

# Moccasin Journal De Public Perspective

# The Role of Women's Empowerment Programs in Reducing Gender-Based

Alifa Wafiq<sup>1</sup>, Nurul Haq<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Fakultas ekonomi, STIE AMKOP Makassar

\*Corresponding Author: Alifa wafiq Nurul Haq E-mail:

#### **Article Info**

Article History:

Received: 20 September

2025

Revised: 29 September

2025

Accepted: 08 October

2025

#### Keywords:

Women's Empowerment Gender-Based Violence Education Economic Participation

## Abstract

This paper critically analyzes how the women empowerment programs can help in reducing gender-based violence (GBV). It argues based on the insights of other disciplines that there is a transformational effect of empowerment efforts on social norms and the agency of women that is the result of education, economic participation, leadership training, and community involvement. Such programs equip women with the skills and resources to be resistant to violence and at the same time instigate a wider cultural and institutional change that challenges the patriarchal systems. The study also highlights the importance of circumstances of determinants, such as cultural acceptance, political will and integration of policies that significantly influence the effectiveness of programs. Although there are still numerous obstacles including scarce resources, set stereotypes, lack of sustainability, etc, empirical results indicate that the programs of empowerment continue to be one of the most promising ways to tackle GBV. Therefore, the article reflects the idea of multi-sectoral partnership, comprehensive program development, and long-term investment to achieve long-lasting changes in gender equality and violence elimination.

# INTRODUCTION

The issue of gender-based violence (GBV) and gender discrimination remains one of the most rooted human rights violations in the world. Regardless of advanced legislative changes, internationally acclaimed standards, and long-term civil-society activism, women and girls are still subjected to intimate partner violence, sexual assault, damaging cultural habits, economic marginalisation, and other forms of abuse based on inequality. It is a complex issue that cannot be solved by just applying punishing laws; it needs some changes in the power structure, the social conventions, the economic self-dependence, and the agency of individuals. Women empowerment programmes (WEPs), which are basically aimed at empowering women in economic, social, psychological and political fronts have been a major approach in the international campaigns to reduce GBSV and enhance gender equality (Maruo et al., 2023; Al-Ahmadi et al., 2024; Hanson-DeFusco, 2024).

Here, the concept of empowerment is perceived to take a number of closely connected dimensions, namely economic empowerment (generation of income, financial

independence), social empowerment (norm change, community participation), psychological empowerment (self-esteem, autonomy, self-advocacy), and legal/political empowerment (access to rights, decision-making participation). All the dimensions deal with specific vulnerabilities that lead to GBV. As an example, among the identified risk factors of intimate partner violence are economic reliance on a partner; poor social norms that endorse male dominance; and the stigma and low self-esteem that may prevent female victims to seek help or fight maltreatment. As a result, the potential to prevent, mitigate and potentially transform GBV to some extent is in the empowerment programmes that focus on one or both of these dimensions (Keith et al., 2023; Lwamba et al., 2022; Koris et al., 2022).

However, the question remains: Are such programmes effective and in what circumstances? What are the weaknesses, traps, and tensions of utilizing empowerment as a tool to minimize violence or discrimination? Empirical data are a heterogeneous image of some interventions show significant success, others less significant and vague results, and many programmes are found to show design considerations, context impact, and the quality of implementation have significant impact.

A single cohort of literature points towards the effectiveness of programs that involve economic empowerment paired with social norm change (Gupta et al., 2013; Taylor & Pereznieto, 2014). A research brief on efforts in Cote d'Ivoire recorded that economic empowerment of women combined with dialogue groups on gender roles among couples or community members discouraged intimate partner violence better than economic programmes alone. Similarly, the Tostan project of the World Bank in Senegal, a combination of human-rights education, literacy, health, and participatory community dialogue, has yielded quantifiable outcomes in terms of female genital mutilations/cutting (FGM/C) and with incidence of intimate partner violence being reported in an intervention village (Shell-Duncan et al., 2017).

Observations of systematic reviews in Sub-Saharan Africa show that some types of empowerment programmemes have the most promising results as compared to others. Group learning, norm-shift interventions, and community dialogues all fall under social empowerment interventions that have shown constant effectiveness in changing gender attitudes and gender-based violence (GBV). Psychological empowerment interventions such as self-esteem boost and trauma are seem to be effective in the reduction of GBV-related symptoms (O'Brien & Macy, 2016). On the other hand, the evidence made with regard to specifically economic empowerment programmes, that is, income-generating activities not accompanied by concomitant normative or psychosocial elements, is ambiguous.

The empirical case studies shed light on the possible advantages as well as the problems in such interventions. The City of Joy project, a six-month residential empowerment program targeting victims of sexual violence, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, had responded with significant changes in the participants perceptions of financial agency, household decision-making, and individual rights, and many of them took on a more active community role after leaving the program. Among girls in Bolivia, a youth empowerment initiative combining soft-skill training, mentorship, and sexual education and employment support, during the COVID-19 pandemic, led to a reduced rate of violence and higher income among intervention participants (Wood et al., 2022).

However, there is not a consistent degree of efficacy. Some interventions lead to positive attitudes or self-efficacy changes but do not reduce the actual violence rates, which may be attributed to the sense of strong social norms, poor law enforcement, scarce resources, or to the fact augmentation of female autonomy without simultaneous normative changes may be met with backlash. An example of this is

an empowerment-based trial of self-defence intervention in South African girls that failed to produce a statistically significant decrease in the overall sexual violence compared to controls, but increased knowledge of defensive strategies, and improved attitudes.

