

**FEMALE INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE:
DOES EMPOWERMENT MATTER?**

By

**Marifa Muchemwa
Student Number: 911428**

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Supervisor: Dr Nicole De Wet

DECLARATION

I Marifa Muchemwa declare that this report is my own work. It is being submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the degree Master of Arts in Demography and Population Studies. This research report has not been submitted, in part or in whole to any other Institution or University as a requirement for any other qualification.

Signature: Date:

ABSTRACT

Background: Studies in Zimbabwe on gender-based violence, domestic violence and intimate partner violence have advocated for female empowerment as a remedy to violence and also as a tool to equip females to be in a position to leave violent and abusive relationships. Therefore, this study examines the association between female empowerment and intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe.

Methods: This study used secondary data obtained from the Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey (ZDHS) of 2010-2011. The population of interest includes females of ages 15-49 who responded to questions on domestic violence in the ZDHS. The sample size included 6542 females who responded to questions on domestic violence. The main independent variable is female empowerment measured by participation in decision making, ownership of assets, employment status and educational level. The other independent variables used were age, place of residence, marital status, region and religion. The dependent variable is intimate partner violence and it is in two forms: physical and sexual violence. Data analysis was done in three phases the univariate included conducting the background characteristics of the respondents using a series of frequencies and percentage distributions. The bivariate analysis involved the cross tabulation of the outcome variables, physical and sexual violence with all the independent variables using the Pearson's chi-square test. The multivariate level involved the use of stepwise forward binary logistic regression to examine the association between female empowerment with physical and sexual violence.

Results: The results showed that 27.31% females experienced physical violence and 14.68% sexual violence. Female empowerment was associated with physical and sexual violence. The females who are empowered were significantly more likely to experience physical and sexual violence than not empowered females.

Conclusions: A lot needs to be done besides empowering of females to address intimate partner violence. The societal norms and values could be possible barriers affecting females in that the empowerment of females might be portrayed as going against set norms and values in some societies.

Keywords: Female Empowerment, Intimate Partner Violence, Zimbabwe

DEDICATION

To my mother Tendayi Muchemwa for the prayers and support she has always given me. You are my pillar of strength Mama.

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List of Acronyms

CAMFED: Campaign for Female Education

DHS: Demographic and Health Survey

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

NAC: National Aids Council

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

WHO: World Health Organization

ZDHS: Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

The chapter presents the background of the study which discusses the prevalence of intimate partner violence in Zimbabwe and factors contributing to the perpetration of violence against females. The chapter proceeds to highlight the problem statement, justification and objectives of the study.

1.2 Background

Intimate partner violence is prevalent worldwide, almost a third of females who have been in a relationship have experienced physical or sexual violence (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2013). Intimate partner violence refers to any form of violence by an intimate partner that causes physical, psychological or sexual harm to those in the relationship (Jewkes, 2002). The forms of intimate partner violence include physical, sexual, and emotional violence (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise & Watts, 2006; Jewkes, 2002). Intimate partner violence does not only include physical or sexual acts, it also involves controlling behaviours such as economic control, controlling of children, and isolating the victim from friends and family (Deshpande & Lewis-O'Connor, 2013). Globally, intimate partner violence against females has been labelled as a public health concern and a human rights problem linked to different health, family, social and economic effects (Dalal, 2010; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006; Koenig, Zablotska, Lutalo, Nalugoda, Wagman & Gray, 2004). This study focuses on examining the association between female empowerment and intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe.

In Zimbabwe, the Domestic Violence Act of 2006 makes provision for the protection and relief of victims of domestic violence (Domestic Violence Act [*Chapter 5:16*]). The Act was introduced to protect females from domestic violence. A non-governmental organisation, Musasa Project was established in 1988 to deal with awareness of the illegal nature of domestic violence in the country (Stewart, 1995). Despite the Domestic Violence Act and the Musasa project's awareness on violence, females in Zimbabwe continue to experience violence (Chireshe, 2015). A baseline study on the prevalence of intimate partner violence in Zimbabwe unmasked that

50% of the females knew about the domestic violence Act but chose not to report (United Nations Women, 2014).

The prevalence of intimate partner violence in Zimbabwe is very high, as a study found that 47% females had experienced intimate partner violence with 28% reporting physical violence, 29% emotional violence and 18% sexual violence (Nyamayemombe, Mishra, Rusakaniko, Benedikt, Gwazane, et al., 2010). Another study in Zimbabwe showed similar rates, 48% of females experienced intimate partner violence with 26% experiencing spousal sexual violence, 25% spousal emotional violence and 27% physical violence (Wekwete, Sanhokwe, Murenjekwa, Takavarasha, & Madzingira, 2014). It is stated that two in three females in Zimbabwe have experienced intimate partner violence in their lifetime (United Nations Women, 2014). Intimate partner violence is widespread in the country.

Several studies have been done in Zimbabwe on intimate partner violence and have identified various factors leading to violence among females such as less education, being in polygamous marriages, working, younger age (Nyamayemombe, Mishra, Rusakaniko, Benedikt, & Gwazane, 2010; Wekwete et al., 2014), having a partner who consumes alcohol, disclosure of HIV test results (Shamu, Zarowsky, Shefer, Temmerman, & Abrahams, 2014) and financial dependence on males (Mashiri, 2013). The economy itself has made living conditions unbearable, and the introduction of the United States Dollar has brought with it challenges in families amounting to violence among partners (Mashiri, 2013). The economy has contributed to the financial dependence of females on males. This has seen the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development working hand in hand with non-governmental organisations such as World Vision and Campaign for Female Education (CAMFED) to empower females so that they could be in a position to stand up for their rights (Mutanana & Bukaliya, 2015). The ministry is trying to empower females through advocating for them to be given pieces of land and agricultural inputs (Mutanana & Bukaliya, 2015).

The patriarchal society in Zimbabwe has been described as responsible for intimate partner violence (Fidan & Bui, 2015; Mashiri, 2013). The existence of patriarchy install power in males over females and this allows them to dominate and control females (Fidan & Bui, 2015; Mashiri, 2013). A study in Zimbabwe revealed an

association between male's patriarchal behaviours such as being jealous of females talking to other males, prevention from seeing female friends, accusations of unfaithfulness, limiting contacts with family and the three types of intimate partner violence namely physical, emotional and sexual violence (Fidan & Bui, 2015).

There is a tendency to refer to intimate partner violence, domestic violence and gender-based violence as similar. However, the types of violence are not the same. Intimate partner violence is caused by an intimate partner. Gender-based violence is described as violence directed at an individual, based on his or her biological sex and gender identity (United States Agency for International Development, 2012). Males are also affected by gender-based violence but the majority of victims of gender-based violence are females. In Zimbabwe, the incidences of rape among females perpetrated by close relatives such as uncles, brothers, stepfathers, fathers and neighbours are prevalent (Mutanana & Bukaliya, 2015). Domestic violence includes the abuse by a partner in a marital or live in relationship (Chireshe, 2015). Domestic violence is rampant in Zimbabwe and this includes the abuse of females by their partners in a marital or live-in relationship (Chireshe, 2015). This study focuses on intimate partner violence with particular reference to physical and sexual violence. For the purposes of this study, intimate partner violence refers to any acts of physical and sexual violence directed to a female by her intimate partner.

1.2 Problem statement

There is widespread violence against females in Zimbabwe which is largely perpetrated by the males (Wekwete et al., 2014; Nyamayemombe et al., 2010). The country has engaged in various awareness campaigns to reduce intimate partner violence in the country. The Campaign on Zero Tolerance to Domestic violence involves the use of 4ps (prevention, protection, programmes and participation) to condemn all forms of violence against females and this has been done through the 16 Days of Activism against Gender-based violence (United Nations Women, 2014). However, such campaigns have not yielded much change but rather the females continue to experience violence (United Nations Women, 2014).

Studies argue that lack of female empowerment result in the females not being able to make decisions and many are economically dependent on their male partners (Mashiri, 2013; Nyamayemombe et al., 2010). Female empowerment refers to the

ability or power to make decisions, put into effect choices and also encompasses a shift from powerlessness to an empowered state (Mahmud et al., 2012; Kabeer, 2005). This economic dependence has seen many females being exposed to physical and sexual violence (Mashiri, 2013). In most instances, due to lack of power the decisions are made on their behalf concerning what they can and cannot do. This has led to studies in Zimbabwe on gender-based violence, domestic violence and intimate partner violence advocating for the empowerment of females as a remedy to violence and also as a tool to equip females to be in a position to leave violent and abusive relationships (Hove & Gwazane, 2011; Tom, Musingafi, & Campus, 2009). Gender-based violence as mentioned earlier on encompasses the use of any forms of violence directed to an individual based on his or her biological sex and entails unequal power relations (USAID, 2012). Domestic violence and intimate partner violence are forms of gender-based violence (USAID, 2012). The study focuses on intimate partner violence perpetrated by males to the females.

To reduce intimate partner violence, it is suggested that the government of Zimbabwe should ensure that females have equal access to education and economic empowerment opportunities (Mashiri, 2013). Educating the females is believed to empower them and be in a position to challenge any acts of violence (UNDP, 2014). The employment of females is believed to empower them such that they are less likely to remain in abusive relationships. This is because being employed provides the females with salaries in which they might be able to take care of themselves and the children. In support of the mentioned views, a study on intimate partner violence against females in Zimbabwe explored factors associated with intimate partner violence and suggested improving gender equality through public education on gender relationships, improving females' education and economic opportunities including the removal of customary laws that promote gender inequality in order to reduce intimate partner violence (Fidan & Bui, 2015). In this study, education is not being used to assess gender equality but it is used as one of the indicators of female empowerment. Since female empowerment is recommended to be a panacea, this study examines the association between female empowerment and experiences of intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe.

1.3 Justification

In terms of research, this study will contribute immensely to the existing body of knowledge since studies in Zimbabwe have limitedly focused on female empowerment and intimate partner violence. Only one study has been conducted in Zimbabwe on the association between gender-based violence and female empowerment (Wekwete et al., 2014). The study resembles the current study; however, some of the female empowerment indicators used and the study population differ from this study. The female empowerment indicators used include female's control over their cash earning, female's control over their husband or partner's cash, female's ownership of assets, female's participation in household decisions, females' attitudes towards wife beating and female's earning in relation to their husband's earnings (Wekwete et al., 2014). The study focused on females who were currently in a union and excluded females who were not in a union, widows and divorcees. The study further pointed a need for further research which includes females who are not in a union and divorcees (Wekwete et al., 2014). In response to the suggestion, this study includes all females in Zimbabwe regardless of their marital status to identify the levels of intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe and the association between female empowerment and intimate partner violence. By focusing on all the females, it is possible to identify the females who are in a union and those who are not regarding their experiences of physical and sexual violence.

The study will inform policymakers on key areas that require intervention aimed at addressing intimate partner violence. Since various studies have called for the empowerment of females to reduce violence. The study's findings bring to the fore whether female empowerment does really matter as a panacea to intimate partner violence. By so doing this will inform the policymakers and organisations dealing with violence against females on programmes which needs to be done to address intimate partner violence. The programmes that are aimed at addressing intimate partner violence need to do so strategically by identifying the key aspects which need attention such as who exactly needs to be incorporated and ensure that the programmes are reaching the rightful people.

1.4 Research question

What is the relationship between female empowerment and intimate partner violence in Zimbabwe?

1.4.1 Sub-questions

What are the levels of intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe?

What is the association between female empowerment and intimate partner violence?

1.5 Research objective

To examine the relationship between female empowerment and intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe.

1.5.1 Specific objectives

To examine the levels of intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe.

To identify the association between female empowerment and intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe.

1.6 Definition of terms

1. Physical violence involves slapping, hitting, kicking and beating whereas sexual violence involves any acts of forced sexual intercourse (World Health Organisation, 2010).

2. Empowerment is a concept in which an individual possesses the ability to make and put into effect choices (Kabeer, 2005). It is a process that represents autonomy and power to control one's life and having the ability and freedom to make choices and control resources (Castro, Casique, & Brindis, 2008; Kwagala et al., 2016; Mahmud, Shah, & Becker, 2012). Some scholars define it as a process by which those who are powerless gain control over their lives, ideology (beliefs, values and attitudes) and control over resources (physical, human, intellectual, financial) (Batliwala, 1994).

3. Intimate partner violence refers to any form of violence by an intimate partner that causes physical, psychological or sexual harm to those in the relationship (Jewkes, 2002).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Intimate partner violence is a common phenomenon in different parts of the world. Females suffer from physical, sexual and emotional violence within relationships and this has negative consequences on their health. Some studies have called for female empowerment as a remedy to reduce violence, while others have used micro-finance projects to empower females and to assess whether the females experience violence after being empowered (Green, Christopher, Jamison, & Jeannie, 2015; Gupta et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2007). However, some of the studies have shown that the very same mechanisms used to empower females, trigger violence within relationships (Castro et al., 2008; Pambe, Gnoumou Thiombiano, & Kabore, 2014). In most instances, the males feel threatened by the improvement of females in society and resort to violence as a means to regain power and control over their partners. This has seen some studies recommending that males should be involved or included in the implementation of projects aimed at empowering females, in a bid to make males accept the power dynamics (Green et al., 2015; Gupta et al., 2013).

This chapter presents a review of the international and local literature on female empowerment and intimate partner violence. Including literature on other variables associated with intimate partner violence such as age, residential location, religion, region and marital status. The chapter proceeds to provide a discussion of the theoretical and conceptual framework guiding this study.

2.2 Intimate partner violence: a global view

Globally, females experience intimate partner violence and the violence continues to persist (Devries et al., 2013; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006). Different scholars have identified various factors associated with intimate partner violence such as alcohol abuse by the partners (Abramsky et al., 2011; Basile, Hall, & Mikel, 2013; Okenwa, Lawoko, & Jansson, 2009; Tlapek, 2015; Tumwesigye, Kyomuhendo, Greenfield, & Wayenze, 2012), young aged females (Hindin, Kishor, & Ansara, 2008;

Mukanangana et al., 2014), females with children from previous relationships (Castro, 2008), witnessing violence during childhood (Abeya, Afework, & Yalew, 2011), the partners patriarchal behaviour (Fidan & Bui, 2015; Mann & Takyi, 2009), justifying wife beating (Abramsky et al., 2011; Tlapek, 2015; Wekwete et al., 2014), and partners controlling behaviours (Zacarias, Macassa, Svanstrom, Soares, & Antai, 2012). It is believed that females with a history of experiencing intimate partner violence are more likely to tolerate violence compared to females who have never experienced intimate partner violence (Lawoko, 2006).

