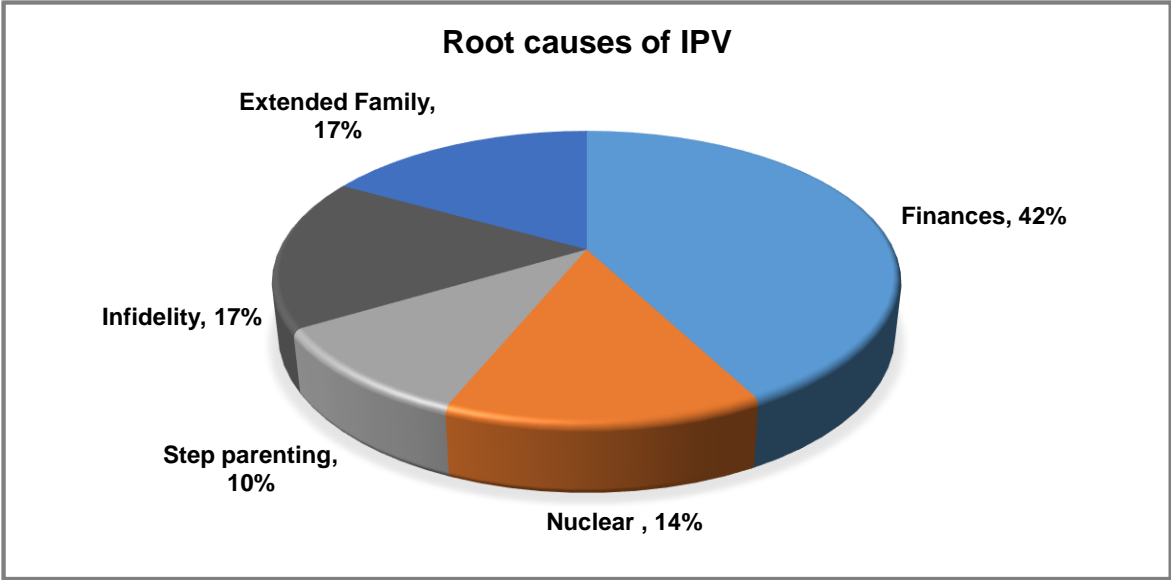


Figure 6.1: Root causes of IPV

Of all the identified causes, financial issues stood out with 42% of respondents. Extended family and infidelity stand 17% followed by Nucleus family which with 14% respondents and lastly step parenting indicated by 10% of the respondents. This finding partly justifies why WEE interventions have been pushed as a remedy to the reduction of IPV. For example, scholars such as Page & Czuba (1995), Melhem, Morrell & Tandon (2009), and Kabeer (2012) have argued that WEE is one of the vehicles used to reduce IPV since it is largely driven by financial issues. However, in as much as this study focused on the role of WEE in reducing IPV, it recognised that there are many other causes that must be given research consideration. Arguably, focusing on one strategy to reduce IPV may not be as effective as anticipated because a combination of factors that causes IPV may be at play.

The general perspective though is that finances are at the centre of IPV. In that respect, study respondents opined that a lack of finances, especially from their intimate partners, was the primary source of IPV. This is synonymous with sentiments from other research studies. For example, Klugman, Hanmer, Twigg, Hasan, McCleary-Sills

& Santamaria (2014) have contended that governing one's partner's right to use money and resources can lead to dependency and a power imbalance, consequently enabling perpetuation in many forms of abuse such as physical violence, emotional abuse, and sexual coercion. However, gathered evidence suggests that in Zimbabwe, there are women who depend on their male counterparts for almost everything. This is also theorised in the feminist theory where women are subjugated by structural forms of relations between men and women eventually relegating women to be controlled and totally dependent on their male counterparts to the extent that abuse has likely been normalised. This feminist theoretical perspective resonates with Turner & Maschi's (2015) position that the second-rate status passed on to women is a result of societal discrimination that the personal status of women is shaped by unequal social power relations.

Infidelity and extended family issues are the next top drivers of IPV as was revealed by some respondents. Besides having a love affair with someone in the neighbourhood, whenever there are extramarital affairs, it was usually visible among partners that their commitment to their primary household was diminishing especially where the partner already had limited resources. The extended family also meant constraints to the minimum resources available to the household especially where care for the extended family members was not well communicated and agreed to by the partners. Then, in the nucleus family, sometimes the children could be the main cause of IPV in the household. It often happens in Zimbabwe that children become drug and substance addicts or become involved in gambling to the extent that they either sell household resources or wares without consent. This issue is that the mother is usually the person to whom the problem is attributed to, which could cause occurrence of IPV. Lastly, step-parenting was identified as a source of IPV where a biological parent uses emotions to interpret how one handles the child who is not biologically theirs. Root causes of IPV revealed by this study clarify IPV driving factors not covered in past studies by others. For example, Dupas & Robinson (2013), and Hidrobo, Hoddinott, Koch & Ahmed (2019) used case data from Philippines and Bangladesh respectively to explain characteristics of WEE programmes designed to reduce cases of IPV without pointing out its root causes. A full understanding of root causes revealed by this study is crucial in designing WEE programmes that are in consonant with IPV driving factors. This realisation is in sync with the long-held adage that *'cause and*

effect are two sides of the same fact'. Arguably, WEE programmes are fairly effective if they designed in context of IPV driving forces and the effects they pose on women. In the next section the common forms of violence reported by respondents are discussed.

6.3.2 Forms of IPV experienced

Figure 6.2 below, provides a diagrammatic summary showing the distribution of the major forms of violence faced by women in their relationships. It was revealed that emotional and economical violence are the two top forms of violence experienced by women in Zimbabwe. Another notable issue with regards to the reported realities is that sexual abuse and physical abuse were comparably experienced less among the participant women when compared to other forms of violence. Classical scholar, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) found that men and women differed not only in diversity but also in the natural hierarchy and pointed out that women were weak in the physical, intellectual, and emotional domains.

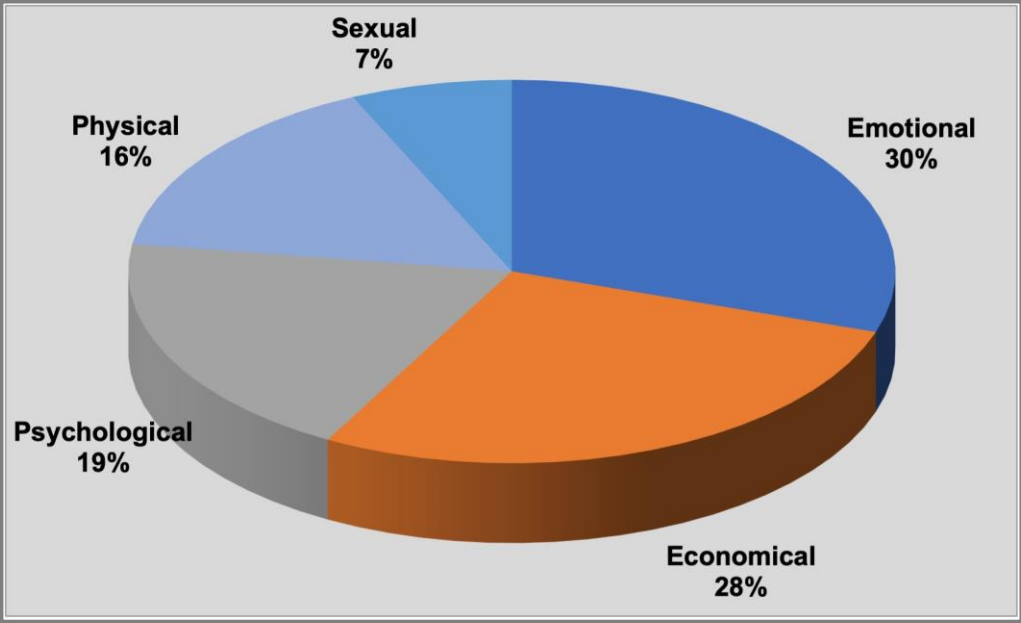


Figure 6.2: IPV experienced by respondents

The respondents indicated experiencing five types of IPV, most respondents 30% showed emotional violence followed by economic violence which had 28% of respondents. Psychological violence stood at 19%, at third position followed by physical violence at 16% and lastly sexual violence indicated by 7% of the

respondents. Low statistics on sexual abuse and physical violence could be attributed thereto that these forms of abuse are denounced almost everywhere in Zimbabwe and are easily reported to the national enforcement agents. Study findings suggest that cases of sexual abuse and physical violence are not the same with the other three major forms of IPV, which are not easily reported for recourse. Existing laws that largely denounced physical and sexual violence, combined with prohibitive jail terms, have played a major role in the reduction of these types of IPV. However, emotional, economic and psychological violence were on the rise because they were difficult to report to law enforcement agencies for recourse. In support of the earlier alluded observation, it has been commonly noted that there is a trend of rising cases of economic and emotional abuse as forms of IPV in Zimbabwe. The Musasa Project (2019) supports this living reality by reporting that there has been a substantial increase in cases of economic abuse, including financial restrictions, property deprivation, and forced labour among IPV survivors. Nduna, Mutambirwa & Chikunda (2020) agree when they asserted that emotional and psychological abuse, were the most common forms of IPV experienced by women in Zimbabwe, followed by physical and sexual abuse.

6.3.3 Violence as a form of control

Having identified the causes and forms of violence within relationships, a further inquiry into the degree or extent of violence was made to bring to light the severity of reported issues. By revealing this severity, it was sought to derive women’s perspectives on whether their participation in WEE programmes was driven due to circumstances at home or if they just wanted to improve their livelihoods. The percentage distribution in Table 6.2 below, shows the overall level of spousal control of partners involved in IPV.

Table 6.2: Overall spousal control of partners involved in IPV

Overall Level of Control of Partner	Percentage (%)
No Control	29
Minimal	17
Average	34
Extreme	20
Total	100

Study results revealed that most of the participants that also partook in WEE programmes experienced an average level of control from their spouses. The instrumental truth is that 81% of these participants experienced some form of control, but to a varying degree. Only 29% of WEE participants indicated that their partners had no control at all over their active participation in WEE interventions. This confirms that, generally, most women were being controlled in their relationships considering that only 17% of participants were not married. This thus implies that some married women were also not experiencing control from their partners. It is important to further note that, being married or not could not exonerate someone from experiencing IPV. In Zimbabwe, patriarchal norms are deeply entrenched in cultural practice that propagates IPV and discrimination against women. This means marriage cannot be regarded as a shield against IPV, instead, it can be a pathway to IPV as long as the male counterpart supports the patriarch tradition. This sad reality was well put across by Gwaze & Lewis (2017) who voiced that, in Zimbabwe, patriarchal norms and beliefs have reached a point of regularising and vindicating IPV.

In that respect, the cultural modernity theory argues that patriarchal practices can contribute to IPV in societies that are transitioning from traditional to modern values because modern gender roles have created more opportunities for women. This development has led to the displacement of men and the loss of their traditional roles as bread winners. It should be noted that this phenomenon happens in the contexts where patriarchy is deeply engrained as a norm. For example, a study by Fontes and McCloskey (2011) found that patriarchal beliefs were associated with increased risk of IPV among women in Mexico. Similarly, Gupta (2019) argued that cultural modernity has led to new forms of patriarchy that perpetuated IPV. However, Jewkes *et al.* (2015) gave contrary evidence arguing that cultural modernity can also provide opportunities for challenging patriarchal norms and for promoting gender equality, which can help prevent IPV. Overall, the cultural modernity theory suggests that IPV cannot be understood in isolation from broader cultural practices and norms. The next question begging an answer revolves around the aspects driving male control over their spouses.

6.3.4 Characterising drivers of control tendencies

Pursuant to male control over their spouses, the distribution of aspects leading to control clarify the invisible threads that knit and weave control by partners involved in IPV. Arguably, pointers to the areas of control partly sets the scene for prescribing workable recommendations. Five instruments that appear to be the key drivers of control are indicated in Figure 6.3 below. These are finances, movement, children, livelihood and social networks.

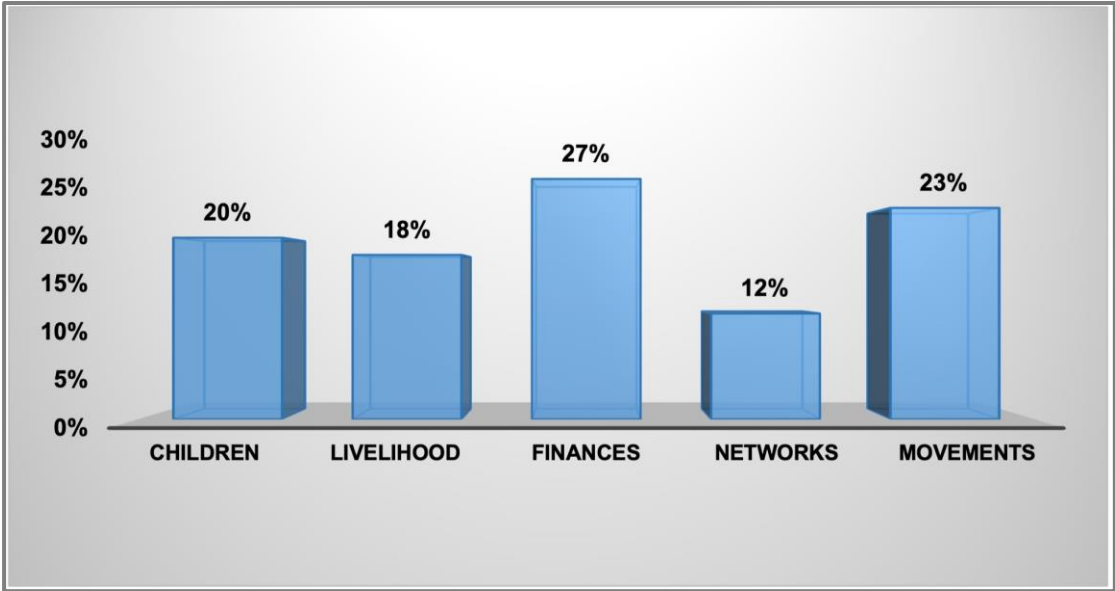


Figure 6.3: Instruments used for control

Under Section 6.3.1 it was noted that financial issues stood out as the biggest cause of IPV amongst the respondents. Here, it is clear that finances are the biggest key driver (27%) for control above the other forms of control indicated in Figure 6.3. This could imply that financial control sparks financially driven IPV. In addition, 23% of the respondents had their movements primarily monitored and curtailed by their intimate partners. In that respect, their movements were primarily tied to social networks, although, the social networks had the least proportion (12%) of participants whose lives were controlled in that regard. In terms of control over interaction with children, this study focused on situations where the spouse could go out with the children and what the spouse can do with the children. Arguably, control over livelihoods, finances and movement partly disempower women who may not be able to explore options that appear open. Similarly, at least three decades ago, Hasenfeld (1987) concluded that empowerment is based on the idea that people's ability to improve their lives depends

on their ability to influence their environment. So, when control is exacerbated over women, their ability to influence their environments is compromised. Four decades later, a 2014 report by the United Nations on WEE used case data from Asia to support Hasenfeld's conclusion by acknowledging that, for women to accrue economic benefits, they must have the potential to take action on choices that enabled them to access resources and proceeds that came from economic activities.

Nonetheless, participant **P11** revealed that once the partner was satisfied that the spouse was interacting with good (trustworthy) networks and that her movements were transparent, and the proceeds from the livelihoods were declared to the partner, the level of control would decrease. These results show that participants had more than one controlled aspect in their lives although the area they experienced control the most was that of finances. It is, therefore, imperative that spouses are empowered economically as one of the first steps towards emancipating women from the challenge of IPV. Regarding financial controls, some of the intimate partners would even start taking control of the finances/funds generated by their spouses through WEE programmes, thereby impacting the sustainability of the projects being undertaken by beneficiaries. It has been reported in some sections of literature that where women were generating income, their husbands would exercise strong coercive behaviours (Schuler & Nazneen, 2018). I concur with this assertion as some participants also confirmed this nuance. I found it therefore, prudent to dissect WEE interventions being used to reduce IPV in Zimbabwe. Assessing their structure, opportunities they present to women, financial and other benefits they present, and their effectiveness exposed gaps in programming, and provides a point of entry in improving their effectiveness.

6.4 REALITIES AROUND WEE INTERVENTIONS IN ZIMBABWE

This segment presents issues around the nature, duration, sustainability and contribution of WEE interventions to the beneficiaries' well-being. The main concern of this segment is to ascertain whether WEE programmes are compelling enough for long-term durability and for prolonged positive outcomes and impacts.

6.4.1 Types of WEE programmes in Zimbabwe

This sub-section profiles WEE programmes that respondents have been or are part of. Table 6.3 below indicates four programmes that respondents have been or are part of, namely IPV reduction, livelihoods, entrepreneurial training and formal education. It must be noted that the questionnaire survey was sent to 90 respondents, but that some respondents participated in one or more programmes. As such, a total of 174 responses were established due to multiple counting.

Table 6.3: WEE programmes women partook in

Programme	Frequency	Percentage (%)
IPV Reduction	23	16
Livelihoods	66	45
Entrepreneurial Training	50	34
Formal Education	8	5
Total	174	100

According to Table 6.3 above, among the WEE programmes that were being implemented in Zimbabwe most of the women participated in livelihoods and entrepreneurship-related programmes (45% and 34%, respectively). This can partly be explained by the proposition of Ranganathan, Pichon, Hidrobo, Tabet, Sintayehu, Tadesse & Buller (2022) that cash transfers reduced IPV although less was known about the impacts of public works and complementary programmes on IPV. In this study, entrepreneurship was used to mean the start-up of new ‘small’ businesses sometimes referred to as firms. It must be further noted that business activity includes innovative actions by firms or individuals, such as the formation of new products or the servicing of existing products. Having a significant number of programmes oriented to enterprise development is partly informed by the fact many women suffer financially-related IPV and financial control as reported in Section 6.3 of this study. On the other hand, participation was minimal in IPV reduction and formal education inclined programmes. It was unclear why participation was very low in other programmes. However, Longwe (1991) contended that participation must not be symbolic but must be an active and significant involvement where women have rights to use resources, have decision-making influence, and have control over their survival. Finally, only 5% of the total respondents were involved in programmes that included formal education. Considering the circumstantial difficulties associated with the value of education amidst

poverty and inflation in Zimbabwe, more people are prone to nominate for programmes that may promise quick solutions to their financial challenges.

One key informant, participant **P02**, representing WEE implementing organisations, shed more light on the nature of livelihood interventions since they attract many women. This participant revealed that they recently ventured in fisheries where women were encouraged to participate in a tourism-related venture. In this case, women were taught to rear and sell fish. Traditionally, this venture had not been associated with women participants. These sentiments are a true image that WEE programmes are not static but are designed to cater for emerging needs and opportunities that appear open to empower women.

Further, in addition to all these interventions, the WEE implementing organisations also offer many services to IPV victims through static and mobile one-stop centres. Services include counselling, legal support, access to medical care and referrals to higher levels of care. In addition, implementing organisations and relevant government departments provided temporary shelters if the need arose as well as transport to facilitate the movement of victims. Finally, public education and awareness of IPV services are also among the support systems the WEE organisations provided. Could the duration that beneficiaries partake in WEE programmes translate to the extent to which they benefit? In the next section answers to this instrumental question are provided.

6.4.2 Time of active participation and its bearing on benefits realised

It has been argued that the time beneficiaries took in a programme helped evaluate the impact of the programme (Kabeer, 2012). This conclusion inspired me to make an inquiry into how long respondents have been part of WEE interventions. However, the duration of programmes is dependent on its nature and design. This implies that short programmes could indicate that more support was required whereas lengthier programmes did not require so much support. The percentage line graph in Figure 6.4 below, shows the amount of time respondents have been part of WEE interventions.

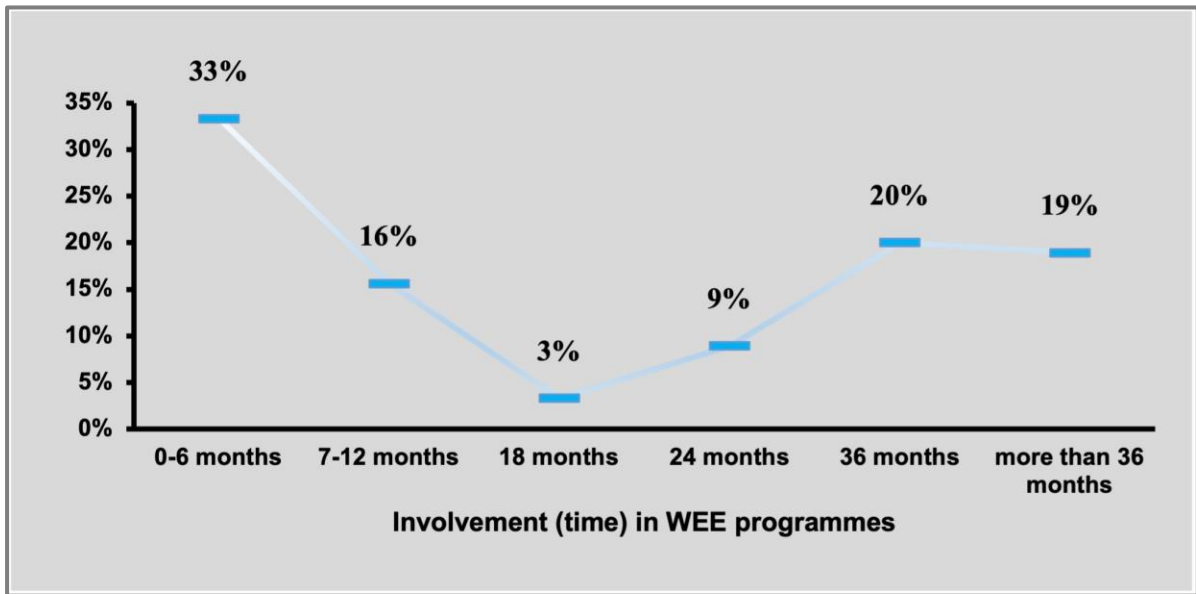


Figure 6.4: Percentage line graph showing length of time in WEE programmes

Gathered evidence suggest that the majority of beneficiaries were within their first six months of participation in WEE programmes. Then, that a total of 39% of the participants have been beneficiaries for at least three years. Results shown in Figure 6.4 also suggests that the participants were at different levels of the programming calendar, and that they were involved in different types of programmes. Time of active participation alone may thus not be a good indicator of the impact of a programme. In as much as lengthy durations of participating in a programme could help in building confidence and acceptability, Altschuler (2018) contends that factors such as the level of engagement and benefits realised are critical to consider when assessing the impact of an intervention.

6.4.3 Level of participation in WEE programmes

A one-to-four Likert scale was used to measure the level of participation of respondents in WEE programmes, where one represented low and four represented the highest level of participation. The spirit and purpose of this inquiry was to establish whether participants were firmly planted in and by the WEE programme. Results of this inquiry are summarised diagrammatically in Figure 6.5.

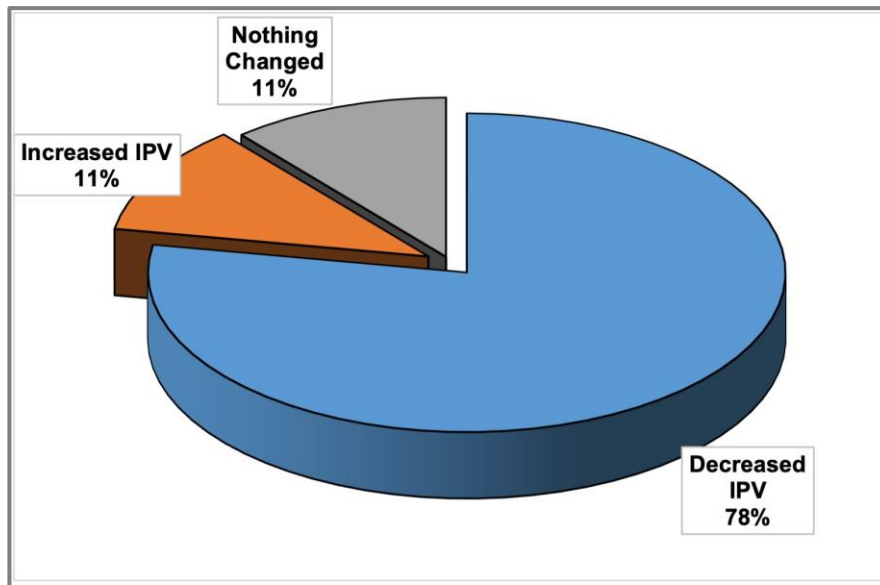


Figure 6.5: Level of participation in WEE programmes

The majority of participants classified themselves to be in the upper tier (average and high), meaning that their level of participation was average and high. Specifically, 44% and 38% were respectively ranked at the average-level and high-level participants, while 11% and 7% were on the minimal participation level. The participants who indicated that their participation was minimal and low, could have replied that way as they may have been facing obstacles to participate in the WEE programmes. It is furthermore likely that, as 44% of the respondents indicated that their participation was average, this may point out that participation may not be easy considering the nature of the programmes. This could also be the case with those respondents who said their participation was high. Literature indicates that while participation in these programmes was important, there was a need to address limitations and obstacles to women participating in them. For example, there is a belief that women have multiple cultural and household related duties that impacted on their ability to participate meaningfully in the economy (Kabeer, 2018).

Qualitative findings from the study also showed that there were cultural and religious issues impeding full participation. For example, participant **P03** brought up the issue of culture religion as an impediment to full participation by women. This finding is supported by the findings of a study conducted by Wanner & Ghimire (2019:12) who found that "... cultural norms and gender stereotypes continue to limit women's participation in economic activities". This is very true, apart from the primary resources

availed to participants, WEE interventions availed many other resources to ensure realisation of their stated and implied objectives. These impediments are rife in Zimbabwe among women, especial to those who belong to the minority religious and or cultural groups. Minimal participation recorded may be as result of those women who attend WEE programmes without the consent of their partners; in most cases such participants would withdraw their participation upon them being discovered.

