

# The COVID-19 pandemic and domestic violence: A case of African Christian women in Gwanda district, Zimbabwe



## Authors:

Sibiziwe Shumba<sup>1,2</sup>   
Joseph Muyangata<sup>3,4</sup>   
Estere Nyangari<sup>5</sup>

## Affiliations:

<sup>1</sup>Christian Spirituality, Church History and Missiology, College of Human Sciences, University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa

<sup>2</sup>Languages and Humanities, Faculty of Teacher Education, Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo Polytechnic College, Gwanda, Zimbabwe

<sup>3</sup>Light of the World Bible College, Full Gospel Tabernacle International, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>4</sup>Department of Religious Studies and Theology, Faculty of Theology, Apostolic Faith Mission Theological Seminary (AFMTS), Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>5</sup>Department of Languages and Humanities, Faculty of Teacher Education, Hillside Teachers' College, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

## Corresponding author:

Sibiziwe Shumba,  
shumbasibiziwe@gmail.com

## Dates:

Received: 28 June 2024

Accepted: 10 Oct. 2024

Published: 16 Apr. 2025

## Read online:



Scan this QR code with your smart phone or mobile device to read online.

Countries, including Zimbabwe, have been battling the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic by enacting measures such as national quarantines, border closures, online work and school closures to reduce the speed of transmission. These lockdown policies tend to increase the occurrence of domestic violence because of isolation, coupled with economic and psychological stress. Cultural and patriarchal systems have also fuelled violence against women. The present study sought to assess the nature of domestic violence caused by the COVID-19 pandemic among African Christian women in the Gwanda district. The study adopted a qualitative methodological approach, utilising a case study research design. The African Christian women participants were purposively selected. Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were the research instruments used to collect data. The findings revealed intensified physical and sexual violence against African Christian women in Gwanda district since the outbreak of COVID-19. There was an increase in calls reporting domestic violence cases using helplines. Sexual harassment and other forms of violence against women continued to occur in homes, on streets, in public spaces and online. Survivors faced limited information and challenges in accessing support services. The study concluded that all types of violence against women intensified during COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns. Policy changes and strategies are needed to reduce domestic violence among African Christian women during the turbulent times.

**Contribution:** This article aligns with the theme of African women, pandemics and religion. Understanding the types of domestic violence can assist policy makers in addressing this issue in the society.

**Keywords:** African Christian women; COVID-19 pandemic; domestic violence; Gwanda district; Zimbabwe.

## Introduction

Globally, the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic caused disruption to all social institutions. The pandemic deepened hardships already experienced by various groups in society, especially the vulnerable like the African Christian women. The introduction of lockdown measures was disruptive as it meant a reorientation in the way people used to operate. This article focusses on the intersections of the COVID-19 pandemic, religion and domestic violence in Gwanda district. The article is structured as follows: background to the study, theoretical framework, research methodology, discussion of findings, strategies to overcome domestic violence, recommendations and conclusion. The main aim of the research study was to assess the nature of domestic violence caused by the restrictions implemented to control and reduce the spread of COVID-19 on African Christian women in the Gwanda district. It also sought to come up with strategies to overcome it.

## Conceptualisation of the term domestic violence

Mgojo (1977) professes that Plato in his *Cratylus* once said, 'To teach a thing rightly, it is necessary to define its name'. In this article, it is important to define domestic violence and explore its background in relation to how it was impacted by COVID-19 restrictions in Gwanda district. Various scholars have defined the term domestic violence, which has also been referred to as domestic abuse or controlling behaviour. For Zamba, Mousolidou and Christodoulou (2023),

**How to cite this article:** Shumba, S., Muyangata, J. & Nyangari, E., 2025, 'The COVID-19 pandemic and domestic violence: A case of African Christian women in Gwanda district, Zimbabwe', *Inkanyiso* 17(1), a128. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ink.v17i1.128>

**Copyright:** © 2025. The Authors. Licensee: AOSIS. This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution License.



domestic violence is any type of behaviour that exercises control and power on an individual without his or her consent and happens among members of the same household. It is a damaging behaviour that occurs within a home, and it involves forceful and violent behaviour towards women. It can be regarded as a threat or exercise of physical, psychological and/or emotional violence (Flury, Nyberg & Riecher-Rossler 2010). It can be taken as any kind of force against any other person with the intention of perpetrating harm or exercising power and control over them. The perpetrator belongs to the victim's domestic environment. This could be an intimate partner, husband, former intimate partner, family member or acquaintance, to mention but a few.

The European Institute for Gender Equality (2021) posits that domestic violence, known as domestic abuse is 'any act of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence that occurs within the family or domestic unit, irrespective of biological or legal family ties, or between former or current spouses or partners, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence as the victim (Council of Europe 2011).' Zamba et al. (2023) reiterate the above idea by pointing out that abuse can happen in many different types of relationships such as couples living together, divorced, married, dating as well as in any other type of human relationship. However, the most common form of abuse globally is violence against women. Violence against women also denotes any act of violence directed against a woman because of her gender.

On the other hand, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (2022) defines intimate partner violence (IPV) as abuse or aggression that occurs in a romantic relationship. 'Intimate partner' refers to both current and former spouses and dating partners. Intimate partner violence can vary in how often it happens and how severe it is. It can range from one episode of violence that could have a lasting impact to chronic and severe episodes over multiple years. The CDC (2022) further states that IPV can include any of the following types of behaviour. Firstly, there is physical violence when a person hurts or tries to hurt a partner by hitting, kicking or using another type of physical force. Secondly, there is sexual violence which entails forcing or attempting to force a partner to take part in a sexual act, sexual touching or a non-physical sexual event such as sexting, when the partner does not or cannot consent. Thirdly, there is stalking which is a pattern of repeated, unwanted attention and contact by a partner that causes fear or concern for one's own safety or the safety of someone close to the victim. Fourthly, there is psychological aggression which is the use of verbal and non-verbal communication with the intent to harm a partner mentally or emotionally and/or to exert control over a partner. In some cases, the husband can threaten to physically harm his wife, resulting in fear and depression.

In addition to this, domestic violence is a multidimensional and multifaceted occurrence that several scholars have endeavoured to explain throughout the years (Crowell & Burgess 1996; Miller 1994; O'Toole, Schiffman & Sullivan 2007).