The prevalence of intimate partner violence differs in different countries and in most instances, females suffer violence at the hands of their intimate partners (Jewkes, 2002). The prevalence ranges from approximately 2.0% in Australia, Cambodia, Denmark and the Philippines to 13.5%, and in Uganda, among ever-pregnant, ever-partnered females it was between 3.9 and 8.7% (Devries et al., 2013). The prevalence appeared to be higher in African and Latin American countries relative to the European and Asian countries (Abramsky et al., 2011; Devries et al., 2013). The rates of intimate partner violence in Europe Central are 27.85%, Europe Eastern, 26.13%, Europe Western 19.30%, while rates in Asia Pacific is 28.45%, Asia Central, 22.89% and Asia East recorded lowest rates in the region of 16.30% (Devries et al., 2013). Meanwhile, in Sub-Saharan Africa the rates are high, Central Africa has higher rates of intimate partner violence in the region of 65.64% followed by West Africa 41.75%, East Africa 38.83% and Southern Africa has low rates of 29.67% (Devries et al., 2013).

The aforementioned rates of the prevalence of intimate partner violence are supported by studies conducted in different countries in the region. In India, 14% of the females reported physical violence, 15% psychological abuse and 9% sexual coercion (Varma, Chandra, Thomas, & Carey, 2007). In Bangladesh, one in every four currently married females had experienced physical or sexual violence, with 10.5% reported for sexual violence and 19.4% for physical violence (Rahman, Hoque, & Makinoda, 2011). In New Zealand, one in three females had been physically assaulted by an intimate partner with 6% having experienced physical violence (Fanslow & Robinson, 2011).

Studies conducted in Sub-Saharan Africa identified intimate partner violence as a public health problem (Mann & Takyi, 2009) which in some instances has led to the death of the females (Abrahams et al., 2009; Chitumba, 2016). The Uganda Demographic and Health Survey of 2011 indicate that 27% females experienced physical violence and 16% experienced sexual violence (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2012). In Mozambique, 54.3% females had experienced physical violence with 44% being serious cases and 50.9% reported sexual violence with 29.2% being severe acts (Zacarias et al., 2012). In Zimbabwe, the rates of intimate partner violence reported were lower than those indicated in Mozambique, 26.9% reported physical violence while 25.7% reported sexual violence (Wekwete et al., 2014). The rates reported in Botswana were higher, 49.7% females experienced intimate partner violence and this was believed to be as a result of the tendency of females questioning male partners about extra-marital relationships (Zungu, Salawu, & Ogunbanjo, 2010).

Studies in Sub-Saharan Africa tend to reveal low levels of sexual violence among females. This is because sexual violence within marriages in most African cultures is accepted and males are viewed as having control over females such that they possess rights to unconditional sexual access (Sigbeku, Fawole, & Ogunnoyan, 2015; Tom et al., 2009).

Some studies highlight the importance of female empowerment in addressing intimate partner violence, thus empowerment is viewed as emancipating females and providing them with autonomy (Bedi, Chhachhi, & Bhattacharyya, 2011). Others suggest that empowerment increases the risk of violence and is predominantly associated with an increased likelihood of intimate partner violence (Castro et al., 2008; Dalal, 2010; Kwagala, Wandera, Ndugga, & Kabagenyi, 2013).

2.3 Female empowerment and intimate partner violence

Empowerment is a highly contested concept that can mean different things to different people and it is context specific (Mahmud et al., 2012). As mentioned in chapter one, empowerment is a concept in which an individual possesses the ability to make and put into effect choices (Kabeer, 2005). It is described as not once off, but rather a process which is dynamic and aimed at change for those who lack the

ability to make choices, to acquire such ability (Kabeer, 1999). Empowerment encompasses those who are powerless moving from being disempowered to an empowered state (Mahmud et al., 2012).

The concept of female empowerment can be traced in the 1980s and 1990s, it was a radical approach aimed at transforming the existing power relations through addressing females rights, social justice and the restructuring of the economic, social and political structures (Kabeer, 2005; Mukhopadhyay, 2007). Female empowerment involves having independence, freedom, self-rule and high decision-making power which in some instances, can be viewed as challenging males' ability to exercise their masculinities exposing females to the risk of violence (Kabeer, 2005). It is argued that there still exists limited understanding of the process of female empowerment and that the definition remains elusive, despite the availability of studies on the topic (Mahmud et al., 2012).

Studies on female empowerment and intimate partner violence have used different indicators to describe female empowerment which include occupation of females, income, education, participation in decision-making and females' attitudes to wife beating (Castro et al., 2008; Dalal, 2010; Fidan & Bui, 2015; Kwagala et al., 2013). It is important to note that the indicators are context-specific, what constitutes empowerment may differ in other places (Cornwall & Edwards, 2014; Mahmud et al., 2012). These contextual differences in measurements of female empowerment affect its measurement (Mahmud et al., 2012; Upadhyay & Karasek, 2012). On the other hand, some studies have added a sociological view in describing female empowerment which involves addressing gender equality (Fidan & Bui, 2015). Others have used empowerment indicators such as self-esteem, freedom of mobility (Mahmud et al., 2012), access to watching television, listening to the radio and reading newspapers or magazines including literacy level through assessing the ability to read of the females (Lawoko, 2006). For economic empowerment, indicators such as employment status, working facilities, the level of income and exposure to bank accounts have been used (Dalal, 2011). Despite the issue of context-specific, there are common indicators which have been used by several scholars as measures of empowerment such as employment status, educational level (Bedi et al., 2011; Rahman et al., 2011), decision-making, and access to

resources (Castro et al., 2008; Lawoko, 2006; Upadhayay & Karasek, 2012; Wekwete et al., 2014).

It is believed that in theory female empowerment has to reduce violence, but rather the involvement of females in labour markets has led to tension and risks of violence between intimate partners (Castro et al., 2008). Sometimes the empowerment of females increases violence because it challenges the status of gender power (Presser & Sen, 2000). Some scholars argue that females who are economically empowered through ownership of assets have a reduced likelihood of experiencing violence (Bedi et al., 2011). While others contend that economic empowerment of females increases the likelihood of experiencing violence (Dalal, 2011; Kwagala, 1999) since it threatens the role of the males of being a breadwinner (Kaukinen, 2004). For instance, a study conducted in Canada revealed that the females who own economic resources that exceeded their partners were more likely to report intimate partner violence as this posed a threat to male's masculinity (Kaukinen, 2004).

Apart from increasing females risk to violence, the empowerment of females has seen a reduction in levels of intimate partner violence in some settings. For instance, in Uganda females who occupied professional employment had less risk of experiencing intimate partner violence (Kwagala et al., 2013). The same study identified female empowerment as reducing violence and leading to improved quality life. In support of these views, Jewkes (2002) pointed out that female empowerment is protective against intimate partner violence and the sources of obtaining power include improved education, income and participation in community roles. In Nigeria, the ability to make decisions is associated with a reduced likelihood of physical and sexual violence among intimate partners (Antai, 2011). In India, the females who owned property and were employed had a reduced risk of experiencing intimate partner violence (Bedi et al., 2011).

Some studies in Sub-Saharan Africa have used interventions such as microfinance¹ projects to improve the economic status of females with an aim of empowering them in order to reduce intimate partner violence (Green et al., 2015; Gupta et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2007). These interventions had different outcomes, in South Africa, after

¹ The micro-finance involved access to credit and loans

the microfinance projects the females reported that intimate partner violence had reduced (Kim et al., 2007). In contrast, in Uganda females who participated in the entrepreneurship programmes alone without their partners, despite having gained an increase in their earnings they still experienced intimate partner violence (Green et al., 2015). The study further shows that the other group of females who participated in the programmes with their partners experienced a decrease in violence. These existing studies in Sub-Saharan Africa show that the levels of intimate partner violence can either increase or decrease after the introduction of economic programmes aimed at empowering females. This is evident in a study carried out in Cote d'Ivoire where the involvement of the males in the programmes led to a 75% reduction in physical violence among females who participated in the empowerment programme with their male partners (Gupta et al., 2013). Therefore, it is argued that involving males in the programmes aimed to empower females is important for improved communication and reduction of violence (Green et al., 2015; Gupta et al., 2013).

These aforementioned studies conducted in South Africa and Uganda did not consider other indicators of empowerment such as educational level and participation in decision-making. The mentioned indicators are believed to be important in understanding empowerment among females. Therefore, the current study seeks to add to the existing body of knowledge by including education level and participation in decision-making as indicators of female empowerment. The indicators of female empowerment are used in this study to examine their association with two forms of intimate partner violence namely physical and sexual violence.

Similar to the current study, female empowerment was measured using participation in decision-making, ownership of house or land, in a study conducted in Zimbabwe (Wekwete et al., 2014). The study found that females who made decisions on their own and independently controlled their cash earnings reported a greater likelihood 32.5% of physical violence compared to females who had no control of their cash earnings (Wekwete et al., 2014). However, in India, the economic empowerment of females is an effective way of protecting them from intimate partner violence (Dalal, 2011). This is evident by the low rates reported in the study where 2-11% of violence was experienced by females with high levels of education compared to high rates

11-44% experienced by females with lower or no education (Dalal, 2011). In Burkina Faso, in as much as education and employment are key in enhancing females ability to negotiate in relationships, there are insufficient in affirming female empowerment (Pambe et al., 2014).

The measures of female empowerment used by the Demographic and health survey have been questioned by some scholars on their validity as measures of female empowerment in the Sub-Saharan context (Schatz & Williams, 2011). It is suggested that further investigation is required to assess whether measures of empowerment used in other cultural contexts can be applied or are relevant in the Sub-Saharan context (Upadhyay & Karasek, 2012).

2.3.1 Is education a protective factor of intimate partner violence?

Education is viewed as related to female empowerment and an improvement in females' education is considered as a way of empowering them to make decisions concerning their lives (Lailulo, Susuman, & Blignaut, 2015; Pambe et al., 2014). Several studies on intimate partner violence show a constant shift on the role of education in protecting females from violence. In some countries, educated females are at a reduced risk of violence (Hindin, Kishor, & Ansara, 2008) while in some societies the same females are at an increased risk (Abramsky et al., 2011; Castro et al., 2008; Zacarias et al., 2012). In Zimbabwe, when females and males have the same level of education the levels of intimate partner violence are reduced (Fidan & Bui, 2015). The study further shows that females with secondary education reported fewer incidences of physical and sexual violence than females with primary education (Fidan & Bui, 2015). In Zambia, females with post-secondary education had a lower likelihood of violence than females with no education, primary and secondary education (Okenwa & Lawoko, 2010). In support of these views, a systematic review of physical and sexual violence in 41 sites revealed that females with higher education were less likely to experience intimate partner violence (Vyas & Watts, 2009).

Contrary to the studies described above, having secondary education proved to trigger intimate partner violence among females. Some studies posit that when females are more educated than their partners they are vulnerable to violence, this is because males have a tendency to want to dominate (Abramsky et al., 2011; Castro

et al., 2008). In a multi-country study, educational differences between males and females were identified as leading to the increased risk of violence among intimate partners, since a female's high education may challenge the traditional gender roles (Jewkes, 2002). For instance, in Mexico the females who completed secondary or higher education were at a greater risk of experiencing intimate partner violence compared to females with less education (Castro et al., 2008). Similar findings were obtained in Sub-Saharan Africa, in Mozambique, where empowerment through education was considered insufficient to deal with the traditional gender roles and this saw females with higher education at greater risks of intimate partner violence (Zacarias et al., 2012). In the Democratic Republic of Congo education is not a protective factor of intimate partner violence (Tlapek, 2015).

On the other hand, the literature argues that having less education is associated with an increased likelihood of females experiencing intimate partner violence. In Haiti, Iran and Thailand it was discovered that females with a lower level of education were more likely to experience intimate partner violence (Thananowan & Heidrich, 2008). This is in support of a study conducted in Zambia which shows that females with less education had a tendency to tolerate intimate partner violence (Lawoko, 2006). Whereas in Malawi and Rwanda the females with less education compared to their partners had a reduced risk of partner violence (Hindin et al., 2008). Despite studies showing varying findings on education and intimate partner violence, a study in Botswana discovered that both educated and uneducated females experienced violence (Zungu et al., 2010).

2.3.2 Does females' participation in decision-making result in intimate partner violence?

It is assumed that females' participation in decision-making denotes empowerment and makes females less vulnerable to violence (Rahman et al., 2011). However, it is evident in the literature that when females participate in decision-making this either increases or decreases their likelihood of experiencing intimate partner violence. The association between participation of females in decision making and intimate partner violence is context specific and differs in different countries. In some studies, it is shown that females who participate in decision-making are less likely to experience intimate partner violence compared to females who do not participate in decision-

making (Hindin et al., 2008). In Bangladesh, when males decided alone on how to spend their wives money, the females reported fewer incidences of sexual violence, when the husband decided alone on household purchases it increased physical violence (Rahman et al., 2011). The same study shows that even when females are involved in making decisions about their own health care, visiting family or relatives they still encounter physical and sexual violence. This is because Bangladesh is a patriarchal based society where males dominate over females (Rahman et al., 2011). Similarly, studies in Mexico and Philippines found that females' participation in decision-making increased the risk of experiencing violence (Castro et al., 2008; Hindin et al., 2008). This is because females' participation in decision-making signifies independence and this is seen as a threat to males who feel they are compelled to control females and regain their power through the use of violence (Castro et al., 2008). A study in Nigeria reported similar findings, for instance, the females who participated in decision-making concerning spending household money were at increased risk of sexual violence (Okenwa et al., 2009). Other studies had differing findings, for example, in Kenya and Zambia females who made decisions about their own health were less likely to report intimate partner violence (Lawoko, 2006; Okenwa et al., 2009).