6.4.4 Resources availed to participants of WEE programmes

Beneficiaries were asked a question to find out which resources were being availed to them. The responses are shown in Table 6.4 below.

Table 6.4: Resources provided by the programme

Classes of Resources	Percentage
Financial	20
Technical	55
Starter products	16
Formal education	10
Total	100

The findings show that 20% of the beneficiaries indicated that financial resources were provided by the programme while 10% indicated that formal education was a resource provided by the programme. Interestingly, in as much as beneficiaries joined WEE programmes with the view of getting a financial cushion, they indicated that technical support was a major resource they were getting from being programme participants. This implies that the participants valued a lifetime skill over financial benefits that could easily vanish. Technical support mainly takes the form of product development and manufacturing. The International Labour Organisation [ILO] (2020) advanced that technical support is central to WEE as it provides women with essential skills and knowledge to get ahead in male-oriented trade, which results in increased chances for women. One key informant, Participant **P11** mentioned that women were involved in value addition and beneficiation, fish farming, mining and tourism. These trades were previously known to be male-oriented economic activities. Generally, it is observed that a technically skilled person exudes confidence in a specific technical area. By enhancing the technical skills of the women with WEE programmes, stereotypes are broken which would inherently improve women's sense of control of their lives.

Some participants from organisations that implemented WEE programmes noted that beneficiaries who joined interventions with some background in technical skills normally faced challenges in accessing capital through the formal market system due to a lack of collateral security. In order for women to be meaningfully engaged in economic activities, Longwe (1991) argued that access to credit and other financial resources is essential. Regardless of the importance placed on technical and financial resources, they were heavily impacted by the general economic meltdown in the country. For example, high inflation rates would make it difficult for beneficiaries to recover their operational costs and allow them to move forward. Recently, Ahmed, Wahab, Afridi & Qureshi (2020) advised that technical support was not adequate to empower women in development projects without complementary financial and educational support. The best suggestion would thus be to harmonise financial and educational support with technical assistance to promote sustained participation in development initiatives. This advice was reinforced by Doss & Kieran (2018) who maintained that the prominence of capacitating women with technical abilities, entry to markets, and financial means provided them with a ‘*catch-all*’ package to economically succeed. Unfortunately, whereas markets were being created for the beneficiaries, their sustainability was not guaranteed because of the different dynamics that surrounded women who were involved in intimate partnerships.

6.4.5 WEE-IPV nexus: critical review

Participation in WEE programmes was expected to bring diverse benefits, although that should also be bordering on reducing IPV. Table 6.5 below, provides a quick summary of the benefits realised by beneficiaries.

Table 6.5: Derived benefits

Benefits	Percentage (%)
Economic independence	24
Emotional freedom	38
Improved assertiveness	30
Reduced IPV	8
Total	100

Emotional freedom scored highest as part of the benefits of participation in WEE programmes, with 38% of the participants agreeing thereto. This was followed by improved assertiveness and economic independence characterised by 30% and 24% of the respondents respectively. This implies that even though the primary objective of rolling out WEE interventions was to reduce IPV, results proved otherwise. Further, in as much as economic independence, emotional freedom and improved assertiveness are important, WEE programmes were not realising their intended primary objective. As such, the current structure of WEE interventions is weak as was reflected in their failure to reduce IPV as desired. It is possible that IPV could be reduced in the medium to long term, whereas other benefits could be realised straight after programme implementation.

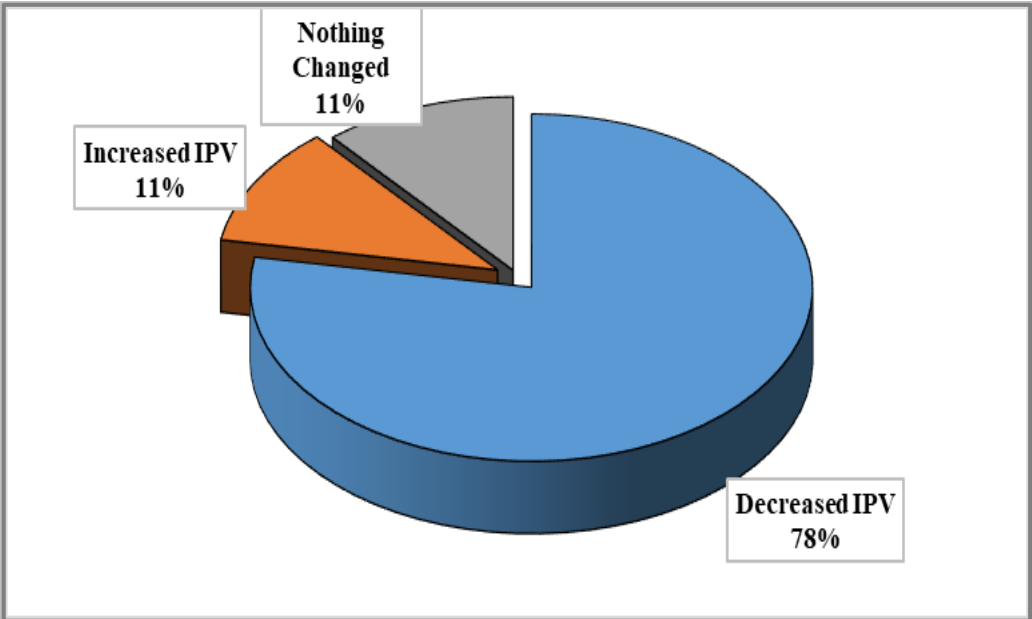


Figure 6.6: Effects of WEE on IPV

Since the main concern of WEE programmes is the reduction of IPV cases, a cross examination was carried out to better understand the interplay between the two issues under study. Holding other issues constant, Figure 6.6 above, shows the impact of involvement in WEE programmes on IPV. Three key realities were reported; namely, whether there was a decrease in IPV, whether there as an increase in IPV, or whether the incidence of IPV did not change from what it was prior to active participation in WEE programmes.

Of the participants, 78% indicated that their involvement in WEE programmes led to a decrease in IPV in their respective relationships. This, somehow, suggests that WEE interventions played a pivotal role in reducing IPV, assuming absence of other factors. Though reduction of IPV cases was not identified as the chief benefit, there was a significant reduction in IPV cases reported by the respondents. Then, 11% of the respondents reported that there was an increase in IPV cases following their participation in WEE interventions while the remaining 11% saw no change. From the cross examination between the two issues, it is clear that an ideal situation would have been experiencing a reduction in IPV cases. However, the interplay between the issues also illustrated that some intimate partners were becoming more violent due to the increase in their partner's assertiveness, economic independence and psychological freedom. Behaviours associated with these freedoms were thus leading to a rise in IPV cases, or just a lack of change in IPV. Similarly, Gandhi (2021) argued that in some contexts, economic empowerment contributed to an upsurge in IPV. Further investigation and understanding of the dynamics that were influencing those eventualities were prompted. Some of the influential reasons could be that some partners were drug addicts and alcoholics, while others had personalities that could be attributed to psychological factors.

In a study on how public works intervened in reducing IPV conducted in Ethiopia, Ranganathan *et al.* (2022) concluded that having productive activities may be viewed through three pathways. Pathway 1 increases beneficiaries' emotional well-being, thereby reducing IPV. Pathway 2 is premised on the belief that by having productive activities, beneficiaries were taken away from home which would reduce the possible opportunities for quarrels and conflict. The same study also showed that providing women with activities caused them to become financially more independent and more able to succeed. Pathway 3 acknowledges that economic empowerment alone does not automatically translate to reduction in IPV. IPV reduction is a function of the male partner's reaction to his spouse's new status and position. Therefore, WEE for IPV reduction programmes should pay attention to these interrelated nuisances in the design implementation and researches on WEE programmes for IPV reduction.

From another angle and quite on the contrary; interventions attributed to WEE programmes could end up openly challenging traditional gender roles. Instead, then of

reducing IPV, it could lead to repeated and increased violence if the role of men as the primary income source for their households was challenged by their partners who were also now neglecting their household chores. These could be the unintended effects of an intervention and it could be a contributing reason why WEE programmes in Zimbabwe failed to yield the expected results of reducing IPV optimally. As it was critical for this study to ascertain the level of importance that was attached by beneficiaries to WEE programmes towards reducing IPV, Table 6.6 below presents the data on the view of level of importance of WEE in reducing IPV.

Table 6.6: Importance of WEE programmes in reducing IPV

WEE programme’s importance in reducing IPV cases in Zimbabwe.	Percentages
Minimal	3
Low	14
Average	51
High	32
Total	100

According to the participants, 51% and 32% of them indicated that they placed an average and high value on WEE programmes as agents of reducing IPV respectively. These two variables jointly attracted 83% of responses, while the remainder of the participants expressed minimal and low progress in the reduction of IPV due to WEE programmes. This implies that these participants attributed a reduction in IPV cases to interventions other than WEE. Regarding economic and/or financial benefits, a further inquiry into the average monthly income realised by beneficiaries directly resulting from active participation in WEE programmes was made.

6.4.6 Monthly income earned by beneficiaries of WEE programmes

Since WEE programmes sought to stabilise beneficiaries’ financial status, it was found prudent to review their average monthly incomes. Representatives from WEE implementing organisations revealed that programmes were implemented to assist women in having their economic capacities improve with the expectation that with such economic benefits, women would be economically more independent and subsequently achieve psychological and social freedoms. The bar graph in Figure 6.7 below shows the distribution of beneficiaries’ average monthly income that was coming directly from participating in WEE programmes.

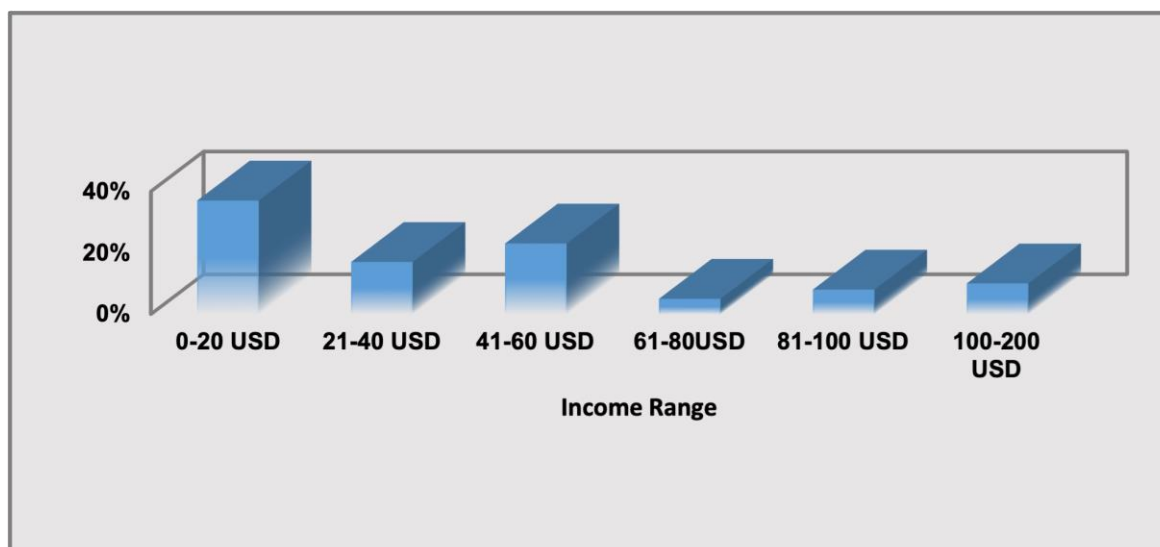


Figure 6.7: Monthly income earned by WEE participants

Overall, the maximum average monthly income resulting from WEE interventions was US\$200 per beneficiary. A significant percentage (84%) of beneficiaries earned US\$60 at most. According to ZIMSTAT (2023), the Poverty Datum Line (PDL) in Zimbabwe was estimated to be ZWL29 219 (approximately US\$36) per person per month while the Basic Needs Food Basket (BNFB), a measure of the monthly cost of a nutritionally adequate diet for an average household, was estimated at ZWL22 193 (approximately US\$28) in January 2023. These figures highlighted the significant economic challenges many Zimbabwean households face, and particularly with reference to those living in poverty. With the monthly income declared by respondents as profit from their various projects, it shows that many women would not be able to cope financially if they had to only rely on income from WEE interventions as it was too little and since that income was meant to cover other financial needs of their families.

A further inquiry into variances in reported incomes exposed a number of explanatory factors. These include the type of project that the women were involved in and the impact of inflation since some of the projects were using local currency. Due to the inflation of Zimbabwe, partners supporting some of the interventions pulled out, this, coupled with the astronomical inflation, proved to be a major challenge for the sustainability of the projects. Chirinda (2019:168) used a case of vending to bring to light how “... the protracted inflationary environment in Zimbabwe has eroded the profits of vendors, making it difficult for them to sustain their businesses”. To earn a slightly higher income some women indicated that they were involved in more than one

project. Other projects naturally had low returns causing women to be involved in different projects even where the same WEE organisation was supporting them.

Time, i.e., for how long the participants have been taking part in the WEE programmes, is an important factor when the earning capacity of participants is considered (see Sub-section 6.4.2), as some participants have been benefitting from the WEE programmes for long. And although new participants would be empowered, those who could have started participating in WEE programmes a long time ago were likely to be better empowered.

6.4.7 Sustainability of WEE programmes

Most development projects are designed with an exit strategy to ensure their sustainability. Generally, sustainability of projects means the ability of projects to retain outcomes over a long period of time. In the same vein, Rieckmann (2017) viewed sustainability as the capacity to remain producing intended benefits for the beneficiaries. A key principle that enables production of benefits is to ensure that beneficiaries who participate in these programmes can be part of decision-making. This calls for teaching the beneficiaries to identify issues, and contextualize and communicate their experiences (Morfaw, 2011). Table 6.7 below, shows the percentage of WEE programmes that stood the test of sustainability.

Table 6.7: Continuity of WEE programmes after their life

Did you continue with WEE programmes?	Percentage
Programme continuation	38
Program discontinuation	62
Total	100

The data in Table 6.7 shows that 38% of the participants continued with their programmes after the WEE implementing organisation exited the programme, and 62% of the participants did not continue. Where programmes were handed over to government departments or where government departments were involved, continuity of the programmes usually existed. However, most programmes that did not involve government departments died a natural end after their scheduled life. This could be attributed thereto that government departments usually have permanent structures

throughout the country, thus they had the logistics and support to keep the WEE programmes in place. Unfortunately, gathered evidence revealed that the exit strategy of many of the studied programmes was seriously questionable since most of the beneficiaries failed to continue with their initiatives after their scheduled NGO support life. Akram-Lodhi (2018) concluded that many implementing organisations often lacked the capacity, coordination, and accountability to ensure sustainability of their interventions.

6.5 SYNTHESIS OF THE IPV-WEE RELATIONSHIP

Evidence presented in the preceding sections confirms that WEE initiatives are a good panacea for IPV reduction. Nevertheless, it became clear that, whereas the participants' agency was enhanced through these WEE programmes, this enhancement did not automatically translate to women being able to use their agency to stand up against IPV. It must be further noted that agreeing is not the same as implementing or experiencing the linkage between IPV and WEE in real life. To give a better idea of why IPV are ongoing even though women continue to take part in WEE programmes, the reality of these participants' lives must be investigated. Culminating evidence has shown that WEE programmes mainly reduce IPV related to finances among the partners. It has also been revealed that respondents were able to independently deduce the differences in the roles of WEE programmes relative to IPV in practice. Furthermore, the study found that women have different opinions regarding the view that WEE does not have the inherent power to transform the perpetrator's mind from violence, but, to a large extent, these women subscribe to this view. This is because most WEE programmes are mostly female-dominated, whereas the perpetrator is male. Thus, there is minimum potential for the programmes to impact male perpetrators directly and positively, except indirectly through female WEE beneficiaries.

Since WEE initiatives do not have the inherent potential to shift the mindset of the perpetrator, some way to deal with such a mindset as well as empowering women must be found. Murwira & Chirwa (2019) posited that the work of the Padare/Ekundleni men's forum has been fruitful in challenging destructive gender customs and upholding progressive transformations in the lives of men, women, and children in Zimbabwe. This proposition was reinforced by Kaufman, Kimmel & Messner (2018) who agreed

that such forums addressed harmful gender norms and encouraged men to support women's rights and prevent gender-based violence. This may mean that the involvement of perpetrators of violence in the programmes can be very useful if IPV is to be reduced significantly. The revealed association between WEE and IPV was recently confirmed by Hailemariam & Gebremariam (2021) who conducted a systematic review and meta-analysis of the WEE interventions in Ethiopia. In their study it was discovered that WEE was associated with a lower risk of IPV and that WEE advocated for enhancement of women's economic status to assist in the minimisation of violence against women. Similarly, Ellis, Page & Tuthill (2019) found that women who participated in WEE programmes in Tanzania and India respectively experienced a lower risk of violence in their relationships, which effect was more pronounced for women who earned their own income. Following this discovery in past studies by others, it was prudent to examine the numerical relationship between WEE interventions and IPV cases in Zimbabwe.

6.6 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WEE INTERVENTIONS AND IPV CASES

Two conjectural statements set ahead of this study sought to test whether IPV cases are declining following the increase in WEE interventions being rolled out in the country. So, this section presents results of the tests carried out to ascertain the relationship between WEE programmes and IPV cases in Zimbabwe. A chi-square test of association was collectively used to ascertain whether there is a statistically significant association between WEE interventions and reduction in IPV. This was considered because it assisted in noting whether the change was sufficient enough to determine its effectiveness or statistical significance. The test was carried out at 1% level of significance with an output of 0.001 and a Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient (SRCC) with a p-value of 0.008. The results suggest that WEE programmes positively impacted the reduction in IPV cases. It can, therefore, be assumed that even if an increase in IPV cases were reported in some cases resulting from implementation of WEE interventions, those cases were outweighed by the general reduction in IPV.

Furthermore, a chi-square test of association between the level of participating in WEE programmes and the impact of WEE programmes was carried out at 1% level of significance. The outcomes of the test gave a value of 0.001 and SRCC with a p-value of 0.008. These outcomes suggest that there is a statistically significant association

between the level of participation in WEE programmes and their resulting impact. As such, I deduced that the impact of WEE interventions largely depended on the level of participation of the beneficiaries in programmes being implemented. Multinomial Logistic Regression Model (MLRM) was used to further clarify salient issues around WEE intervention, their impact, and IPV reduction. Results of the MLRM are shown in the following Table 6.8.

Table 6.8: MLRM explaining the impact of WEE programmes on IPV

Impact	WEE Programmes	B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Decreased IPV	Intercept	21.391	1.034	427.754	1	0.000	
	Livelihoods	-20.29	0.962	444.972	1	0.000	1.54E-09
	Entrepreneurial training	1.384	0.854	2.628	1	0.105	3.993
	Formal education	-2.564	1.597	2.579	1	0.108	0.077
Increased IPV	Intercept	20.607	0.613	1131.56	1	0.000	
	Livelihoods	21.181	0.000		1	0.000	6.3310
	Entrepreneurial training	-0.139	1.159	0.014	1	0.904	0.87
	Formal education	-1.875	1.923	0.951	1	0.33	0.153

Specifically, MLRM was used to determine the statistical significance of each of the three components of WEE interventions, namely livelihoods, entrepreneurial training, and formal education, on either the reduction or increase in IPV cases. Gebreselassie (2018) argued that this technique permits for the analysis of various outcomes concurrently, which is specifically valuable in women's empowerment programming, where outcomes may diverge.

The model was carried out at 1% level of significance and 1 degree of freedom, implying that any variable with a significant (*Sig.*) value less than or equal to 0.01 qualifies to be part of the model (*see the second from last results in the last column in Table 6.8*), and vice versa. It must be noted that the first column of the results (*B*) gives the regression coefficient for use in the regression equation, and the second column (*Std. Error*) gives the maximum permissible error in the resulting model. It is further important to note that an increase or a decrease in IPV cases represents the dependent variable, and that livelihoods, entrepreneurial training, and formal education constructs represent the independent variable. So, concerning dependent variables, they are only statistically driven by the livelihood component since the other constructs have significant values above 0.01. So, each of the IPV reduction and IOV increase models are explained by one construct; the resultant models are as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} IPV \text{ Reduction} &= 21.391 - 20.29X_1 \\ IPV \text{ Increment} &= 20.607 + 21.181X_1 \end{aligned}$$

Where X_1 represent the livelihood construct. As alluded to earlier in Section 6.4.1, most women participate in livelihood programmes that give them a lifetime skill which they can use beyond the life of an intervention. The difference between the two models is that as the livelihood component increases, IPV cases decrease in the first model and increase in the second model. The preceding Table 6.8 on "*Impact of impact of WEE programmes on IPV*" shows that women's participation in different WEE programmes significantly influenced IPV. Therefore, it can be deduced that the livelihood programmes are the most effective and useful interventions in reducing IPV within intimate partner relationships. This finding is supported by Chhun & Nakamura (2021) who concluded that economic interventions such as microfinance programmes that provide financial support to women had a significant impact on reducing IPV in Cambodia. The authors also highlighted the importance of combining economic

interventions with training about human rights, healthy relationships, and gender norms to achieve a greater impact. This implies that in as much as the livelihood component is the only statistically significant construct, policy makers and WEE programme implementers must not disregard other constructs for example training in entrepreneurial and formal education, since they improve the face of the livelihood construct and its sustainability.

6.7 ROLE OF IMPLEMENTING AGENCIES

In the preceding Sections, 6.1 to 6.6, results on the interplay between IPV and WEE interventions were presented through the lens of beneficiaries. In this second segment of the results, the perspective of implementing agencies and institutions is considered as this gives a fuller picture and deeper insight into the IPV-WEE relationship under investigation.

As was explained in the methodology chapter, 30 implementing organisations responded to the questionnaire survey, and 20 key informants drawn from implementing organisations, selected government departments including the police (through its VFU), and funders, participated in interviews. Government departments are mandated to oversee women's issues in the country, including the implementation and adaptation of WEE programmes and the legal framework. As such, these departments have direct contact with beneficiaries of WEE programmes and implementing organisations. However, the VFU has the dual role of overseeing law enforcement and direct contact with the survivors of IPV. Interestingly, the organisations that served as key informers in this study implemented diverse WEE programmes over a long time in Zimbabwe albeit with different life spans.

Inspired by Smith (2022) who noted that understanding the focus of a programme is crucial for developing evidence-based strategies that can better serve individuals and communities, this study made an inquiry to understand the effectiveness of each initiative and how much each initiative contributed to the set of programme objectives. It was important to ask the roles that the Government departments, funders and WEE implementing organisations played. This information helped in establishing intersection overlaps and the degree to which the various stakeholders were coordinated towards the goal of reducing IPV through WEE programmes. In this case,

the most preferred and potent WEE initiatives were targeted for resourcing and ensuring their sustainability. Overall, the key focus areas of WEE implementing organisations are summarised in Figure 6.8 below.

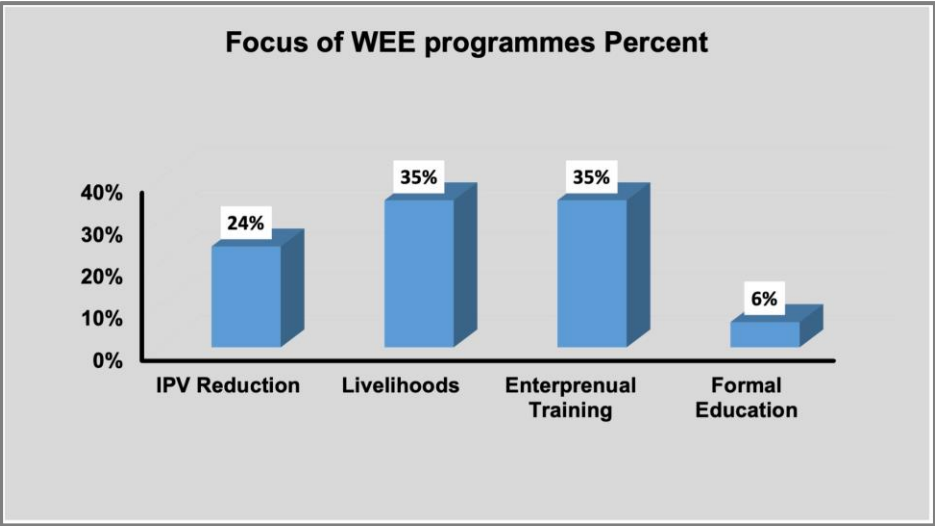


Figure 6.8: Focus areas of WEE programmes

A significant percentage (70%) of organisations were into livelihood and entrepreneurship-oriented interventions, with only a paltry 6% of the organisations that emphasised formal training. Considering this distribution of interventions, it is critical to note that all interventions, directly or indirectly, had a bias towards IPV reduction, although 24% of the organisations chose to place specific emphasis on IPV rather than approach the issue indirectly. Figure 6.8 above, also suggest that some organisations chose to focus on more than one intervention resulting in a total percentage above 100% due to double dipping. Research on both gender and development (for example, Buller *et al.*, 2018) has posited that one approach to addressing IPV is poverty alleviation. This partly explains why most interventions are intentionally designed with livelihood and entrepreneurial orientation to take people out of poverty. Accessible literature has shown that, globally, governments or donors target poor women in low-to-middle-income countries with savings groups, microfinance programmes or cash transfer programmes (Aslam & Kazianga, 2020). To ascertain similarity or differences with global practices, this study mapped the actual programmes, within identified classes, that commonly characterise WEE interventions in Zimbabwe. Table 6.9 provides a summative descriptor of such programmes.