It has actually been influenced mainly by the views of Christian and Judeo-cultural and ideological beliefs, law and Greek philosophy that purported patriarchy (Fox 2002). African religious patriarchal views also view men as superior figures in society and marriage. Men take advantage of women in their religious communities.

Together with this, Johnson (2002) posits that during the 19th century, violence against women from partners began to be understood. As a social occurrence, it began to be cherished. Sometimes it was subliminally acknowledged, and at other times, this phenomenon was ignored completely. Johnson (2002) further noted that laws against domestic violence and police interference became a reality during the 20th century; convictions and arrests started taking place. In Zimbabwe and Africa in general, the same views are prevailing.

According to Magede and Mbwirire (2020), domestic violence against women is a persistent and universal problem happening in every culture and social group around the world. It is not a new occurrence. It has survived since the genesis of human civilisation. More so, even today in some cultures and belief systems, it is rampant.

There are a number of recent domestic violence issues in Zimbabwe. One of the recent cases of domestic violence was when:

[A] 30-year-old man from Sibhula Village in Gwanda has been sentenced to 20 years in prison for the murder of his wife, Happiness Ngwenya. The High Court sitting at Bulawayo handed down the ruling after the accused was found guilty of the brutal crime. (Mpofu 2024)

Moyo-Nyede (2022) also points out that high-profile charges of gender-based violence (GBV) have rocked Zimbabwe in recent years. In 2019, Vice President Kembo Mohadi was accused of beating his ex-wife and threatening her with an axe (Munhende 2019; Pindula 2019). At the beginning of this year, prominent urban grooves music artist Stunner was arrested and charged with hitting and kicking his wife and pulling out her artificial nails, although he was later acquitted (Kapoor 2022; Katanda 2022; Ndoro 2022). Thus, in Zimbabwe, the phenomenon of domestic violence is quite rampant.

More so, according to Chuma and Chazovachii (2012:3), 'violence perpetrated predominantly by men against women particularly in household is viewed as normal part of gender relations'. Furthermore, the US Department of State's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2013 note that 48% of Zimbabwean women believe that a husband 'is justified to beat his wife' (US 27 Feb. 2014:20). To make matters worse, female victims of domestic violence are commonly reprimanded by their families if they file a case with the authorities (Chuma & Chazovachii 2012:12; Womankind Worldwide 2020). The above idea was also reiterated by Chireshe (2015:267) who pointed out that when domestic violence cases are made public, there is often a stigmatisation 'of both the abuser and the abused'. Sources



also state that deep-rooted cultural values perpetuate instances of domestic violence in Zimbabwe (Chireshe 2015:263–266; Chuma & Chazovachii 2012:3–4). Chireshe (2012) also posits that at least one in every three women has been beaten, coerced into sex or otherwise abused in her lifetime most often by someone she knows, including a member of her own family, an employer or a co-worker. Thus, domestic violence has a long history and is rampant.

According to United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Zimbabwe, domestic violence is a serious issue in Zimbabwe, with about 1 in 3 women aged 15 to 49 experiencing physical violence, and 1 in 4 women experiencing sexual violence since age 15. More so, the overall prevalence rate of partner violence against women in Zimbabwe is 63.5%, with various forms of violence including physical, emotional and economic. Hence, domestic violence in Zimbabwe affects women of all educational attainment levels, with women having no education, primary education, and secondary education experiencing almost the same levels of physical violence.

This section illustrates that scholars define the term domestic violence in many ways. After conceptualised the term domestic violence, the 'Background of COVID-19 pandemic in relation to domestic violence' section focusses on the relationship between the COVID-19 pandemic and domestic violence.

## Background of COVID-19 pandemic in relation to domestic violence

Countries, including Zimbabwe, have been fighting the COVID-19 pandemic by enacting measures such as nationwide quarantines, border closures, online work and school closures to reduce the rate of transmission. Emerging data show an escalation in calls to domestic violence helplines in many countries since the occurrence of the COVID-19 pandemic. It is known that the types of violence differ between men and women. Men are frequently affected by violence carried out in public places, whereas women experience violence more regularly within close relationships (Flury et al. 2010). Sexual or physical violence against women continued to happen in the streets, in public spaces and online. Violence against women tends to increase in emergencies, including epidemics. Stress, disruption of social and protective networks increased economic hardships, and decreased access to services can aggravate the risk of women suffering violence.

In addition to this, during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns, domestic violence increased theatrically (Mital & Singh 2020). Evidence reinforces that domestic and sexual violence are exacerbated because of numerous factors that stem from disasters (such as war, disease, illness, tsunami, etc.) and pandemics (Buttel & Carney 2009; Enarson & Dhar Chakrabarti [eds.] 2009; Peterman et al. 2020).

Zamba et al. (2023) noted that preceding research found an association between cases of GBV and crisis, with inequality

exacerbating during such periods (Dobson 1994; Enarson & Fordham 2011; Fothergill & Peek 2004; Palermo & Peterman 2011). Evidence shows an increase in sexual violence and harassment against women when individuals attempt to obtain necessary needs during a crisis such as food, water and firewood (Mital & Singh 2020). It was also discovered that one of the main reasons that increases domestic violence during a virus outbreak is the breakdown and reformation of laws which includes the implementation of lockdowns. Such periods of forced proximity between partners increase the time spent together and impede victims of domestic violence from 'escaping' their home such as going to work or social events (Campbell 2020). More so, an increase in domestic violence was because of the fact that there was financial stress caused by job losses, economic uncertainty and reduced income. There was also a lack of support services which then reduced access to counselling, health care and social services. The COVID-19 lockdown also increased emotional distress, and prolonged time at home heightened tensions.

Because of the fact that social services and police have different emergencies and priorities during a pandemic, victims of domestic abuse may not be as well supported as they were before the pandemic. To make matters worse, offenders are not dealt with in the same manner as they would have been prior to a crisis; therefore, there is a lack of immediate punishment or restrictions.

There are a number of reasons why domestic violence may have increased during the COVID-19 lockdown. It became more prevalent during the COVID-19 pandemic because of the increase in drug abuse (Engel, Farley & Tilley 2020). Isolation and prolonged confinement in the home are linked to poorer mental health and increased substance abuse, which are associated with an increased risk of violence against women and children (Bhatia et al. 2020; Brooks et al. 2020).