The association between participation in decision-making and intimate partner violence is a complex one which constantly shifts in one context to another. It is noted that when males dominate in household decision-making it further increases the use of violence (Hindin & Adair, 2002; Kishor & Johnson, 2004). On the other hand, when females dominate in household decisions they were more likely to experience intimate partner violence and this is seen as males' response to feelings of powerlessness (Rahman et al., 2011). The likelihood of intimate partner violence is reduced when females jointly make decisions with their partners, compared to when females made decisions alone (Hindin & Adair, 2002). This is evident in a multi-country study, the females who made decisions about their own healthcare jointly with their partners were less likely to report violence in Bolivia, Haiti and Malawi (Hindin et al., 2008). Similarly, in 17 Sub-Saharan countries, it was discovered that when females jointly made decisions with their partners it reduced justifying attitudes towards intimate partner violence against females (Uthman, Lawoko, & Moradi, 2009).

2.3.3 The employment status of females in relation to violence

Females' employment is recommended by different development policies as a means to facilitate empowerment (Bedi et al., 2011). It is argued that having a job empowers females as it increases their purchasing and bargaining power in relationships (Presser & Sen, 2000). In addition, the females who were working sought help on issues related to intimate partner violence compared to females who were not working (Dalal, 2011). The money obtained through the employment of females may make them able to exercise power in relationships and in some instances, their partners treat them better knowing that the females might leave abusive relationships (Presser & Sen, 2000). However, some scholars pointed out that females who worked while their partners were not, had an increased risk of experiencing intimate partner violence and including in relationships where both were not working (Abramsky et al., 2011). The employment of females fosters among males the need to compete with the improved position and freedom gained by the females through being employed (Hindin & Adair, 2002; Riger & Krieglstein, 2000). It is argued that working females are at a risk of experiencing intimate partner violence since working might destruct females to fulfil their domestic duties or roles and leads to tensions among couples (Castro et al., 2008). The violence that working females experience is believed to be linked to their partner's being jealous (Castro et al., 2008).

In India, the rates of intimate partner violence among working females are high compared to females not working, for instance, among working females emotional violence was 18%, severe physical violence 14% and sexual violence 10%, while for females not working it was 12% emotional violence, 8% severe physical violence and 8% sexual violence (Dalal, 2011). The same observations were found in Bangladesh, the employed females were more likely to report physical and sexual violence (Rahman et al., 2011). This is because the females are believed to likely challenge their partner's authority and this poses a threat to the husbands' power (Castro et al., 2008; Vyas & Watts, 2009). In Nigeria, females who worked lower socio-economic occupations such as agricultural self-employed jobs or unskilled manual workers were at a risk of physical violence (Antai, 2011). This is because the nature of their jobs took most of their energy and made them neglect household

chores (Antai, 2011). The females with a high level or professional employment also lack time to do household chores and are at risk of intimate partner violence.

It is noted that the employment of females generates economic resources for females which result to reduced violence (Bedi et al., 2011). In Ethiopia, females who were currently employed in agricultural jobs reported lower levels of intimate partner violence compared to females who were not employed (Abeya et al., 2011). While in Ecuador, when females are not employed and the males are employed it led to fewer incidences of violence (Oduro, Deere, & Catanzarite, 2015). This supports the resource theory which argues that when males' resources are not threatened, the males have reduced violent behaviours towards their partners (Goode, 1971). However, in Zimbabwe, females who are unemployed are more likely to experience physical and sexual violence (Mukanangana, Moyo, & Rusinga, 2014). However, the study only focused on females in one residential area Hatfield in Zimbabwe. This current study relies on a representative sample of females in Zimbabwe which makes it different from the previous study. Some scholars indicate no association between females employment status and intimate partner violence (Idoko, Ogbe, Jallow, & Ocheke, 2015).

2.3.4 Ownership of assets and intimate partner violence

The unequal power relations which exist between males and females are believed to be predictors of intimate partner violence. When females own land or other assets this helps them in balancing the power relations (Resko, 2010). Ownership of land by females help empower them economically and socially (USAID, 2013). It is argued that in low-income and agricultural based societies, females with secured land rights have increased economic independence and bargaining power which in turn reduce vulnerability to intimate partner violence (USAID, 2013). However, the ownership of land by females as means to reduce intimate partner violence is contested and they exist mixed views (Oduro et al., 2015). In some instances, the ownership of a land or a house by females is believed to offer security, in times of conflict in a relationship the females would be in a position to let go of an abusive partner and joint ownership of a house strengthens the females to end an abusive relationship (Bedi et al., 2011; Oduro et al., 2015, USAID, 2013). In Nicaragua, females who owned land reported significantly lower incidences of physical and sexual violence

than females who did not own land (Grabe, 2010). In India as well, the females who owned a house or land had a lower likelihood of experiencing physical and sexual violence (Panda & Agarwal, 2005). The ownership of assets is viewed as a protective measure of violence compared to being employed because employment in some instances cannot be permanent while ownership of assets is considered as offering security due to it being more permanent (Panda & Agarwal, 2005). The ownership of land by females offers them a livelihood and means to take care of themselves through farming or renting out the land (Oduro et al., 2015).

However, in some settings, an increase in the ownership of assets by females may trigger violence in cases where the male partners might view their power as being diminished (Bedi et al., 2011). In Tanzania's capital city Dar es Salaam, females who owned assets such as businesses on their own had a greater likelihood of experiencing intimate partner violence compared to those who co-owned with their partners (Vyas, Heise, Mbwambo & Jansen, 2015). In Rwanda, the females experienced gender-based violence in exercising their land rights and in most cases, the perpetrators would be their intimate partners (Hughes & Richardson, 2015).

2.4 Age of females in relation to intimate partner violence

Numerous studies state that the age of females determines the likelihood of experiencing intimate partner violence with young females more likely to experience violence compared to older females (Pambe et al., 2014; Wekwete et al., 2014; Castro et al., 2008; Hindin et al., 2008). Studies in Mexico and Bangladesh revealed that physical violence is high among young females and lower among the females aged 45 to 49 (Castro et al., 2008). In sub-Saharan Africa, it seems young females are more vulnerable to physical and sexual violence, for instance, in Burkina Faso; younger females were more likely than older ones to report violence (Pambe et al., 2014). In Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Botswana and South Africa the females aged 15-24 years old were at increased risk of experiencing physical and sexual violence (Hoque, Hoque, & Kader, 2009; Okenwa et al., 2009; Wekwete et al., 2014; Zungu et al., 2010).

It is argued that as the age of the females increases the experiences of intimate partner violence decreases. In Bangladesh and Uganda, intimate partner violence

reduced when the females grew older, like in Uganda when females are aged 40 and above they become less likely to be victims of violence compared to females aged 25-39 years old (Rahman et al., 2011; Speizer, 2010). Another study in Uganda contradicted the earlier findings it showed that females aged 35-44 years old reported higher incidences of physical violence (Tumwesigye et al., 2012). This is consistent with a World Health Organisation (WHO) multi-country study which highlighted that females of old age were at increased risk of intimate partner violence in three out of fifteen sites (Abramsky et al., 2011). The study further indicated that young females were also at increased risk of past year intimate partner violence in all the sites (Abramsky et al., 2011). Similar findings were obtained in Ethiopia, the females aged 35-49 years old had increased risk of intimate partner violence (Abeya et al., 2011).

2.5 Residential location and experiences of violence

Literature suggests that intimate partner violence varies based on residential location, with differences existing between rural and urban areas (Fidan & Bui, 2015; Antai, 2011; Dalal, 2011; Rahman et al., 2011). A study in India discovered differences in the type of violence experienced by females, the females in urban areas were exposed to emotional and physical violence while females in rural areas were exposed to sexual violence (Dalal, 2011). In Bangladesh, the females in rural areas have high chances of experiencing intimate partner violence compared to females in urban areas (Rahman et al., 2011). In support of the findings, a multi-country study indicated that rural areas of Japan, Serbia and Montenegro have high rates of intimate partner violence compared to urban areas (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006). Another multi-country study in 17 Sub-Saharan countries showed that females in rural areas had high odds of justifying intimate partner violence (Uthman et al., 2009). In Nigeria and Uganda, females in rural areas are at risk of physical violence as a result of rural areas comprising of more traditional gender roles which promote violence compared to urban areas (Antai, 2011). In Zimbabwe, females in rural areas were more likely to experience intimate partner violence than their counterparts in urban areas (Fidan & Bui, 2015). The females from rural areas of Zimbabwe were less likely to report the incidences of violence to the police because they felt that it was inappropriate and went against their cultural values (Chuma &

Chazovachii, 2012). Other reasons for not reporting could have been as a result of lower education and limited access to resources inhibited by the existing customary laws in the country (Fidan & Bui, 2015).

In South Africa, intimate partner violence differs according to residential location, the females in urban areas such as Soweto report more abuse than those in rural areas like Nkangala District in Mpumalanga (Matseke, Peltzer, & Mlambo, 2012). Similar findings were found in Philippines, Bolivia, Haiti and Zambia, an increased likelihood of intimate partner violence was experienced by females in urban areas than those in rural areas (Hindin & Adair, 2002; Hindin et al., 2008). In Ethiopia and Ghana, the females in urban areas were more likely to report intimate partner violence than females in rural areas (Abeya et al., 2011; Oduro et al., 2015).

2.6 Religion and intimate partner violence

Studies on religion and intimate partner violence have shown that females are victims of intimate partner violence which include verbal, physical, sexual and emotional abuse (Potter, 2007). Some religious denominations tend to indirectly perpetuate or legitimise violence through certain sections of the Christian scriptures and patriarchal notions (Chireshe, 2015; Davis, 2015; Ross, 2013). The patriarchal notions are supported by some scriptures which describe females as subjects under their male partners (Davis, 2015). For instance, the following scriptures in 1 Timothy 2:12 *They (females) should study to be quiet and obedient along with everyone else* and Colossians 3:18, states that *wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord* (Davis, 2015). Despite the existence of such scriptures Ross (2013) argues that some Christian scriptures can be used as means to prevent or reduce violence against females. In most instances, when the Christian females experience any forms of intimate partner violence they might not consider it as violence (Ross, 2013).

In Uganda, physical violence was lower among Muslim and Christian females from denominations such as evangelical this is because of lower levels of alcohol consumption by the partners, however, among Christian females of denominations such as Catholic and Protestant the rates of intimate partner violence were high (Tumwesigye et al., 2012). A study conducted in Zimbabwe revealed that among

religious families there were fewer cases of spousal abuse compared to non-religious families (Mhaka-Mutepfa, 2009). The study did not distinguish on the different religious denominations available in Zimbabwe making it difficult to deduce the exact type of religious denomination which reported fewer cases of intimate partner violence. Another study in Zimbabwe highlighted that religion protected females from intimate partner violence indicated when the females from all the religious denominations were less likely to report violence in relation to the non-religious females (Nyamayemombe et al., 2010). However, the results were only statistically significant for the Protestant females. In Nigeria, the Catholic females reported high incidences of sexual violence (Okenwa et al., 2009).

2.7 Region and intimate partner violence

In this section the study relied on newspaper articles since most journal articles on studies on intimate partner violence in Zimbabwe have focused on specific provinces (Shamu et al., 2014; Tom et al., 2013) while others which have focused on the country as a whole did not indicate information on region and intimate partner violence (Hindin, 2003; Fidan & Bui, 2016). An article in the Sunday newspaper in Zimbabwe highlighted on the levels of intimate partner violence in the country's regions for the year 2014 which was obtained from the National Aids Council (NAC). The highest levels of intimate partner violence were recorded in Harare with 1 431 cases followed by Mashonaland East with 1 273 cases, and Manicaland province had 993 cases was third and fourth was Mashonaland Central 850 cases (Chakanyuka, 2015). The Bulawayo province had the least cases 356 of violence compared to other provinces (Chakanyuka, 2015). The disparities in the cases reported in each province were pointed to differences in population sizes, socio-economic set-ups and levels of awareness in the communities. The provinces in which fewer cases were reported could have possibly been the issue of females not being empowered and this result in them not reporting the cases. A study in Zimbabwe indicated that females in Mashonaland East, Midlands and Harare were more likely to experience intimate partner violence than females in Manicaland (Nyamayemombe et al., 2010).

In another newspaper article of the Herald in Zimbabwe, statistics presented at the SADC Gender Protocol summit held in Harare the capital city of Zimbabwe indicated

that among the regions in the country, Mashonaland central province had the highest reports of violence with 56% married females having experienced violence (The Herald, 2013). The province was followed by Manicaland with 49%, Mashonaland West had 47% and Mashonaland east reported 42%. Contrary, to the statistics shown in the Sunday newspaper article, Harare and Masvingo had the least cases of violence, 40% cases were reported (The Herald, 2013). In these regions in Zimbabwe, the females experience various forms of intimate partner violence with some resulting to the murder of the females. The reports on gender-based violence continue to increase in Midlands province with the Ministry of Women's Affairs, Gender and Community Development highlighting that 443 cases were reported in 2016 which is an increase from the 339 cases which were recorded in 2015 (Mutsiwi, 2016).

2.8 Marital status and intimate partner violence

In a multi-country study, it was discovered that females who were cohabitating with partners were at increased risk of intimate partner violence (Abramsky et al., 2011). A study in Mexico supports the view that cohabitation instead of marriage resulted in increased violence among females (Castro et al., 2008). Not only cohabitating females were at risk of intimate partner violence even the married females were at increased risk (Kouyoumdjian et al 2013). The married females have a tendency to protect their marriage and this results in cases of violence not being reported (Campbell et al., 2008). In Zimbabwe, sexual violence among married females is prevalent and it is not considered as abuse since the partners would have paid the bridewealth '*lobola*' and this has seen the occurrence of marital rape among couples (Chireshe, 2015; Tom et al., 2009). In some circumstances, the married females were more likely to justify intimate partner violence while the formerly married females were less likely to justify intimate partner violence (Uthman et al., 2009). The same study also shows that some married females were less likely to justify intimate partner violence compared to those who were never married (Uthman et al., 2009).