Table 6.9: Specific WEE programmes implemented in Zimbabwe

Programme	Sub-programmes	Supporting Quotation	%
Financial Support	Under this scheme, participants mentioned they mainly provide funds/credit for startup kits, Income Lending and Saving Schemes (ILSS), and asset financing.	P01: We administer both the Women Development Fund and the Zimbabwe Community Development Fund with finance access. P07: We provide start-up loans to start small businesses.	85
Manufacturing	Four participants mentioned that they provide training in detergent and floor polish making. Another economic activity identified was extraction of cooking oil from sunflower and soya beans.	P14: We train beneficiaries to add value through oil pressing and drying vegetables into 'mfushwa' (dried vegetables).	20
Education	For this scheme, women are taught basic literacy and numeracy skills to enable them to use computers and to write with some reasonable level of confidence. Only two participants indicated that they undertook this WEE programme.	P18: We train women basic business skills and finance for non-finance people so that they can run businesses profitably.	10
Agriculture	Many participants indicated that they support agricultural related activities including market gardening, poultry, beekeeping, and piggery.	P01: Recently, we commenced training on fish farming. P14 We also train women on value addition and beneficiation so that they could realise more from their agricultural produce.	90
Trading	This WEE activity involves buying and selling various wares for profit-making. Five participants indicated that they support groups of women with starter packs to buy identified products.	P07: We assist women in setting up retail businesses. P13: We also train beneficiaries on basic marketing skills.	17

Programme	Sub-programmes	Supporting Quotation	%
Tourism	Just like fish farming, tourism is a new WEE venture as was reported by participants P01 and P02 . They further specified that beneficiaries in this category ranged between the ages of 40 and 60 years.	<p>P02: Some of our beneficiaries now own lodges, restaurants, and hotels.</p> <p>P01: We are facilitating engagement with relevant tourism authorities to support women in tourism.</p>	7
Mining	Mining is another new venture identified by one participant. It was reported that very few women ventured into this area because it is characterised by legal and technical barriers and difficulties.	<p>P02: We encourage interested women to get into groups and venture in this previously male-dominated industry.</p>	3

It must be noted that some programme implementers were running multiple programmes simultaneously. As such, the sum of the resulting percentages shown in Table 6.9 exceed 100%. The first column of the table shows the general class of an intervention, followed by specific projects within each identified category indicated in column 12. The third column captures the sentiments of participants in their own voices (note that participants are identified by codes such as **P05**), and the last column shows the percentage of responses.

As indicated, the most common interventions supported by implementing organisations were in the areas of agriculture and financial support, whereas the more recently introduced interventions in tourism and mining were only supported by a few organisations. To demonstrate the positive impact of tourism, a study on social role changes in rural tourism was conducted on a tourism project implemented for Chinese Muslim women (Hui women) in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. The women gained empowerment experience and self-transformation. Further, as the women had more access to more equal opportunities, it led to family harmony, social stability, and tourism development (Dai & Sarkar, 2019). Although few women were participating in gold-mining, some women found this practice interesting. Alexander (2019) noted that women's participation in the mining segment was characterised by an assortment of causes, including economic needs, social networks, and gendered standards and beliefs. Alexander also highlighted the risks and challenges faced by women in small-scale mining, including violence, exploitation, and marginalisation. In the face of these encounters, the author further debated that they often found innovative ways to navigate the sector and assert their agency within it. Sub-sections 6.7.1 to 6.7.5 present topics aimed at dissecting IPV-WEE relationships through the lens of institutions and implementing organisations.

6.7.1 Classifying the role of implementing organisations

In light of the fact that numerous interventions are used to empower women as shown in the preceding paragraphs, it is imperative to classify the roles of institutions involved in WEE. This is important because although focus areas may differ, they may still play a complementary role. This study established eight classes of roles.

1. Financial support

As alluded to in earlier sections, some programmes revolve around providing start-up capital for small businesses in diverse industries. This initiative has a financial support tone and is sometimes complemented by literacy training. It emerged that funds are set aside to support women through the Women Development Fund (WDF) and the Zimbabwe Community Development Fund (ZCDF) as was revealed by participants **P01** and **P02**. Specifically, participant **P03** narrated that;

... our main role is to facilitate finance access, information, and training. We only provide funding to viable and promising projects where profitability is guaranteed.

From this account it could be deduced that, before funds were released, project proposals were assessed for their viability. In terms of financial literacy training, it has been revealed that WEE provided beneficiaries with the knowledge and skills necessary to manage their income effectively and make choices about investments and savings, as was also argued by OECD (2018). Through the ILSS (see Table 6.9), one of the main financial support roles implemented by organisations, women are given intensive training on the principles of this scheme. However, recent trial evidence has only shown a modest impact of microfinance-only interventions on WEE, with context-dependent and heterogeneous effects (Karlan, Pande & Zinman 2016; Duvendack & Mader, 2019). Furthermore, programme evaluations have indicated that microfinance-oriented interventions did not necessarily result in a decrease in IPV (Meinck, Hinojosa & de Onativia, 2019), whereas evidence from Southeast Asia indicates that such schemes increased incidences of IPV (Glennerster, Bhatia & Rothenberg, 2019), and evidence from sub-Saharan Africa has suggested mixed results (Taylor & Flores-Macías, 2021).

2. Localisation of policies and laws

Institutions supporting WEE initiatives are responsible for disseminating policy and legal provisions to beneficiaries, operationalising their provisions, and contributing in the revision of policies using case data that they generated. This role exists to facilitate and create an enabling environment for women and girls to enjoy equity and equality and to benefit and contribute meaningfully to the development of the

nation towards the achievement of regional and international goals. Some prominent policies, legislation, and frameworks mentioned by participants include the National Gender Policy (NGP), the 2018 Women's Economic Empowerment Framework and Strategy (WEEFS), and the protocol on the Multi-Sectoral Management of Sexual Abuse and Violence in Zimbabwe (MSMSAVZ). Additionally, international and regional Instruments, and frameworks are being domesticated, such as the SADC protocol on Gender and Development Framework (GDF), the Maputo Protocol on GBV, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BDPA), CEDAW and the various SDGs. It can be seen that the frameworks encompass both economic empowerment and dealing with IPV. As such, they provide a roadmap for supporting gender equality and women's empowerment specifying the actions that governments, civil society organisations, and other stakeholders should adopt to propel stated and implied objectives. It has been argued that, while Zimbabwe has significantly progressed in accepting international gender equality and women's empowerment frameworks, attention must now be given to the domestication and execution thereof to attain meaningful impact (Gomo, 2018).

3. *Advocacy and lobbying*

The role of advocacy and lobbying entails raising awareness about the negative impact of IPV to legislators and relevant authorities to explore and re-evaluate policies and legislation around IPV and WEE. Since implementing organisations and other institutions interact with victims of IPV daily, they have convening power to call for dialogue and discuss issues and ways of helping women victims of IPV. As such, they play an advocacy role; serving as the voice of the voiceless and a catalytic role; because they influence change in policies and legislation. De Silva de Alwis (2019) maintained the same by outlining that advocacy and lobbying are key tools for supporting WEE and progressing gender equality.

Two more scholars of the same crop clarified the role of advocacy. Gomo (2018) admitted that the Zimbabwe Women's Microfinance Bank (ZMFB), which came into being in 2018 to give women entrepreneurs access to credit and financial services, was the end product of advocacy efforts by women's organisations and networks. Furthermore, the government's national gender policy, which encompasses an

objective of WEE, was influenced by advocacy efforts of civil society organisations. Njuki (2018) underlined the crucial role of advocacy and lobbying in facilitating to set the scene for WEE. Njuki (2018) used the case of Rwanda and Kenya to provide valuable insights into the efforts which could be effective in different contexts. For example, advocacy efforts by civil society organisations and women's networks culminated in the adoption of a national gender policy in 2010 in Rwanda and the adoption of a liberal constitution in Kenya which incorporated a focus on WEE. These instruments provided a framework for respective governments to implement programmes aimed at improving women's access to finance, markets, and skills. Classical scholars such as Longwe (1983:35) argued that "... *the most important contribution that women's groups can make to development planning is advocacy and lobbying for the recognition of women's productive and reproductive roles*".

4. Research

The research role serves as the turbine that drives the WEE initiatives adopted by institutions and the government in developing new strategies. Institutions are involved in a continuous search for ideas, experiences and lessons which can be used to inform practice. Research thus seeks to contribute to understanding of issues by questioning, critiquing, testing and extending existing knowledge, while, at the same time generating new knowledge through conducting basic, applied, and problem-solving researches. Research provides the interface between universities, industry, not-for-profit organisations, educationists, and philanthropies in women's empowerment space. Essentially, research advances the quest for data-driven and evidence-based decisions through describing, explaining, predicting and controlling phenomenon under study, and subsequently publish observed and reported realities. Participant **P05** clarified how research, monitoring and evaluation is carried out in practice as narrated below:

We assess project viability through routine monitoring. For example, when assessing a project like poultry, we assess the capacity of the fowl run, in relation to the number of birds that farmer wants to rear. We then offer advice like a need to scale up and expand the fowl run when necessary and depending on the availability of funding. Additionally, when there is a discovery of programme specific skills

gap link, WEE beneficiaries are linked to other relevant experts in the areas of the economic activities they intend to venture into.

From this account, it can be concluded that the M&E activities are practically used to inform day-to-day activities.

5. Awareness campaigning

This role stood above others because all institutions indicated that they implement awareness raising activities including packaging and disseminating various information sets on WEE and IPV. They use road shows, radio and television programmes, and social media platforms to educate women about their rights and the channels they can use to expose violent challenges they experienced in relationships.

6. Psycho-social support and counselling

Psycho-social support and counselling pertains to catering for emotional and social needs. Its primary goal is to enhance individuals' coping skills, resilience, and functionality in the face of challenging life situations. Considering the emotional torture that the victims would have been exposed to due to IPV, it is prudent for them get some form of mental relief. Participant **P20** noted that the psycho-social support takes form of '*pain killers*' to relieve victims from their emotional pain. This role is guided by the Acceptance Theory of Psychology which is premised on psychotherapy models featuring mindfulness, acceptance, and metacognition. It is believed that failure to accept is a major source of stress and mental disorder. So, this important role is meant to psychologically guide victims to accept and deal with past IPV and its associated negative externalities, and to help them map the way forward.

7. Referral and protection of survivors of IPV

Approximately 53% of the participants refer victims of IPV to relevant organisations where they can get help on specific issues. For example, they refer victims to the VFU for protection and maintenance of law and order. In addition, up to 10% of the organisations provide shelter (safe homes) to victims kicked out of their homes or

facing severe violence from their partners whilst getting help from the VFU. In her own words, participant **P09** had this to say:

On our side, over and above the psycho-social support we give, we also have a strong component on making sure that deserving survivors of IPV access our shelters. Those who access shelter on long term services, are given them training and the trainings vary depending with the location. For example, in places where market gardening is on demand, we do market gardening training. We also train victims on poultry and goat rearing depending on the area of operation.

It is clear from the above narrative that organisations cover diverse issues. For example, complementary to the provision of shelter, they offer psycho-social support and training on various livelihood-related activities. Complementary to this sentiment, participant **P19** had this to say:

WEE provide a combination of services for survivors of IPV, that is counselling, best legal support, access to medical care, referrals to higher levels of care, but importantly, we offer the shelter, mostly temporary shelters. We have a total of fifteen across the country, that is, both in the urban and rural. In these shelters, we concentrate on economic empowerment activities. We also offer assistance through one-stop centres, both static and mobile where we bring services closer to the communities. Further, we also identify economic gaps among women that are in the most hard-to-reach areas.

Further demonstrating the issue of multiple responses on the roles and also multi-tasking, there is need to debate assess the viability of one organisation spreading a sizable number of roles.

8. Capacity building

Capacity building is a multi-dimensional activity that involves the application of technical, financial, and psychological elements to equip victims with necessary therapy, skills and resources to enable them to move out of undesirable situations. By referring to the capability theory, Ibrahim and Tiwari (2014:18) noted that “... *moving out of the undesirable is the freedom to make choices for the well-being of one’s self*”. The authors’ argument suggests that IPV survivors must have the capacity to protect their health and well-being and still be able to earn enough money to meet their basic needs. This is something that was emphasised by Sen and Nussbaum (1993) in commenting on people’s agency in achieving

'development as freedom'. Most participants (80%) indicated that their operations revolved around capacity building. The role encompasses various activities that are associated with skills training and skills impartation, but do not extend to the level of building agency and freedom for women to choose to live the life they desire.

6.7.2 Average time span of projects per given intervention

It was prudent for the survey to establish the average time span of projects per given intervention. Time span points to the aspect of sustainability; arguably, the longer the span of a project the more impactful it should be. Table 6.10 shows the percentage distribution of projects duration resulting from WEE interventions.

Table 6.10: Average time span of projects per given intervention

Average time span of projects per given intervention	Percentage (%)
6 months	17
12 months	20
18 months	10
24 months	7
36 months	13
48 months	10
50 months	23
Total	100

A cumulative proportion of 37% had an average time span of less than one year per given intervention in Zimbabwe. Of these 17% had a time span of less than 6 months, and 20% had between 6 and 11 months. Then, 17% of the organisations had an average of between one and two years of programming. Interestingly, approximately half of the organisations implemented projects that lasted for at least three years. Representatives of implementing organisations concurred with some sections in literature regarding the assertion that the duration of projects partly influenced the sustainability of programmes’ outcomes (see Smith, 2022). This could be one reason why some beneficiaries of WEE interventions indicated that they were be able to continue with projects, even after implementing organisations exited the projects.

6.7.3 Age range of WEE programme beneficiaries

According to the WEE implementing organisations’ representatives, women aged between 18 and 53 years normally benefit from their interventions. Participant **P02** supported this by indicating that the average age range of beneficiaries was between 19 and 49 years old. This participant further noted that this age group represents

women who still have the energy to operationalise projects resulting from WEE programmes. Profiling the age of beneficiaries is key in bringing to light the age at which most women suffer IPV. The study revealed that, women aged between 30 and 41 years constitute the greatest percentage of beneficiaries, which concurs with the most common age range of beneficiaries (30 to 49 years) who suffer from IPV, as was reported by the beneficiaries themselves. The only difference is that beneficiaries suffering from IPV reported that their ages ranged between 15 and 74 years. Sadly, this reveals that underaged girls (those below 18 years) are actively involved in intimate relationships with some of them who suffer from IPV resulting from such relationships.

6.7.4 Number of beneficiaries recruited into a project per project cycle

In the preceding chapters of this study, it was shown that IPV prevalence is high in Zimbabwe; high IPV statistics are thus expected to relate to the statistics of women survivors of IPV who received help. This sub-section, particularly through Table 6.11, gives the frequency distribution of beneficiaries (who sought help at WEE organisations) per project cycle.

Table 6.11: Number of beneficiaries per project cycle

Absolute number of beneficiaries	Percentage (%)
1-30	20
31-60	3
61-90	3
121-150	3
151-180	3
181-210	3
211-240	3
241-270	3
241-300	37
Above 300	23
Total	100

According to Table 6.11, 20% of the organisations enrolled at most 30 participants per cycle, whilst 60% of the organisations recruited at least 241 participants. The remaining 20% of the organisations enrolled between 31 and 240 participants per cycle. Interestingly, a significant percentage of organisations enrolled at least 241 participants, implying that they are partly responding to the increasing number of IPV cases in Zimbabwe (see ZDHS Report, 2015). However, although it would be ideal to

have as many participants as possible, the limited financial capacity of implementing organisations is one of the reasons that determines the number of programme participants that can be recruited. In order thus, to establish the cumulative number of beneficiaries over time, it is imperative to consider the number of project cycles that implementing organisations have accomplished.

6.7.5 Programme cycles completed since their inception

The inquiry into the number cycles completed by implementing organisations since their inception was meant to assess the cumulative number of beneficiaries and the sphere of influence of WEE programmes. Furthermore, programmes’ contribution to sustainability can easily be understood through the lens of completed cycles. Table 6.12 presents the absolute and percentage number of programme cycles completed by implementing organisations.

Table 6.12: Programme cycles completed by implementing organisations

Programme cycles completed	Number	Percentage (%)
1	1	3
2	5	17
3	2	7
4	3	10
5	1	3
6	1	3
9	1	3
More than 10	16	53
TOTAL	30	100

The number of completed programme cycles differs between organisations, but approximately half of the organisations completed at least 2 cycles, which is a true reflection of the support that most organisations have provided to victims of IPV. 37% of the organisations have at the least completed 1 programme cycle. The variations in the number of completed cycles can be explained by the different nature and structure of the programmes and by the duration of the individual programmes.

Rieckmann (2017) has asserted that project sustainability is the criticalness of long-term projections, environmental responsibility, and intergenerational equity in ensuring

that project results are sustained beyond the project's cycle. Further supported by Sarker & Alam (2018), project sustainability ensures that beneficiaries obtain the profits of a project long after the project has come to an end. This implies that sustainable projects are positively impactful. In view of the lack of sustainability of some programmes as indicated by 35% of the participants, participant **P02** explained that:

Partners are discouraged from implementing programmes that are solely centred on giving cash or food to beneficiaries. While this approach satisfies immediate pressing needs, they are not sustainable.

From this sentiment, it is clear that some WEE programmes do not meet the sustainability criteria. Participant **P02** further noted that programmes, such as baking initiatives in which beneficiaries were trained how to bake in, at most, five sessions, and were then left to fund their own baking ingredients, were not sustainable because of their piece meal nature. These kinds of programmes cannot be expected to meet any marked proportion of reducing IPV. The scenario shows that the major factor is not about counting the number of programme cycles but assessing their exit strategy, viability, and sustainability. As such, WEE programmes must be evaluated with regards to their ability to adequately empower women and to contribute to IPV reduction. The sustainability of a project, thus depends to a large degree on the competence of project managers who should implement sustainability practices, including use of sustainability frameworks. Sarker & Alam (2018) argued that if such skills were limited, then sustainability will not be achieved. To this end, Clark (2006) emphasised the primacy of people as the main focus of development; people are the means to a sustainable end. As such, focus must be placed on what people value in establishing common normative principles on which development can be based. For example, inclusiveness, equity, equality and justice.

6.8 A REVIEW OF WEE PROGRAMMES' STRUCTURE

In this section the WEE programmes are reviewed using best practices of programme design and implementation. This review is not a compliance verification process, it is an evaluation whereby ongoing and completed operations or steps considered in an intervention is assessed and whether the target population is being served or has been served is determined. Such an evaluation helps programme staff members identify needed activities and change programme components to improve service delivery and

processes. Specifically, issues concerning the rationale of programmes, whether they are informed by baseline data, and their adherence to set monitoring and evaluation (M&E) frameworks.

6.8.1 Factors driving WEE programmes

It must be noted that all WEE interventions under review, regardless of their structure, are primarily designed to reduce IPV. This primary objective has some underlying driving forces classified in this study as funding, problem-solving, and government priorities. Understanding these underlying factors sheds more light on the implementing organisations' priorities and what it is that drive them to implement WEE programmes. Figure 6.9 below shows the underlying driving factors of all reviewed WEE interventions.

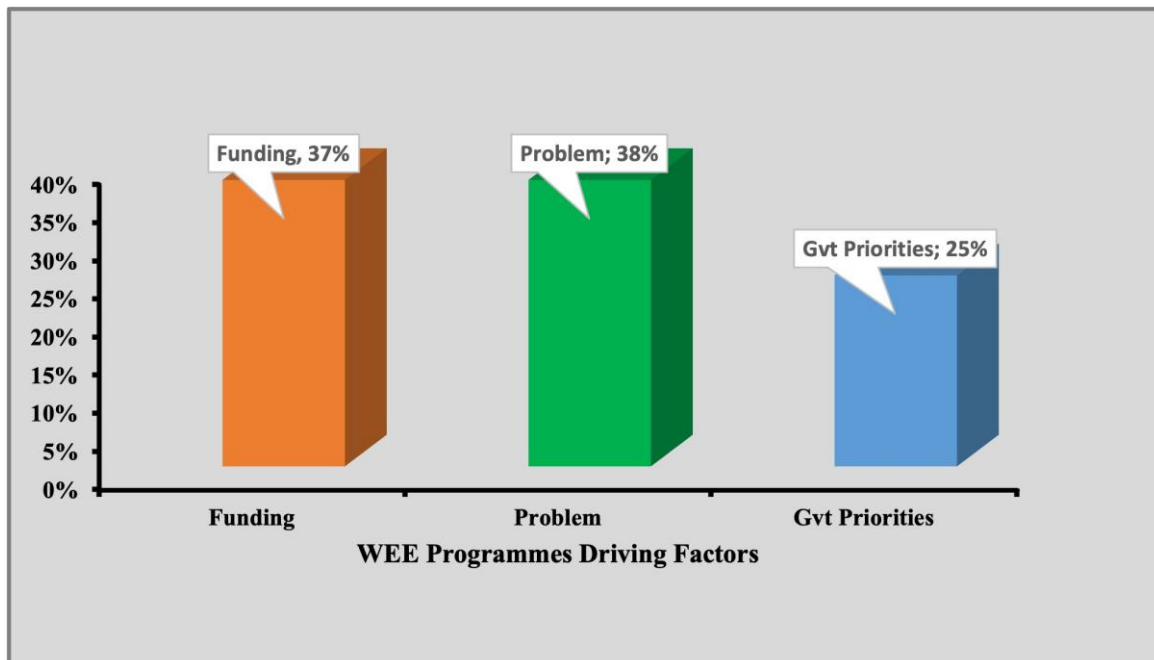


Figure 6.9: Factors underlying WEE programmes

Thus, gathered data suggests that implementing organisations are fairly driven by the three identified factors with insignificant variations between the highest and lowest factors 38% and 25%. This implies that implementing organisations are largely driven by an intention to solve the rising problems of IPV reported in literature and proliferating in communities. At the same time, the GoZ, through ministries such as the MWACSMED, has made the reduction in IPV cases a priority. The participants from the GoZ categorically indicated this. For example, participant **P13** narrated that the

Ministry, works through and with relevant stakeholders in reviewing existing policies and strategies to ensure that all programmes are in sync with its mandate and changing societal and economic structure. This position was emphasised by Turner & Maschi (2015) who argued that the core activity of this ministry is to borrow from the feminist theories where such theories encourage women to repossess power as far as it is possible in our society, to express their dissatisfactions, and to build self-confidence and self-value. The comparative assessment of the MWACSMED's mandate and sentiments shared by participant **P13** I did suggests that the GoZ is making reasonable attempts to make women empowerment initiatives a success.

Since implementing organisations seek to complement the government's effort, they have singled out WEE interventions as one of the tools for use in reducing IPV cases. As such, these organisations mobilise resources, particularly funding, for use in operationalising WEE interventions. I, therefore, deduced that the three underlying factors are equally important since they overlap each other in their quest to empower women who are victims of IPV with the view of reducing such unwelcome cases. So, the success of WEE programmes is determined by the ability of the government and implementing organisations to identify and understand the root causes of IPV, to design sound interventions, and to mobilise satisfying resources (financial, technical, and human). Best practices recommend that a baseline study be undertaken before rolling out an intervention to establish what the situation was prior to its implementation. This realisation is supported by the World Bank (2019) through asserting that rigorous analysis of the constraints and opportunities facing women in the local context must inform WEE programme design. In sync with this assertion, participant **P13** clarified that efforts by the GoZ to review existing WEE strategies is aimed to understanding local contexts with the view of developing impactful programmes.

6.8.2 Use of baseline data in informing WEE interventions

In this study, WEE implementing organisations were asked if they used baseline data to inform their interventions. The importance of baseline studies has been aptly clarified by sources such as Nkwake (2020) who argued such a study is crucial in establishing the situation of beneficiaries before a programme is rolled out for ease of. Figure 6.10 below, presents the results given by representatives of implementing organisations.

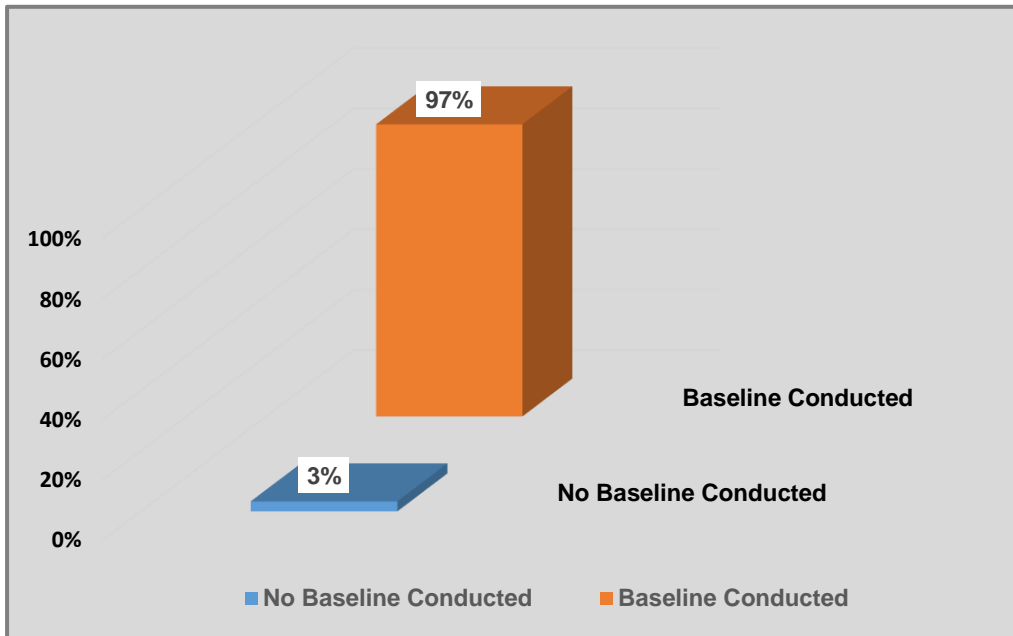


Figure 6.10: Use of baseline data

The bar graph in Figure 6.10 suggests that almost all of the implementing organisations were using baseline indicators to inform their programming. This implies that they were able to establish their contribution in reducing IPV cases if they compared baseline data with end-line data. So, the 78% reduction in IPV cases reported by beneficiaries in sub-section 6.4.5 could be a true indicator of the role that WEE interventions played in achieving their implied purpose. Adherence to best practices prescribed by classical scholars such as Creswell (2014) is thus commendable.