Furthermore, unemployment (Eisner & Nivette 2020; Rosenfeld & Lopez 2021) fuelled domestic violence. For instance, during a strict lockdown in a country, many people are not able to work, or earn an income, resulting in increased economic insecurity and a lack of basic necessities such as food which can increase conflict over resources in intimate relationships (Hamadani et al. 2020; Peterman et al. 2020).

When hard lockdowns are in force, women and children are quarantined in the home and temporarily restricted from escaping abusive partners or perpetrators, which intensifies their risk of experiencing violence in the home (Dahal et al. 2020). More so, economic insecurity during the COVID-19 lockdown is also associated with increased stress in the home (Buller et al. 2016; Cluver et al. 2016).

Together with this, concurrent remote working and caring for children who are out of school because of the COVID-19 lockdown increases the risk of domestic violence including maltreatment. Criminal activity, educational difficulties and psychological difficulties (World Health Organization



[WHO] 2023) fuelled the rise of domestic violence in the world. In fact, a drastic change in people's everyday lives occurred during COVID-19, which worsened the pandemic as individuals had to deal with economic uncertainty, mental health problems, well-being difficulties and negative feelings such as loneliness and anxiety (Mital & Singh 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic in Africa as well as Zimbabwe has uncovered the predominant inequities in families and society and exacerbated the structural factors that contribute to domestic and IPV. Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic and following the restrictions imposed to fight the pandemic (lockdowns, staying at home, isolation), domestic violence against women has increased. The spikes in domestic violence reports during COVID-19 lockdowns are a sad reminder that women regularly face the most danger from the people they have or had a relationship with or live with.

This research study focussed on the African Christian women in Gwanda district because of the fact that this group of women represent an understudied or marginalised group. Hence, the study provided valuable insights into the intersectionality of religion, culture and gender. The study also aimed to explore the experiences, perspectives or beliefs of African Christian women in the district. More so, Christianity is a significant aspect of African culture, and exploring its impact on women's lives can shed light on cultural dynamics. In addition to that, studying African Christian women in Gwanda district allows for comparisons with other religious or cultural groups, enriching understanding of similarities and differences. Last but not least, researching African Christian women's experiences in the district can amplify their voices, promoting empowerment and social change. Above all, the study focussed on African Christian women in Gwanda district allowing a nuanced understanding.

In this section, the background that provides the base and direction of this research has been delineated. It is very clear that the research study is dealing with a phenomenon that cannot be overlooked. Hence, the present study sought to assess the nature of domestic violence caused by the COVID-19 pandemic on African Christian women in Gwanda district and also come up with strategies to overcome them.

## Theoretical framework

This research study was guided by a feminist paradigm. In this case, radical feminism is used. According to Vukoicic (2017), radical feminism represents one of the types of feminist theory, founded on the attitude that society is based on patriarchal grounds, because of which women are marginalised and discriminated against. The above scholar also notes that this theory can also be defined as a conflict theory because it is based on the assumption that a society consists of opposed fractions (sexes) whose relations are based on the domination of men over women. Radical feminism claims that women's oppression originates in sexuality. Radical feminists argue that women's bodies are

controlled through violence, objectification and social institutions such as medicine and religion (Jones & Budig 2008). They even regard sexism as the oldest and most pervasive form of oppression. The above idea is supported by Lewis (2020) and Napikoski (2020) who note that patriarchy divides societal rights, privileges and power primarily along the lines of sex, and as a result oppressing women and privileging men. Hence, in line with radical feminists, in this research article, the eradication of patriarchy and compulsory heterosexuality are key to ending gender oppression which promotes domestic violence targeted against African Christian women in Gwanda district.

## Research methodology

The study adopted a qualitative methodological approach, utilising a case study research design composed of all African Christian women in the Gwanda district who were impacted by the COVID-19 restrictions. Qualitative methods provided rich and deep insights into domestic violence. A qualitative approach enabled participants to express the inequalities and toxic masculinity which women suffered during the pandemic at varying degrees and severity (Cropley 2022; Dlamini 2020) under domestic violence. This is because the reality of domestic violence is subjective, and qualitative methods make the researchers gain insights into the participants' personal constructions of reality. Participants are given a voice, and findings are grounded in their experiences (Creswell 2013). Cropley (2022) notes that the qualitative approach lacks objective proof and finality, and it may repeat what everyone already knows.

In-depth interviews and focus group discussions were carried out to collect primary and secondary data on the types of domestic violence African Christian women suffer and mitigatory mechanisms to protect the women against the coexisting pandemic and GBV (Dlamini 2020).

In this case, focus group discussions were conducted with 35 participants made up of African Christian women who were not in leadership positions. Each focus group discussion was made up of five women. The use of focus group discussions enabled the collection of general and complex information on the nature of domestic violence caused by the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on African Christian women in Gwanda district within a short space of time (Miller 2020; Writing 2019). It yielded rich information as the African Christian women were able to respond to each other's comments and raise unexpected answers. Focus group discussions proved to be a cost-effective way to get information and even provided time-saving opportunities (Miller 2020).

In-depth interviews were used to solicit data from 10 African Christian women composed of five pastors, three elders and two deacons. This method assisted in uncovering rich descriptive data on the personal experiences of the participants and they remained focussed on the topic under discussion (Rutczynska-Jamroz 2022). Using the in-depth



interviews enabled a deeper understanding of participants and watching the said as well as the unsaid (Abawi 2017). The interviews had the advantages of keeping the costs down, having the flexibility of questioning as well as wide geographic access (Rutczynska-Jamroz 2022). However, using in-depth interviews had the challenge that they were time intensive because they required a large amount of preparation ahead of time (Rutczynska-Jamroz 2022). They were also quite laborious because they were transcribed, organised, analysed and reported (Abawi 2017).