The type of union within the married females influences intimate partner violence. For instance, a study in Nigeria showed that the married females in a polygamous union were at an increased risk of sexual violence in relation to those in a monogamous union (Modupe et al., 2015). The same findings were noted in

Zimbabwe, the females in a polygynous union were more likely to experience partner violence than those in monogamous relationships (Nyamayemombe et al., 2010). However, in Ghana females in consensual unions (living together but not married) compared to married ones have a greater likelihood of experiencing physical violence (Oduro et al., 2015).

Based on literature one cannot draw a conclusion as to which marital status protects females from intimate partner violence. In some instances, the married females are at increased risk of violence while in some places the married females are at reduced risk. A study in Portugal on comparisons on intimate partner violence between the married and dating partners indicated that the dating partners reported severe forms of physical abuse than married partners (Machado et al., 2014). The females not in a union and involved in an intimate relationship are also more likely to experience intimate partner violence.

2.9 Theoretical framework

2.9.1 The social exchange theory

The study used the social exchange and resource theory to explain intimate partner violence. The social exchange theory argues that violence is used when the costs of being violent are perceived to be less than the rewards (Gelles, 1993). The exchange theory highlights the inequalities between males and females stating that males earn more money and have a higher status over females (Resko, 2007). Based on this, females are economically dependent on males increasing the likelihood of males to batter females without fear of losing the relationship (Riger & Krieglstein, 2000). The theory further predicts that increasing females' economic resources contribute to the gaining of power which results in a decrease of experiences of violence (Riger & Krieglstein, 2000). In addition, the theory asserts that an increase in females' economic resources empowers females to bargain in their relationship and allows them to threaten to leave violent relationships (Gibson-Davis, Edin, & McLanahan, 2005). In other words, economically empowered females have the ability to make males realise that they can lose the relationship by threatening to walk out of the relationship because of their violent practices. It is argued that in cases of violence, females who are employed and receive earnings

have the powers to negotiate with their partners to stop the violent behaviour (Resko, 2007). According to social exchange theory, the dimensions of power can be expressed by participation in decision-making, those with power have the ability to make decisions within the relationship (Antai, 2011). In this study, the theory is used to illustrate the dimensions of power implying that females who participate in decision-making are empowered and possess the ability to make decisions within a relationship. The resource theory is the focus of the section below.

2.9.2 Resource theory

The resource theory is claimed to be closely related to the social exchange theory (McCloskey, 1996) while other scholars contend that the two theories are not similar but rather separate theories (Bersani & Chen, 1988; Kurst-Swanger & Petcosky, 2003; Loue, 2001). Resources are described as comprising anything an individual possesses and can offer to others to satisfy needs or accomplish goals (Hesse-Biber & Williamson, 1984). Resource theory was applied in the understanding of intimate partner violence in the 1970s and resources were grouped into four which exert power in intimate relations (Gelles, 1993; Goode, 1971). The four groups of resources include i) economic variables, ii) prestige and respect, iii) force and its threat, iv) likeability, attractiveness, friendship, and love (Goode, 1971). It is argued that an individual who poses the aforementioned resources is not motivated to use threats or explicit force. However, males use violence against intimate partner as an ultimate resource to gain power and control over their partners especially in circumstances where they perceive that they are imbalances in resources that are key such as income, educational attainment and prestige (Gelles, 1993; Goode, 1971; Hoffman, Demo, & Edwards, 1994). For instance, several studies have found that educational imbalance between intimate partners' results to males who have less education than their partners engage in violence against their partners (Shamu et al., 2016; Stith, Smith, Penn, Ward, & Tritt, 2004). The risk of intimate partner violence was reduced in cases where males earned more compared to their partners (Fox, Benson, DeMaris, & Wyk, 2002).

Just like the social exchange theory, the resource theory pointed to the differences in accumulation of resources with an imbalance of resources resulting to intimate partner violence (Fox et al., 2002; Goode, 1971). The resource theory further

suggests that male violence towards their partners' increases when females' economic contribution meets or exceeds the males' economic contribution (Fox, Benson, DeMaris, & Wyk, 2002; Goode, 1971). As females become economically empowered enabling them to be financially independent, males lose the symbolic role of being a breadwinner (Fox et al., 2002; Gibson-Davis et al., 2005). This shift results in males resorting to the available resource at their disposal, that is, violence, which is enhanced by their masculinity in order to compensate their frustrations of females becoming chief breadwinners (Fox et al., 2002; Macmillan & Gartner, 1999; McCloskey, 1996). A study in Nigeria used the following variables income, education level, employment status and occupational prestige to assess the perspectives of the resource theory (Antai, 2011). In this study, the theory means that owning of any resources can either expose females to violence or protect them. Therefore, to reflect on the resource theory, the current study will examine variables such as ownership of assets, education level and employment status.

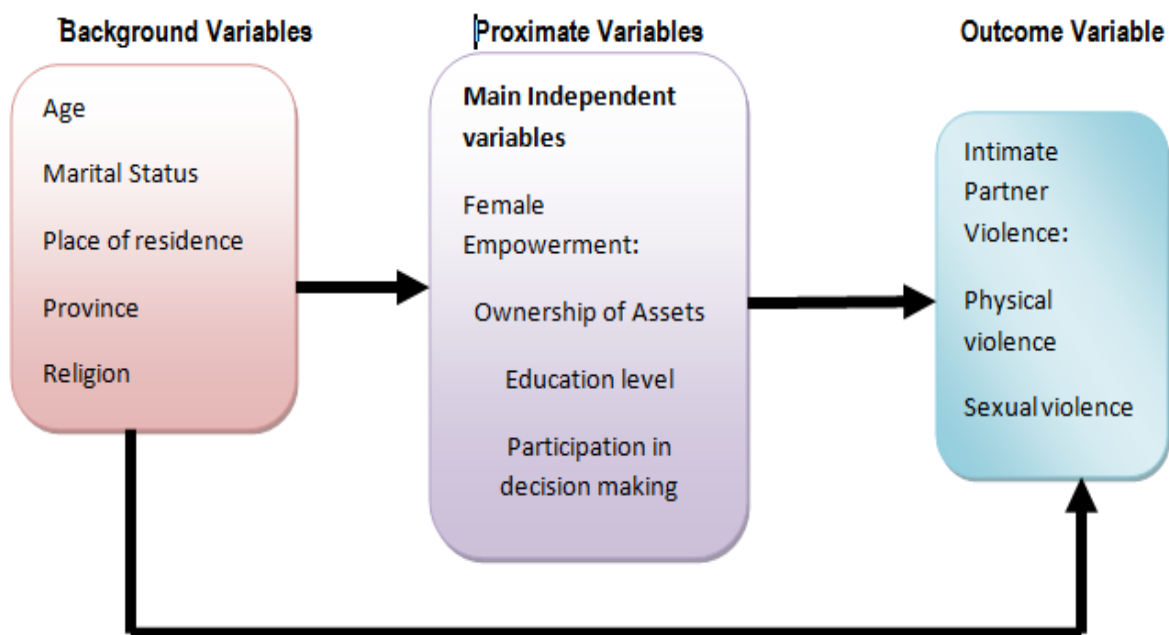


Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework illustrating the interrelationship between female empowerment and intimate partner violence in Zimbabwe adapted from (Tuladhar et al., 2013)

The study adopted a model by (Tuladhar, Khanal, Lila, Ghimire, & Onta, 2013) for the conceptual framework of female empowerment and intimate partner violence. The model found that female empowerment is negatively associated with an

increased likelihood of spousal violence, however; the results were not significant when age, wealth, caste or ethnicity and ecological zone were controlled (Tuladhar et al., 2013). The above model for the conceptual framework indicates the background variables which include demographic and socioeconomic factors such as age, religion, marital status, place of residence and province. The background variables work through female empowerment to influence intimate partner violence. Age of the females determine the level of empowerment, it is argued that as the age of females increases the level of empowerment increases (Thapa & Gurung, 2012).

The model illustrates that female empowerment is indicated by variables such as participation in decisionmaking, ownership of assets, education level and employment status. These variables as mentioned earlier reflect on the two theoretical perspectives of the study, the social exchange and resource theory. The indicators of female empowerment have a direct influence on intimate partner violence. It is argued that females who participate in decision-making have fewer chances of experiencing intimate partner violence compared to those who do not participate in decision-making (Hindin et al., 2008), but some studies show that the females participation in decision-making increases violence (Castro et al., 2008; Hindin & Adair, 2002). The level of education determines the likelihood of intimate partner violence with females not educated more likely to experience intimate partner violence (Thananowan & Heidrich, 2008). However, some studies argue that educated females experience intimate partner violence (Abramsky et al., 2011; Castro et al., 2008; Zacarias et al., 2012).

In addition, the background variables have a direct influence on intimate partner violence. Several studies highlight that age directly influences intimate partner violence with females of young age having a higher likelihood of experiencing violence (Hindin et al., 2008). Place of residence directly influence intimate partner violence, and the prevalence of partner violence varies in rural and urban areas (Matseke et al., 2012). Thus using these theories and the conceptual framework the study posits that female empowerment can either decrease or increase intimate partner violence among females. The conceptual framework indicates how the background variables directly and work through the proximate determinants to influence physical or sexual violence.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The chapter presents the methodology used to meet the objectives of this study. This includes a description of the study design, data source, study population, sample size and an outline of the independent and dependent variables. The process of data management is explained including the analysis of data.

3.2 Data source and study design

The study used a cross-sectional design which is characterised by data collected at a single point in time over a short period of time (David & Sutton, 2011). The study utilised secondary data obtained from the Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey (ZDHS) which was conducted in 2010-2011. The survey collects and publishes nationally representative data on health and population in developing countries. The survey comprises of a nationally representative sample of households with at least one female of reproductive age. It is from these households that all females enumerated in the Demographic and Health Survey are drawn and constitute a sample that is believed to be representative of the total population of females of reproductive age in Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency & ICF International, 2012).

3.2.1 Study population

The study population are females in Zimbabwe of age group 15-49 years old, who answered questions on domestic violence. The ages have been selected because females between the ages 15-49 are likely to be involved in intimate relationships and to experience intimate partner violence. All the females within all types of relationships, married, never married and those not married but living with a partner were included. The females from all the ten provinces in the country and geographic locations were represented, regardless of fertility status, and comprised females with children and none.

3.2.2 Sample size

The Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey constitute a representative sample of 9171 females (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency and ICF International, 2012). The study excluded females who did not respond to domestic violence questions and this led to a final sample of 6542 females who responded to questions pertaining to domestic violence. To ensure national representativeness of the data, weighting was done to correct oversampling and undersampling. Data weighting refers to the tabulation of results characterised by re-balancing the data with purposes of accurately reflecting the population (Biemer & Christ, 2008).

3.2.3 Questionnaire design

The Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey consists of three questionnaires used to gather data such as the household questionnaire, women's questionnaire and men's questionnaire (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency & ICF International, 2012). This study used the women's questionnaire to gather data on violence conducted on females from ages 15-49 years old. The women's questionnaire includes questions on female empowerment, education level, employment status, religion, domestic violence among others.

3.5 Study variables

3.5.1 Dependent variable

Table 3.1: Definitions of the dependent variable

Dependent variables			
Variable code	Variable name	Original codes from the survey	How the variables are coded in this study.
Physical violence			
d105a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ever been pushed, shook or had something thrown by husband/partner 	Never (0) Often (1)	Not experienced physical violence (0)
d105b	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ever been slapped 	Sometimes (2)	Experienced physical violence (1)
d105c	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ever been punched with fist or hit by something harmful 	Yes but not in the last 12 months (3)	
d105d	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ever been kicked or dragged 		
d105e	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ever been strangled or burnt 		
d105f	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ever been threatened with knife/gun or weapon 		
d105j	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ever had arm twisted or hair pulled 		
Sexual violence			
d105h	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ever been physically forced into unwanted sex 	Never (0) Often (1) Sometimes (2)	Not experienced sexual violence (0)
d105i	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ever been forced into other unwanted sexual acts 	Yes but not in the last 12 months (3)	Experienced sexual violence (1)

Table 3.1 above shows the dependent variable for this study which is intimate partner violence and it is in two forms: physical and sexual violence. Physical violence referred to females who had experienced any of the following acts: pushed, slapped, punched with a fist, kicked, strangled, threatened by knife and arm twisted, and all these variables had four categories. The respondents did not necessarily have to experience all the seven forms of physical violence to be labelled as having experienced physical violence. Experiencing any of the seven acts of physical violence qualified the respondent to be categorised as having experienced physical violence. The first category 'never' represented females who had not experienced

physical violence and it was coded as 0. The second category 'often' indicated females who experienced physical violence but not always, the third category 'sometimes' showed that experiences of violence were not regularly and the fourth category 'yes but not in the last 12 months' referred to females who had experienced violence and not in the past year. The latter three categories were all merged to represent females who had experienced physical violence and were coded as 1. Sexual violence referred to females who encountered any of the following acts: ever been physically forced into unwanted sex and forced into unwanted sexual acts. As mentioned previously, the respondents did not have to report all acts of sexual violence to be categorised as having experienced sexual violence. Similarly, the variables had four categories as those for physical violence, the first category 'never' was coded 0 to represent females who had not experienced sexual violence, while the three categories 'often', 'sometimes', and 'yes but not in the last 12 months', were all combined and coded as 1, to denote females who had experienced sexual violence.

3.5.2 Independent variables

The main independent variable was female empowerment and it was measured by participation in decision-making, ownership of assets, education level and employment status. The aforementioned variables were selected to measure female empowerment as there relate to the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study. The social exchange and resource theory which guided this study can be explained by these selected variables measuring empowerment. The measures have been used in various studies on female economic empowerment and intimate partner violence (Castro et al., 2008; Dalal, 2011; Fidan & Bui, 2015; Kwagala et al., 2013).

Other independent variables used to provide the background of the female participants are age, marital status, religion, type of place of residence and region. These variables served as background variables associated with intimate partner violence as indicated by the conceptual framework in the previous chapter.