Recently, Nkwake (2020) clarified that complementary to baseline studies are other studies, such as needs assessments, situational analyses, reviews and formative evaluations (see Sub-section 2.6.3). Participant **P05** clarified how implementing organisation are using research to advance the quest for having data-driven and evidence-based decisions. According to participant **P05**, results from such diverse studies are used offer advice on re-designing existing programmes and designing new programmes. Following this clarification, implementing organisations were asked if they used some of these studies to enrich their baseline data. Interestingly, almost all of the organisations indicated that they used complementary studies for attribution. A rough visual imprint of the most widely used complementary studies is given in Figure 6.11.

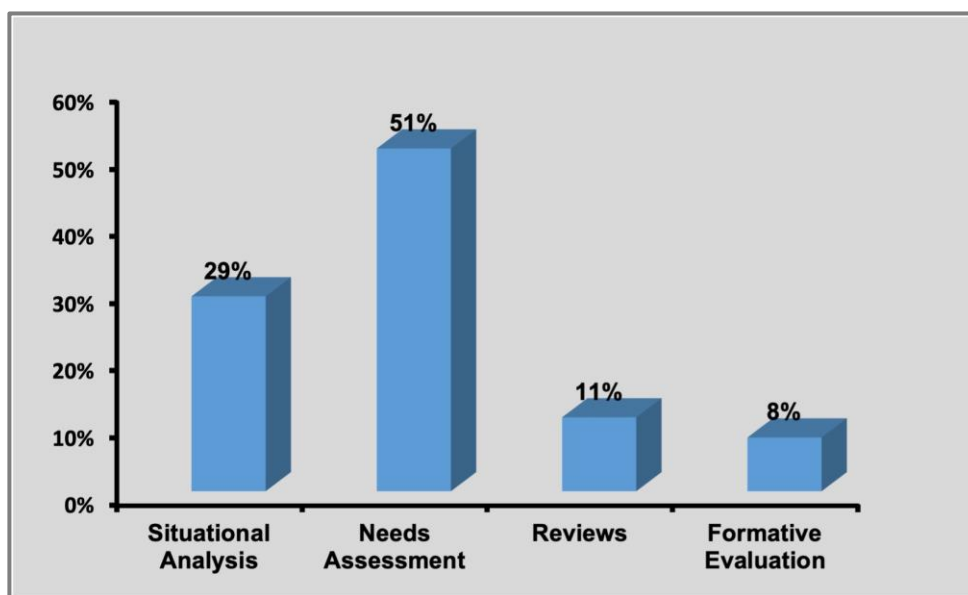


Figure 6.11: Complementary studies commonly used

According to Figure 6.11, the most widely complementary study used is that of a needs assessment. This raises the question; why is this the most widely used study when compared to others? The question is best answered by giving an overview of the difference between these complementary studies. In keeping with the importance of baseline studies, study findings revealed that most programme implementers are doing well in understanding baseline indicators. As such, the chance of their programmes being successful is high as is evidenced by a significant reduction in IPV cases reported by beneficiaries (see Sub-section 6.4.5).

However, the presence of baseline data alone does not guarantee the effectiveness of implemented programmes. The adequacy of a programme can be understood in two ways as: the range and number of the existing WEE programmes, and whether they are serving their intended purpose. In terms of range, WEE programmes should not only aim to provide women with livelihood opportunities but also to take care of fundamental structural barriers and social norms that lessen their empowerment. In light of this position, Smith *et al.* (2022) argued that comprehensive WEE programmes are expected to consist of access to education, skills training, and financial and entrepreneurial support including essential policies. In Zimbabwe, evidence from beneficiaries and key informants has shown that the range of existing WEE programmes is adequate. However, what matters most is the effectiveness of existing

WEE programmes in reducing incidences of IPV. In support of the adequacy of WEE programmes, participants **P13** and **P05** said the following:

P13: My view is that, to a great extent, WEE programmes contribute towards IPV reduction. Once the woman is empowered, having her own money or skill that can help her to generate additional income, it is definitely far better than someone who continues to be beaten and threatened if she decides to leave the relationship. She continues to fall into the same predicament of IPV in the next relationship as she will need to be taken care of. Therefore, WEE programmes are not the most appropriate, although I am not downplaying all the other interventions.

P05: Through the programmes' efforts, it can be seen that some relationships have improved. In selected places where we empowered women to make detergents, their male partners would assist them to go out and sell their products. So, this is a true image that some intimate relationships improved.

The sentiments shared by participants **P13** and **P05** indicate that perspectives of WEE interventions depend on the experience and personal disposition of the interpreter. It can, therefore, be deduced that the IPV-WEE relationship is a contested terrain, and although much of the evidence shows that WEE interventions meaningfully contribute to the reduction of IPV, further research is needed to understand where WEE interventions are failing to achieve its objectives. To keep activities on track, M&E best practices advocate for the use of M&E frameworks to guide the implementation process. In the next section, the extent to which programmes under discussion use M&E best practices is assessed.

6.8.3 A review of implementation parameters

Central to the success of programmes is the adoption of M&E best practices as advised by scholars such as Patton (2018). Conducting proper M&E involves setting clear and measurable indicators, collecting and analysing data regularly, and using the findings to improve programme performance. Of the implementing organisations, 97% indicated that they have been using M&E practices in programme implementation. The previous section has also shown that baseline data was being extensively used as one of the best practices of M&E.

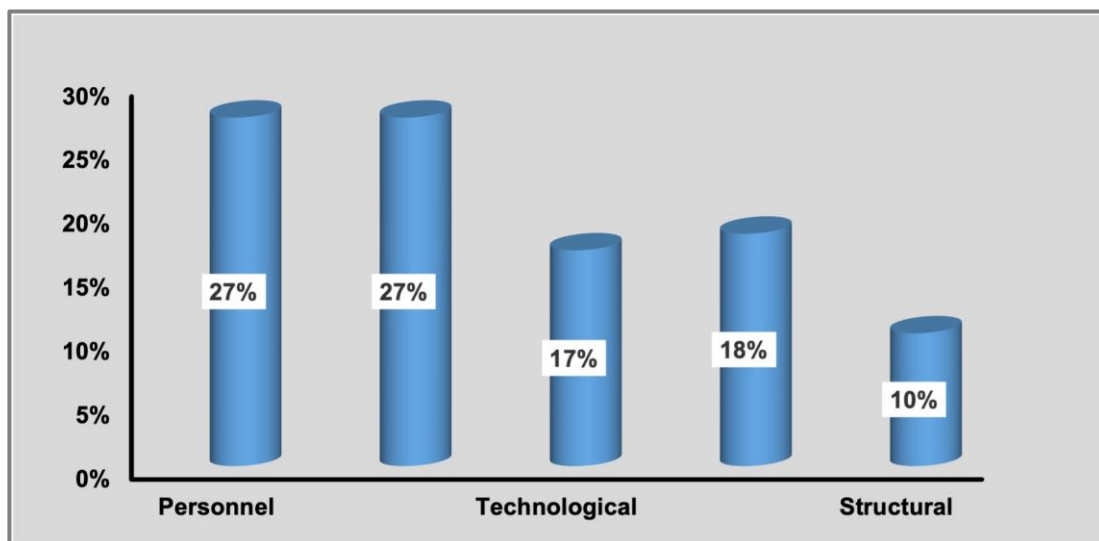


Figure 6.12: Resources available to support M&E systems

It must be noted that, in order for an M&E system to function, there is a need for a robust resourcing system in place. Resourcing M&E systems is a function of identifying and allocating the necessary resources to the holistic architecture of the system which entails designing and implementing an effective evaluation framework of programme outcomes. Recently, Brousselle & Champagne (2019) reinforced that an M&E system is fuelled by the availability of resources. An inquiry into the type of resources available to WEE programmes generated the results shown in Figure 6.13, below.

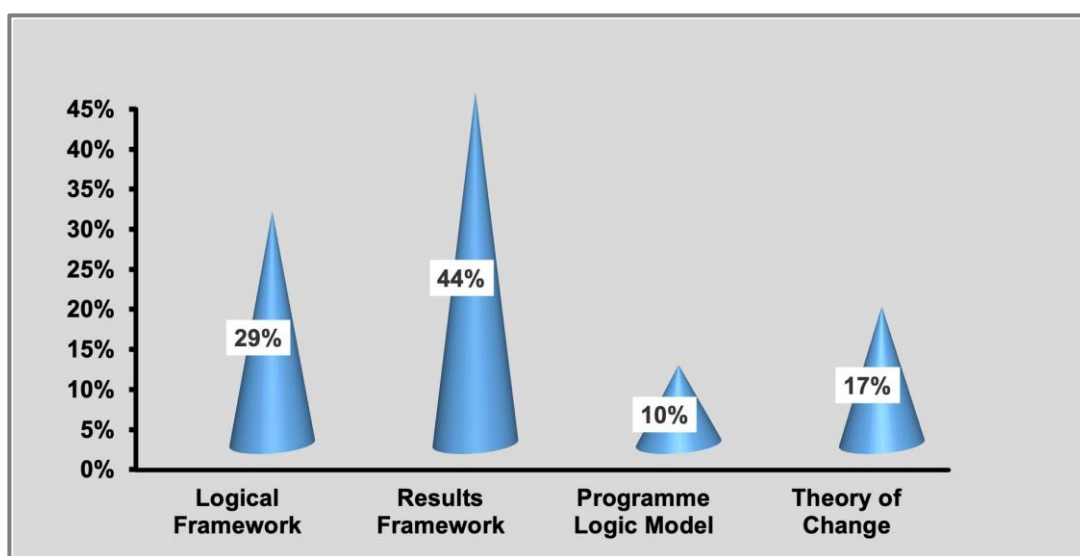


Figure 6.13: M&E frameworks used by WEE implementing organisations

From the inquiry, personnel and financial resources rose above all the other resources. This can partly be explained by the fact that these two resources condition the functionality of other resources. For, example, financial resourced team members who have the skills to operationalise programmes, coordinate other resources towards realising programme objectives. For effective coordination of activities and utilisation of resources, M&E systems are thus guided by different frameworks. Figure 6.13 presents results on the frameworks used by implementing organisations.

Of all the frameworks, results framework is the most widely used approach in designing and implementing WEE programmes in Zimbabwe. A trio of scholars, Bamberger, Rugh & Mabry (2022), argued that a results framework is becoming increasingly common because it is user-friendly as it entails clear and concise indicators that are easy to measure, understand, and disseminate. The second most used framework is the logical framework approach that uses a matrix to provide an overview of a project's goals, activities and anticipated results (Alkin, 2011). The logical framework provides a structure to help specify the components of a project and its activities and for relating them to one another. Then, the Theory of Change (ToC) explains how a set of early and intermediate accomplishments sets the stage for long-term results. A more complete ToC articulates the assumptions about the process through which change will occur and specifies how all of the required early and intermediate outcomes related to achieving the desired long-term change will be brought about and documented as they occur Bennett & Rockwell, (2019). As such, a ToC is detailed and has the potential to provide a well-laid roadmap for evaluation planning and to ensure that evaluation efforts are aligned with programme goals and objectives. Then, the least used approach is the logic model, which accounts for 10% of the responses. This model describes various activities which are shown in a way that indicates their progression and linkages with emphasis on the relationship between a programme's resources, activities and intended results, which also identifies the underlying theory and assumptions Anderson & McKnight (2019).

Interestingly, almost all the implementing organisations used recognised approaches to coordinate their activities and resources towards the realisation of set targets and objectives. Overall, M&E tools, when effectively used, have the inherent potential to smoothen implementation processes and expose those sections that need to improve.

Strategies such as training, lobbying, advocacy and programme review were reported across implementing organisations as some of the strategies used to operationalise M&E recommendations. Culminating evidence has thus shown that the successes of the programmes were not solely dependent on their structure, design and implementation parameters as there were other salient issues that also contributed to the programmes' success.

6.9 DETERMINANTS OF PROGRAMMES' SUCCESS

Literature has shown that it is not only access to finance that contributed to the reduction in IPV, but that other context specific factors mattered. For example, Duvendack and Mader (2019) elaborated how some programmes gave women control over financial resources in order to create an independent source of income. However, recent trial evidence showed that microfinance-only interventions had a modest impact on WEE, with context-dependent and heterogeneous effects (Duvendack & Mader 2019; Chun & Nakamura, 2021). Furthermore, evaluations have shown that microfinance-only interventions do not necessarily result in a decrease in women's experience of IPV (Meinck *et al.*, 2019). In this regard, evidence from Southeast Asia indicated an increase in IPV (Bulte & Lensink, 2019), with mixed results from sub-Saharan Africa (Gibbs *et al.*, 2017). Similarly, in Zimbabwe, it was acknowledged that although micro-finance was appreciated, it only reduced IPV in part and not wholly. In the following Sections 6.9.1 to 6.9.8 some of the determinants of success through the lens of implementing organisations and government departments in Zimbabwe are discussed with view bringing to the fore contradictions, extensions, support, and clarifications they make to accessible studies.

6.9.1 Deep-seated patriarch

Evidence revealed suggest that, despite women's sense of economic empowerment, they remain constrained to some extent by the context in which norms of dominant male authority still exist. The challenge of male chauvinism has a long pedigree. Recently, Beck (2020) lamented that male authority continued to characterise the lives of women which propagates gender inequality. This study found that this norm is still prevalent in Zimbabwe. Participants **P02** and **P05**, in their own words, had this to say:

P02: Let me use one of the cases we handled to explain this sad reality. We gave one beneficiary two loans, one in 2013 and another in 2016, but she revealed that her husband (who is a pastor) destroyed her business and abuse the wife and children citing that he is the head of the family and can decide on the direction the family must go.

P05: Economic empowerment does not necessarily ensure that a person stops perpetuating IPV because issues such as socialisation and patriarch-based systems disadvantage women since they cannot make independent decisions in their business ventures. As a result of this pressure, even if some of the women are economically empowered, sometimes they are forced to actually undermine themselves as a way of not posing a threat to their partners.

These sentiments have shown that invisible patriarchy partly determines the success of WEE interventions. It appears that, in a few cases, women would justify their partners' violence because of expectations that the men would be the heads of the households. Similarly, Stern, Heise & McLean (2017) argued that violence is very common among younger women (below 40 years) who appear to tolerate abuse because of family and financial responsibilities. It was also revealed by one participant that in some cases, when men were supportive of their partners as breadwinners and shared household and childcare duties with them, there were fewer relationship tensions.

6.9.2 Limited access to financial and credit resources

Patriarchal practices, arguably, indirectly influence women's access to financial resources. Since patriarchal systems tend to favour men, they make it difficult for women to access financial and credit services. Some sources (for example, Gwata, 2021) have argued that women have fewer opportunities to education and skills enhancement and that this thwarted their opportunity to improve their knowledge and attributes they needed to prosper in businesses. As such, most women have acquired an attitude that led them to conclude that having access to financial services was not for them (Fanta, 2016). Participant **P05** confirmed this assertion by saying that:

We have a challenge with women accessing formal market assistance, including access to banks and formal loans, as collaterals have always been owned by males. Because of the lack of collaterals, as NGOs we support women with is ISALs, and internal savings and lending which do not require collateral. However, the returns from ISALs may not be as much as loans given by banks and other formal financial institutions.

The account given by participant **P05** is in sync with Longwe's (1991) assertion that women's ability to participate fully in economic life is weakened by their lack of access to critical resources such as credit, education, and land. So, the link between patriarchal practices and access to finance is something that was emphasised by participants. In light of these sentiments, male chauvinism is a root challenge with widespread effects that extend to access to finance products and financial literacy. Financial literacy means the aptitude to understand and effectually cope with managing finances. Lusardi (2019) characterized financial literacy as the capacity do well-versed decisions regarding the use and management of money. In today's financial setting, the importance of financial literacy cannot be overemphasized, people face a host of financial choices and risks. So, enhancing financial literacy can lead to better financial decision-making and financial security. This study sought to understand if the WEE beneficiaries could have reached these levels of financial literacy to raise confidence in and security that would enable them to challenge IPV or walk away from IPV thereby contributing to a reduction of the same. Commenting on this aspect, participant **P07** said:

Most beneficiaries lack financial literacy; they cannot articulate and understand the issues of profit and loss, and they do not assess how much costs they incurred, the savings and profit margins one is making, and the general viability of the business. There is a lot of training needed but we lack funding to conduct comprehensive training. This challenge partly feeds from the background that women are not given much exposure to financial issues because of male dominance in most familial decisions.

This study found that there are marked financial literacy gaps among WEE beneficiaries. This, among other reasons, exacerbates the inadequacies of the WEE programmes in reducing IPV. The perspective given by participant **P07** clearly shows how this limitation negatively impacts the effectiveness of WEE programmes.

6.9.3 Funding gaps

The previous sub-section has shown that rolling out comprehensive WEE interventions is subject to the availability of decent funding. This implies that funding is one of the key determinants to the success of WEE interventions. This view was clarified by Sweetmen (2019) who argued that without sufficient funding, WEE programmes are not able to meet their objectives of improving the socio-economic status of women.

This raises the question; are WEE programmes that are being implemented in Zimbabwe adequately funded? Participant **P03** explained their experience regarding funding as follows:

One challenge revolves around the nature of Women Development Funding (WDF) meant to cover many targets including the WEE activities. However, these funds, in most cases, are not enough to cater for comprehensive WEE initiatives.

The above statement shows that some programmes are not adequately funded to fulfil their stated or implied objectives. According to Sweetmen (2019), comprehensive WEE programmes must be able to afford essential resources, such as training, education, and access to finance. However, evidence has shown that funding is often insufficient to effectively manage and implement all the facets of WEE interventions. As such, most programmes do not meet the minimum requirements of an ideal programme, let alone the set objectives. Another ineffectiveness of WEE programmes is caused by deficiencies in infrastructure and systems that support women entrepreneurs. Gwata (2021) noted that these include access to markets, efficient transport and warehousing which all impede women's chances to enlarge and expand their businesses and client base. With modern digitalisation and online businesses, having technological skills is key. However, it has been reported that most of the women had insufficient technological competencies. This means that women partaking in WEE programmes are also not able to expand their businesses online. In addition, this study discovered that, in most cases, women physically worked in constraint spaces, thus often the places they worked from were open spaces or community halls, which were always on a short-term basis. This study also found that women lacked operating space. In one instrumental example, a group of women who were producing floor polish could not make excess stock because they were using a community hall, which space was unsecure, as multiple users were using the same facility.

In an attempt to explain the underlying factors to this challenge, participant **P09** noted that:

We have limited funding as government institutions, and we are not adequately funded. If the government could fully fund the government bank, by now we could have gained much traction. From the prospective partners' perspective, they are hesitant to support us. However, it must be noted that most of our beneficiaries require much training, yet the

training budget is not usually available.

The affirmation that current systems were not fully supportive of WEE programmes suggest that realising all the goals of WEE interventions is difficult to attain, which could partly explain why IPV keep on increasing in the wake of WEE programmes. However, the strain that partners of WEE programmes face and that impedes them from supporting government institutions, needs to be explored further.

Overall, insufficient funding emerged as the root challenge. Participants broke this factor down by citing unreliable markets for WEE products (40%), lack of capital (60%) and operating premises (80%), the limited reach of programmes to only a few women (60%), and poor coordination among stakeholders (40%). As such, most government departments and non-governmental organisations were operating with limited funding, which would lead to minimal results. However, this funding challenge fits into the broader economic and political system that partners and operators of WEE programmes find themselves in.

6.9.4 Economic and political turbulence

Most of the participating organisations (90%) cited that the economic and political factor contributed to WEE programmes' inefficiency in reducing IPV. It has been widely reported that Zimbabwe's political and economic conditions have been significantly turbulent since the turn of the millennium (Mzumara, Matthee & Steenkamp, 2015; Masiyandima & Edwards, 2018). High inflation rates, currency variations, ever-changing monetary policies and business operation statutes have made it difficult for WEE implementing organisations to operate optimally. Thus, many WEE programmes have been unstable and non-viable, with the ultimate negative impact being felt by the beneficiaries of WEE programmes.

With regard to the national economy, some participants indicated that a harsh economic environment made it difficult for implementing organisations to sustain long-term operations. Masiyandima & Edwards (2018) confirmed that these economic downturns have been visible in Zimbabwe for a considerable time. For this reason, not every woman who comes to implementing organisations get access to loans or start-up kits. A feminist-inclined scholar, Gaidzanwa (2018) discussed some of the methods used by women's organisations to cope with the unstable changing economic and

political landscape, encompassing decreased funding and increased government control. She alludes to how resilient and innovative women's groups were in the face of these challenges. However, it can be deduced from the participants' sentiments that their resilience could only amount to maintain existence of the organisations, not to the level desirable to fulfil their objectives.

Political factors such as government policies and priorities, and legal frameworks that oversee issues of gender equality can all have a profound impact on WEE. Participant **P19** singled out unsupportive legislation as the chief determinant to the success of WEE interventions. It has further been noted that trying to complete paper work in government departments was a mammoth task that thwarted many innovations and possibilities. All participants concurred that national politics was shrinking organisations' operational space. They added that sometimes they would want to implement certain activities but failed due to political interference. These findings are in sync with the claim made by the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights [ZLHR] (2021) that there was a shrinking civic space in the country.

6.9.5 Assertiveness and agency components of WEE programmes

Some accessible studies estimated that one-third of all women have experienced physical or sexual abuse during their lives (WHO 2021) This study confirmed this conclusion by showing that violence against women is a widespread and pervasive problem. Since violence against women is often regarded as a symptom of lack of gender equity, it seems natural to assume that effort to promote female empowerment will help reduce IPV. This study, however, revealed that two common dimensions of female empowerment; economic independence and bargaining power, may have complex and opposite effects on the prevalence of domestic violence. Specifically, whereas increasing the bargaining power of women within the household, or their say in how to use household resources, tends to attenuate IPV, the reverse may be true when the income that women bring into the household increases. The latter effect may seem counterintuitive but can be explained by both the capability and empowerment theories. Depending on the underlying cause of IPV in specific settings, many factors can be considered as various responses to mitigate the incidence of abuse. To reduce IPV and mitigate its deleterious health, economic, and social risks, economic

empowerment strategies, such as group savings and livelihood efforts have received substantial attention in this study. Participants **P01** and **P15** had this to say:

P01: Economic empowerment helps to grow the potential for self-sufficiency, enhances women's agency, although this does not automatically translate to women then using that agency or actually standing up against IPV. Some women are not able to make decisions resulting in the end to IPV or take advantage of the laws and the different structures set to contain IPV.

P15: Economic empowerment enhances women's agency, although this does not automatically translate to women then using that agency or actually standing up against IPV.

The views proffered by participants **P01** and **P15** serve to suggest that more needs to be done over and above providing economic empowerment. Clinging on the adage that *'programmes succeed through and with other partners'*, it is imperative to assess partnerships as a determinant of programmes' success.

6.9.6 Partnerships as a vehicle driving WEE programmes

Generally, partnerships can be vital in attaining positive outcomes in the development sector. 17% of the participants highlighted the need to strengthen partnerships between and among the various categories of organisations that were implementing WEE programmes targeted at reducing IPV in many capacities. These participants described existing weaknesses of partnerships, with notable variations; for example, participant **P17** highlighted that implementing organisations were disjointed as evidenced by the fragmentation of their activities, and participant **P02** strongly narrated that implementing organisations were working in silos resulting in their contributions being uncoordinated, thereby reducing the impact of their interventions. This view shows the extent to which partnerships have proved to be weak. Singing a similar tune, participant **P13** noted that if collaboration among various WEE implementing organisations was promoted, the joint impact will outweigh the current impact since pocket operations resulting from uncoordinated interventions diluted the overall impact of all interventions combined. It can, therefore, be deduced that working in fragments resulted in interventions being inadequate. For example, it was found that one WEE implementing organisation supported the production of toilet cleaner, while another promoted the manufacturing of dishwashing liquid.

Due to resource constraints discussed earlier, none of the programmes fully supported one initiative, but if they could join hands in promoting the manufacturing of one product, more impact was likely to be realised. Prominent authors in the area of development studies made a clarion call for partnerships, for example, Considine (2019) and Hulme (2018). However, it has been argued that multi-dimensional and complex problems could not be solved by one organisation but had to be tackled through partnerships and collaborations between development partners (Considine, 2019). Hulme (2018) also accentuated the prominence of partnerships founded on reciprocated learning, respect, and trust to contain ongoing dialogue and feedback between partners. Additionally, Hulme (2018) noted that partnerships who were being assisted in mobilising additional resources and expertise could lead to more innovative and effective solutions to development challenges.

6.9.7 Culture and religion

The cultural and religious dispositions of individual victims were found to be another instrumental factor defining the success of WEE interventions. It was revealed that culture restricted the type of WEE programmes that could be implemented in a given society since it was influenced by different and contesting cultural values that could, in most cases, be geographically defined. As such, culture determines the attitude and level of participation in designed programmes. Some participants noted that there was a crop of women who still felt that it was better to be involved in violent relationships than to participate in interventions that were not in sync with their cultural and religious backgrounds. For example, the apostolic sect does not allow women to participate in certain economic activities. Participant **P20** revealed that some programmes could be stalled as potential beneficiaries were refused entry; thus, due to community resistance, implementers could not penetrate such areas, causing prevalence of IPV in such areas to be left unattended.