## Population and sample

Purposive sampling was used to select a sample of 45 African Christian women from Gwanda district. The sample was made up of African Christian women above 18 years old, drawn from both urban and rural setups in the Gwanda district. Purposive sampling was commendable because it saved time and money while collecting the data (Alchemer 2021). Furthermore, the sampling technique made it possible for the researchers to select everyone in the population for the study. Gwanda district in Zimbabwe has a number of African Christian women from churches like the National Baptist Convention of Zimbabwe, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Zimbabwe, Apostolic Faith Mission in Zimbabwe, Dutch Reformed Church, to mention but a few. Hence, the method was useful in making sure that people who did not fit the conditions of the study were excluded.

## Data presentation, analysis and interpretation

In this study, the researchers narrated the data obtained or gathered through interviews and focus group discussions. The researchers gave a detailed narration of the different participants on the impact of COVID-19 pandemic restrictions in line with domestic violence. Data were presented in English, analysed thematically and interpreted in the light of relevant literature.

## Discussion of findings

This section discusses the nature of domestic violence caused by the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions on African Christian women in Gwanda district. Because of the impact of COVID-19 restrictions, African Christian women experienced varied forms of abuse such as physical, sexual, psychological, verbal, financial, spiritual and emotional abuse. This was probably fuelled by the fact that according to Chuma and Chazovachii (2012:3), 'violence perpetrated predominantly by men against women, particularly in the household is viewed as a normal part of gender relations'. However, there were several strategies that were used to overcome these challenges.

### Nature of domestic violence caused by the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions on African Christian women in Gwanda district

The COVID-19 pandemic restrictions impacted domestic violence among African Christian women, making it a major public health problem in Gwanda district during the

height of the pandemic. The drivers of violence against women and children in Gwanda district homes were varied and partly dependent on the socio-economic status of families. To make matters worse, female victims of domestic violence were commonly admonished by their families if they filed a case with the authorities (Chuma & Chazovachii 2012:12; Womankind 2011).

### Psychological and emotional partner violence

First of all, in-depth and focus group discussion responses showed that African Christian women in Gwanda district suffered psychological and emotional partner violence which encompassed shouting, insults and manipulation. It was revealed that the psychological and emotional violence against women was primarily perpetrated by their male spouses and intimate partners. This type of violence was primarily caused by a lack of food and other necessities in the home. Most of the African Christian women had either lost their jobs, had their salaries cut or their livelihood strategies were no longer viable during the lockdown. Therefore, they struggled to buy food and experienced extreme food insecurity. For example:

'Due to the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, my sales drastically went down. Before the lockdown, I used to get at least a customer per day but during the lockdown, it greatly changed. At times some customers shunned items saying "We are afraid of buying second hand clothes since some come from China, hence they can be having some Corona virus." So I failed to get finances as I used to do before the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions. Because of shortage of food and basic necessities in our home, shouting and insulting each other were now a common phenomenon.' (Interviewee A, 01 March 2023)

The above responses revealed that African Christian women suffered psychological and emotional partner violence which encompassed shouting, insults and manipulation. In this case, the lack of access to food was a source of tension, arguments and conflicts in Gwanda district. This is in line with Mahlangu et al. (2022) who said that food security was the most noticeable factor influencing the stress, arguments and conflicts within Gwanda district.

### Increased stress and aggression from spouses during lockdown because of economic insecurity.

Furthermore, respondents exposed that quarantine in the homes was associated with increased stress and aggression from spouses during lockdown because of economic insecurity. For instance:

'As informal traders in Gwanda district, the short notice of the lockdown affected us as a family since we had little time to save and stock our food. At that moment, we could not afford not to be at work, whilst going to work exposed us to police violence and potentially contracting Corona virus. Therefore, we were really in a difficult situation since we were not sure of what to do. We were really in a socio-economic dilemma since we were not sure of our fate in the informal sector. Hence, at times we fought because there was lack of income in the house. At times there were verbal exchanges, angry responses and giving each other a cold shoulder after arguments.' (Interviewee B, 03 March 2023)





Reflecting on the above responses, we noted that the COVID-19 lockdown caused financial constraints which resulted in angry verbal exchanges, which strained relationships. All this is in line with Buller et al. (2016) and Cluver et al. (2016) who posit that economic insecurity during the COVID-19 lockdown was associated with increased stress and aggression from spouses.

More so, the responses showed that some African Christian women reported that the COVID-19 lockdown was stressful and made them become bad-tempered and violent towards children. Some pointed out that at times, they were stressed and short-tempered because they could not work because of the lockdown. For instance:

'At one time, I became stressed and short-tempered to the extent that I ended up beating my young girl for no apparent reason. All this was necessitated by the hard economic conditions due to the COVID-19 lockdown.' (Interviewee C, 05 March 2023)

According to another:

'During the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown in 2021, as a couple we once exchanged harsh words in front of our children. When one of older ones tried to discourage us from what we were doing the exchange of words continued. Our children were shocked by our behaviour.' (Interviewee D, 07 March 2023)

Hence, the COVID-19 lockdown was stressful, and it strained the African Christian women's relations towards children. Domestic violence disturbed children's peace. When children witness domestic violence, their mental and emotional peace can be disturbed. What was found is in line with United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Zimbabwe (2022) which noted that the COVID-19 pandemic and lockdown measures exacerbated protection risks among children and adolescents, contributing to increased mental health challenges.

#### **Many African Christian women made a lot of adjustments to budgets because of less income**

More so, from the findings, it was revealed that many African Christian women made a lot of adjustments on their budgets because of less income. All of that impacted negatively on their relationships with spouses at home. Some participants reported increased conflicts, which came as a result of cutting down on spending and having limited resources and food during lockdown. For instance:

'When I tried to make some budget adjustments by eating less that strained relationships, resulting in fights between me and the children at home. Some children thought that I was trying to fix them by providing them with less food.' (Interviewee G, 10 March 2023)

More so, some African Christian women pointed out that coming up with tough decisions to reduce family budgets caused quarrels between spouses. For instance:

'With my spouse we argued strongly over reducing how we spend the little salary and that affected our relationship. My husband could not understand the rationale of cutting down the budget. Actually, it was a bit challenging to convince him that the COVID-19 lockdown period was different from the pre-COVID-19 era.' (Interviewee H, 13 March 2023)

Therefore, African Christian women's adjustments on budgets because of less income had a negative impact on their relationships with spouses at home.