Table 3.2: Definitions of the main independent variable

Main Independent Variable: Female empowerment				
Variable code	Variable name	Original codes from survey	How variables are coded in this study	New variable
v743a	Female decisions on their own health	Respondent alone (1)	Not empowered (0) Empowered (1)	Participation in decision making
v743b	Female decisions on major household purchase	Respondent and partner (2)		
v743d	Female decisions to visit family or relatives	Husband or partner alone (3) Someone else (4)		
v743f	Females control over partners earnings	Other (5)		
v745a	Female ownership of a house	Does not own (0) Alone only (1)	None (0) Alone only (1)	Ownership of assets
v745b	Female ownership of land	Jointly only (2) Both alone and jointly (3)	Jointly only (2)	
v106	Highest educational level	No education (0) Primary (1) Secondary (2) Higher (3)	No education and primary (0) Secondary and higher (1)	Educational level
v714	Employment status	No (0) Yes (1)	No (0) Yes (1)	

In Table 3.2 the variable ‘participation in decision’ making referred to the person who made decisions with regards to the females own health, major household purchase, to visit family or relatives and females control over partners earnings. Each variable had five categories, the first category ‘respondent alone’, indicated the females who made decisions on their own without the help of the partner or someone else, and it was coded as 1. The second category ‘respondent and partner’ showed the females who made decisions together with their partners, it was coded as 2. While the third

category 'husband or partner', reveals that the decisions were made solely by the partner without the females participating. The category 'someone else' indicates that the females were not making decisions. These people could have been their partners and they were not keen to mention them. The last category 'other' highlights that the females were not making decisions. Principal component analysis was performed for all the four participation in decision-making variables in order to reduce the variables to a small set. Based on the factor scores, 2 categories were generated, the first category was coded 0 and it represented not empowered females. The second category was coded 1 and it denoted empowered females.

Ownership of assets referred to whom the females owned assets with. The variable had four categories does not own, alone only, jointly only, both alone and jointly. The first category 'does not own' indicated the females who did not own a house or land and it was coded 0, the second category 'alone only' revealed the females who owned a house or land on their own, it was coded 1, while 'jointly only' illustrates the females who owned a house or land together with their partners. In the study, the category 'jointly only' was combined with the last category both 'alone and jointly' which represented the females who owned a house or land on their own and together with their partners, and it was coded as 2. Thereafter, the variable ownership of assets was generated through creating an index where the variables ownership of a house and ownership of land were summed and the scores were used to rank the order of the variables. The scores ranged from 0-4, the score 0 represented those who had none assets and it was coded as 0. The scores 1-2 depicted those who owned assets alone and were coded 1 and the scores 3-4 denoted females who jointly owned assets with their partners and it was coded as 2.

The third variable highest level of education illustrated the highest level of education completed by the respondent. The variable had four categories no education, primary, secondary and higher. These categories were grouped in this study into two categories namely 'no education or primary' which was coded as 0 and 'secondary or higher education', coded as 1.

The variable employment status described females who were currently employed and not employed. The variable had two categories 'no' denoted by a 0 and 'yes'

represented by a 1. The category yes represented females who were currently employed while the category no referred to females who were not employed.

Table 3.3: Definitions of other independent variables

Other independent variables			
Variable code	Variable name	Original codes from the survey	How variables are coded in this study
v501	Current marital status	Never in union (0) Married (1) Living with partner (2) Widowed (3) Divorced (4) No longer living together/separated (5)	Never married (0) Married (1) Separated (2)
v130	Religion	Traditional (1) Roman Catholic (2) Protestant (3) Pentecostal (4) Apostolic sect (5) Other Christian (6) Muslim (7) None (8) Other (9)	None (0) Christian (1)
v024	Region	Manicaland (1) Mashonaland central (2) Mashonaland East (3) Mashonaland West (4) Matabeleland north (5) Matabeleland south (6) Midlands (7) Masvingo (8) Harare (9) Bulawayo (10)	Manicaland (1) Mashonaland (2) Matabeleland (3) Midlands (4) Masvingo (5) Harare (6)
v025	Type of place of residence	Urban (1) Rural (2)	Urban (1) Rural (2)
V013	Age	15-19 (1) 20-24 (2) 25-29 (3) 30-34 (4) 35-39 (5) 40-44 (6) 45-49 (7)	15-19 (1) 20-24 (2) 25-29 (3) 30-34 (4) 35-39 (5) 40+ (6)

Table 3.3 presents the other independent variables used in the study. The variable marital status referred to the current marital status of the females. The variable had five categories 'never in union' describing females who were not in a union which

was coded as 0. The two categories: 'married' which referred to females in a union and the category 'living with partner' which showed females who were not married but living with a partner, were combined to form the category married, which was then coded as 1. The following three categories; 'widowed' which referred to females who had partners who had passed away, 'divorced' and 'separated' which referred to females who were no longer in a union, there were all grouped together to form the category separated, and this was coded as 2.

The variable religion referred to the religious denomination in which the females belonged to, and it had nine categories: traditional, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Pentecostal, apostolic sect, other Christian, Muslim, none and other. The categories Roman Catholic, Protestant, Apostolic sect and Pentecostal were all merged to come up with a single category 'Christian' which was coded as 1, the second category 'none' was coded as 0 and comprised of females who did not belong to any religious affiliation.

The variable region referred to the provinces in Zimbabwe. The variable had ten categories displayed in table 3. The category Manicaland was coded as 1, the categories Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East and Mashonaland West were merged to form the category 'Mashonaland' which was coded as 2, while Matabeleland north and south were combined to make the category 'Matabeleland', and this was coded as 3. In addition, the provinces Midlands, Masvingo and Harare were coded as 4, 5 and 6 respectively. The variable place of residence denoted the geographical location of the females in Zimbabwe; it had two categories rural coded as 1 and urban coded as 2.

The variable age represents the current age of the females, is comprised of seven categories with age groups, 15-19 years old which were coded as 1, 20-24 years old coded as 2, age group 25-29 years old which was coded as 3. Additionally, the age groups 30-34 years old, 35-39 years old, were coded as 4 and 5, respectively. The last two age groups 40-44 years old and 45-49 years old were grouped to form the category 40 and above which was then coded as 6.

3.6 Hypotheses

H₀: There is no relationship between female empowerment and intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe.

H_A: There is a relationship between female empowerment and intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe.

3.7 Ethical issues

The first step was to check whether the questionnaire in the Zimbabwe 2010-2011 DHS report consisted of questions on females' experiences of physical and sexual violence. After seeing that the questions were included, the permission to obtain the data set for the study was sought this required registering on the DHS website. As part of the registration procedure, a brief information on why the data set was being requested was required and this was provided. Upon being granted the permission to download the data set, the survey of interest to the study was selected and this was the Zimbabwe DHS 2010-2011. From the survey, the females' recode data was selected since it comprised of data on domestic violence module which was suitable for analysis of the purposes of the study.

The Zimbabwe Statistical Agency (ZIMSTAT) and ICF International obtained ethical approval when the data was collected. During the data collection phase, the respondents were informed about the purpose of the interviews and they participated voluntarily. They also made aware that they can terminate participation at any time or refuse to answer any question. The DHS ensures strict standards of privacy and confidentiality of the respondents and household members who participate in the surveys.

3.8 Data management

The first step was to download the data set of the Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2010-2011 and convert it to STATA using version 14. The second step was to weight the data and recode the variables as illustrated in tables two and three. The third step involved obtaining the number of females who responded to the domestic violence module on Stata using the variable v044 from DHS and 6542

females had responded to domestic violence questions, this marked the third step of the data management procedure.

3.9 Data analysis

Data analysis was done in three phases namely univariate, bivariate and multivariate analysis using Stata version 14.0.

3.9.1 Univariate analysis

The first phase was the univariate analysis which involved describing the background characteristics of the respondents by using a series of frequencies and percentage distributions. The background characteristics presented information of the respondents on the following: educational level, employment status, participation in decision-making, ownership of assets, marital status, religion, age, place of residence and region. The univariate analysis assisted in indicating how the categories in each variable are distributed, including the levels of the two forms of intimate partner violence: physical and sexual violence and these were presented on a bar chart. This made it possible to meet the first objective of the study, which was to examine the levels of intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe.

3.9.2 Bivariate analysis

The second phase, the bivariate analysis was done to present the profile of the sample according to the females' experiences of intimate partner violence. It involved the cross-tabulation of the outcome variables, physical and sexual violence with all the independent variables using the Pearson's chi-square test. This was done to measure the association between each independent variable and the outcome variable, the p-value was used to determine whether the difference was statistically significant at 95% level of confidence.

3.9.3 Multivariate analysis

The third phase was the multivariate analysis which included a stepwise forward binary logistic regression, to examine the adjusted association between female empowerment with physical and sexual violence. The stepwise forward binary logistic regression was used to identify the association between measures of female empowerment and intimate partner violence while controlling for other independent

variables. This allowed examining if the associations found in the bivariate analysis of each independent variable and the outcome variables were still maintained in the multivariate when the main independent variable (female empowerment measures) and the other independent variables in the study (age, religion, region, place of residence) were all regressed with the outcome variables physical and sexual violence. All this was done in an attempt to answer the second objective of the study, which involved examining the association between female empowerment and intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe.

The binary logistic regression was utilised because the outcome variables physical and sexual violence are categorical and dichotomous; they consist of two categories, the first category were females who did not experience physical or sexual violence, coded as 0 and the second category is coded 1, representing females who had experienced physical or sexual violence. The results were presented as Odds Ratios (OR) and the statistical significance used p-values less than 0.05 ($p < 0.05$). The formula for the binary logistic is indicated below by (Warner, 2008):

$$\text{Logit } [P(y = 1)|X_i \dots X_k] = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 \dots \beta_k X_k$$

Where:

β_0 = Intercept

β_1 = Regression Coefficient

$X_i \dots X_k$ =Independent Variables

X_i = Independent Variable

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

The chapter presents the results of the study in three stages. The first stage is the univariate analysis which involved conducting background characteristics of the females and a diagnosis of the levels of physical and sexual violence among females in Zimbabwe. The second stage of the analysis is the bivariate, which assessed experiences of physical and sexual violence with variables measuring female empowerment and other independent variables of the study, using the chi-square test and cross tabulation. The results of the unadjusted binary logistic regression of each independent variable and the outcome variables are presented in the bivariate analysis. The chapter ends by focusing on the last stage of the analysis multivariate, which examined the adjusted binary logistic regression to determine whether an association exists between female empowerment with physical and sexual violence while controlling for other independent variables.

4.2 Sample characteristics

The first objective of the study was to examine the levels of intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe. The levels are presented in figure 4.1 below:

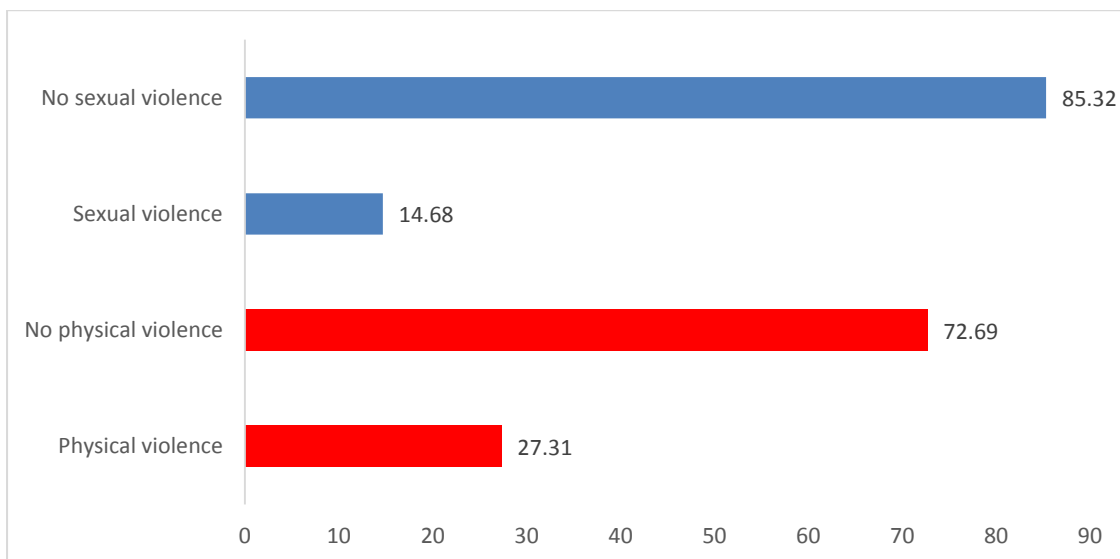


Figure 4.1: Levels of female physical and sexual violence in Zimbabwe

Figure 4.1 shows that about 15% of females in Zimbabwe experienced sexual violence and 27.3% experienced physical violence.

Table 4.1: Background characteristics of the sample based on weighted frequencies from ZDHS 2010-2011

Independent variable	Frequencies (N)	Percentages (%)
Age		
15-19	1 095	16.7
20-24	1 319	20.2
25-29	1 372	20.9
30-34	1 028	15.7
35-39	789	12.1
40+	939	14.4
Mean Age	28.7	
Total (N)	6 542	100
Marital status		
Never married	1 260	19.3
Married	4 413	67.5
Separated	869	13.1
Total (N)	6 542	100
Place of residence		
Urban	2 247	34.4
Rural	4 295	65.7
Total (N)	6 542	100
Region		
Manicaland	742	11.3
Mashonaland	2 075	31.7
Matabeleland	1 651	25.2
Midlands	697	10.7
Masvingo	623	9.52
Harare	754	11.5
Total (N)	6 542	100
Religion		
Christian	5 995	91.6
None	547	8.4
Total (N)	6 542	100
Main independent variables		
Participation in decision making		
Not empowered	3 555	80.6
Empowered	856	19.4
Total (N)	4 411	100
Education level		
Primary or no education	2 170	33.2
Secondary or higher education	4 372	66.9
Total (N)	6 542	100
Employment status		
No	4 195	64.1
Yes	2 347	35.9

Total (N)	6 542	100
Ownership of assets		
None	3 632	55.5
Alone only	1 259	19.2
Jointly only	1 651	25.2
Total (N)	6 542	100

Table 4.1 indicates the background characteristics of the females in the study. The mean age of the females in the sample is 28.7 years old. The table also indicates the marital status of the females where the married females constituted the majority they were 67.5% (N= 4 413) percent; followed by never married females who were 19.26% (1 260), while the separated females were the least with 13.3% (N= 869). Place of residence indicates that the majority of females were geographically located in rural areas with a percentage of 65.7% (N= 4 295), while in urban areas they were 34.4% (N= 2 247).