Chatiza (2017) underscored the '*culture and religion*' factor on two dimensions. Firstly, she debated that cultural and religious beliefs often supported gender inequalities and limited women's access to development opportunities, especially in Zimbabwe's rural areas. Secondly, she provided an example of how women were considered as inferior to men by assigning them to household chores and caring roles. If women ventured into development projects, they were considered as deviants of the traditions, argued

Chatiza (2017). In addition, there are some strong religious beliefs which impede women’s agency and decision-making abilities. This syncs well with sentiments given by P20 that some churches in Zimbabwe instil that woman must be submissive to men and place precedence in their roles as wives and mothers over other pursuits. These drivers are true determinants of success or failure of WEE programmes in achieving the objective of reducing IPV.

6.9.8 Synthesis of the determinants of success

The main concern of inquiring determinants of success was to gain insights into the practical difficulties and impediments organisations came across while implementing WEE programmes. Getting deeper insights around common impediments partly enabled me to proffer workable suggestions. The major driving forces to reported challenges are patriarchal practices and limited financial resources. Regardless of the driving factor, the magnitude of individual determinants was classified and is indicated in Figure 6.14.

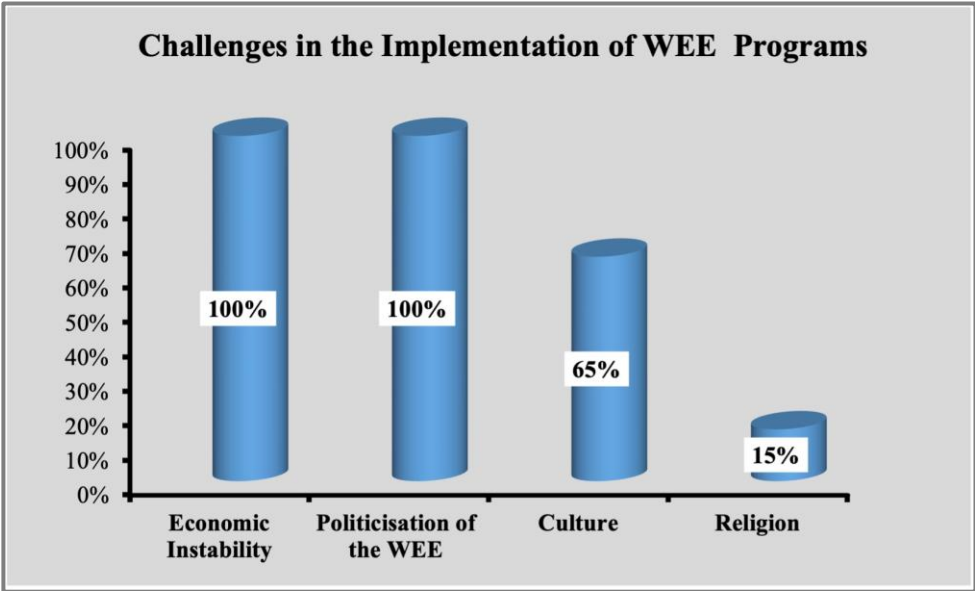


Figure 6.14: Challenges in the implementation of WEE programmes

Externally driven factors rose above all other factors, and among them economic meltdown and political interference dominated the list of determinants of success. It must be noted that participants were allowed to give multiple responses. This finding thus, is contrary to findings by scholars such as Hossain & Rahman (2021) who concluded that internally driven factors were the major impediments to the success of

WEE interventions. In that respect, Hossain & Rahman (2021) documented some challenges to include lack of diversity and collaboration between implementers which limited creativity and innovation, thus culminating in weak solutions that did not go far in solving identified problems. Additionally, technological hurdles such as limited skills and access to internet connectivity and limited use of online marketing all contributed to marked challenges. These factors cannot be ignored since they were also established by this study, though not as the top impediment factors. This could be due to the contextual difference between study areas. The Zimbabwean context is structured in such a way the WEE interventions have three groups of involved parties; namely, (1) programmes' beneficiaries, (2) implementing organisations that work through and with government departments, and (3) the VFU, a police department that is mandated to work with IPV cases. As alluded to earlier, the VFU has a dual role of working directly with IPV victims and administering the legislation and statutory instruments on IPV. In the following section the role of the VFU through the lens of objectives set ahead of the study is discussed.

6.10 ROLE OF THE VFU IN UNDERSTANDING THE WEE-IPV RELATIONSHIP

The VFU was established in 1996 as a response to the increasing number of gender-based violence cases taking place in Zimbabwe (ZRP, 2017). The unit was created to provide a safe and supportive environment for victims of all forms of violence, including IPV. The VFU is staffed by trained officers who provide specialised services, such as counselling, medical assistance, legal advice, and referral to other service providers such as WEE implementing organisations. The department also implements some preventive activities to a reasonable extent. So, in most cases, the VFU is the first attendant in IPV reported cases. In the next Sub-sections 6.10.1 to 6.10.5 cross-cutting issues around the WEE-IPV relationship through the lens of the police, are discussed. Insights from the VFU are instrumental in shedding light on the subject under study and clarifying issues raised by programmes' beneficiaries and representatives of WEE implementing organisations.

6.10.1 Classifying reported cases on IPV in Zimbabwe

Preceding sections of this chapter and reviewed literature have shown that IPV cases take different twists and turns. Therefore, it was imperative to get first-hand information

from the VFU regarding the type of IPV cases they frequently handled. Furthermore, this understanding helped in assessing the corroboration and cross examination of the cases outlined between the VFU, programmes' beneficiaries and representatives of WEE implementing organisations.

The VFU revealed that cases reported to them included physical abuse, unlawful disposal of property whereby a spouse can dispose of the property which has been acquired during the marriage without the other's knowledge, emotional abuse, and economic abuse. In an inquisitive attempt to seek clarity on economic abuse, I probed a representative from the VFU (participant **P20**) to clarify this issue, and the following was revealed:

... economic abuse involves not giving the victim money. Where there are disputes between intimate partners, and the husband end up not bringing money home to sustain the family. In such cases, we refer the victim to the civil court for maintenance and protection order so that the husband could pay an amount determined by the court to support the victim.

From these sentiments, it is clear the VFU used predetermined procedures to handle gender-based violence cases since they applied the law to deliberate on cases reported to them. It was further revealed that cases involving emotional, psychological, and economic abuse did not warrant a jail term as compared to sexual and physical abuse cases. Economic abuse only attracted jail sentence if a person failed to pay maintenance as established by the civil court.

It was furthermore revealed that laws that enabled the application and implementation of penalties that inflicted reasonable pain on the perpetrators of IPV served as instruments for reducing IPV. From this viewpoint, it must be noted that the perpetrators of violence played a critical part in the problem as well as the resolution. Yakeley (2022) confirmed that an increase in knowledge of the factors driving perpetrators in committing IPV were key in the development of effectual activities that thwarted IPV. A strong and systematic, well-aligned application of the legal framework could also strengthen the justice system and significantly reduce the perpetration of IPV. As such, the law serves a complementary role to WEE programmes in reducing IPV. The representative of the VFU clarified the procedure followed in dealing with perpetrators of violence as follows:

Once a case has been reported, the accused person is dealt with according to the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act (CPEA) [Chapter 9:07]. The arrest is instituted after enough evidence has been provided showing that the accused really committed an offence. Upon arrest, the accused person is taken to court within 48 hours of arrest for court proceedings.

Participant **P20** revealed that an arrest is instituted for every reported case if sufficient evidence were gathered and presented. This is a positive step towards reacting to IPV and can be used as a preventive measure for likely cases of IPV. However, the penalty that only comes after court proceedings may not yield the much-needed results because some victims may fail to bring to light adequate evidence due to ignorance. However, as the law applies the principle *'ignorantia legis neminem excusat'* meaning that ignorance of the law excuses no one, perpetrators will not be able to rely on a defence of "not knowing that IPV was illegal". Nevertheless, due to a general limited ability to testify against IPV perpetrators in Zimbabwe, IPV perpetration on the same women is often repeated, thereby contributing to ever-increasing cases of IPV.

6.10.2 IPV cases recorded since 2017

To get the magnitude of national IPV reported cases, a time series analysis of IPV cases reported between from 2017 until the end of 2021 was used to illustrate how bad the situation is. Results of this analysis are shown in the time series plot in Figure 6.15.

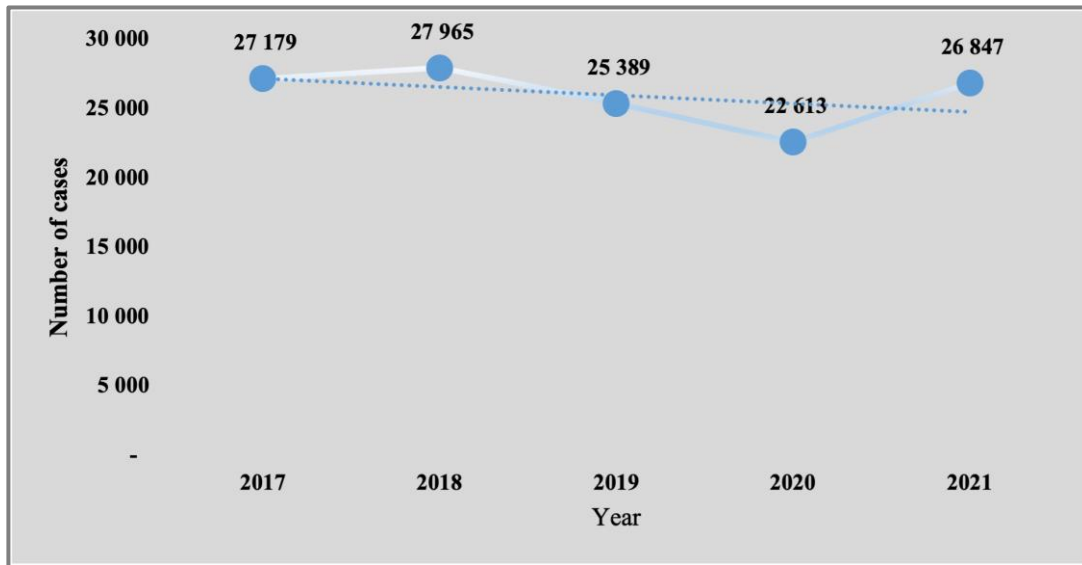


Figure 6.15: Time series plot of IPV reported cases

The time series plot shows that there was a steady decrease in the number of reported cases with a range of 5 352 cases (that is, difference between the greatest and least number of cases). The solid line shows the line graph depicting the fluctuation in cases, and the dotted line is a line of best fit which shows the overall trend. According to the line of best, between 2017 and 2021, there has been a decrease in the number of IPV cases. This could be due the contribution made by WEE interventions and other factors not discussed in this study. In 2020 there were the least number of reported cases. This could be partly explained by the fact COVID-19 suppressed movements due to imposed lockdown that limited the movement of people. As such, it could have been difficult for victims to report cases of IPV. It is however, the belief that IPV in Zimbabwe was high during this time, due to people who were forced to stay at home for lengthy periods. This could partly explain the upsurge indicated for 2021, that is, when the COVID-19 induced lockdown was lifted and IPV cases could once again be reported.

6.10.3 Safe reporting of IPV cases

The increase in the number of IPV reported cases raised two questions, namely, could the increase in the number of reported IPV cases have happened because a conducive and safe environment for reporting has been created? Or does such a platform partly inhibit perpetrators of violence to commit such cases knowing fully that they will be prosecuted? The second question has been answered by literature. For example, encouraging victims to report IPV can minimise their occurrence due to rising

awareness and because the consequences of such offences have been made more public (CDC, 2021). Additionally, reporting IPV can be very useful in averting future violence through early warning and reaction.

An alternative view to the issue is that, although the number of reported cases may be high, it is still not a reflection of the reality because of victims who would not report IPV due to the fear that they will be abused even more. This study, therefore, sought to understand how the police could protect victims to ensure that they could report IPV safely and comfortably. Answers to this question revealed the friendliness and attitude of the VFU in case management. In clarifying this issue, participant **P20** said:

The VFU uses the multi-sectorial approach; officers interview the victim in a private room to get all the necessary details. Thereafter, the victim is referred to the hospital if, there is a need, and also to the Department of Social Development (DSD) and other service providers for further counselling and psychosocial support, if the preliminary counselling that we offer is not adequate. If the victim is not comfortable to open up to a particular officer, another officer is assigned to handle the case. They can also opt to have the interview done by a police officer of the same sex with the victim if they are uncomfortable having the discussing with an officer of the opposite sex. In most cases, police officers share offices, but victims have the right to have other officers out of office so that they can discuss with one officer only.

It is clear from the above explanation that a conducive environment for reporting exists. However, the matter requires further exploration, especially from the position of the perspective of victims. What remain unanswered is the question on the measures used by the VFU to ensure that the victims are protected from further abuse after reporting. It could be that the VFU assumes that once the law has taken its course, the violence comes to an end. From what has been discovered though, the VFU plays a pivotal role in containing the violence in the short run, and in setting the scene for recommending victims to WEE implementing agencies for further help in the long run.

6.10.4 Programmes spearheaded by the VFU

While WEE programmes have been widely and strongly acknowledged by most respondents and selected literature as an instrumental tool in reducing IPV, it has also been acknowledged that WEE programmes alone are not adequate in reducing IPV. In light of these facts, the VFU indicated that they implemented awareness campaigns, whereby the public are informed about the different ways they can solve their issues amicably. The VFU uses roadshows and television and radio programmes to spread the gospel of having violent-free relationships. They also use the same platforms to inform the public on the steps they can take when they experience IPV. Additionally, the police engage with many stakeholders, such as traditional leaders, churches, other government departments and development partners, thus applying a multi-sectorial approach.

Gathered evidence has shown that the police, through its VFU, is doing much in containing IPV cases in the country. Despite the presence of these efforts, Johnson (2011) advised that there may be a need to closely measure and monitor such activities to ascertain their impact considering that IPV is a multifaceted issue with complex causes. Johnson (2011) further noted that IPV is influenced by individual factors such as psychological distress, relationship dynamics including power imbalances, and socio-cultural factors such as gender inequality. Additionally, the interplay of these factors could create ripple effects that might increase the likelihood of IPV occurrence. As such, WEE interventions supported by the police must be guided and monitored by comprehensive theories of change to objectively assess progress of various activities. The representative from the VFU further noted that a high alert was necessary for the constant shifting and layering of interventions according to what was transpiring on the ground.

6.10.5 Challenges faced by the VFU in executing their mandate

Generally, in any given project or programme, results are realised when activities, roles and responsibilities are executed holistically with the support of relevant stakeholders. In the preceding sections of this chapter some of the challenges confronting WEE interventions in their quest to reduce IPV were highlighted. Similarly, the VFU, as a key stakeholder, faces significant challenges in their contribution to IPV reduction.

Prominent challenges they face include limited resources at their disposal to carry out their full mandate; especially roadshows and other awareness campaigns. They also have challenges in providing interim shelter to victims needing such a service before referring them to other agencies. The VFU noted that there is a need for cases to be investigated in order to gather adequate evidence for those cases to be considered and referred to the courts. Gathering evidence from witnesses who might be staying far from court, is often challenging since some of them may require overnight accommodation.

Another notable challenge faced by the VFU is that of the withdrawal of cases by complainants. It was revealed that amidst the process of compiling evidence needed to arrest the perpetrator, some complainants approach the police asking them to withdraw cases. In most cases, the victims would have been persuaded or threatened by the IPV perpetrators to withdraw their complaints. In some cases, the complainants would stop cooperating with the investigating officers, such as not showing up when they are called to provide additional information, or changing their narrative, making it difficult for the investigation to continue. In other instances, the complainant would agree to go to court but would not bring witnesses with them to testify in a court of law, thus sabotaging the case.

6.11 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, findings within the context of existing knowledge were discussed by cross examining the perspectives shared by key stakeholders in the WEE-IPV relationship. In addition, issues ranging from the causes of IPV to the nature of WEE interventions and their effectiveness, the determinants of programmes' success, and the role of the police in reducing IPV were also discussed. The researched and culminated evidence led to the generation of a prescriptive WEE strengthening conceptual model discussed in the next chapter, Section 7.3. Specifically, the next chapter provides a summary of study findings by revisiting the research problem, discussing the attainment of objectives, and drawing up recommendations based on study findings, before suggesting areas of future and further research based on limitations of this study.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is structured so that a summary of study findings could first be given. The summary of findings is followed by the research conclusion which specifically focuses on the research problem, objectives and hypotheses of this study. Thereafter, the recommendations and limitations of the study are discussed before, finally, indicating areas for further research.

7.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In this section, a concluding summary of the key findings of this study is provided. Since data was gathered from a wide range of sources, key participants who were largely WEE programmes stakeholders, their responses were presented in this thesis as those of representing the beneficiaries' and implementers' sides. Thus, responses given by implementers are those that representatives of the implementing organisations, government departments and funding partners gave me. Data gathered to compile this report thus include socio-economic demographic data of beneficiaries and their experiences in participating in WEE interventions, and experiences of implementers in administering WEE programmes. These data collectively culminated into the development of a WEE strengthening conceptual model that was presented in Section 7.3. Inspired by Garcia's (2020) advice, Table 7.1 below, provides a harmonised summary of key findings in line with objectives set for this study (see Section 1.4).

Table 7.1: Summary of study findings

Study findings	Approach	Remarks
Root causes of IPV in Zimbabwe.	Questionnaire surveys and interviews were used to gather data around this matter. Gathered data were then analysed using frequency and conversation analyses.	Financial conflicts, nuclear and extended families, infidelity, and step-parenting were noted as the main drivers of IPV in Zimbabwe. Interestingly, financial conflicts attracted 42% of responses and far outweighed other causes. As such, use of WEE interventions to contain incidences of IPV will go a long way in reducing a significant percentage of IPV cases.
Realities around WEE interventions in Zimbabwe.	This finding was established from frequency analysis of beneficiaries' and implementers' responses to the questionnaire survey, and thematic analysis of interview data. Thematic analysis was partly guided by use of a structuralist approach in interpreting sentiments given by interviewees.	Among all the revealed realities, key themes generated included variants of WEE programmes, level of beneficiaries' participation, and sustainability of WEE interventions. It was revealed that the greater the time of active participation, the greater the benefits the participants realise. Most WEE interventions have the livelihood, entrepreneurship, and formal education components, but the livelihood element stood out as the component that made a statistically significant contribution to the reduction of incidences of IPV.
Resources availed to WEE interventions aimed at reducing IPV.	Frequency analysis of generated responses and thematic analysis were used to classify resources into financial, technical, starter packs, and education.	A significant percentage of responses suggested that technical resources regarding how to design and operationalise livelihood interventions stood out among all the resources mentioned by study respondents. In clarifying this finding, interviewees pointed out that they placed much emphasis on empowering beneficiaries with skills and knowledge of running interventions that can sustain them beyond the life of rolled-out programmes. Considering the financial constraints that confronted most implementing organisations, beneficiaries equipped with skills could look for funding elsewhere and use their skills to sustain themselves.
Contribution of WEE on IPV reduction.	Frequency analysis, MLRM, and conversation analysis were used to dissect issues around the contribution of WEE intervention in reducing IPV incidences.	The contribution of WEE programmes in reducing IPV cases was met with mixed reactions. A significant percentage (78%) of beneficiaries noted a positive contribution of WEE programmes in reducing IPV. MLRM was used to further clarify this finding by testing for the statistical significance of WEE components in reducing IPV. Only the livelihood component proved to be statistically significant in reducing IPV cases. However, there is a section of respondents who also experienced an increase in IPV incidences following

Study findings	Approach	Remarks
		their active participation in livelihood-oriented interventions though this section was outweighed by the percentage that experienced significant reduction. So, to a greater extent, gathered data confirmed the hypothesis on the inverse relationship between implementation of WEE programmes and IPV cases in Zimbabwe. Details on why there was an insignificant percentage that experienced an increase in IPV after participating in WEE interventions were revealed by interviewees.
Determinants of programmes' success.	Conversation analysis and thematic analysis were partly enabled by the use of a structuralist approach to better understand the key drivers of the success of WEE programmes.	The major drivers of success of the programmes that the study participants revealed include economic and political turbulences, ineffective partnerships between implementing organisations, and cultural and religious filters. Importantly, male chauvinism, deeply entrenched in cultural and religious norms and wisdom exacerbated incidences of IPV. This is because some perpetrators of violence were not comfortable having economically independent women in their lives. So, once women were empowered, tension in such relationships rose thereby thwarting the contribution of WEE programmes in reducing IPV cases.
Role of implementing and coordinating agencies.	Frequency analysis, and conversation and thematic analysis were used to establish the key role played by implementers in their totality to reduce cases of IPV and empower women.	Through their various interventions, WEE agencies collectively assumed the following roles: availing financial support; localisation of policies and laws; advocacy and lobbying; research; awareness campaigning; provision of psycho-social support and counselling; referring and protecting survivors of IPV; and capacity building.
Structure of WEE programmes.	Frequency analysis, and conversation analysis were used to improve on the understanding of WEE programme structures.	While the quantitative data mainly looked at baseline studies and situational and needs assessments, qualitative data supported the responses by explaining that implementing, coordinating and funding organisations undertook research, M&E, and knowledge management activities.
Overall, use of mixed methods enabled qualitative and quantitative data sets to complement each other and compensate for their individual weaknesses without prioritising one over the other. Context specific and comprehensive data gathered in this study has revealed rich insights that can be used by key stakeholders to improve on the quality of programming for further reduction of IPV cases. Some of the insights derived led to the generation of recommendations given in Section 7.5.		

Source: Researcher's compilation

Overall, Table 7.1 gives a concluding summary of key findings. Thus, data revealed that there is a strong relationship between WEE programmes and IPV reduction in Zimbabwe. However, it also came out strongly that WEE programmes alone are not adequate for reducing IPV without dealing with the mind-set of IPV perpetrators. These programmes must be strengthened through continuously improving M&E systems of implementing organisations to ensure improved sustainability and continuity. It is also important that WEE programmes be provided with more access to capital, since most WEE programmes focus on building technical skills without being able to provide in another core issue, namely capital. This implies that, in addition to providing technical skills and finance, determinants of success, such as designing effective partnerships, as well as addressing root causes of IPV embedded in cultural and patriarchal practices, must be strengthened to guarantee a reduction of IPV.

7.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY: MODEL FOR STRENGTHENING WEE INTERVENTIONS

In the preceding sections of this chapter and in the earlier chapters of this study a wide array of concerns related to the contribution of WEE initiatives in reducing IPV with much prominence on the Zimbabwean experience had been discussed. In this section an effort is made to harmonise the theoretical, conceptual, analytical, methodological, and empirical matters deliberated in the preceding sections. A composite analysis of this nature is essential since it conjointly highlights the research problem and how the current research has filled that gap. This chapter was inspired by classical sources that concurred that it is the aim of research to create knowledge (Hakim, 2000; Creswell, 2005; Bryman, 2007). As such, this section brings to light the significance of this research in knowledge edification.

By restating the research problem (Section 1.3) this section is put in context. Using different strategies, WEE interventions are used as one of the instruments for reducing IPV incidences in Zimbabwe and elsewhere (WHO, 2015). However, it has been argued that such commendable efforts use a '*one-size-fits-all*' approach, turning a blind eye on the differences in religious, cultural and geographical contexts underlying individual cases. Thus, despite the adoption of WEE as one of the instruments for reducing IPV in Zimbabwe, culminating evidence has shown that IPV cases are still on

the rise. Thus, this study facilitated research on the invisible threads that knit together WEE interventions and IPV incidences with the view of strengthening WEE approaches to effectively reduce IPV since very few studies have been done to establish the underlying reasons to the relationship between WEE programmes and cases of IPV in Zimbabwe. This thesis fits in a wider multi-disciplinary debate about the need for WEE programmes that are effective in reducing IPV cases.

Firstly, this study is comprehensive in nature because it drew data from all stakeholders involved in WEE interventions aimed at reducing incidences of IPV in Zimbabwe. Past efforts were fragmented in accordance with respondents' perceptions. Since the nexus between WEE and IPV is broad and complex and involves many stakeholders, the use of a mono-respondent strategy may not give a full or holistic picture of living realities, which situation can be compared to the problem of the blind men touching an elephant in order to describe the animal. This thesis thus aimed to knit and weave together comprehensive data from different fronts to lay a bedrock for improving WEE approaches to reduce IPV cases. As such, data used to build a case for Zimbabwe was drawn from WEE programmes' beneficiaries, implementing organisations (*that work hand-in-glove with funding organisations and government departments*), and the police working through its VFU. As such, this study assembled a wide range of insights because it harmonised the perspectives of all stakeholders and reconciled them with existing knowledge in that area of study.

Secondly, considering the broadness and the complexity of this study, it has been shaped by four theories, namely the empowerment, capability, liberal feminist, and modernity theories. These theories not only shaped the present study in four different ways; they also provided rich and comprehensive insights that were used as points of departure in this study, namely, they helped:

1. dissect the empowerment agenda since empowerment takes different forms including economic empowerment, which is designed to achieve many objectives, among them, the reduction of IPV. So, the review of this theory helped clarify and specify variables that have the latent opportunities to reduce IPV;
2. explain issues surrounding competences, capacities and abilities of women in dealing with intimate violence confronting them;

3. understand the rights of women in relationships and societies; and
4. explain the role of culture in designing and implementing empowerment programmes.

Thirdly, this study used context specific data to bring to light the realities in Zimbabwe. These realities include socio-economic and political factors, drivers of IPV, effectiveness of partnerships in rolling out WEE interventions, structure of WEE programmes, and the legal perspective to the matter. The local contexts were related to global and regional practices around WEE and IPV with a view of tracing similarities, differences, and alignment. Culminating evidence has led to the generation of a context-specific, data-driven and evidence-based conceptual model that can be used to strengthen WEE interventions in Zimbabwe if they are to effectively reduce incidences of IPV. The resultant model is shown in Figure 7.1.