#### **Some of the African Christian women could not report domestic violence**

More so, respondents showed that some of the African Christian women could not report domestic violence during the COVID-19 pandemic with most of them coping on their own. At times, some could not get help at all. Some of the participants were unwilling to seek help because of the desire to protect their image and the image of their families. However, some of the survivors had limited information and awareness about available services and limited access to support services. Most African Christian women could not report domestic violence because of shame, stigmatisation and cultural beliefs (Chireshe 2015; Issahaku 2012). This was also a result of patriarchal and cultural systems controlling African Christian women, which emphasised the fact that women should be submissive to their husbands. This was shown by what was strongly emphasised by Interviewee A, interviewed on 01 March 2023 and Interviewee G, interviewed on 10 March 2023. This has been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions that have led to an increase in domestic violence and child marriages.

#### **African Christian women suffered physical violence**

Our findings also revealed that the African Christian women suffered physical violence. It was revealed that some African Christian women in Gwanda district were blamed for everything that went wrong in the family/home like misbehaviour of children, the lack of food and not budgeting properly. To make matters worse, they were even expected to provide for everyone even if they were not working and had nothing. All this culminated in physical violence within the family. According to one participant:

'In the homes, women were strongly blamed for any wrong committed. For instance, if children misbehave, the blame was put on the women. Any shortage of food in the family women were put to blame. To make matters worse, African women were even expected to fend for the family, despite the fact that some may not be employed.' (Interviewee G, 11 March 2023)

Thus, because of COVID-19 pandemic restrictions, domestic violence escalated among the African Christian women in Gwanda. The finding of this study was in agreement with what was found by Zimfact (2021) which suggested that GBV intensified during the COVID-19 pandemic, perhaps because isolation made it harder for victims to escape abuse and access support.

#### **African Christian women suffered social violence and economic violence**

It was further revealed that some African Christian women in Gwanda district suffered social violence. This is when their contact with others was forbidden and there was social isolation because of the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown. To make matters worse, some women suffered economic

violence because at times they were forbidden to work, or they were forced to work. For instance:

'Due to COVID-19 pandemic a number of African Christian women suffered social violence since contact with others was forbidden due to lockdown. To exacerbate the situation some African women suffered economic violence since they were not permitted to work since some jobs were closed down.' (Interviewee D, 07 March 2023)

It is important to note that according to Flury et al. (2010), social violence and economic violence should be understood as a subgroup of psychological violence. In this case, social violence was done to the African Christian women in Gwanda district as a way of controlling them and even limiting their free will.

### Positive impact of COVID-19 pandemic

Although the COVID-19 lockdown had a negative impact on African Christian women in the form of increased domestic violence against them, as outlined above, it had also some positive impacts. For instance, from the responses, it was revealed that because of the COVID-19 lockdown, spending time at home strengthened bonds between parents and children, and between spouses in the early days of the lockdown, particularly in families where spouses usually spent most of their time at work.

Taking into consideration the feminist paradigm, an assessment of the above-mentioned findings shows that there was a nexus between domestic violence and African social norms. Cultural practices such as paying lobola (bride price) among African Christian women traditionally placed more power on men over women, leaving women with little power in marriage. Domestic violence was mainly characterised by the control of men over women which was reinforced by social norms of masculinity. This supports patriarchal norms and disregards women's rights, allowing male dominance over women (Chireshe 2015). Therefore, lobola had become the source of oppression and heightened domestic violence among the African Christian women in Gwanda district. Furthermore, the US Department of State's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2013 note that 48% of Zimbabwean women believe that a husband 'is justified to beat his wife' (US 27 Feb. 2014:20).

### Strategies used to manage conflict and violence in the home

From the responses, the research study came up with a number of strategies. First of all, certain policy changes and strategies were required to reduce domestic violence among African Christian women during turbulent times like those of the COVID-19 pandemic. It was shown that a majority of African Christian women struggled to manage conflict and arguments in the home during lockdown. Several of the participants got support from family members and relatives. For instance, Interviewee E interviewed on 09 March 2023 said:

'After we noted that we were always fighting due to the effects of the COVID-19 lockdown, we decided to call our family elders to come and advise us. We sat down and looked at the matter closely. Finally, we ended up resolving the problem.'

Therefore, family members and relatives played a significant role in trying to manage conflicts and arguments in African Christian homes.

From the findings, it was shown that some African Christian women used self-calming strategies to deal with the stress of lockdown. This included being calm, sensitive and apologising to spouses when wrong. For instance:

'Whenever I noted that I had done something wrong against my husband I would quickly give an apology. I had observed that was the best way to resolve the issue of domestic violence in our home. In actual fact, the Word of God in Proverbs 15 v 1 says, "A soft answer turns away wrath: but the grievous words stir up anger".' (Interviewee F, 11 March 2023)

In addition to this, it was shown that counselling by peers, deacons, elders and pastors through social media was the other strategy used by African Christian women to overcome domestic violence in Gwanda district. Another said:

'When I severely faced domestic violence in 2021, my peers, deacons, elders and pastor would at times give us some counselling services. Such services helped me in overcoming the domestic violence I was facing.' (Interviewee J, 20 March 2023)

Therefore, counselling from a number of peers and church leaders helped in managing domestic violence among the African Christian women in the Gwanda district.

A religious approach was used to overcome domestic violence among African Christian women in the Gwanda district. In this case, prayer, fasting and Bible reading were used to calm down and avoid retaliation:

'Having observed that domestic violence in my family was worsening I resorted to Bible reading, praying and fasting. I had noted that all the problems that I faced had their answers in the Bible since Matthew 28 verse 11 says "Come unto me all you that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest". More, so, Jeremiah 33 verse 3 says "Call unto me and I will answer you, and I will show you great and mighty things which you do not know".' (Interviewee I, 17 March 2023)

Hence, from the above view, we noted that reading the Bible, fasting and praying played a paramount role in handling domestic violence among African Christian women in Gwanda district.

Along with this, because domestic violence among African Christian women in Gwanda district was also perpetuated by the patriarchal culture and cultural practices from African indigenous religion and Christianity, the affected women should follow what has been propounded by some African women theologians, namely that they should become agents of their own liberation. For instance, according to Mosala (1986:132), 'Liberation does not fall into one's lap. It must be





claimed and be protected. You cannot give me my liberty and I cannot give you yours'. Therefore, African Christian women should play a paramount role in fighting against gender inequalities perpetuated by the patriarchal system and cultural practices that emanate from African indigenous religion and Christianity.