Under region, Mashonaland province constituted of a high percentage of females with 31.7% (N=2 075), followed by Matabeleland province with 25.2% (N= 1 651). In Harare there were 11.5% (N= 754) females, in Manicaland, there were 11.3% (N= 742), yet in Midlands, there were 10.7% (N= 697) and Masvingo had the least females 9.52% (623).

In terms of religion, the Christian females constituted a greater proportion of 91.6% (5 995) (N= 3 466), and those who did not belong from any religious denomination were 8.4% (N= 547).

The table further indicates that in terms of participation in decision-making, a greater proportion of the females, were not empowered they were 80.6% (N= 3 555) compared to those who are empowered 19.4% (856).

Females with secondary or higher education were the majority, constituting 66.8% (N= 4 372), while females with primary or no education had a lower percentage of 33.2% N= (2 170). The percentage of those who are not employed is almost twice the percentage of those employed, the unemployed were 64.1% (N= 4 195) and those currently employed were 35.9% (N= 2 347). For ownership of assets, females who had none assets constituted a greater proportion of 55.5% (N= 3 632), followed by females who jointly owned assets with partners with 25.2% (N= 1 651) and those who owned assets alone had 19.2% (1 259).

4.3 Bivariate analysis

Relationship between respondent characteristics and sexual/physical violence

Table 4.1: Percentage distribution of physical and sexual violence by background characteristics of other independent variables

	Physical violence	Sexual violence
Independent variables	N (%)	N (%)
15-19	91 (28.7)	60 (18.9)
20-24	337 (32.5)	161 (15.5)
25-29	378 (29.9)	215 (17.1)
30-34	236 (23.9)	142 (14.4)
35-39	180 (23.5)	101 (13.2)
40+	220 (24.2)	96 (10.54)
P-value	0.00	0.00
Marital Status		
Married	1 146 (25.9)	618 (14.0)
Separated	296 (34.1)	157 (18.1)
P-value	0.00	0.09
Place of residence		
Urban	411 (24.7)	228 (13.7)
Rural	1 031 (28.5)	547 (15.1)
P-value	0.00	0.00
Region		
Manicaland	188 (29.6)	123 (19.3)
Mashonaland	590 (32.5)	321 (17.7)
Matabeleland	251 (22.2)	110 (9.7)
Midlands	145 (25.2)	80 (13.9)
Masvingo	134 (25.4)	64 (12.1)
Harare	134 (22.7)	77 (13.0)
P-value	0.78	0.79
Religion		
Christian	1 288 (26.8)	708 (14.8)
None	154 (32.0)	67 (13.9)
P-value	0.02	0.63

The above table indicates the results of the bivariate analysis which was conducted to examine the association between each background characteristics of the females with the two forms of intimate partner violence namely physical and sexual violence. The Pearson chi-square test of association indicates a significant relationship between all the independent variables with physical and sexual violence. It was only the association between place of residence and sexual violence which was statistically insignificant. Table 4.2 shows that based on age, the females aged 20-24 years old constituted a greater proportion 32.5% (N= 337) of females who

experienced physical violence meanwhile, the reports of sexual violence were lower 15.5% (N= 161). The reports among females aged 25-29 years old for violence were 30% (N= 378) and for sexual violence were 17.1% (N=215). The reports slightly decreased among females aged 15-19 years old of experiences of physical violence for those aged 15-19 years old to 28.7% (N= 91) meanwhile the percentage of sexual violence increased for the same age group to 18.9% (N=60). Based on the results as the age increased of the females the reports on physical and sexual violence decreased. For example, the age group 40 years old and above had 24.2% (N=220) females who experienced physical violence and 10.5% (N=96) experienced sexual violence and these percentages are lower compared to other age groups.

The separated females constituted a higher proportion 34.1% (N= 296) of females who reported physical violence, while among the married females the percentage was 26% (N= 1 146). For experiences of sexual violence, the separated females had a higher percentage of 18.7% (N=157) compared to the married females 14% (N=618). However, the Pearson chi-square test shows that the results were statistically insignificant. Table 4.2 further shows that the females from rural areas had higher reports of physical violence 28.5% (N= 1 031) and sexual violence 15.1% (N= 547) compared to the females in urban areas who had lower reports of physical 24.7% (N= 411) and sexual violence 13.69% (N= 228).

In terms of region, the results indicate that females in Mashonaland had higher experiences of physical violence 32.5% (N= 590), and sexual violence 17.7% (N=321) in relation to the other five regions in Zimbabwe. It was followed by Manicaland with 29.6% (N= 188) reports of physical violence and 19.3% (N= 123) were for sexual violence. The females in Midlands and Masvingo had reports of physical violence, which were 25.2% (N= 145) and 25.4% (N= 134), respectively. Moreover, the two provinces had 13.9% (N= 80) and 12.1% (N= 64) reports of sexual violence. In Matabeleland, the reports on physical violence were higher 22.2% (N= 251) than those of sexual violence which was 9.72% (N= 110). Among females in Harare 22.7% (N= 134) reported having experienced physical violence and 13% (N= 77) sexual violence. As shown by the Pearson chi-square test, the association was statistically significant (p -value < 0.00).

With regards to religion, Table 4.2 indicates that the females who had a high percentage of experiencing physical violence were non-religious 32% (N= 154), and the Christian females had 26.8% (N= 1 288) reports of physical violence. However, the reports of sexual violence were higher among the Christian females 14.8% (N= 708) in relation to the non-religious females with 13.9% (N= 67) reports.).

Table 4.2: Percentage distribution of physical and sexual violence by background characteristics representing female empowerment

	Physical violence	Sexual violence
Independent variables	N (%)	N (%)
Participation in decision-making		
Not empowered	868 (24.4)	451 (12.7)
Empowered	278 (32.5)	167 (19.5)
P-value	0.00	0.00
Educational level		
Primary or no education	622 (31.6)	310 (15.6)
Secondary or higher education	820 (24.8)	465 (14.0)
P-value	0.00	0.09
Employment status		
No	833 (25.6)	430 (13.2)
Yes	609 (30.1)	345 (17.0)
P-value	0.00	0.00
Ownership of assets		
None	606 (27.6)	318 (14.5)
Alone only	377 (27.6)	208 (15.3)
Jointly only	459 (26.7)	249 (14.5)
P-value	0.78	0.79

Table 4.3 above indicates the bivariate analysis of experiences of physical and sexual violence in relation to the main predictor variable female empowerment which is being measured by the following variables: participation in decision-making, education level, employment status and ownership of assets. A cross-tabulation by column was conducted in order to identify the association between female empowerment with physical and sexual violence. The results, with regards to physical violence, indicate that participation in decision-making, education level and employment status are significant predictors of physical violence. The ownership of assets is not a significant predictor of physical violence. For sexual violence, participation in decision-making and employment status were significant predictors. In contrast, education level and ownership of assets were not significant predictors.

Interestingly, with regards to participation in decision-making, the results showed that the empowered females constituted a higher proportion of experiences of physical violence 32.5% (N= 278) and sexual violence 19.5% (N= 167). Contrary to the expected results the females who are not empowered had the least reports of physical violence 24.4% (N= 868) and sexual violence 12.7% (N= 451). The relationship was statistically significant as shown by the Pearson Chi-Square test (p-value < 0.000).

Based on educational level, another indicator of female empowerment, as expected the results showed that females with primary or no education had a higher percentage of experiences of physical violence 31.6% (N= 622) and sexual violence 15.8% (N= 310). On the other hand, the reports were lower of physical violence 24.8% (N= 820) and sexual violence 14% (N= 465) among the females with secondary or higher education. The Pearson Chi-Square test was statistically significant for the relationship between educational level (p-value < 0.000) and physical violence but for the relationship with sexual violence it was statistically insignificant (p-value > 0.09).

In terms of the employment status, the results showed that females who were currently employed constituted a greater proportion 30.1% (N= 609) of reports on experiences of physical violence. Surprisingly, the females who were not employed had a lower reports 25.6% (N= 833) of experiences of physical violence. Interestingly, the females who were employed constituted a greater proportion 17% (N= 345) compared to those who were not employed 13.2% (N= 430) of reports on sexual violence. As shown by the Pearson Chi-Square test, the relationship was statistically significant (p-value < 0.00).

With regards to ownership of assets, it is noted that across the three categories females who owned assets alone reported high experiences of physical violence 27.6% (N= 377) compared to those who had none assets 27.6% (N= 606) and jointly owned with partners had 26.7% (N=459). The Females who owned assets alone had higher reports 15.3% (N=208) of sexual violence compared to those who had none assets and those who owned jointly with partners. Similar percentages for experiences of sexual violence were observed for females who had none assets 14.5% (N= 318) and those who jointly owned assets with partners 14.5% (N= 318).

However, the Pearson chi-square test indicated that the relationship between ownership of assets and the two forms of violence was statistically insignificant (p-value > 0.78; p-value > 0.79).

4.4 Multivariate analysis

Table 4.1: Unadjusted Odds Ratios for the Binary Logistic Regression of the association between the background characteristics with physical and sexual violence

Dependent variable	Physical violence			Sexual violence		
	OR	P-value	CI	OR	P-value	CI
Main independent variable:						
Participation in decision making						
Not empowered (RC)	1.00			1.00		
Empowered	1.45**	0.00	1.20-1.75	1.72**	0.00	1.40-2.11
Education level						
Primary or no education (RC)	1.00			1.00		
Secondary or higher	0.69**	0.00	0.60-0.80	0.87	0.13	0.73-1.04
Employment status						
No (RC)	1.00			1.00		
Yes	1.25**	0.00	1.08-1.46	1.35**	0.00	1.14-1.60
Ownership of assets						
None(RC)	1.00			1.00		
Alone only	0.98	0.83	0.81-1.18	1.08	0.44	0.88-1.33
Jointly only	0.99	0.87	0.83-1.17	1.08	0.45	0.89-1.31
Age						
15-19 (RC)	1.00			1.00		
20-24	1.29	0.15	0.91-1.82	0.75	0.12	0.53-1.07
25-29	1.14	0.49	0.79-1.64	0.87	0.45	0.60-1.25
30-34	0.83	0.34	0.56-1.22	0.69	0.06	0.47-1.02
35-39	0.76	0.12	0.54-1.07	0.65**	0.03	0.44-0.95
40+	0.83	0.27	0.59-1.16	0.52**	0.00	0.35-0.77
Marital status						
Married (RC)	1.00			1.00		
Separated	1.54**	0.00	1.28-1.86	1.31**	0.01	1.06-1.62
Place of residence						
Urban (RC)	1.00			1.00		
Rural	1.22**	0.03	1.02-1.45	1.16	0.10	0.97-1.39
Region						
Manicaland (RC)	1.00			1.00		
Mashonaland	1.15	0.23	0.92-1.45	0.95	0.69	0.73-1.23
Matabeleland	0.63**	0.00	0.49-0.81	0.45**	0.00	0.33-0.60
Midlands	0.82	0.15	0.62-1.07	0.71	0.05	0.50-1.00
Masvingo	0.79	0.14	0.58-1.08	0.61**	0.00	0.44-0.85
Harare	0.77	0.11	0.55-1.06	0.66**	0.01	0.49-0.89
Religion						
Christian (RC)	1.00			1.00		
None	1.31	0.01	1.06-1.63	0.97	0.85	0.70-1.34

RC = Reference Category, **p < 0.05 represents significant results at 95% level of confidence

Table 4.4 presents the results of the crude or unadjusted odds ratios of physical and sexual violence. The bivariate unadjusted odds ratios for female empowerment indicated that only three measures were significantly associated with intimate partner violence. Females with secondary or higher education were significantly less likely to experience physical violence than females with primary or no education (OR: 0.69 p0.00< 0.05 CI: 0.60-0.80). The currently employed females were significantly more likely to experience physical violence (OR: 1.25 p0.00< 0.05 CI: 1.08-1.46) and sexual violence (OR: 1.35 p0.00< 0.05) compared to unemployed females. The empowered females were significantly more likely to experience physical and sexual violence than not empowered females (OR: 1.45 p0.00<0.05 CI: 1.20-1.75; OR: 1.72 p0.00< 0.05 CI: 1.40-2.11).

There was no significant association across the five age groups of females and physical violence. The females aged 35-39 years old and those aged 40 years old and above were significantly less likely to experience sexual violence than those aged 15-19 years old (OR: 0.65 p0.03<0.05 CI: 0.44-0.95; OR: 0.52 p0.00< 0.05 CI: 0.35-0.77).

In terms of marital status, separated females were significantly more likely to experience physical and sexual violence compared to married females (OR: 1.54 p0.00< 0.05 CI: 1.28-1.86; OR: 1.31 p0.01< 0.05 CI: 1.06-1.62). For the place of residence, the odds were high among females in rural areas of experiencing physical violence compared to those in urban areas (OR: 1.22 p0.03< 0.05 CI: 1.02-1.45).

As illustrated in Table 4.4, the odds of experiencing physical and sexual violence differed in the provinces. The females from Matabeleland province had significantly lower odds of experiencing physical violence (OR: 0.63 p0.00< 0.05 CI: 0.49-0.81) and sexual violence (OR: 0.45 p0.00< 0.05 CI: 0.33-0.60) compared to females in Manicaland province. Moreover, the females from Masvingo and Harare had significantly lower odds of experiencing sexual violence than those in Manicaland (OR: 0.61 p0.00< 0.05 CI: 0.44-0.85; OR: 0.66 p0.01< 0.05 CI: 0.49-0.89). Interestingly, the females who did not belong to any religious denomination were

significantly more likely to experience physical violence in relation to the Christian females (OR: 1.31 p0.01< 0.05).

4.5 The relationship between female empowerment and sexual/physical violence

The second objective was to identify the association between female empowerment and intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe. The binary logistic regression was conducted for the adjusted analysis and the results are presented below.