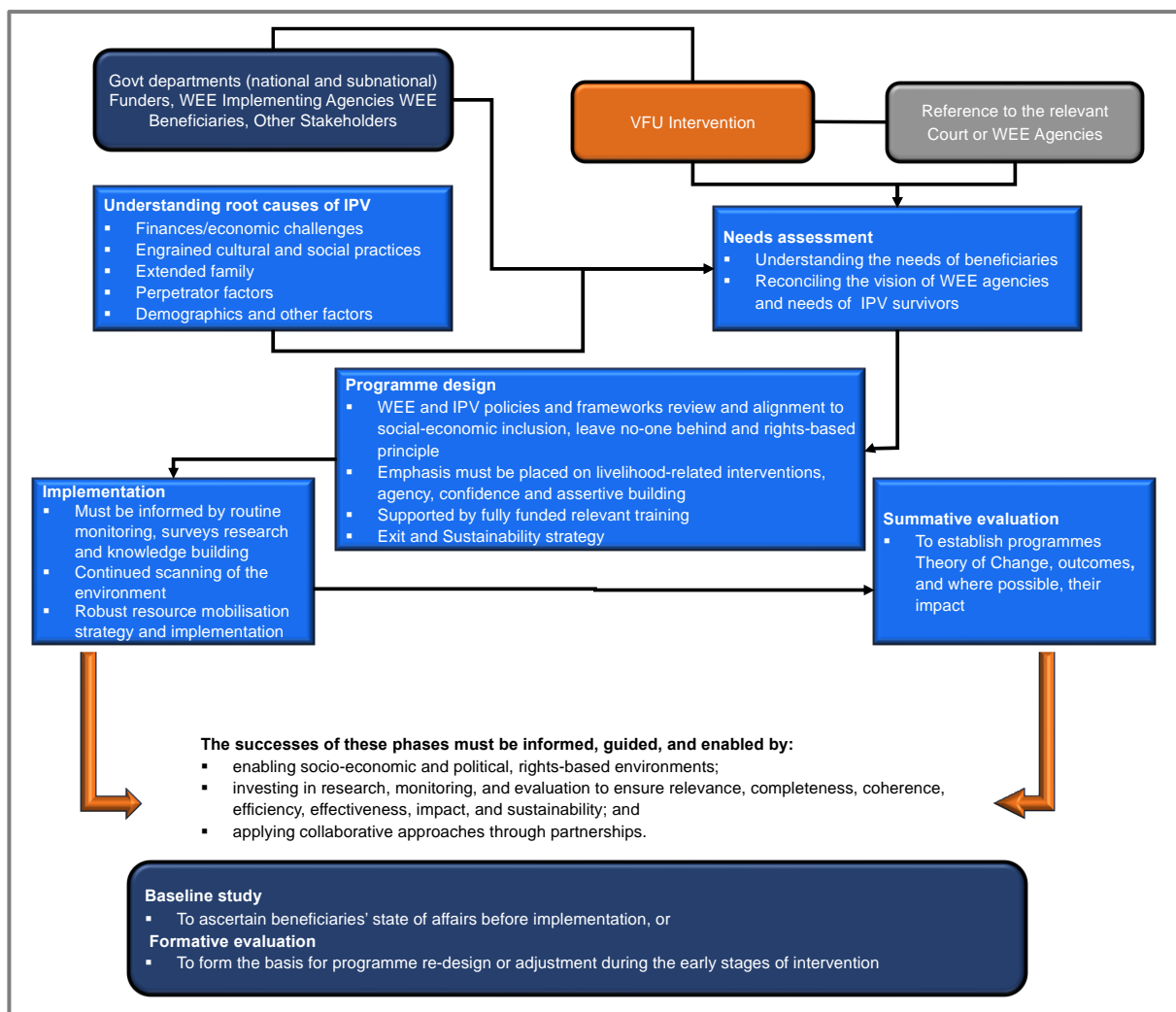


Figure 7.1: WEE Strengthening Conceptual Model (Researcher's Construct)

The prescriptive model in Figure 7.1 has been informed by findings of this study. It must be noted that steps, as depicted by the arrows, are essential ingredients in making WEE interventions a success if they are to effectively reduce IPV in Zimbabwe. Firstly, the root cause of IPV must be established objectively by considering all actors and factors in IPV. This study revealed three top causes on which much emphasis must be placed, however, it is important to be on the lookout for other causes and variations of IPV that may pop up in relationships. Depending on the nature of the cause, victims of IPV can approach the VFU or approach WEE agencies if victims know about their existence and their services, but it is advised that, regardless of the cause, they approach the VFU for expert guidance. The VFU can institute arrest if adequate evidence is available and take the matter to the relevant court (civil or criminal) depending on the nature of problem. Where there is need for counselling, shelter and additional help, they can refer the victims to WEE agencies.

Secondly, upon reaching WEE agencies, a needs assessment of a pool of cases before them must be carried out in consultation with other stakeholders. WEE agencies must not use their template approaches to intervene because peculiar issues may result in the ineffectiveness of programmes if the needs of beneficiaries are not considered. It must be noted that WEE implementing organisations (through and with their funders and government departments) have predetermined mandates defined in their corporate statements, but they must reconcile their vision with the needs of their beneficiaries to ensure a bottom-up consensus.

Thirdly, programme design must be taken seriously as this is the key determinant of success. Study results have shown that, of the interventions used by most WEE organisations, livelihood-related interventions have made a statistically significant contribution to the reduction of IPV. As such, programmes in the realm of livelihoods must be adopted, but it must be supported by availing relevant and adequately funded training to ensure the beneficiaries have the prerequisite skills and knowledge of operationalising the recommended programmes. Furthermore, it was revealed that working through and with partner organisations resulted in more impact when compared to interventions that were centred on one organisation. However, partnerships must be well negotiated and parameters guiding partnerships must be

clearly defined. Then, a predetermined exit strategy must be put in place to ensure continuity of the programme and smooth exit of WEE implementing organisations.

Fourthly, study findings further revealed that the success of interventions, with regard to their ability to measure their contribution at the end of intervention was best established when either a baseline study or formative evaluation was carried out. On one end, a baseline study is used to establish the state of affairs of beneficiaries before participating in WEE programmes for easy comparison with their status quo at the end of an intervention. This provides the basis for measuring the outcomes, and where possible, the impact of interventions. On the other, a formative evaluation is carried out during the early stages of an intervention to assess beneficiaries and implementing teams' satisfaction, scope and schedule of an intervention, budgetary alignment and overall quality of the intervention. This provides scope for programme re-design and adjustment of objectives without altering the overall aim of an intervention.

Fifth, during implementation, alignment is ensured through routine monitoring activities. Such activities seek to answer questions, such as, are things working as they are supposed to? Are targets being met? Is there a need for change or adjustment? If so, in what direction? Answers to these and similar questions ensure success of interventions.

Finally, at the end of intervention, a summative evaluation must be carried out to establish end-line indicators. These indicators are then compared with baseline indicators to establish the extent of reduction of previously experienced IPV among other changes. Results of a summative evaluation are used to draw lessons learnt and inform future interventions. As such, the conceptual model is cyclical in nature. For effective utilisation of the proposed model, the following six **principles** must be upheld and adhered to:

- 1. The model is survivor-centred.** IPV causes harm to survivors in many ways. These are the people that the WEE model aims to value and resuscitate. After implementing the WEE for the IPV reduction programme, the survivors' dignity and value should be restored as best as possible in a measurable way.
- 2. Cultural and community norms are respected and valued.** The WEE interventions and engagements must make the needs of the diverse women

subpopulation context-specific. Genuine and open collaborations should be forged in the community to implement the WEE model successfully. The implementation process may include partnering with cultural and religious organisations within a given society using the communities' social capital framework.

- 3. Accountability.** This involves creating pathways to responsibilities. An accountability framework that is anchored on the two main pillars of responsibilities and transparency will be used by all stakeholders. This applies to the government, WEE agencies and the beneficiaries, as each should play their part.
- 4. Implementation should be needs-based.** A scientific and holistic approach should be used to address the multi-dimensional needs of the survivors of IPV. But it should not be a blanket approach. What worked in one community may not work in the next community. A needs assessment should be done first before a prescription is given.
- 5. Participatory line.** The process of implementation of the WEE programme should be community led, both women and men should be active agents of change and empower themselves to take action against IPV. This allows for holistic results in the community.
- 6. Continual monitoring and evaluation.** The model is cyclic. Needs and circumstances sometimes change in the middle of the implementation process. There is, therefore, a need to monitor and evaluate the implementation process and the outcomes at each stage. Findings derived from the monitoring and evaluation should be used for evidence-based decision-making.

Overall, study results have revealed that since Zimbabwe is experiencing an economic and political crisis since the new millennium, the success of all WEE interventions has largely been dependent on externally driven factors. Little can be done by WEE agencies to changes these factors, but they can use their catalytic and convening power (since there is power in coordinated numbers) to reach out to relevant authorities to negotiate smoothing their terrain. The prescriptive conceptual model indicated in Figure 7.1 is a function of investment in research, monitoring and evaluation. As such, WEE agencies must heavily invest in research to ensure that their

efforts achieve the desired results, through rolling out relevant, efficient, effective, impactful, sustainable, and coherent programmes.

7.4 RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS

In this section research conclusions in relation to the research problem, objectives, and hypotheses as had been outlined in Chapter 1 are discussed.

7.4.1 Research problem

This study sought to answer a three-fold research problem. First, WEE interventions have been advocated for as one of the best strategies for reducing IPV. Against this background, many organisations have and are still implementing WEE programmes in Zimbabwe with the principal objective of reducing IPV cases yet, IPV cases are continuously on the rise. Literature has indicated that comprehensive research is required that would study the invisible threads knitting together WEE interventions and incidences of IPV with the view of developing a WEE strengthening conceptual model. Secondly, it has become evident that existing studies were turning a blind eye on the differences in religious, cultural and geographical contexts underlying individual cases of IPV. Accessible theories and literature have advanced that unique contexts regarding drivers of IPV and determinants of success for WEE interventions must be taken into account for WEE interventions to be effective. It is envisaged that interventions designed while referring to contextual factors would make it easier to address underlying causes of IPV since such factors differed between and within regions. Finally, most accessible studies on the interplay between IPV and WEE are descriptive, scarcely supported by numerical data, and based on limited samples. Thus, to explain and elaborate on some behavioural issues that were established in existing research, quantitative data was required.

I am of the opinion that there has been sufficient reflection on the three-fold research problem in this research. This was done through the provision of comprehensive, contextual and quantitative data on the interplay between IPV and WEE, which could be applied to provide a contextual and conceptual framework for strengthening interventions in Zimbabwe as discussed in Section 7.3. This WEE strengthening conceptual model incorporates root causes of IPV; role of key stakeholders in

managing IPV and latent opportunities for using partnerships in rolling out interventions; interventions that have been empirically proven as most effective in reducing incidences of IPV; and use of M&E best practices in designing and implementing such effective interventions in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, discussions of the comprehensive data in Section 7.3 proved to be significant in outlining how to draw insights from the proposed model.

In addition, the cultural, religious and geographical context framework proposed in this study was informed by qualitative and quantitative data which was gathered from key stakeholders in WEE. Specifically, quantitative data used in this study was, mainly, analysed using frequency analysis and MLRM to compress large volumes of data into a few summary measures. After the data was collected, it was essential to organise, analyse, summarise, present, and interpret the results, so as to draw insights used to inform the WEE strengthening conceptual model. The spirit and purpose of the quantitative data was to provide a profile of the data attributes, to convey meaning and to develop a model based on the empirical evidence.

7.4.2 Attainment of goal of the study and objectives

By first establishing four study objectives, it became easier to address the research problem discussed in Sub-section 7.4.1 and to attain such objectives. It was this study's first objective *“to determine the extent to which the theories underpinning the study influence WEE programmes implementation globally and specifically in Zimbabwe”*. In Chapter 2, the empowerment, capability, liberal feminist, and modernity theories were discussed as a way to explain variables, concepts, and assumptions that shaped WEE practices globally. Review of these theories and their practical applications in different contexts partly shaped this study regarding drawing up assumptions, predicting study variables, shaping concepts, and choosing relevant research methodology and a mixed methods approach in this context.

The second objective was *“to ascertain the impacts of existing international WEE guiding frameworks in relation to IPV incidences in Zimbabwe”*. It was thus revealed that, to a large extent, WEE interventions implemented in Zimbabwe were a mere reflection of best practices of WEE that were enshrined in international and regional guiding frameworks, such as the SADC protocol on GDF, the Maputo Protocol on GBV,

BDPA, CEDAW, and SDGs. Locally, the Zimbabwean government was using the NGP, WEEFS, and protocol on the MSMSAVZ to guide and regulate the operation of all WEE implementing organisations. Since Zimbabwe signed some of these international conventions and declarations, all the locally used frameworks mimicked international conventions with some insignificant deviations made in an effort to suit local contexts. In Chapters 3 and 4, I expanded on international and local WEE practices respectively.

The third objective was *“to examine WEE programmes and policies implemented in Zimbabwe towards reducing IPV”*. In addressing this objective, a comprehensive combination of qualitative and quantitative data was used. The results of the study showed that those women who participated in livelihood programmes that taught them lifetime skills, mostly experienced a significant reduction in IPV incidences. This is because gathered evidence has shown that the livelihood element was the only component that when compared to other components of WEE interventions, statistically contributed significantly to IPV being reduced or increased. However, it must be noted that other variants of WEE must not be disregarded and that much emphasis must be placed on WEE variants that effectively reduced incidences of IPV. Overall, the study revealed key determinants to the success of WEE interventions to include: rolling out programmes on a partnership basis so that they could complement the strengths or compensate for the weaknesses of each of the programmes; designing WEE interventions that are apolitical so as not to interfere with national politics; and tapping into indigenous knowledge systems since they reflect local cultural and religious beliefs. The study then also revealed that the police played a dual role in dealing with incidences of IPV in that they interacted with victims of IPV by counselling them and advising them on the next steps to be taken regarding their matters, and they enforced the legal instruments regarding incidences of IPV.

The fourth objective was *“to develop a context-specific and evidence-based WEE strengthening conceptual model towards reducing IPV in Zimbabwe”*. A context-specific model had to be designed to capture the various issues that key stakeholders referred to as well as those drawn from accessible literature and theories. These included the root causes of IPV, role of stakeholders, and use of M&E best practices to ensure effectiveness of WEE interventions. Finer details regarding the relational set-up of concepts embedded in the model were given in the schematic diagram in Figure

7.1. These finer details proved to be essential in providing users with guiding parameters in using the prescribed model.

7.4.3 Hypotheses

As referred to in Sub-section 1.4.3, two hypotheses were used in this thesis. Thus, in the following section the results of the tests are discussed in an effort to prove or disprove these hypotheses. Two discoveries were made; with the confirmation of one hypothesis and with the results that were contrary to another hypothesis. The results allowed that for these two possible outcomes, discoveries were made.

The first hypothesis was that *“under ideal conditions, there must be a negative relationship between WEE programmes implementation and IPV cases in Zimbabwe”*. To a large extent, the results of the study proved this hypothesis to be true. A significant percentage (78%) of beneficiaries reported that WEE programmes positively contributed to reducing IPV incidences. MLRM was used to further clarify this finding by testing for the statistical significance of WEE components in reducing cases of IPV. Only the livelihood component proved to be statically significant in reducing IPV cases. However, even though there was a section of respondents who experienced an increase in IPV incidences following their active participation in livelihood-oriented interventions, those experiences were outweighed by the respondents who experienced significantly less IPV. So, to a greater extent, gathered data confirmed the hypothesis of the inverse relationship between implementation of WEE programmes and IPV cases in Zimbabwe. Details on why there is an insignificant percentage that experienced increase in IPV after participating in WEE interventions were revealed by interviewees (see Section 6.9).

The second hypothesis was that *“an upward trend of the relationship between WEE and IPV will continue into the foreseeable future if existing WEE frameworks are not adjusted to consider local contexts”*. Study findings gave results contrary to this hypothesis. It was learnt that 78% of IPV victims experienced a reduction in IPV cases due to their active participation in WEE programmes. Furthermore, trend analysis of IPV cases recorded by the VFU from 2017 until the end of 2021 (see Figure 6.14) showed that there was a steady decrease in the number of IPV cases, but this could be partly attributed to the fact that COVID-19 inhibited many victims from reporting IPV

cases, since that period coincided with COVID-19 induced lockdowns. In spite of these positive statistics, gathered qualitative data has pointed out that existing approaches have numerous gaps which, if not addressed, would cause cases of IPV in Zimbabwe to continue to increase. This, therefore, calls for the revision of current approaches to improve their effectiveness, as suggested in Section 7.3.

7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are based on literature and empirical findings from this study. Most recommendations were derived from answering research questions and hypotheses and the significance of the study towards a model for strengthening WEE programmes in Zimbabwe. Findings from the study have shown that there is a need to strengthen the existing systems for WEE programme implementation to achieve reduction of IPV.

Therefore, the following recommendations for policy, practice, theory and research proffered in the study may help address the reduction of IPV through WEE. Interestingly and in summary, the findings from the study revealed that most participating organisations adhered to M&E best practices including conducting evaluation studies. As such, some of the suggestions given by study participants were informed by recommendations they extracted from evaluation reports. This is supported by Baizan, Cooley, Fares & Healy (2021) who argued that recommendations for policy and practice in development sector programming are informed by an array of factors, encompassing needs assessments, context-specific and evidence-based information, research, and M&E results. So, the culminating evidence led to the generation of stakeholder-specific recommendations. As stated in Chapter 5 (Research Methodology) and emphasised in Chapter 6 (The nexus between WEE and IPV based on evidence from Zimbabwe), data was gathered and analysed using two key classes of stakeholders, namely beneficiaries and implementers.

7.5.1 Policy and strategy (practice)

This set of recommendations is targeted at government departments mandated to coordinate, oversee, and implement WEE and IPV reduction programmes in Zimbabwe. The recommendations are twofold; the first leg focuses on improving WEE

programmes, and the second leg focuses on improving and strengthening IPV reduction strategies.

7.5.1.1 Improvement of implementation of WEE programmes

- Through the MWACSMED, the Zimbabwe government must promote and encourage more organisations to engage in supporting WEE programmes. This can be achieved through improving transparency, restructuring and simplifying regulatory, registration, and administrative procedures to attract more agencies to undertake targeted development programmes. A key policy strategy is that the government needs to use a new paradigm of a problem-questioning rather than problem-solving approach which will require involvement, consultation and participation of women throughout the implementation process.
- Policies are filled with concepts. Women Economic Empowerment is a concept that is relatively open-ended or hotly contested or misunderstood. To tackle disjointed and small-scale implementation of WEE programmes aimed at reducing IPV, the government must create platforms for establishing clear-cut meanings, coordination mechanisms; dialoguing facilitation; and networking opportunities to leverage on collective resource mobilisation and management, expertise and collaboration where similar development programmes are being implemented.
- The representation of IPV calls for the recognition that IPV is a competing problem that have existed and still exists over time and across space and hence things could be developed differently. Following the twists and turns of the WEE programme policies, this study makes a key recommendation that the Zimbabwe government, through the MWACSMED, should adopt inclusive policy design where policies and programmes are informed by concerns of all key stakeholders. This involves placing the problem under scrutiny; thus, problem representations will not be taken for granted anymore. It is also critical that there is multi-stakeholder participation, including women participation, which would allow for the exploration of the stakeholders' specific needs and barriers to economic empowerment. A key intervention in these round table discussions is to ask-what is left or fails to be problematised.

- The government should consider strengthening how women economic empowerment is institutionalised between the discourse, policy and beneficiaries, to effectively implement WEE policies and frameworks that recognise and address possible resistance because the discourse should be an asset or resource for re-problematisation. A key example to consider pertains to Broad-Based Women Economic Empowerment (BBWEE), and women's micro-finance models that may effectively benefit if they are underpinned by an interpretive dimension of the analytical process of the discourse.
- Social construction and social protection can make an unimaginable thriving force towards empowering women from marginal and vulnerable orientations. This study calls for the Zimbabwe government (GoZ) to leverage on the existing social protection programmes, especially cash transfers for rural and urban women and the Assisted Medical Treatment Orders (AMTO), and embed them in those WEE programmes that have one objective, thus to reduce IPV.
- The GoZ is furthermore encouraged to support shelters as one of the critical programmes for survivors of IPV which could easily be combined with WEE initiatives, since IPV survivors will then be residing in one place with limited mobility. Currently very few shelters in Zimbabwe are run by NGOs who apply WEE initiatives for the period that the women are residing in such shelters.

7.4.1.2 Government's response to IPV cases

- The Zimbabwe government should view IPV as a public health issue that affects the economy and therefore requires leadership to continuously and consistently lead strong campaign messages and statements condemning the IPV. For example, the South African president, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, publicly declared GBV as a second pandemic after COVID-19 in 2022. He has also made a clarion call to men to come forth and end IPV since they were the ones who perpetrated it. In that respect the president of Zimbabwe should make a strong public stand and call the nation against IPV.
- Due to an archaic legal framework in the form of the Domestic Violence Act (DVA), there is a realised and significant gap that impedes quality interventions for IPV survivors as the DVA has never been reviewed since its enactment in 2007. For example, in 2021, President Cyril Ramaphosa of South Africa,

supported the amendment of the South African DVA of 1998, which was then assented to in 2022, as part of a strategy to strengthen efforts to end gender-based violence, with a victim-centred focus on combating this dehumanising pandemic. In the light of this, the government of Zimbabwe is encouraged to conduct periodic reviews of critical instruments such as the DVA.

- The GoZ should adopt a disciplined approach to fiscal policy by providing adequate funding for anti-IPV-focused agencies. By making this a priority in the country's budget underfunding experiences that have occurred during the past decades will be limited.
- Tailored assistance that focuses on prevention and early intervention of IPV, should be a key focus of government's public education on legal provisions of marriage legislation, such as the DVA and Maintenance Act (MA), and other accessible legal remedies. Education and awareness can assist in increasing IPV victims' understanding of the rights and protection available to them, thereby encouraging reporting of cases of abuse and challenging societal norms that perpetuate violence.
- Focusing attention at the dominance of the language of oppression, discrimination and undervaluing of women and ruthless justifying of abuse towards women in discussions about women in society that makes men's advantages invisible, must be managed by the GoZ by providing structural and moral support and positionality on all forms of media channels, such social media and community development engagement programmes, to accelerate anti-IPV-awareness campaigns.
- Improving women's embodied lived experiences may require increasing the capacity of law enforcement agents and the judiciary and security systems. The need for choice and control is imperative for all women and the centrality and responsibility to reinforce this view falls on the government.
- The GoZ needs to improve reporting and safeguarding systems in the country. The recommendation comes after a realisation that children and women often suffer deeply as they could be unable to escape. This requires the VFU to consider enhancing reporting mechanisms for all types of IPV. Victimhood and helplessness are linked attributes but both represent some level of complexity

which requires streamlined systems, such as dedicated confidential helplines, anonymous online reporting platforms, and 24/7 dedicated support services. The current reporting and safeguarding systems are limited.

- The GoZ must prioritise and provide funding, technical support and crucial services such as shelters and means to deliver psycho-social and counselling services.
- The GoZ must strengthen coordination and coherence of multi-sectoral collaboration among diverse stakeholders involved in IPV and combat competitiveness among various implementing agencies. This can be achieved through forging strategic partnerships among agencies with related and diverse WEE programmes. Fragmentation came out as a strong impediment to WEE viability. Approaches such as the national case management system (NCM) and the integrated management information system (IMIS) commonly used in child protection can be adopted to handling IPV cases to enable the easy management of IPV information and to avoid duplication of interventions among beneficiaries. The government must strengthen key ministries that directly and indirectly deal with IPV cases. For example, the MWACSMED and the Ministry of Home Affairs and Cultural Heritage (MHACH) that oversee police operations, and the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (MPSE), that should be adequately funded to be able to teach gender equality from early ages and to conscientise people of their rights.

7.5.2 Recommendations to funding organisations

Related to WEE implementing agencies, funders are recommended to:

- Clearly define objectives, activities, and expected outcomes of WEE programmes they support. In this case, clarity entails having WEE programme documents plainly outlining the objective of reducing IPV using the SMART criterion (Specific, Measurable, and Attainable, Realistic, and Timeous objectives). The same must be applied in showing the link between root causes of IPV and activities that have inherent potential to bring tangible solutions against IPV.

- Strengthen engagement with local communities through investing in research activities such as needs assessments, baseline studies, routine monitoring surveys, and evaluation studies. Direct contact with programmes' beneficiaries and other stakeholders partly enables the development of a bottom-up consensus between the beneficiaries and implementers' sides. This should also include investing in robust M&E systems that allow for easy collection of relevant, timeous, complete, up-to-date, and reliable data. This must partly be enabled by encouraging learning from project experiences, sharing of best practices, and incorporating feedback into future interventions.
- Support innovation and adaptability in development projects by both implementers and beneficiaries. This must include availing funding that supports experimentation and learning from failures through providing development of remedies. Such approaches should condition implementers to respond to unexpected challenges through incorporating new knowledge and technologies.
- Promote sustainability and development of sound programme exit strategies through guaranteeing long-term practicability of interventions after programmes' funding phase have passed. Emphasis must be placed on supporting initiatives that have a clear financial plan, local ownership, and institutional development capacity. This recommendation borrowed its inspiration from the capability approach that reinforces improving human capacity for economic independence rather than investing in transferring economic products which will be depleted by the end of programmes' funding. So, more funding must be allocated to finance the education component of WEE programmes so that women can have sufficient knowledge and economic power for improving their assertiveness and agency.
- Strengthen knowledge-sharing initiatives and encourage collaboration among project beneficiaries, implementers, practitioners, and researchers. This includes supporting the dissemination of project results, organising sharing platforms, such as workshops and conferences, and promoting open access to programmes' data and resources.