Together with this, as was observed by African women theologians, African Christian women should acknowledge the fact that behind oppressive patriarchal structures lies an androcentric ideology that privileges masculinity as a standard of humanity (Phiri 2004). Hence, African Christian women should take note of the fact that the battle for achieving their full humanity as women has to be fought at an ideological level.

Last but not least, the African Christian women in Gwanda district should be conscientised by the Christian churches on biblical passages where women are portrayed as equal to men, by participation in every level of the church to challenge the patriarchal order. Citations can be given of Priscilla who appears to be equal to her husband Aquila in their joint work as teachers in the early Christian church in Acts 18 verse 2 and Acts 28 verse 26 (Landman & Shumba 2020). More so, the theology of equivalence in Christ, cited in Galatians 3 verse 28, suggests that baptism into Christ unifies all humanity – male and female, Jew and Greek. This perspective should be used to empower women to challenge the patriarchal system present in the Christian Bible, particularly in relation to domestic violence in their societies.

Above all, from the responses, it was also revealed that some of the African Christian women in Gwanda district engaged in activities to supplement food at home like gardening and using indigenous methods of preserving and storing food. In addition to that, some African Christian women made efforts to avoid being in the same room all the time with the perpetrators of domestic violence. This was echoed by Interviewee F interviewed on 11 March 2023 and Interviewee H interviewed on 13 March 2023. Hence, African Christian women made frantic efforts to try to overcome forms of domestic violence they faced as a result of COVID-19 restrictions.

### **Recommendations on how domestic violence can be prevented in future should there be a pandemic such as or worse than the COVID-19 pandemic**

Based on the conclusions drawn from the above-mentioned research findings, the research came up with the following recommendations:

- There is a need to re-educate society on gender roles and a rethinking of traditional gender roles. Although it may be difficult for die-hard men, at the end of the day, there will be some improvement in gender inequalities. In this case, there should be a sharing of domestic responsibilities

like child caring. In fact, the number one enemy of domestic violence is patriarchy. The indigenous African society is very patriarchal. Hence, there is a need for engendering transformative masculinities.

- The government and other organisations could also use a gendered approach and tap cultural attributes and resources when responding to crises.
- Various advocacy strategies should be used by the government, especially local governments because it is essential to include women in recovery initiatives and ensure that critical resources are availed.
- Social media can also be used positively to provide psychosocial support. It is necessary that sustainable intervention mechanisms are then put in place to deal with domestic violence in general and to help African Christian women affected by domestic violence during and after the pandemic.
- Economic hardships cause stress, thus assistance towards vulnerable households to reduce stress and economic pressures is a positive way of combating domestic violence. Communities should be encouraged to support each other in times of need.
- The government must ensure that healthcare providers are trained to recognise and respond to signs of home-based violence and domestic violence and bring in support services within healthcare settings.

## **Conclusion**

Zimbabwe, like many other countries, struggled with the COVID-19 pandemic which led to the implementation of strict measures such as national quarantines, border closures, online work and school closures to reduce the speed of transmission. Unfortunately, these lockdown regulations increased the occurrence of domestic violence because of isolation and heightened economic and psychological stress. Cultural and patriarchal systems also fuelled violence against African Christian women. The situation was particularly challenging for the Gwanda women, who faced additional cultural and patriarchal pressures. Numerous policies and strategies were used to manage domestic violence among African Christian women in the Gwanda district. However, these measures often fell short because of inadequate resources and societal attitudes, hence the need to come up with measures that would successfully deal with any future pandemic-related stress and domestic violence.

## **Acknowledgements**

This is the second article on the same theme, following the 'Impact of COVID-19 on mental health: A case of indigenous Ndebele women within Gwanda district, Zimbabwe' (Sibiziwe, Muyangata & Jakata 2024).

## **Competing interests**

The authors declare that they have no financial or personal relationship(s) that may have inappropriately influenced them in writing this article.

## Authors' contributions

S.S., J.M. and E.N. researched and collaborated on writing this article. They mutually corrected and amended each other's portions and jointly wrote the full text.

## Ethical considerations

An application for full ethical approval was submitted to the Research Ethics Committee at the Catholic University of Zimbabwe, and ethics consent was received on 09 October 2023. All procedures performed in studies involving human participants adhered to the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee, as well as the 1964 Helsinki Declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards. Written informed consent was obtained from all individual participants involved in the study.

## Funding information

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial or not-for-profit sectors.

## Data availability

Data sharing is not applicable to this article as no new data were created or analysed in this study.

## Disclaimer

The views and opinions expressed in this article are those of the authors and are the product of professional research. It does not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of any affiliated institution, funder, agency or that of the publisher. The authors are responsible for this article's results, findings and content.