Table 4.2: Adjusted Odds Ratios for the binary Logistic regression of the association between all the independent variables with physical and sexual violence

Dependent variable	Physical violence			Sexual violence		
	OR	P-value	CI	OR	P-value	CI
Main independent variable:						
Participation in decision making						
Not empowered (RC)	1.00			1.00		
Empowered	1.43**	0.00	1.18-1.75	1.68**	0.00	1.37-2.06
Education level						
Primary or no education (RC)	1.00			1.00		
Secondary or higher	0.66**	0.00	0.56-0.78	0.85	0.14	0.69-1.05
Employment status						
No (RC)	1.00			1.00		
Yes	1.20**	0.03	1.02-1.42	1.30**	0.01	1.06-1.60
Ownership of assets						
None(RC)	1.00			1.00		
Alone only	1.10	0.37	0.89-1.36	1.22	0.13	0.95-1.56
Jointly only	1.14	0.23	0.92-1.40	1.22	0.16	0.92-1.61
Age						
15-19 (RC)	1.00			1.00		
20-24	1.29	0.15	0.91-1.83	0.78	0.20	0.53-1.14
25-29	1.16	0.45	0.79-1.68	0.87	0.49	0.58-1.29
30-34	0.73	0.11	0.50-1.07	0.60**	0.01	0.40-0.90
35-39	0.66**	0.04	0.45-0.98	0.53**	0.01	0.34-0.82
40+	0.56**	0.01	0.37-0.85	0.42**	0.00	0.26-0.67
Place of residence						
Urban (RC)	1.00			1.00		
Rural	0.91	0.40	0.72-1.14	0.93	0.62	0.71-1.22
Region						
Manicaland (RC)	1.00			1.00		
Mashonaland	1.09	0.54	0.82-1.45	0.93	0.61	0.70-1.24
Matabeleland	0.64**	0.01	0.47-0.87	0.43**	0.00	0.30-0.61
Midlands	0.86	0.36	0.62-1.19	0.78	0.17	0.54-1.12
Masvingo	0.81	0.24	0.57-1.15	0.63**	0.02	0.43-0.92

Harare	0.66**	0.04	0.45-0.99	0.60**	0.01	0.40-0.89
Religion						
Christian (RC)	1.00			1.00		
None	1.31	0.02	1.04-1.66	0.90	0.53	0.65-1.25

RC = Reference Category, **p < 0.05 represents significant results at 95% level of confidence

Table 4.5 indicates that the adjusted odds ratios of experiencing physical and sexual violence. After controlling for the indicators of female empowerment variables, the odds among empowered females remained significantly more likely to experience physical (AOR: 1.43 p0.00< 0.05 CI: 1.18-1.75) and sexual violence (AOR: 1.68 p0.00< 0.05 CI: 1.37-2.06). The adjusted odds ratios, among females with secondary or higher education remained significantly less likely to experience physical violence compared to females with primary or no education (AOR: 0.66 p0.00< 0.05).

The results further indicated that the currently employed females' odds of experiencing physical violence were 1.20 times higher for experiencing sexual violence and 1.30 times higher for sexual violence than those of unemployed females. The differences were statistically significant (p0.03< 0.05 CI: 1.02-1.42; p0.01< 0.05 CI: 1.06-1.60). Finally, there was no significant association found between ownership of assets with physical and sexual violence.

The females aged 35-39 years old were significantly less likely to experience physical (AOR: 0.66 p0.04< 0.05 CI: 0.45-0.98) and sexual violence (AOR: 0.53 p0.01< 0.05 CI: 0.34-0.82) than females aged 15-19 years old. Interestingly, the results further show that the females aged 40 and above who had lower odds of experiencing physical violence than those aged between 15-19 years old, the results became statistically significant (AOR: 0.56 p0.01< 0.05). Unlike in unadjusted odds, ratios were the difference was insignificant. The females aged 40 and above had significant lesser odds of experiencing sexual violence in relation to those aged 15-19 years old (AOR: 0.42 p0.00< 0.05). For females aged 30-34 years old, they had significant lesser odds of experiencing sexual violence (AOR: 0.60 p0.01< 0.05).

As shown in Table 4.5, the odds of experiencing physical violence among females in Matabeleland remained significantly lower in relation to females in Manicaland province (OR: 0.64 p0.01<0.05 CI: 0.47-0.87). Surprisingly, females in Harare

became significantly less likely to experience physical violence than their counterparts in Manicaland (OR: 0.66 $p < 0.05$ CI: 0.45-0.99). Meanwhile, in all provinces the females were less likely to experience sexual violence compared to those in Manicaland, the results were significant in Matabeleland, Masvingo and Harare. The adjusted ratios, similar to the unadjusted ratios show that the females who did not belong to any religious denomination were significantly more likely to experience physical violence in relation to the Christian females (OR: 1.31 $p < 0.05$).

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

Females in different parts of the world experience intimate partner violence and it has been identified as a human rights and public health problem, due to the adverse and pervasive effects it has had on females' health (Dalal, 2010; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006; Koenig, Zablotska et al., 2004). Some studies have suggested the empowerment of females in a bid to reduce intimate partner violence (Green et al., 2015; Gupta et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2007). The aim of this study was to examine the association between female empowerment and the two forms of violence: physical and sexual. This chapter presents the findings of the study with reference to existing literature, the theoretical framework and the objectives of the study.

The first objective of the study was to examine the levels of intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe. The findings revealed that experiences of physical violence were higher than those of sexual violence. The levels of intimate partner violence obtained from this study were lower than those found in other studies conducted in some parts of Zimbabwe which used primary data. For instance, in a study done in the city of Marondera in Zimbabwe, findings indicate that among pregnant females 30% had experienced physical violence and 27% had reported sexual violence (Dohwe, Haruzivishe, Zvinavashe, Mhlanga, & Mugadza, 2016). The levels of physical violence in this study were slightly higher than those observed in the Uganda Demographic Health Survey of 2011, where 27% had experienced physical violence and 16% sexual violence (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2012). However, the levels of sexual violence observed in Uganda were higher than those in Zimbabwe. Interestingly, the rates of intimate partner violence were very low in Burkina Faso, among the cohabitating and married females, 8% reported physical violence and 1% sexual violence occurring in the past twelve months (Pambe et al., 2014). The reason for such low rates was pointed out to cultural norms in Burkina Faso which make females reluctant to share intimate issues with strangers (Pambe et al., 2014).

The second objective of the study was to examine the association between female empowerment and intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe. According to literature, the association between female empowerment and intimate partner violence differs and different indicators are used to measure empowerment (Okenwa & Lawoko, 2010). The concept of empowerment is described as complex and elusive since it is viewed differently (Okenwa et al., 2009). In the current study four variables participation in decision-making, educational level, employment status and ownership of assets were used to measure female empowerment.

According to existing literature, it is anticipated that females who engage in decision-making are empowered and less vulnerable to violence (Rahman et al., 2011). However, some studies show that the empowered females are at an increased risk of intimate partner violence. This supports the findings of this study which indicate that females who are empowered are at risk of physical and sexual violence. This could possibly mean that empowered females tend to challenge or question their partners in household matters. It can be argued that being an empowered female threatens males leading to males using violence as a means to regain power and control over females. On another note, empowered females are abused due to the inferiority complex of the partner who feels inferior to a female who is capable of taking care of herself. The males would abuse them to show their assertiveness and again males have an ego that they want to protect. When the empowered females make decisions independently this might be viewed as going against the expected roles of females such as being submissive and letting the husbands make decisions as the head of the family. This is because Zimbabwe is a largely patriarchal country and the empowerment of females could be misinterpreted as diminishing the role of the males. Surprisingly, the bivariate results showed that empowered² females had the highest percentage of experiences of physical violence and sexual violence compared to not³ empowered females. These findings are in support of literature which argues that females who dominate in decision-making on their own, were more vulnerable to intimate partner violence (Rahman et al., 2011; Wekwete et al., 2014). In support of the current findings, in the Philippines participation in household decision-making was associated with increased risk of intimate partner violence

² Empowered referred to females who made decisions alone

³ Not empowered referred to females who did not make decisions and the decisions were made by the partners

(Hindin & Adair, 2002). Similar findings were found in Nigeria where females who participated in decision-making concerning money use in the household had an increased likelihood of physical and sexual violence (Okenwa et al., 2009). Some scholars argue that the response of using violence by males is a sign of feeling powerlessness when females dominate in decision-making and the males restore their power by using violence (Castro et al., 2008; Okenwa et al., 2009; Rahman et al., 2011).

The findings further revealed on the unadjusted and adjusted odds ratios that empowered females were significantly more likely to experience physical and sexual violence compared to not empowered females. This is consistent with a study conducted in Zimbabwe among married couples, which discovered that females who controlled their cash earnings, implying in this study that they are empowered, were more likely to suffer from physical violence than those who had no control (identified as not empowered in the present study) (Wekwete et al., 2014). The findings of this study, are in support of a study in Burkina Faso which identified the indicators of female empowerment as responsible for triggering domestic violence (Pambe et al., 2014). In other words, the findings show that being not empowered is protective against intimate partner violence. This could be possibly attributed to the tendency of females who are not empowered to accept decisions made by their partners without questioning or opposing the decisions. It can be argued that females who are not empowered are generally tolerant to their partners and are prepared to save their marriages and relationships since some would be financially dependent on the males. However, in some contexts females who participate in decision-making have reduced reports on violence, evident in a study conducted in Zambia which illustrated that females who participated in making decisions concerning health issues had a lower likelihood of experiencing intimate partner violence compared to females who did not participate in decision-making (Okenwa & Lawoko, 2010).

The findings of this study suggest that female empowerment is not a protective factor of intimate partner violence; the females who embody these characteristics of empowerment are the same group who are at risk of physical and sexual violence. These suggestions are supported by some scholars who contend that empowerment of females does not spare them from risks of intimate partner violence unless their male partners are involved in supporting the movement to shift the power dynamics

(Green et al., 2015; Rahman et al., 2011). This can be attributed to males' failure to admit that females can also be breadwinners and dominant role players in the home. Instead, to males, the empowerment of females diminishes their role of being breadwinners and to dominate over females.

It is believed that education empowers females to be able to have a say or participate in decision-making (Lawoko, 2006), some studies state that it reduces violence and protect females from intimate partner violence (Fidan & Bui, 2015; Okenwa & Lawoko, 2010; Wekwete et al., 2014). Contrary to such observations, other studies argue that the empowerment of females through improved education has served as a tool for accelerating violence instead of reducing it (Abramsky et al., 2011; Castro et al., 2008; Jewkes, 2002; Zacarias et al., 2012). However, in this study education is a protective factor of violence indicated when females with secondary or higher education had the least reports of physical and sexual violence compared to those with primary or no education. The unadjusted and adjusted odds ratios indicated that females with secondary or higher education were significantly less likely to experience physical violence than females with primary or no education.

These findings are in support of previous studies conducted in Zimbabwe which indicated that females with primary education were more likely to report physical violence (Fidan & Bui, 2015; Wekwete et al., 2014). A systematic review on physical and sexual violence among females from 41 study sites supported the findings of this study, by revealing that females with higher education had a lower risk of intimate partner violence (Vyas & Watts, 2009). Similar findings were obtained in Zambia, where an association was identified between low education and increased risks of physical violence (Okenwa & Lawoko, 2010). The reason being that females with less education more often tolerate intimate partner violence compared to their counterparts with post-secondary education (Lawoko, 2006). Contrary to the findings of this study, in Malawi, and Rwanda females with less education had a reduced likelihood of experiencing violence (Hindin et al., 2008). Meanwhile, education proved not to be a protective factor of intimate partner violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Mozambique (Tlapek, 2015; Zacarias et al., 2012). This is because empowerment through education makes females to be in a position not to accept gender roles which expect them to be submissive to their partners (Zacarias et al., 2012). Denial of gender roles is against cultural values and religious beliefs

which expect females to be submissive to their husbands and undermining such expectations expose females to violence regardless of being educated or not educated. In Botswana, both educated and uneducated females experienced intimate partner violence (Zungu et al., 2010).

As mentioned in chapter two, females' employment has been recommended by different development policies as a means to facilitate empowerment (Bedi et al., 2011). Several studies have utilised female employment status as an indicator of empowerment together with wealth status (Green et al., 2015; Kim et al., 2007; Pambe et al., 2014). There exist different views on the association between employment status and intimate partner violence. Some scholars state that females who work while their partners were not, had high risks of experiencing violence and including in relationships where both were not working (Abramsky et al., 2011). The findings of this study show that females who were currently employed were significantly more likely to report physical and sexual violence than females who were unemployed. This can be a result of females who are employed developing a sense of autonomy or independence in making household decisions which might undermine the role of their partners in making decisions. This also accentuates females' productive roles in the household economy making some of the females key breadwinners in the family. These findings are in support of studies conducted in Mexico, India and Bangladesh which discovered that working females were at huge risks of intimate partner violence (Castro et al., 2008; Dalal, 2011; Rahman et al., 2011). This is because working might destruct fulfilment of domestic roles creating tensions among couples and partner's jealousy was identified as part of the reasons (Castro et al., 2008).

Not only are these findings in support of studies conducted in Asia and Latin America, even in Sub-Saharan countries such as Nigeria and Zimbabwe it has been identified that working females are more vulnerable to physical and sexual violence (Antai, 2011; Mukanangana, Moyo, & Rusinga, 2014). The nature of some jobs such as agricultural is demanding and one neglects household chores because much energy will be spent at work (Antai, 2011). But in Ethiopia females who are employed in agricultural occupations had reduced risk of violence than employed ones (Abeya et al., 2011). This point to societal differences where some cultures are not supportive of violence, while in some societies, violence is the norm used to control

females. Consistent with findings of this study, some studies contend that the type of job or occupation did not matter, but being employed as a female in any job, in some contexts fostered feelings of insecurity among males, as they felt challenged by the improved position and freedom enhanced by employment (Dalal, 2011; Hindin & Adair, 2002). In contrast, a study in Gambia found no association between employment status and intimate partner violence (Idoko et al., 2015).

Some scholars argue that the ownership of house or land by females offers security in times of conflict in relationships and makes them have the power to decide to end abusive relationships (Bedi et al., 2011; Oduro et al., 2015). The findings of this study revealed that females who owned assets alone and jointly together with partners were insignificantly more likely to experience physical and sexual violence than females who had no assets. These findings are similar to a study conducted in Zimbabwe which highlighted that females who jointly owned land with partners had a higher likelihood of experiencing physical violence compared to those who did not own land (Wekwete et al., 2014). The same study found no association between ownership of house or land with sexual violence and these findings resembles those of the current study (Wekwete et al., 2014). However, the findings of this study contradict those discovered in India where females who owned land had a reduced risk of intimate partner violence (Grabe, 2010). Despite ownership of assets being identified as not protective of violence in this study, other studies point that ownership of assets in relation to being employed among females provides them with security and autonomy to leave abusive relationships (Panda & Agarwal, 2005). These views do not support the present study, which shows that owning assets is not a protective measure rather females who own assets were at greater risk of physical and sexual violence.