- Develop other sources for financial and start-up support systems that are more accessible so as to complement existing efforts, since technical support is dominantly being provided by WEE implementing agencies.

7.5.3 Recommendations to implementing organisations

- Implementing agencies must adopt and implement properly designed and spelt-out participatory approaches in all those key dimensions of WEE programmes that seek to reduce IPV. The participatory models must outline measurable milestones, such as beneficiaries' insights and ideas, targets, and indicators of success. Unlocking all local opportunities through the adoption of such inclusive capacity building initiatives characterised by facilitation of collaborations among groups of beneficiaries and knowledge transfer activities, enable beneficiaries to take over and continue the initiatives on their own after the exit of implementing organisations. Implementing agencies should keep in mind that empowerment is a dynamic and context-specific process that requires continuous learning and adaptation.
- WEE interventions must embrace the demographic characteristics (particularly, age) of the beneficiaries and appropriately apply tools relevant to their trending demographic characteristics so as to draw benefits from the different developments globally while remaining appropriate to their age as a motivational tool for their continued participation and relevance in the modern society. For example, implementing organisations can use the 'Youth Bulge' for young women since they fall within an age that is inherently active on online social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, X (Twitter), and Instagram since the world is moving from industrial economies to knowledge- and technologically-based economies. This movement is in line with the statement from the Maputo Protocol, which said that "*digital technologies have the potential to greatly increase women's economic involvement, social autonomy and activism that can bring social change, particularly in African nations*" Maputo Protocol. Technology can provide women with the chance to get past conventional cultural and mobility hurdles they encounter offline. Literature shows that in India, electronic empowerment served as a protective

factor. In the Indian context, policymakers use mobile phones and support SMS use in IPV awareness programmes which has shown positive results.

- In pursuit of the demographic dividend the recommendation is put forward that elderly women should be trained to be lay counsellors, mentors, and champions. These added roles and skills can be incorporated as add-ons to WEE programmes. Therefore, the layering of functions and elements in conventional WEE programmes is highly recommended in order to attain increased outcomes for eliminating IPV, thus, taking WEE programmes to new heights as they are fertile for the reduction of IPV. Survivors revealed that financial conflict has been found to be one of the major drivers of IPV. Involvement of men, both perpetrators and non-perpetrators, as support personnel in WEE programmes could improve their appreciation of WEE programmes' benefits and how such programmes could be plausible solutions to IPV that is inclined to economic tension in households. Not one of the agencies indicated use of this approach. Male participation can lead to sharing responsibilities and supporting the participation of women. For example, the male partner taking care of some house chores when the female partner is involved in WEE activities; this could arguably reduce the male partner's controlling traits.
- WEE implementing programmes must be designed to support local women's rights movement groups and organisations as well as activists against IPV. This support can be in the form of availing finances, training members of women groups on gender polices and legal frameworks, including WEE frameworks, for these programmes to realise their intended objectives fully and effectively.
- Implementing organisations should also develop sustainable models and measurements scales from the onset of their programmes that are to be used up to the end of the programmes. This can be done through adopting an inclusive approach to ensure that beneficiaries' concerns, ideas, and indigenous knowledge are incorporated and harmonised with objectives of WEE implementing agencies. Further, comprehensive measurement tools such as the measuring women's agency developed and tested by the World Bank should be adopted. The study found that no WEE implementing organisation revealed any knowledge of this tool.

- WEE implementing agencies must devise mechanisms that reduce the impact of political and economic turbulences which have been impeding WEE programmes' implementation progress and sustainability. Most importantly, they must build strong relationships with the communities they serve to enhance their acceptability within those communities. Then, concerning economic challenges, agencies must have multiple funding sources; overreliance on one source of funding can make implementing agencies weak in times of economic challenges which have characterised Zimbabwe for a long time. They can further explore opportunities for using Public-Private-Partnerships (PPP) and crowd funding in pooling financial and other resources for use in designing and implementing programmes.
- WEE implementing agencies must align their programmes' design with the government's WEE and IPV reduction strategic plans, frameworks, and blue prints for relevance and coherence. This can be done through engaging relevant government ministries (for example the MWACSMED) in the development of programme documents and plans.
- The implementing agencies must strengthen M&E systems so that all interventions are data-driven and evidence-based. Some of the M&E best practices to be adhered to include needs assessments, baseline studies, mid-term and summative evaluations, and routine monitoring surveys. Also, every WEE programme for reducing IPV should be anchored on a comprehensive Theory of Change (ToC). The ToC must take into account the nuisance, complexity, complicatedness and nuanced nature of IPV. It should therefore take into consideration changes in power relations, invisible constraints on human actions and the structures the IPV survivor had found. Systems thinking is highly recommended.
- Implementing agencies should use a multi-sectoral approach to leverage varied agencies' technical expertise, and material and logistical capabilities in implementing programmes. In support of this recommendation Participant P07 said that "... NGOs themselves need to be more integrated as the service provider in the national programmes".

- It is important for the WEE implementing organisations to identify and address those barriers and impediments that keep women from effectively participating in WEE interventions such as IPV. Findings indicate that some women do not fully participate in WEE programmes, because of IPV and discriminatory legislation.

7.5.4 Recommendations to beneficiaries

- With the support of WEE implementing agencies, beneficiaries must identify champions among themselves who can lead in the formation of women associations, networks, and movements at every level of society. These associations enable women to undertake advocacy and support activities on two fronts, namely, (1) assuming the role of being first responders to incidences of IPV within their network by taking ant-IPV actions, and (2) having ownership of WEE initiatives and embracing them, not only as a concept but as practical projects meant to sustain them and to reduce financial tension in their relationships. Strong networks also enable women to source for support elsewhere and not be solely dependent on WEE implementing organisations. For example, seeking support to further their education, knowledge and skills.
- Linked to the first recommendation, women are encouraged to use their community associations, through their chosen leaders, to voice that they are against engrained gender stereotypes and discriminatory cultural and social norms that perpetuate IPV and limit women's economic activities and viability. Furthermore, through their local leaders, women can carry the voice of promoting gender equality in households, demanding implementation of policies and regulations that promote gender equality and women's rights. Women's voices need to be heard at all levels to create an enabling environment that supports their economic empowerment.
- Women also need to strengthen their public right holders' power and serve as communities' gatekeepers to account for the implementation of gender equality initiatives to avoid repeated perpetration of IPV. This initiative can be pushed through by parliamentarians and traditional and religious leaders.
- Women are encouraged to take financial basic literacy support seriously. For example, acquiring and mastering principles of budgeting, saving, investing,

and sourcing financial products and services, and assessing the viability of their projects. These are critical basic skills that enable women to make informed decisions as far as WEE initiatives are concerned.

- Over and above implementing WEE activities, women must use the economic power they gain from their active participation in WEE initiatives to improve their agency, assertiveness and communication with their intimate partners. Women may use WEE activities in working platforms to model and sometimes simulate how to communicate against IPV with their partners. They need to encourage one another on how to demonstrate that their participation in WEE is for the good of their relationships and progress at home.
- Women are encouraged to leverage on their human capital to be keepers of each other by offering support to those most vulnerable to IPV (lay counselling). They can also link one another to support services and to strengthen each other towards non-withdrawal of reported IPV cases for fear of economic challenges in the household if the perpetrator were to be jailed.
- Beneficiaries are encouraged to practise transparency and accountability to their partners relative to WEE activities and IPV solution-seeking efforts as this should lessen suspicions and further perpetration because male partners would then know that seeking services could be for the good of the relationship and because the proceeds of the WEE activities could be to the advantage of the household. Further, the male partner will be aware that continuous perpetration of IPV may lead to injury and/or death of the other partner (in case of physical violence) or the violated partner exiting the relationship.
- Women are encouraged to first negotiate with their partners on matters regarding their relationship before seeking for outside help. If they fail to reach to consensus, then they should look for help elsewhere, or, if they fail to reconcile their differences, they can report suspected cases of IPV so that they get urgent attention on matters affecting them.

7.5.5 Overall recommendations

- It is everyone's responsibility to ensure that a culture of socialisation, transformation and gender equality is inculcated among all citizens.

- The broader socio-economic-political environment must be smoothed to support standard business operations. On the point of having a holistic approach to WEE programming, Participant **P16** explained that “... *relevant government departments must effectively play their part in support of WEE programming in the country, through ensuring that there is ease of doing business in country*”.
- As revealed by the findings of this study, to achieve the reduction of IPV through WEE in Zimbabwe, there is a need to have a deliberate consideration of other socio-cultural facets that must be included in the WEE programming framework. For example, platforms to have dialogues on negative cultural and social norms, negative masculinity, agency and assertiveness building. This recommendation has been reflected in the proposed WEE model. In echoing the same, participant **P03** stated that “... *advocacy activities against IPV must be scaled up to address negative social attitudes.*”
- Stakeholders are encouraged to have constant reviews of the programmes and gradually incorporate objectives that speak to IPV. For example, an entrepreneurial-oriented programme might help reduce IPV; women may learn to financially sustain themselves, thereby indirectly reducing financial tensions between them and their intimate partners. As such, programmes will have a double effect if they are aligned to the of reducing IPV.

7.6 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

- Future studies can, therefore, investigate the feasibility of developing models that focus on both men and women. Furthermore, future studies can focus on exploring the role and nature of partnerships between implementing partners, since gathered data has strongly encouraged that a partnership arrangement be adopted in designing and implementing WEE programmes.
- It can be considered to undertake similar studies in other countries since reviewed literature and theories have indicated that the effectiveness of WEE programmes is contextual and that it differs between and within countries.

- As such, purely qualitative studies to gain deeper insights on issues around IPV and WEE, and quantitative studies to explore invisible threads connecting IPV and WEE can be considered.
- It is expected that further research could explore other theories that can inform WEE for IPV reduction. At the moment it seems that WEE intervention are partly and not fully using theoretical empowerment theories due to financial constraints causing the not fully achieved results. Combining more than one theory is recommended in future WEE programmes in order to achieve the objective of reducing IPV in a holistic manner.

7.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In terms of conceptual and spatial scope, this thesis was only limited to WEE interventions aimed at reducing IPV in Zimbabwe. As such, it is conceptually and geographically skewed. Furthermore, accessible literature has revealed that WEE programmes served numerous objectives, making it difficult to single out IPV as the only target of WEE interventions. So, this study was limited in its strategic focus because it only analysed WEE interventions aimed at reducing IPV. Accordingly, future research could consider looking at WEE interventions from a holistic point of view without limiting it to IPV reduction as their main concern.

Furthermore, this study employed the mixed methods approach which did not provide for a deeper understanding of drivers of IPV and the determinants of WEE programmes' success. Quantitatively, this study was only limited to simple hypothesis testing using the MLRM informed by self-reported data and association. As such, more robust statistical tests are recommended to improve the concluding power of this study. For example, logistic regression can be used to analyse predictors or risk factors associated with IPV to generate more evidence-based solutions that can complement WEE programmes. Alternatively, propensity score matching can be used to study the effects of interventions aimed at preventing or reducing IPV through matching individuals who benefited from WEE interventions with group-based propensity scores. This approach has a bias towards quasi-experiments where treatment and control groups are used to form groups of individuals who experienced IPV and the ones who did not experience IPV and expose the two groups to the same WEE interventions.

According to Lung (2020), the socio-economic impact of COVID-19 differs between countries. The author added that there is still no clear understanding around what transpired during that period since everything was distorted. Makhani *et al.* (2020) cited in Lung (2020) called for the need to revisit approaches used to conduct studies during the COVID-19 era and derive lessons for future studies. So, the approach used in carrying out this study was limited by the impact of COVID-19. Therefore, one arena that requires scientific research is replicating studies carried out from 2020 up to the end of 2022, since these years are devoid of ideal realities; arguably, they are indicative in nature. This study revealed that the steady downward trend of IPV cases recorded between 2017 and 2021 is not a true image of IPV cases in Zimbabwe because some cases were not reported due restricted movements imposed by COVID-19 induced lockdowns. As such, future studies can consider collecting rich quantitative data on the number of cases and use inferential statistics to test the second hypothesis of this study, namely *“an upward trend of the relationship between WEE and IPV will continue into the foreseeable future if existing WEE frameworks are not adjusted to consider local contexts”*. This test must be carried out some years after the proposed model has been put into practice to measure its effectiveness.

Lastly, this study was gender skewed, since it only investigated women victims of IPV who partook in WEE programmes, and representatives of organisations running programmes targeting women beneficiaries only. Some study participants suggested that models that focus on both women and men must be explored since IPV is a two-sided problem. So, focusing on women only generates gender skewed results.

7.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter summarised and concluded all issues deliberated in this thesis. Much emphasis was placed on revisiting the research problem, research objectives and conjectural statements. This chapter also recommended what is needed to enhance the appreciation of issues surrounding WEE and IPV and to improve the effectiveness of WEE interventions in reducing IPV. These recommendations, and other concerns deliberated in the thesis, pointed towards future and further research. WEE and IPV concepts are complex and controversial, however in this study an analysis of their relationship using case data from Zimbabwe, has shed light on underlying issues connecting the two concepts. Overall, this thesis sought to understand why cases of

IPV in Zimbabwe are on an upward trend despite the proliferation of WEE programmes aimed at reducing incidences of IPV. It was discovered that causes of IPV differed between and within countries. In Zimbabwe, the major driver of IPV is the financial tension between partners, which is best contained by enrolling women in WEE programmes with a livelihood component since that component has a statistically significant contribution to the reduction in IPV. As such, WEE interventions must be carved to suit unique issues characterising different countries and regions. For example, in Zimbabwe, key determinants of WEE interventions' successes include navigating through deep-seated patriarchal practices, economic and political turbulences, and creating partnerships between key stakeholders in crafting and implementing programmes. Then, M&E best practices must be adhered to throughout programmes' cycle to ensure that relevant, reliable, up-to-date, and complete data is used in making decisions.

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APPENDICES

This section provides data containing information that is relevant to the thesis but not the main focus.

Appendix 1: Title Approval Letter



17 October 2023

Mrs Eziwe Mutsikiwa
Student number: 2017026853
Centre for Development Support

APPROVAL OF PROPOSED PHD

Dear Ms Mutsikiwa

Thank you for the submission of your PhD proposal and your presentation to the Research Committee of the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences.

On behalf of the Research Committee, I hereby confirm that permission has been granted by the Committee for you to continue with your PhD in Development Studies. Your title for your Phd "**Women economic empowerment programmes in reducing intimate partner violence in Zimbabwe.**" was approved.

Your initial title was approved at the EMS Research Committee of **22 May 2019**. The slight change in title and examiners were approved at the EMS Research Committee of **16 & 17 August** and served at the Faculty Board Meeting of **11 October 2023**.

Our best wishes accompany you during the research process.
Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Igna du Plooy'.

Mrs Igna du Plooy
EMS Research Co-ordinator



Appendix 2: General Ethics Approval Letter from UFC Ethics Committee



GENERAL/HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (GHREC)

26-Jul-2021

Dear Mrs Eziwe Mutsikiwa

Application Approved

Research Project Title:

Women Economic Empowerment Programmes in Reducing Intimate Partner Violence in Zimbabwe

Ethical Clearance number:

UFS-HSD2020/2044/21

We are pleased to inform you that your application for ethical clearance has been approved. Your ethical clearance is valid for twelve (12) months from the date of issue. We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your study/research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure ethical transparency. Furthermore, you are requested to submit the final report of your study/research project to the ethics office. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension. Thank you for submitting your proposal for ethical clearance; we wish you the best of luck and success with your research.

Yours sincerely

Dr Adri Du Plessis

Chairperson: General/Human Research Ethics Committee

Digitally signed
by Adri du
Plessis
Date:
2021.07.27
09:15:44 +02'00'

205 Nelson Mandela
Drive
Park West
Bloemfontein 9301
South Africa

P.O. Box 309
Bloemfontein 9300
Tel: +27 (0)51 401
9337
adriplessis@ufs.ac.za
www.ufs.ac.za



Appendix 3: General Ethics Approval for Extension of the Study



GENERAL/HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (GHREC)

29-Jun-2022

Dear Mrs Eziwe Mutsikiwa

Continuation/Report Approved

Research Project Title:

Women Economic Empowerment Programmes in Reducing Intimate Partner Violence in Zimbabwe

Ethical Clearance number:

UFS-HSD2020/2044/21/22

We are pleased to inform you that the application to extend your ethical clearance has been approved. Your ethical clearance is valid for twelve (12) months from the date of issue. We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your study/research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure ethical transparency. Furthermore, you are requested to submit the final report of your study/research project to the ethics office. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension. Thank you for submitting your proposal for ethical clearance; we wish you the best of luck and success with your research.

Yours sincerely

Dr Adri Du Plessis

Chairperson: General/Human Research Ethics Committee

**Dr Adri
du
Plessis**
Digitally signed
by Dr Adri du
Plessis
Date:
2022.06.29
13:59:11 +0200

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aduplessis@ufs.ac.za
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Appendix 4: Consent Letter from Social Worker

Official communications should
Not be addressed to individuals

Telephone: Harare 798871-6
Telegraphic Address: WELMEN
Fax: 796880/



**MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SERVICE LABOUR AND
SOCIAL WELFARE**
Cooperation House
C/o 4th Street/Central Avenue
P.O. Box CY 7307
Causeway
Zimbabwe

27 September 2019

Eziwe Mutsikiwa
16 Normanton Road
Marlborough
Harare



Dear Eziwe

**REF: COMMITMENT TO OFFER EMOTIONAL TECHNICAL SUPPORT TO THE WOMEN
RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS DURING YOUR PhD RESEARCH STUDY 2017026853**

The above subject refers.

Please be advised that I shall be offering the services of a Social Worker during your study on "Women Economic Empowerment Programmes in combating Intimate Partner Violence in Zimbabwe". My Social Worker registration number is 0424/11 and I shall be available to give onsite immediate post research emotional support and counselling services for your project data collection process as requested. Based on my experience in social work practice, I commit to refer women who may require further psychosocial support to reputable service providers for continued relevant support after the research period.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Faith Ruramai Mavengere".

Faith Ruramai Mavengere

Registered Social Worker

Email: faithruramai@gmail.com Mobile: +263 773707513

+ 263 718803854

Appendix 5: Consent Letter from Clinical Social Worker

Pareirenyetwa Group Of Hospitals
Annex Clinic
Harare

27 September 2019

Eziwe Mutsikiwa
16 Normanton Road
Marlborough
Harare

Dear Eziwe

**REF: OFFERING EMOTIONAL TECHNICAL SUPPORT TO THE PARTICIPANTS
(WOMEN) DURING YOUR PhD RESEARCH STUDY 2017026853**

This letter serves as a response to your request for my services as a Clinical Social Worker during your research on the topic **"Women Economic Empowerment Programmes in combating Intimate Partner Violence in Zimbabwe"**. I hereby confirm that I will be available to offer the immediate clinical emotional support and counselling services during the time you will be conducting your field work and data collection in the case of any need arising.

As discussed you will avail your field work schedule so that I ensure my availability.


All the best in your studies,



Robert T. Chigangaidze
Registered Clinical Social Worker
Email: rkchigs@gmail.com
Mobile: +263 776955260
+263 717144417



**Appendix 6:
Counselling Support Letter from CONNECT**



Zimbabwe
Institute of
Systemic
Therapy

Registered Welfare Organisation No. 7/85

26 September 2019

Eziwe Mutsikiwa
16 Normanton Road
Mariborough
Harare

Re: REQUEST FOR COUNSELLING SUPPORT TO THE PARTICIPANTS (WOMEN) IN YOUR PhD RESEARCH STUDY


Dear Eziwe

I acknowledge receipt of your request for research participants counselling services refers.

CONNECT clinic will work to make the counselling services available. As you may be aware we work on an appointment basis, bookings will be made with the clinic secretary on our general telephone lines.

Please accept my congratulations on embarking on the much cherished PhD studies, and I wish you success on this journey.

Yours Faithfully




Dennis Mudeca
DIRECTOR

P.O. Box 6298
Harare, Zimbabwe

Training and Administration:
Stand 18149
Gargas Road
Belvedere, Harare
tel: 741726 / 741719
tel/fac: 741779 / 741794
Website: www.connect.co.zw
E-mail: admin@connect.org.zw

Counselling
85 Central Avenue, Harare
Tel: 794131 / 734002
721873 / 721879
Telefax: 741779
E-mail: clinic@connect.org.zw



**Appendix 7:
Clearance Letter form the MWACSMED**

All communications should be addressed to **The Secretary**
Telephone: 2-708398, 2-735188,
2-790932
www.women.gov.zw



Zimbabwe

Ministry of Women Affairs, Community
Small and Medium Enterprises
Development
P. Bag 7726 Causeway
Harare

Ref: E. Mutsikiwa

04 February 2021

Eziwe Mutsikiwa
University of the Free State

*Min. of Women Affairs, Comm. & Small & Medium Enterprises Dev.
Director Human Resources*
04 FEB 2021
P BAG 7726 CAUSEWAY
HARARE ZIMBABWE

REF: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH ON WOMEN ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMMES IN REDUCING INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE

The above matter refers.

I am pleased to advise approval of your research in the Ministry of Women Affairs, Community, Small and Medium Enterprises Development in regards to your research project on **WOMEN ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMMES IN REDUCING INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE.**

The Ministry further grants you permission to engage relevant parties who implement WEE programs coordinated by the Ministry. The approval is granted on condition that the information obtained in the Ministry will be used strictly for academic purposes.

You will have access to non-classified useful documents or reports that pertain to the study.

You will be required to share your research project with the Ministry.

Please be informed accordingly.



S. Jairo
Director Human Resources
FOR: SECRETARY FOR WOMEN AFFAIRS, COMMUNITY, SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES DEVELOPMENT

Appendix 8: Clearance Letter from UN WOMEN

UN Women Country Office– Zimbabwe
Block 7, Arundel Office Park
Norfolk Road, Mt Pleasant
Harare, Zimbabwe



29 January 2021

University of Free State
205 Nelson Mandela Drive/Rylaan
Park West/Parkwes
Bloemfontein 9301,
South Africa/Suid-Afrika

RE: PERMISSION FOR EZIWE MUTSIKIWA (2018026853) TO CONDUCT HER RESEARCH AT UNWOMEN

We are pleased to advise that as UN Women we permit Eziwe Mutsikiwa, a PhD candidate at the University of Free State, to engage our organisation with the intention of gathering data to use in her research. We will participate through interviews and providing relevant programme documents as well as facilitating access to our implementing partners.

UN Women expects Eziwe to share her findings with the organisation, and to be available to participate in the think tanks and symposia that the organisation may convene on similar topics

Yours Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Pamela Mhlanga'.

Pamela Mhlanga (OIC)
UN Women Country Representative

Appendix 9: Clearance Letter from Women Coalition of Zimbabwe



31 Harvey Brown Street, Milton Park, Harare, Zimbabwe. Website: www.wcoz.org, Email: coalition@wcoz.co.zw, Cell: 0773 708 657

1 February 2021

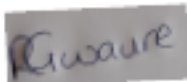
University of Free State
203 Nelson Mandela Drive/Rytlan Park West/Parkwes
Bloemfontein 9301,
South Africa/Suid-Afrika

RE: Permission for Eziwe Mutsikiwa (2018026853) to Conduct Her Research at WCoZ.

We are pleased to advise that as Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe we permit Eziwe Mutsikiwa, a PhD candidate at the University of Free State, to engage our organisation and our member organisations who implement Women Economic Empowerment programmes with the intention of gathering data to use in her research on Women Economic Empowerment Programmes in Reducing Intimate Partner Violence.

We will participate through interviews and providing relevant programme documents. Our member organisations will participate through completing questionnaires, interviews and provide necessary programme documents and contact details.

Yours Faithfully



Sally Ncube
National Coordinator

Appendix 10: Clearance Letter from the Gender Commission



1st Floor, Pax House
89 Kwana Nkaramba Ave,
Harare
Tel: +263 242 701101/ 250296
www.zgc.co.zw

08 February 2021

Our ref B/9/1

University of the Free State
Centre for Development Studies (CDS) and Faculty of Management Sciences

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

The above matter refers. Zimbabwe Gender Commission has received the above request from and grants Ms Eziwe Mutsikiwa permission to include the Commission as a key informant as she conducts research. We also commit to providing access to ZGC owned documents that are useful for this study.

We note the research title is "Women Economic Empowerment Programmes in Reducing Intimate Partner Violence in Zimbabwe" . This is an interesting topic for the Commission as it builds knowledge around key areas of concern in our monitoring work.

We wish Ms Mutsikiwa well in her research and look forward to reading and making use of the findings.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'V. Muwanigwa', is placed over a grey rectangular background.

V. Muwanigwa
Chief Executive Officer - Zimbabwe Gender Commission

Cc: Public Education Department

Appendix 11:

Information Leaflet and Consent Form

RESEARCH STUDY INFORMATION LEAFLET AND CONSENT FORM

I am doing doctoral research and would like to request permission to conduct my research with you as an organization which implement women economic empowerment programmes.

DATE: 2019 - 2022

TITLE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Women Economic Empowerment Programmes in Reducing Intimate Partner Violence in Zimbabwe.