## References

- Abawi, K., 2017, 'Data collection methods (Questionnaire and interview): Training in sexual and reproductive health research - Geneva workshop 2017', viewed n.d., from <https://www.gfmer.ch/SRH-Course-2017/Geneva-Workshop/pdf/Data-collection-methods-Abawi-2017.pdf>.
- Alchemer, 2021, *Purposive sampling*, viewed 30 December 2022, from <https://www.alchemer.com/resources/blog/purposive-sampling-101/>.
- Bhatia, A., Fabbri, C., Cerna-Turoff, I., Tanton, C., Knight, L. & Turner, E. et al., 2020, 'Covid response measures and violence against children', *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 98(9), 583. <https://doi.org/10.2471/BLT.20.263467>
- Brooks, S.K., Webster, R.K., Smith, L.E., Woodland, L., Wessely, S., Greenburg, N. et al., 2020, 'The psychological impact of quarantine and how to reduce it: Rapid review of the evidence', *The Lancet* 395(10277), 912–920. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(20\)30460-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(20)30460-8)
- Buller, A.M., Hidrobo, M., Peterman, A. & Heise, L., 2016, 'The way to man's heart is through his stomach? A mixed methods study on casual mechanisms through which cash in-kind food transfers decreased intimate partner violence', *BMC Public Health* 16, 488. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-016-3129-3>
- Buttel, F.P. & Carney, M.M., 2009, 'Examining the impact of Hurricane Katrina on police responses to domestic violence', *Traumatology* 15(2), 6–9. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1534765609334822>
- Campbell, A.M., 2020, 'An increasing risk of family violence during the COVID-19 pandemic: Strengthening community collaborations to save lives', *Forensic Science International: Reports* 2, 100089. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.fsr.2020.100089>
- Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 2022, *Fast facts: Preventing intimate partner violence*, viewed 23 March 2023, from <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/intimatepartnerviolence/fastfact.html>.
- Chireshe, E., 2012, *The utility of the Zimbabwean domestic violence act: Christian and Muslim women's experiences*, University of South Africa, Pretoria, viewed n.d., from [https://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/1039/thesis\\_chireshe\\_e\\_pdf\\_sequence-1](https://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/1039/thesis_chireshe_e_pdf_sequence-1).
- Chireshe, E., 2015, 'Barriers to the utilisation of provisions of the Zimbabwean Domestic Violence Act among abused Christian Women in Zimbabwe', *Journal of International Women Studies* 16(2), 259–273, viewed 16 May 2024, from <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jis/vol16/iss2/16>.
- Chuma, M. & Chazovachii, B., 2012, 'Domestic Violence Act: Opportunities and challenges for women in rural areas: The case of Ward 3, Mwenezi District, Zimbabwe', *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance* 3(3.4 Quarter IV), 1–18.
- Cluver, L.D., Orkin, F.M., Meinck, F., Boyes, M.E. & Sherr, L., 2016, 'Structural drivers and social protection: Mechanisms of HIV prevention for South African adolescents', *Journal of the International AIDS Society* 19(1), 20646. <https://doi.org/10.7448/IAS.19.1.20646>
- Council of Europe, 2011, *Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence*, Council of Europe Treaty Series, no 210, viewed n.d., from <https://rm.coe.int/168008482e>.
- Creswell, J.W., 2013, *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Cropley, A.J., 2022, *Introduction to qualitative research methods: A practical oriented introduction*, Editura Intaglio, Bucharest.
- Crowell, N.A. & Burgess, A.W., 1996, *Understanding violence against women*, National Academies Press, Washington, DC. <https://doi.org/10.1037/10204-000>
- Dahal, M., Kanai, P., Martajan, S., & Phanti, B., Nepal, S., 2020, 'Mitigating violence against women and young girls during COVID-19 induced lockdown in Nepal: A wake up call', *Globalization and Health* 16, 84. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-020-00616-w>
- Dlamini, N.J., 2020, 'Gender-based violence, twin pandemic to Covid-19. Symposium: COVID-19, globalisation, health disparities and social policy', *Critical Sociology* 47(4–5), 583–590. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920520975465>
- Dobson, N., 1994, 'From under the Mud-Pack: Women and the Charleville floods', *The Macedon Digest* 9, 11.
- Eisner, M. & Nivette, A., 2020, *Violence and the pandemic: Urgent questions for research*, HFG Research and Policy in Brief, Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, New York, NY.
- Enarson, E. & Dhar Chakrabarti, P.G. (eds.), 2009, *Women, gender and disaster: Global issues and initiatives*, Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, New Delhi. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9788132108078>
- Enarson, E. & Fordham, M., 2011, 'From women's needs to women's rights in disasters', *Global Environmental Change Part B: Environmental Hazards* 3(3), 133–136.
- European Institute for Gender Equality, 2021, *The COVID-19 pandemic and intimate partner violence against women in the EU*, Publications of the European Union, Luxembourg. <https://doi.org/10.2839/959007>
- Engel, L., Farley, E. & Tilley, J., 2020, *COVID-19 and opioid use disorder*, Council on Criminal Justice, Washington, DC.
- Flury, M., Nyberg, E. & Riecher-Rössler, 2010, 'Domestic violence against women: Definitions, epidemiology, risk factors and consequences', *Swiss Medical Weekly* 140, w13099. <https://doi.org/10.4414/smww.2010.13099>
- Fothergill, A. & Peek, L.A., 2004, 'Poverty and disasters in the United States: A review of recent sociological findings', *Natural Hazards* 32, 89–110. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:NHAZ.0000026792.76181.d9>
- Fox, V.C., 2002, 'Historical perspectives on violence against women', *Journal of International Women's Studies* 4, 15–34.
- Hamadani, J.D., Hassan, M.I., Baldi, A.J., Hossain, S.J., Shiraj, S., Bhuiyan M.S.A. et al., 2020, 'Immediate impact of stay-at-home orders to control COVID-19 transmission on socioeconomic conditions, food insecurity, mental health, and intimate partner violence in Bangladeshi women and their families: An interrupted time series', *The Lancet Global Health* 8(11), 1–10. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2214-109X\(20\)30366-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2214-109X(20)30366-1)
- Issahaku, P.A., 2012 PI, *Male partner violence against women in Northern Ghana: Its dimensions and health policy implications*, Factor-Inwentash Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario.
- Johnson, R., 2002, 'Changing attitudes about domestic violence', *Journal of Law and Order* 50(4), 60–62, 64, 65.
- Jones, K. & Budig, M., 2008, 'Feminist theory', in V. Parrilo, (ed.), *Encyclopaedia's of social problems*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412963930.n213>
- Kapoor, G., 2022, 'Watch stunner beats wife Dyone Tafirenyika, video of singer Desmond Chideme goes viral', *SportsGrail*, 15 April, viewed n.d., from <https://thesportsgrail.com/watch-stunner-beats-wife-dyone-tafirenyika-video-of-singer-desmond-chideme-goes-viral/>.
- Katanda, P., 2022, 'WATCH: Stunner bashes wife at five star hotel', *New Zimbabwe.com*, 12 April, viewed n.d., from <https://www.newzimbabwe.com/watch-stunner-in-court-for-allegedly-assaulting-wife/>.
- Landman, C. & Shumba, S., 2020, 'Religion and gender policy implementation in Zimbabwe: Women's access to Landownership in Gwanda District', *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 46(2), 15. <https://doi.org/10.25159/2412-4265/7246>
- Lewis, G., 2020, 'Once more with my Sistren: Black Feminism and the challenge of object use', *Sage Journals* 126(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0141778920944372>
- Magede, M. & Mbwirire, J., 2020, 'Gender based violence in African apostolic churches: A case study of Johane Marange Apostolic Church in Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe', *International Journal of Humanities, Arts and Social Studies* 5(2), 41–50.
- Mahlangu, P., Gibbs, A., Shai, N., Machisa, M., Nunze, N. & Sikweyiya, Y., 2022, 'Impact of COVID-19 lockdown and link to women and children's experiences in the home in South Africa', *BMC Public Health* 22, 1029. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-022-13422-3>