The findings further show that females aged from 30 years old and above had lower odds of experiencing physical and sexual violence than those aged 15-19 years old. The difference was significant for females aged 35-39 years old, and 40 years and above. Based on these findings, it is noted that in Zimbabwe young females are at risk of physical and sexual violence compared to older females. This is evident in a study conducted in Zimbabwe which revealed that females aged 15-19 were more likely to experience physical and sexual violence in comparison to older females (Wekwete et al., 2014). Similarly, in Burkina Faso and Nigeria females aged 15-24

years old had a high likelihood of experiencing physical and sexual violence (Okenwa et al., 2009; Pambe et al., 2014). It is believed that as age increases the prevalence of intimate partner violence decreases (Rahman et al., 2011). This decrease could be a result of older females' familiarity with their partners as they get accustomed to the partners' demands. However, in some studies old age was associated with intimate partner violence; in Uganda and Ethiopia, the females aged 35-44 years frequently reported physical violence (Abeya et al., 2011; Tumwesigye et al., 2012).

The experiences of physical violence and sexual violence were high among females in rural areas and lower among females in urban areas. The unadjusted odds ratios indicated that females in rural areas were significantly more likely to experience physical violence compared to those in urban areas. These findings are in line with existing studies which argue that females living in rural areas are at an increased risk of physical violence (Antai, 2011; Fidan & Bui, 2015; Tumwesigye et al., 2012). For instance, females in rural areas of Japan, Serbia and Bangladesh had high reports of violence (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006). A multi-country study carried out in 17 sub-Saharan countries further cemented the findings, it is highlighted that living in rural areas increases the risks of physical violence (Uthman et al., 2009). This is because in some rural settings like in Zimbabwe the females have lower education and limited access to resources due to restrictions by traditional customary laws (Fidan & Bui, 2015). While a study in Nigeria pointed out the reasons to be as a result of rural areas being dominated by traditional gender roles which promote violence in relation to urban areas where traditional practices are limited (Antai, 2011). In countries such as Haiti, Bolivia, Philippines, South Africa, Ethiopia, Ghana and Zambia the females living in urban areas are more vulnerable to intimate partner violence than females in rural areas (Abeya et al., 2011; Hindin et al., 2008; Matseke, Peltzer, & Mlambo, 2012; Oduro et al., 2015).

Surprisingly, after controlling for other variables, the adjusted odds ratios changed, and the findings revealed that females in rural areas had an insignificant less likelihood of experiencing physical and sexual violence. These findings are inconsistent with previous studies conducted in Zimbabwe which suggest that females residing in rural areas were more prone to violence than their counterparts in urban areas (Fidan & Bui, 2015).

The findings as reflected by the bivariate analysis indicate that separated females constituted a greater proportion of females who had experienced physical violence than married females. This is in contrast with some studies which argue that married females have an increased likelihood of experiencing intimate partner violence (Campbell et al., 2008). Such low reports of physical violence among married females may be because the married females have a tendency of not reporting violence in efforts to save their marriages.

The adjusted ratios, similar to the unadjusted ratios show that the non-religious females were significantly more likely to experience physical violence in relation to the Christian females. The findings are consistent with other studies conducted in Zimbabwe which indicate that religion protected females from intimate partner the females from all the religious denominations were less likely to report violence in relation to the non-religious females (Nyamayemombe et al., 2010). Another study in the same country also observed similar findings that among religious families there were fewer cases of spousal abuse compared to non-religious families (Mhaka-Mutepfa, 2009).

Females from Matabeleland region were significantly less likely to experience physical and sexual violence. The findings were consistent with those indicated by the National Aids Council (NAC) (Chakanyuka, 2015). In Harare, the females were less likely to experience physical and sexual violence. The findings are contrary to statistics obtained by the National Aids Council (NAC) which show that in Harare there were higher cases of intimate partner violence (Chakanyuka, 2015). The findings show that there was no association between females in Mashonaland region and physical or sexual violence. This contradicts literature which highlights that intimate partner violence is very high in Mashonaland region especially in Mashonaland central (The Herald, 2013).

5.2 Applicability of the findings to the theoretical framework

The study was guided by two theories the social exchange theory and the resource theory. To illustrate the dimensions of social exchange theory, in this study participation in decision-making was utilised. To reflect on resource theory, variables such as educational level, ownership of assets and employment status were used.

The exchange theory highlights the inequalities between males and females, stating that males earn more money and have a higher status over females (Resko, 2007). The theory further predicts that increasing females' economic resources contribute to the gaining of power, which results in a decrease of experiences of violence (Riger & Krieglstein, 2000). However, findings of this study contradict the predictions of the exchange theory, that an increase in power for females reduces violence, rather, it is illustrated that females who are empowered were more vulnerable to physical and sexual violence compared to not empowered females.

The resource theory posit that males use violence against females as an ultimate resource to gain power and control over their partners, especially in circumstances where they perceive an imbalance in resources that are key such as income, educational attainment and prestige (Gelles, 1993; Goode, 1971; Hoffman et al., 1994). The resource theory further suggests that male violence towards their partners' increases when females' economic contribution meets or exceeds the males' economic contribution (Fox et al., 2002; Goode, 1971). These theoretical underpinnings support the findings of the present study, which found that females who owned resources and were employed were at risk of violence, this proves that possession of such resources is a possible threat to their partners. However, the findings of this study reveal that females who are more educated had less risk of violence in relation to females with primary or no education, this shows that in some instances, resources such as education can reduce the likelihood of violence. This is presented in literature where resources such as microfinance aid on females reduced intimate partner violence in South Africa, while in Uganda, microenterprise had no effect on violence (Kim et al., 2007). There are studies which suggest that being educated and having access to economic resources increases the risk of intimate partner violence among females (Hindin et al., 2008; Tlapek, 2015; Zacarias et al., 2012).

5.3 Limitations of the study

Despite the study having presented the association between female empowerment and physical violence, it is not without limitations. The study is a cross-sectional study and one cannot infer causality. A causal relationship between female empowerment and intimate partner violence cannot be determined by the use of

binary logistic regression. Moreover, the study only focused on two forms of intimate partner violence; physical and sexual violence, without considering other forms of violence.

Above all, the use of the four variables: education level, participation in decision-making, ownership of assets and employment status as indicators of female empowerment differs in different contexts and the use of such indicators to measure empowerment is debatable. This is evident in literature when it is suggested that female empowerment is difficult to measure consistently (Upadhyay & Karasek, 2012). Thus, the notion of empowerment is understood and described differently; some scholars argue that identifying empowerment as being represented by the level of participation in decision-making, educational level and employment status is not enough other factors need to be considered such as addressing gender equality. Not including other measures of empowerment limits the nature of this study and makes it difficult to conclude that empowerment was fully measured.

In addition, it could be possible that sexual violence was underreported in this study, thereby hindering the establishment of its association with female empowerment. Underreporting due to the tendency of social desirability bias where the females would not be comfortable to share sensitive information with strangers. Social desirability has an effect on surveys since respondents might respond in a socially acceptable manner instead of being authentic (Kaminska & Foulsham, 2013). The under reports of sexual violence in this study could have been because of the traditional culture in Zimbabwe which instils beliefs among females that sexual abuse by their partners is not violence (Chireshe, 2015; Tom et al., 2009). On another note, this study relied on female data only to measure intimate partner violence and this could result in some form of bias because only the views of females were captured without considering those of the male partners. It could happen that the females might not have been honest enough to share their true experiences of intimate partner violence.

5.4 Conclusion

The study examined the association between female empowerment and intimate partner violence among females in Zimbabwe. The findings indicated that female

empowerment is not a protective factor of intimate partner violence evident when the empowered females were at high risk of physical and sexual violence in relation to not empowered females. These findings are synonymous to other studies conducted in Latin America, Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. Only one indicator of empowerment educational level proved to be a protective factor of intimate partner violence. The females with secondary or higher education were significantly less likely to experience physical violence. This was in line with previous studies conducted in Zimbabwe and other countries. There were no significant associations between ownership of assets and physical or sexual violence, these findings were similar to other studies, however, it was noted that in some studies in India ownership of house or land was associated with reduced risk of intimate partner violence.

Based on the findings of this study it can be argued that a lot needs to be done besides the empowering of females to address intimate partner violence. As shown in this study, empowerment of females is not enough to address females' vulnerability to violence. It can be argued that societal norms and values place barriers on females such that rising against such barriers through empowerment of females can be portrayed as going against set norms and values in some societies. These findings imply that addressing intimate partner violence does not only require the empowerment of females but possibly the restructuring of the societal norms and values which continue to marginalise females. The societal norms and values define the gender roles and what is expected of females and this is installed in the females through the socialisation process. According to some societies, females should be submissive, tolerant and honour their husbands. Such notions can be used to explain why the findings of this study indicated that not empowered females had reduced risk of intimate partner violence compared to their counterparts the empowered females. This is because not empowered females tend to be submissive to their partners as they look up to them. Above all, gender inequalities in Zimbabwe are rooted in the patriarchal society which portrays females as subjects to be controlled by males. In the country, males are dominant and it is common among the Shona males to say '*handitongwi nemukadzi*' meaning a female will never control males. Therefore, such perceptions about females explain why violence is even increased among the empowered.

The other variables which were controlled for with female empowerment indicators such as age showed that females aged 15-29 years old were at high risk of physical and sexual violence, while females from ages 30 years and above were at lower risk. Similarly, the findings are in support of some existing studies which state that as age increases intimate partner violence decreases. On the other hand, some studies suggested that old age was associated with risks of intimate partner violence. The unadjusted odds indicated that females in rural areas were significantly more likely to experience physical violence and these findings were consistent with some studies previously conducted in Zimbabwe. Contrary, the adjusted odds ratio highlighted that females in rural areas were insignificantly less likely to experience physical and sexual violence and these contradicted previous studies in Zimbabwe.

This study contributes to the body of knowledge since studies in Zimbabwe have limitedly focused on the association between female empowerment and intimate partner violence. In only one study where some measures of empowerment used in this study have been used to examine their association with gender-based violence among married couples. Such limited research in this area has, in turn, created gaps in knowledge. This study filled in the knowledge gaps by highlighting that the empowerment of females is insufficient in reducing violence since empowered females are at a higher risk than females who are not empowered.

5.5 Recommendations

To address the issue of causality and to gain a better understanding of intimate partner violence, it is recommended to use data collected longitudinally at different points in time. A mixed method study where both quantitative and qualitative methods are used can be conducted. The qualitative approach would be able to establish the female's experiences on what could be the reasons why their partners are abusing them. This is because a qualitative methodology allows gathering the real stories behind the experiences of intimate partner violence among females and documenting their views on what could have been the causes of the acts of violence. This would involve identifying females who are believed to be empowered and conducting in-depth interviews with them and let them share their stories on intimate partner violence taking note of any nonverbal cues they employ while being interviewed. The narratives from the participants would provide a vivid picture of the

events leading to violence and this would be able to provide meaningful answers on the causes of violence among the females.

The very nature of empowerment employed in this study does not fully address what constitutes power itself, being able to participate in decision-making and being educated does not mean that one is empowered, and this further explains why educated females continue to be battered. It is recommended for further studies to assess the issue of empowerment among females and to examine whether females feel empowered and document the reasons or attributes that make them acknowledge that they are empowered. This could be done through the use of qualitative studies where the females' views or perceptions on whether participation in decision-making, education, employment and ownership of assets makes them feel empowered or not. Further questions can be asked on whether any of the mentioned factors can protect them against violence.

Based on the findings, it can be argued that empowerment is culturally defined as it seems to differ between studies and countries. In different countries, there exists different norms, culture, and tradition, these lead to different behaviours, attitudes and practices towards females. This explains why the findings of this study were similar and contrary to other studies. There is a need for further discussion amongst intimate partner violence experts and researchers to understand how empowering females needs to happen in certain contexts so that the desired outcome which is to reduce intimate partner violence can be actually achieved before programmes are put into place.

The Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) number five call for gender equality and women's empowerment. In order to achieve this goal, it is recommended that the SDG goals should consider full capacity participation by males in the programs aimed at empowering females and providing education which seeks to restructure the norms and values which act against the empowerment of females.

The policies and programs aimed at reducing intimate partner violence in Zimbabwe should not only focus on the empowerment of females as mechanisms to reduce violence. It is recommended that empowerment of females should also involve education of both males and females on the social ills of the patriarchal society which inhibits females to attain power in the same way as the males. Since the

country is a largely patriarchal society the males grow up with a mentality that females are objects who do not have a say and need to be controlled by males. Introducing programmes aimed at educating the males and females at a tender age on how females are equal to males could be imperative to do away with the males' negative mentality and this can contribute to the reduction of violence against females. This is important because efforts of empowering females can be fruitless due to the societal structures.

The government of Zimbabwe needs to incorporate programmes that address gender-based violence in the curriculum of students from secondary schools to tertiary education so that the message condemning violence against females is well understood. The programmes should target communities with high levels of violence addressing both male and females on the health consequences associated with violence against females. Campaigns calling for an end to violence and promoting healthy nonviolent relationships should be done at the community and national level.

A non-governmental organization in Zimbabwe such as Padare Enkundleni⁴ Men's forum on gender has engaged in projects aimed at fighting against gender-based violence. The organisation engages in educating males on violence against females and this has seen the males participating in the programmes educating other males on the importance of ending violence against the females and promoting respectful and nonviolent relationships. It is suggested that the organisation should encourage the empowerment of females through educating the males to be supportive of such programmes and their involvement might result to the males accepting or tolerating when females take the initiative to make decisions. Such moves, if males are included, might not make them feel that the females are undermining their role.

⁴ Padare Enkundleni is a local non-governmental organization that works with males for a gender just society.

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