PRINCIPLE RESEARCHER: Eziwe Mutsikiwa

CONTACT NUMBER(S): +263 772 424 093 / 716 305 285

STUDENT I.D NUMBER): 2017026853

FACULTY AND DEPARTMENT:

Name of Faculty: Economic Management Sciences

Name of Department: Center for Development Support (CDS)

STUDY LEADER (S) NAME AND CONTACT NUMBER:

Study Advisor: Dr Tatenda Manomano

Contact Number: +27 83204 6253

Email: manomanot@ufs.ac.za

WHAT IS THE AIM / PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

The study is focused on assessing Women's Economic Empowerment (WEE) programmes being implemented by various development agencies in Zimbabwe with one of the aims being to reduce IPV suffered by women in Zimbabwe. Through this study, WEE programmes weaknesses will be identified and recommendations for improvement made. This is important because there are significant efforts directed against IPV by numerous development agencies yet continual rise in incidences of IPV are being recorded. As such an interrogation of WEE programmes is pertinent in understanding their effectiveness. This study will in practice, inform public policy as well as programming organisations in effectively implementing WEE programmes. In addition, the study will contribute to theory bringing forth a comprehensive development of a context specific and evidence based WEE model for strengthened WEE programmes in Zimbabwe.

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?

Eziwe Mutsikiwa, a postgraduate student at the University of the Free State (UFS) in South Africa is doing the research. I work for the Ministry of Public Service Labour and Social Welfare (MoPSLSW), coordinating the implementation and reporting of Social and Child Protection programmes. I am doing this research for academic purposes to fulfill the requirements for the award of the Doctoral Degree in Development Studies with the University of the Free State.

HAS THE STUDY RECEIVED ETHICAL APPROVAL?

This study is subject to the approval of the Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Free State (UFS).

WHY ARE YOU INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

You have been implementing WEE Programmes, you would be providing evidence based information on the WEE programmes and their impact. I chose your organisation as the name of your organization has been provided to the researcher by the Ministry of Women Affairs Small- Medium Enterprise and Community Development (MWASMECD) which is responsible for coordinating the activities of all organisations who implement Women Empowerment programmes. Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ) which is a membership organisation of women's organisations, has also provided information relating to my research. WCoZ's provided selected names of its members who fall under WEE cluster. These organisations have been chosen based on their experience in implementation of WEE programmes and involvement in the Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) issues.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY?

The study has three categories of participants. The first category comprise beneficiaries of the WEE programmes and data will be collected through administering a questionnaire to ascertain the impact of the WEE programmes on beneficiaries on their IPV experiences. The second category comprise WEE implementing organisations, data will be collected through administering a questionnaire to explore the usefulness of WEE programmes in achieving the objective of reducing IPV. The third category comprise the institutions that are responsible for overseeing women's programmes in the country, these encompass the government departments and funders for women's programmes and the some few selected implementing organisations and the Zimbabwe Republic Police-Victim Friendly Unit (VFU). Data will be collected through Key Informant Interviews

CAN THE PARTICIPANT WITHDRAW FROM THE STUDY?

Being in this study is voluntary and you are not obligated to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. If you have any concerns with the way the research is being conducted, please feel free to contact and discuss it with my supervisor, whose contact details are given provided. Please feel free to ask any questions on any aspect of this study that is unclear to you.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There are no direct benefits to participating in this study. The indirect benefits of participation in the study are that you will help contribute towards ideas for improving WEE programmes in the country for the programmes to maximally achieve one of the objective of reducing Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). This will enhance the effectiveness and impact of the WEE programmes, benefitting your organisation and the women population group in Zimbabwe.

WHAT IS THE POTENTIAL RISKS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

The researcher does not envisage any risk in the organisation participating in this study.

WILL WHAT I SAY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

The name of your organisation will not be recorded anywhere, and no one will be able to connect you to the answers you give. Your answers will be given a fictitious code number or a pseudonym and you will be referred to in this way in the data, any publications, or other research reporting methods such as conference proceedings. Your answers may be reviewed by people responsible for ensuring that research is done properly, including the transcriber, external coder, and members of the Research Ethics Committee. Otherwise, records that identify your organisation will be available only to people working on the study unless you permit for other people to see the records. Anonymous data may be used for other purposes of research report, journal articles, and conference presentation. Also, privacy will be protected in any publication of the information. A report of the study may be submitted for publication, but your organisations name will not be identifiable in such a report. The information that I will obtain from you will be stored safely, although it will be shared with my supervisor and co-supervisor who are involved in this study. Interviews will be conducted in a private place and your name will not be written down or recorded anywhere. Furthermore, the study does not require you to disclose or name any specific individuals and you do not have to discuss any personal information that you do not feel comfortable talking about.

HOW WILL THE INFORMATION BE STORED AND ULTIMATELY DESTROYED?

The information that I will obtain from you will be kept confidential through safe storage and restricted access. The information will be shared with my supervisor and co-supervisor who are involved in this study and may be reviewed by people responsible for making sure that research is done properly, including the transcriber, external coder, and members of the Research Ethics Committee, all of which are bound by the university's confidentiality policy.

WILL I RECEIVE PAYMENT OR ANY INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY?

The incentive that the researcher can provide is indirect in the form of information on the study findings if the participant is in need of it.

HOW WILL THE PARTICIPANT BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS / RESULTS OF THE STUDY?

If you would like to be informed of the final research findings or should you require any further information or want to contact the researcher about any aspect of this study please contact the principal researcher, Eziwe Mutsikiwa on email ezzydewa@gmail.com and mobile +263772424093 / +263716305285. Should you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact Supervisor Dr. T Manomano on ManomanoT@ufsa.ac.za/+61444558997

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I, the undersigned,

..... (participant’s full names to be included), (the “Participant”) Confirm that I voluntarily agree to participate in the research study referred to as the Women Economic Empowerment Programmes in Reducing Intimate Partner Violence in Zimbabwe “Study” in relation to the Doctoral research under the university of Free State. The Study is being conducted by:

PRINCIPLE RESEARCHER: Eziwe Mutsikiwa
CONTACT NUMBER(S): +263 772 424 093 / 716 305 285
STUDENT I.D NUMBER: 2018026853

I, the undersigned Participant, further confirm that–

1. the Researcher has explained the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of my participation in the Study;
2. I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the Study as explained in the attached information sheet;
3. I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the Study;
4. I understand that my participation in the Study is entirely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty (if applicable);
5. I voluntarily provide the UFS and the Researcher with my personal information and consent to the UFS and the Researcher collecting, disclosing and processing my personal information in order to conduct the Study and any related activities in relation thereto;
6. I hereby acknowledge and confirm that I understand the purpose for which the UFS and the Researcher may collect, store, use, delete, destroy, outsource, transfer or otherwise process, as the context and circumstances may require and as contemplated in terms of POPIA, my personal information as set out herein;
7. I am aware that the findings of the Study will be anonymously processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings and that my personal information will be aggregated and identified at such stage;
8. I also give the UFS permission to share, without notification, the collected data with other researchers at the UFS or other Higher Education Institutions. This permission is dependent on the same principles of ethical research practices, anonymity/confidentiality, safekeeping of information, and other issues listed above applying.

I, the Participant, agree to the recording of the interview.

Full Name of Participant:

Signature of Participant: Date:

Full Name(s) of Researcher(s): Eziwe Mutsikiwa

Signature of Researcher:..... Date:

Appendix 12: Beneficiaries' Questionnaire

My name is Eziwe Mutsikiwa, a PhD in Development Studies student at the University of Free State (UFS), Center for Development Support (CDS). I am conducting research on Women Economic Empowerment (WEE) Programmes in reducing Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in Zimbabwe. You are therefore kindly requested to assist by giving about 20 minutes of your time to participate by completing this questionnaire as objectively as possible. The information that you will provide will only be used for academic purposes and will strictly be kept confidential. Respondents will remain anonymous and your information will not be used in any way that may jeopardize your privacy, safety or security.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you are free to withdraw anytime you deem to do so. You are free to ask any question pertaining to the study or your participation at any time you wish to do so.

Kindly Select the best answer to each particular question, and where indicated, briefly state your opinion.

Your contribution to this study is sincerely appreciated.

Thank you very much for your understanding, cooperation and valuable information.

EZIWE MUTSIKIWA

WOMEN ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMMES PARTICIPANTS

NO

INSTRUCTION:

PLEASE TICK WHERE APPLICABLE AND FILL IN THE PROVIDED SPACES WHERE NECESSARY.

SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

1. Age years.

2. Type of marriage

Customary	Civil	Co-habitation	Not married	Other (specify)

3. Do you have children?

Yes

No

4. If yes, how many children do you have?.....

5. Race

Black	White	Colored	Indian	Other (specify)

6. Educational level

Primary School	Secondary School	Certificate/ Diploma	Degree	Other (specify)

7. What is your average monthly income? (ZWL\$).....

8a. Do you belong to any women association or associations beside involvement in any of the WEE programmes?

Yes No

8b. If yes provide the name of the association/associations.

.....

SECTION B: PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

9. How would you describe the root causes of the Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) you have experienced?

Finances	Nuclear family issues	Step-parenting	Infidelity	Extended Family	Other Specify

10. How would you describe the form of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) that you have experienced?

Emotional	Economical	Psychological	Physical	Sexual

11. If you have experienced none of the mentioned forms of IPV, please state the type of IPV you have experienced.

.....

12. How would you describe the overall level of control of the partners involved in IPV over their spouses participating in WEE Programmes?

No control	Minimal	Average	Extreme

13. Which aspects does the male partner mainly has control over their spouses?

Children	Livelihood	Finances	Networks	Movement	Other Specify

SECTION C: PROGRAMME PARTICIPATION

14. Which programmes have you participated in? (If applicable, you can tick more than one option if you have participated in more than one programme that was different).

IPV Reduction	Livelihoods	Entrepreneurial training	Formal Education

State any other:

.....

15. How long have you been involved in the programme(s) that you have participated in? (If applicable, you can tick more than one option or one option where you participated in two programmes within the same time frame).

0-6 months	7-12 months	18 months	24 months	36 months	State other

16. How would you best describe your level of participation in the programme(s)?

Low	Minimal	Average	High

17. Which type of resources have you been provided with to sustain the support you have received through the programme(s)?

Financial	Technical Skills	Starter Products	Formal Education	Other Specify

18. If you have chosen 'other' above, please specify the type of resources you have received

.....

SECTION D: EFFECTIVENESS OF WOMEN ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMMES

19. What benefits did you derive from WEE project(s) that you have participated in?

Economic Independence	Emotional Freedom	Improved Assertiveness	Reduced IPV	Other

20. If you have chosen 'other', please specify the benefits you derived from the WEE project(s) that you participated in?

.....

21. Describe the impact of your involvement in the programmes on your Intimate Partner Relationship.

Decreased IPV	Increased IPV	Nothing Changed

22. Describe the level of WEE programmes' importance in reducing IPV cases in Zimbabwe.

Minimal	Low	Average	High

23a. Did you continue with the WEE programme(s) you participated in when the implementing organisations' support ended?

Yes No

23b Why is it so?

.....
.....

24. What do you suggest needs to be done better to strengthen WEE programmes implemented in Zimbabwe?

.....
.....
.....
.....

SECTION E: THE LINK BETWEEN IPV AND WEE

The following situations describe some aspects of the assumed link between IPV and WEE in thought and practice. Please evaluate each scenario and respond with your degree of agreement or disagreement on the described action. The following scale will be provided after each scenario:

Strongly Agree Agree Indifferent Disagree Strongly Disagree

Please indicate your response by placing an "X" in the space to describe your feelings regarding the scenario explained as shown in the example above.

25. WEE initiatives contribute significantly to the reduction of IPV.

Strongly Agree Agree Indifferent Disagree Strongly Disagree

26. WEE programmes only reduce IPV inclined to finances.

Strongly Agree Agree Indifferent Disagree Strongly Disagree

27. WEE does not have inherent power to transform the mind of the perpetrator of violence.

Strongly Agree Agree Indifferent Disagree Strongly Disagree

28. There is a very strong link between IPV cases and WEE programmes.

Strongly Agree Agree Indifferent Disagree Strongly Disagree

29. IPV is best reduced by a mind shift on the part of the perpetrator of violence and not by empowering women.

Strongly Agree Agree Indifferent Disagree Strongly Disagree

Thank you

Appendix 13: Implementing Organisations' Questionnaire

My name is Eziwe Mutsikiwa, a PhD in Development Studies student at the University of Free State (UFS), Center for Development Support (CDS). I am conducting research on Women Economic Empowerment (WEE) Programmes in reducing Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in Zimbabwe. You are therefore kindly requested to assist by giving about 20 minutes of your time to participate by completing this questionnaire as objectively as possible. The information that you will provide will only be used for academic purposes and will strictly be kept confidential. Respondents will remain anonymous and your information will not be used in any way that may jeopardize your privacy, safety or security.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you are free to withdraw anytime you deem to do so. You are free to ask any question pertaining to the study or your participation at any time you wish to do so.

Kindly Select the best answer to each particular question, and where indicated, briefly state your opinion.

Your contribution to this study is sincerely appreciated.

Thank you very much for your understanding, cooperation and valuable information.

EZIWE MUTSIKIWA

QUESTIONNAIRE NO

INSTRUCTION:

PLEASE COMPLETE ALL SECTIONS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, TICKING IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX AND FILLING IN THE PROVIDED SPACES WHERE NECESSARY.

SECTION A: ORGANISATIONAL DETAILS

1. What is the nature of your organisation?

Government	Local NGO	International NGO	Intergovernmental Agency	Other (Specify)

2. Where is your organisation's head office(s)?

Africa	Europe	Australia	Asia	Canada	USA

3. Who are the main sponsors of your programmes?

Government	Local NGOs	International NGOs	Intergovernmental Agencies	Other (Specify)

4. Select the appropriate time range your organisation started operations in Zimbabwe.

Before 1980	1980-1884	1985-1989	1990-1994	1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2009	2010-2014	2015-2019

SECTION B: OPERATIONAL DETAILS

5. Describe the main targets of your Women's Economic Empowerment programmes (WEE).

Explicitly Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)	Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) Embedded	WEE without Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)

6. What is the focus of the WEE programmes that your organisation has been or is still implementing in Zimbabwe?

IPV Reduction	Livelihoods	Entrepreneurial training	Formal Education	Other Specify

SECTION C: PROJECT DETAILS

7. Which criteria do you use to recruit women who will participate in your programmes?

IPV survivors	Livelihood Assessments	Age	Level of Education	Location of existing programmes

8. What is the average age range of your WEE programme participants?

Below 18	18-23 years	24-29 years	30-35 years	36-41 years	42-47 years	48-53 years	54-59 years	Above 59

9. What is the average time span of your projects per given intervention?

0-6 months	7-12 months	18 months	24 months	36 months	48 months	50 months

10. How many women beneficiaries have you been recruiting into a project per project cycle?

1-30	31-60	61-90	91-120	121-150	151-180	181-210	211-240	241-270	271-300	Other Specify

11. What is the cumulative number of women who have participated in your programmes since you started operations in Zimbabwe?

.....

.....

12. How many programme cycles have you completed from the time you started implementing the WEE programmes?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	More than 10

SECTION D: PROGRAMME PLANNING AND DESIGN

13. Did you carry out any baseline studies before implementing your programme(s)?

Yes No

14. Select the type of baseline study that you have carried out prior to implementing your programmes?

Situational Analysis	Needs Assessment	Reviews	Formative Evaluation

15. What guided the choice of the WEE programmes you are implementing?

Funding	Problem	Government Priorities	Intervention Gaps

16. Which are the theories/models that inform the WEE programmes you implement in Zimbabwe?

.....

17. Who are/were/have been your key partners in the WEE projects you have implemented/are implementing?

Government	Local NGO	International NGO	Intergovernmental Agency

18. What major roles have your partners played or are playing in the WEE programmes?

Financial Resources	Technical Expertise	Material resources	Structural support

SECTION E: PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION

19. Have you been monitoring and evaluating (M&E) the WEE programmes you have been implementing?

Yes No

20a. If yes, choose the M&E framework you have been/are using to measure the results of your WEE programme.

Logical Framework	Results framework	Programme Logical Model	Theory of Change

20b. State if any other

.....

21. Do you have dedicated resources for M & E in your organisation?

Yes No

22. Choose the type of resources available to support your organisation's M&E system.

Personnel	Financial	Technological	Logistical	Structural

23. What are the approaches you use to implement recommendations from the M&E results for improving your WEE programmes?

Training	Lobbying	Advocacy	Programme Review

24. Please rank the overall effectiveness of your WEE programmes relative to impact on women at the end of the project term.

Minimal	Low	Average	High

25. What are the major challenges you face/have been facing against achieving expected outcomes of your programmes?

.....

26. Considering your experience, are WEE programmes the most appropriate mechanism for reducing Intimate Partner Violence in Zimbabwe?

Yes No

27. What are your recommendations for improving the implementation of similar WEE programmes in Zimbabwe?

.....

Thank you

Appendix 14:

Interview Guide for Implementing Organisations' Representatives

My name is Eziwe Mutsikiwa, a PhD in Development Studies student at the University of Free State (UFS), Center for Development Support (CDS). I am conducting research on Women Economic Empowerment (WEE) Programmes in reducing Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in Zimbabwe. You are therefore kindly requested to assist by giving about 20 minutes of your time to participate by completing this questionnaire as objectively as possible. The information that you will provide will only be used for academic purposes and will strictly be kept confidential. Respondents will remain anonymous and your information will not be used in any way that may jeopardize your privacy, safety or security.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you are free to withdraw anytime you deem to do so. You are free to ask any question pertaining to the study or your participation at any time you wish to do so.

Kindly Select the best answer to each particular question, and where indicated, briefly state your opinion.

Your contribution to this study is sincerely appreciated.

Thank you very much for your understanding, cooperation and valuable information.

EZIWE MUTSIKIWA

INTERVIEW NO

1. What are the major WEE programs being implemented in Zimbabwe?

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.....

2. What is your role in empowering women survivors of IPV in Zimbabwe?

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3a) Do you think WE programmes being implemented in Zimbabwe are adequate for reducing IPV in the country?

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3b) Why do you think so?

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.....

4. What is the average age range of WEE participants in most of the programs implemented in Zimbabwe?

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.....

5. What are the major challenges faced by organizations against achieving the expected outcomes of their WEE programs in Zimbabwe?

Sub-themes

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.....
.....

6a) Do you think WEE programs are the most appropriate mechanism for reducing Intimate Partner Violence in Zimbabwe?

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.....

6b) Why do you think so? THE extent to which WEE is the most appropriate mechanisms

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.....

7. What are your policy and practice recommendations for improving the implementation of WEE programs in the future; by the different agencies that you know?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you

Appendix 15:
Interview Guide for the Police (VFU) Representative

My name is Eziwe Mutsikiwa, a PhD in Development Studies student at the University of Free State (UFS), Center for Development Support (CDS). I am conducting research on Women Economic Empowerment (WEE) Programmes in reducing Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in Zimbabwe. You are therefore kindly requested to assist by giving about 20 minutes of your time to participate by completing this questionnaire as objectively as possible. The information that you will provide will only be used for academic purposes and will strictly be kept confidential. Respondents will remain anonymous and your information will not be used in any way that may jeopardize your privacy, safety or security.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you are free to withdraw anytime you deem to do so. You are free to ask any question pertaining to the study or your participation at any time you wish to do so.

Kindly Select the best answer to each particular question, and where indicated, briefly state your opinion.

Your contribution to this study is sincerely appreciated.

Thank you very much for your understanding, cooperation and valuable information.

EZIWE MUTSIKIWA

INTERVIEW NO

1. What are the major WEE programmes being implemented in Zimbabwe?

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2. What is your role in the empowerment of women survivors of IPV in Zimbabwe?

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2a) Do you think WEE programmes being implemented in Zimbabwe are adequate for reducing IPV in the country?

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2b) Why do you think so?

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4. What is the average age range of WEE participants in most of the programmes implemented in Zimbabwe?

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5. What are the major challenges faced by organisations against achieving expected outcomes of their WEE programmes in Zimbabwe?

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6a) Do you think WEE programmes are the most appropriate mechanism for reducing Intimate Partner Violence in Zimbabwe?

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6b) Why do you think so?

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.....

7. What are your policy and practice recommendations for improving the implementation of WEE programmes in future by the different agencies that you know?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank You

Appendix 16:

Reflexive Report

This report is inspired by Clarke *et al.* (2022) assertion that reflexivity is the impression that discusses the skill of researchers to mirror their assumptions, influence, and role in the progression of a study. Essentially, it is essential for safeguarding research's eminence, authority, and ethics, and appreciating that multiplicities and complexities characterise social reality. To Probst (2015), reflexivity acknowledges that researcher's subjectivity, positionality, and epistemology influence their role in the analysis and interpretation of the qualitative data. Since some of the questions answered by this study called for use of qualitative data, it is imperative share my experience in carrying out this study. Furthermore, Whitmore *et al.* (2021) advanced that reflexivity has connotations of sharing field experiences and how research questions were translated into a research project. Specifically covered in this report are issues inclined to my motivation in carrying out this study, my positionality and the research philosophy that guided me, and my orientation in interpreting gathered data.

1. Motivation in Choosing the Area of Study

Early in my M&E career, I was tasked to lead a gender mainstreaming component for the workplace HIV/AIDS and wellness programmes. The major aspect of the task was to develop indicators that would be used to measure the progress of all aspects of gender mainstreaming. Included in this task was responding to IPV cases reported by employees to the workplace resident counsellor. I successfully developed a tool for measuring the quality of wellness programmes in dealing with IPV cases. Culminating evidence showed that female employees that experienced IPV outweighed their male counterparts. Following this revelation, I had to improve my understanding of this living reality and develop IPV reduction strategies. This gave birth to my initial impetus designing and implementing workable strategies for dealing with this problem beyond my workplace. This interest was augmented by my desire to contribute to the gender equality agenda and tackle the dominant unidirectional nature of IPV.

Through this exposure and experience, I came to the realisation that use of a robust programme serves as the primary tool for solving identified and defined IPV problems. This interest was further precipitated when I worked as an M&E Officer for the UNWomen and UNICEF joint programme on the Elimination of Violence Against Women and Girls (EVAWG). In this role, I was responsible for providing technical support to NGOs that implemented the EVAWG programme using funding grants they received from the UN. I then discovered that an intentional understanding, appreciation, and development of clear-cut indicators of WEE programmes aimed at reducing of IPV required serious improvement. It is at that juncture that I started looking for a university that offers a doctoral in development studies with an inclination towards gender studies so that I can further my knowledge of the interplay between WEE and IPV. Overall, my intention is to assume a catalytic role in contributing to the reduction of IPV from an informed viewpoint.

2. My Positionality as a Researcher

My practical exposure and experience in dealing with development programmes in the area of gender studies made realise that WEE have latent opportunity in reducing incidences of IPV. However, their effectiveness is a function of taking into account contextual differences between and within countries. In as much as I was subjective in carrying out this study because of my background experience, I also tried as much as possible to be objective by using the mixed methods approach. Objectively, the respondents were made to respond to the questionnaire without an interference so that they can share they thoughts and experiences. The questionnaire was pre-and-pilot tested to eliminate my bias and leading respondents. Subjectively, all questions used in the interview guide were only indicative. So, I used my personal experiences in cross examining interviewees to get rich data on the WEE-IPV relationship. Part of my bias was influenced by knowledge of colleagues and close relations who have experienced and/or are experiencing IPV and lack adequate empowerment to walk away from such relationships. A few have lost their lives due to enduring violent relationships. In my recent engagement, I was part of the support team in developing a comprehensive M&E system for the social protection cluster under the National Development Strategy 1 (NDS1) in Zimbabwe. This cluster measures the performance of the WEE programmes and the GBV prevention strategies in the country. So, my eagerness to know how best WEE programmes can reduce incidences of IPV

influenced my neutrality in this study through using a two-thronged approach (mixed methods approach).

3. Philosophical and Paradigmatic Perspective

This topic is complex, sensitive, and significantly dynamic. It entails dealing with IPV, not as a strait jacket, but as an arena that involves entangled intricacies. Therefore, to tackle it, the interventions must be designed to effectively address the hidden elements that IPV entails. This study was, therefore, designed using the pragmatism philosophy which spins on the basis that reality is multiple and must be extracted from all accessible units of analysis through objective and subjective interpretation. Against this background, I used multiple sources, methods, frameworks, legislation, and strategies to examine WEE interventions aimed at reducing IPV in Zimbabwe.

4. Data Handling and Interpretation

During quantitative data collection, I endeavoured to be maximally objective by avoiding biased questions. Ambiguous and double-barrel questions are revised following the pre-and-post testing of the two questionnaires used. Furthermore, neutral language, that did not contain jargon or discipline-specific technical terms, was adopted. I also took care of responder bias by avoiding predictable order of questioning.

In qualitative data collection, I employed the skills of building rapport, listening carefully without interrupting the participants, and paying attention to non-verbal cues to take note of the participant's interest in the interview. I remained conscious to the technical position and the privilege of being involved in programme design implementation and measuring of performance of a programme against its objectives. This expertise did not influence and drive participants' responses in a certain direction. As a researcher, I remained open to learning and collecting as many insights about their role in WEE programming and the challenges they observe as impediments daily.

Quantitative data was analysed statistically, free of my bias as a researcher. Then, for qualitative data analysis where bias is inevitable, I embraced results as is. For example, the analysis output suggested that WEE programmes do work, contrary to what I thought they would bring out. I embraced their responses as is. However, respondents

could clearly articulate the many factors contributing to the WEE programmes' weak performance. My preconception was that they would cover up, but I was proven wrong. In keeping with objectivity in data analysis, I kept validating the scripts to ensure that all analyses reflected what the participants said truthfully and honestly.

Appendix 17: Language Editor

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This document certifies that the doctoral dissertation listed below was edited for proper English language, grammar, punctuation, spelling and overall style by Jana Walters, a qualified editor at Words4U. Neither the research content nor the author's intentions were altered in any way during the editing process, however, it must be noted that it was the author's choice to accept or reject the editor's suggestions and proposed changes.

Manuscript title:

**WOMEN'S ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMMES IN REDUCING
INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE**

Author:

Ms Eziwe Mutsikiwa

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24 November 2023

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