- Mgojo, E.K.M., 1977, 'Prolegomenon to the study of Black theology', *Journal for Theology for Southern Africa* 21, 25.
- Miller, B., 2020, *Advantages and disadvantages of a focus group*, viewed 30 December 2022, from <https://greengarageblog.org/17advantages-and-disadvantages-of-a-focus-group>.
- Miller, S.L., 1994, 'Expanding the boundaries: Toward a more inclusive and integrated study of intimate violence', *Violence and Victims* 9(2), 183–194. <https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.9.2.183>
- Mital, S. & Singh, T., 2020, 'Gender based violence during COVID-19 pandemic: A mini review', *Frontiers in Global Women's Health* 1(4), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fgwh.2020.00004>
- Mosala, B., 1986, 'Black theology and the struggle of the Black woman in Southern Africa', in I.J. Mosala & J.E. Tlhagale (eds.), *The unquestionable right to be free: Essays in Black theology*, pp. 129–133, Skotaville Publishers, Johannesburg.
- Moyo-Nyede, S., 2022, *Zimbabweans see gender-based violence as the most important women's-rights issue to address*, viewed n.d., from <https://www.afrobarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/AD557-Zimbabweans-see-GBV-as-top-womens-rights-issue-to-address-Afrobarometer-1oct22.pdf>.
- Mpofu, M., 2024, *Domestic violence tragedy: Man brutally murders wife in front of children*, viewed 25 September 2024, from <https://www.myzimbabwe.co.zw/news/171153-domestic-violence-tragedy-man-brutally-murders-wife-in-front-of-children.html>.
- Munhende, L., 2019, 'Mohadi ex-wife turns up the heat on VP, demands his arrest', viewed n.d., from <https://www.newzimbabwe.com/mohadi-ex-wife-turns-up-the-heat-on-vp-demands-his-arrest/>.
- Napikoski, L., 2020, *What is Patriarchal Society and how does it relate to Feminism?*, viewed 11 April 2023, from <https://www.thoughtco.com/patriarchal-society-feminism-definition-3528978>.
- Ndoro, N., 2022, 'Stunner acquitted of assault, magistrate says "relationship had turned sour"', viewed n.d., from <https://nehandaradio.com/2022/07/15/stunner-acquitted-of-assault-as-magistrate-says-relationship-had-turned-sour/>.
- O'Toole, L.L., Schiffman, J.R. & Sullivan, R., 2007, 'Preface: conceptualizing gender violence', in L.L. O'Toole, J.R. Schiffman & R. Sullivan (eds.), *Interdisciplinary perspectives*, 3rd edn., pp. xi–xvi, New York University Press, New York, NY.
- Palermo, T. & Peterman, A., 2011, 'Undercounting, overcounting and the longevity of flawed estimates: Statistics on sexual violence in conflict', *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 89(12), 924–925. <https://doi.org/10.2471/BLT.11.089888>
- Peterman, A., Potts, A., O'Donnell, M., Thompson, K., Shah, N., Oertelt-Prigione, S. et al., 2020, *Pandemics and violence against women and children*, Centre for Global Development, Washington, DC.
- Phiri, I., 2004, 'African women's theologies in the new millennium', *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity* 61(61), 16–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2004.9676034>
- Pindula, 2019, *VP Mohadi violently attacks ex wife, threatens to kill her*, viewed n.d., from <https://www.pindula.co.zw/2019/03/31/vp-mohadi-violently-attacks-ex-wife-threatens-to-kill-her/>.
- Rosenfeld, R. & Lopez, E., 2021, 'Pandemic, social unrest and crime in U.S. cities', *Federal Sentencing Reporter* 33(1/2), 72–82.
- Rutczynska-Jamroz, E., 2022, *Advantages of in-depth user interviews*, viewed 30 December 2022, from <https://startup-house.com/blog/in-depth-user-interviews>.
- Sibiziwe, S., Muyangata, J. & Jakata F., 2024, 'Impact of COVID-19 on mental health: A case of indigenous Ndebele women within Gwanda district, Zimbabwe', *Pharos Journal of Theology* 105(4), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.46222/pharosjot.105.417>
- UNICEF Zimbabwe, 2022, *Zimbabwe humanitarian situation report: Multi-hazard Situation Report # 6 January 1 – December 31, 2022*, viewed n.d., from <https://www.unicef.org/media/133816/file/Zimbabwe-Humanitarian-SitRep-December-2022.pdf>.
- Vukoicic, J., 2017, 'Radical feminism as a discourse in the theory of conflict', *Sociological Discourse* 3(5), 33–49. <https://doi.org/10.7251/SOCEN1305033V>
- Womankind Worldwide, 2020, *Standing with the Changemakers: Lessons from Supporting women's movements*, viewed n.d., from <https://www.womankind.org.uk/resource/standing-with-the-changemakers-lessons-from-supporting-womens-movements/>.
- World Health Organization, 2023, *WHO Health Emergency Dashboard*, viewed 23 March 2023, from <https://extranet.who.int/publicemergency>.
- Writing, A., 2019, *Advantages and disadvantages of a focus group*, viewed n.d., from <https://smallbusiness.chron.com/advantages-disadvantages-focus-group-784.html>.
- Zamba, C., Mousoulidou, M. & Christodoulou, A., 2022, 'Domestic violence against women and COVID-19', *Encyclopedia* 2(1), 441–456. <https://doi.org/10.3390/encyclopedia2010027>
- ZimFact, 2021, *Factsheet: Gender-based violence cases*, viewed n.d., from <https://zimfact.org/factsheet-gender-based-violence-cases/>.