In turn, the impact of women empowerment programmes on eliminating gender-related violence should be investigated rigorously, not only because this issue requires answering whether the programmes have a statistically significant change in the situation, but also the mechanisms of such an enhancement, situational circumstances, target groups, and costs. The variables of interest are the presence of men or male partners; the length and intensity of the intervention; the organisational setting of the programme (community-based vs institutionally embedded); how far the normative, legal, and economic aspects are being covered; and how the power relations might change- sometimes excruciatingly.

#### **METHODS**

This study employs a qualitative research design that integrates systematic literature synthesis with case study analysis. The choice of method is informed by the complexity of gender-based violence (GBV), which is deeply rooted in cultural, social, and economic structures. Quantitative approaches alone are often insufficient to capture the nuances of power relations, lived experiences, and the transformative processes brought about by empowerment programs. Therefore, this methodological framework combines a broad review of scholarly literature with in-depth exploration of selected intervention programs across diverse contexts.

The overall research design is descriptive-analytical, aimed at identifying patterns, themes, and mechanisms through which women's empowerment programs influence GBV-related outcomes. Rather than generating new numerical data, the study synthesizes existing empirical findings, program evaluations, and theoretical perspectives. This approach is particularly appropriate for interventions that are multidimensional and context-dependent, where causal pathways cannot easily be reduced to single variables (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Two primary categories of data were utilized: secondary sources and case studies. Secondary sources included peer-reviewed journal articles, systematic reviews, and program evaluations published between 2000 and 2025. Articles were retrieved from databases such as PubMed, Scopus, and Web of Science using keywords including women's empowerment, gender-based violence, intimate partner violence, economic empowerment, and social norm change. Reports from international organizations such as UN Women, the World Health Organization (WHO), and the World Bank were also incorporated, given their extensive role in monitoring GBV-related interventions (UN Women, 2020; WHO, 2021). Case studies were selected to provide practical illustrations of how empowerment programs operate in the field. Examples include the Tostan Community Empowerment Program in Senegal, Stepping Stones in South Africa, and the City of Joy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. These programs were chosen because they represent diverse strategies—ranging from community dialogue and economic empowerment to psychosocial rehabilitation—and have been subject to independent evaluation.

Inclusion criteria required that sources explicitly evaluate women's empowerment initiatives with respect to GBV outcomes, focus on low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), and provide adequate methodological transparency, whether through quantitative, qualitative, or mixed-method approaches. Exclusion criteria applied to studies that discussed empowerment in a generic sense without reference to GBV or lacked evaluative evidence.

Data analysis was conducted using a thematic synthesis approach. Findings from the reviewed literature were coded into categories such as economic empowerment and GBV risk reduction, community and social norm transformation, psychological resilience and survivor agency, and the integration of empowerment with legal or policy frameworks. This thematic structure enabled cross-program and cross-context comparison while highlighting both convergences and divergences. Triangulation across multiple sources, including comparisons between NGO reports and academic evaluations, enhanced the credibility of the findings. Reliability was supported by adhering to systematic review principles, including transparent inclusion and exclusion criteria and clear coding procedures. Nevertheless, the study acknowledges potential limitations such as publication bias and the underreporting of programs with weak or negative results (Gough, Oliver, & Thomas, 2017).

Ethical considerations were also integral to the research process. Since the study relied exclusively on secondary data, no direct contact with participants occurred. However, ethical sensitivity was ensured by including only those studies and program evaluations that demonstrated respect for confidentiality, survivor safety, and informed consent in their original designs. This is especially critical given the vulnerability of women and girls affected by GBV, where careless interpretation could risk reinforcing harmful narratives or victim-blaming discourses.

Despite the strengths of this methodology, several limitations should be noted. Dependence on published sources risks excluding community-based or grassroots initiatives that lack formal documentation, even though they may play crucial roles in local contexts. Furthermore, the diversity of empowerment programs complicates direct comparison, as outcomes vary by cultural setting, program duration, resources, and stakeholder engagement. Case studies enrich the analysis but are not necessarily generalizable. For these reasons, the conclusions of this study are positioned as indicative rather than universally prescriptive, emphasizing the importance of context in designing and implementing effective interventions.

#### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of the reviewed literature and case studies reveals four major themes central to understanding the role of women's empowerment programs (WEPs) in mitigating gender-based violence (GBV). These themes are: (1) economic empowerment and its role in risk reduction, (2) transformation of community and social norms, (3) psychological resilience and survivor agency, and (4) integration with legal and policy frameworks. The evidence points to both the potential and limitations of empowerment as a strategy for reducing GBV, showing the multifaceted nature of the issue.

#### **Economic Empowerment and Risk Reduction**

Economic empowerment has proven to be one of the most significant tools in mitigating gender-based violence (GBV), as it directly addresses one of the primary root causes of such violence: women's financial dependence on their abusive partners. Economic empowerment programs, such as microfinance initiatives, vocational training, and income-generating activities, have shown to produce positive outcomes in reducing intimate partner violence (IPV) by providing women with the resources and autonomy to make independent choices. For example, the IMAGE (Intervention with Microfinance for the Empowerment of Women) project in South Africa integrated microfinance with gender training, and the results were striking. The program led to a substantial reduction in IPV among women who participated in the microfinance and gender sensitization sessions compared to those in control groups, illustrating that financial independence combined with gender equality training can significantly reduce the power imbalance that often leads to violence (Allan-Blitz et al., 2023).

Similarly, livelihood interventions in Côte d'Ivoire, when paired with gender dialogue sessions, resulted in a marked increase in the financial autonomy of women, which was linked to a decrease in reported violence. These programs empowered women to make decisions regarding their finances, providing them with the necessary resources to exit abusive relationships or resist violence (Gupta et al., 2013). Financial independence not only enhances a woman's ability to leave an abusive partner but also serves as a form of resistance to further violence. However, this form of empowerment does not come without risks. In certain cultural contexts, especially in regions like sub-Saharan Africa, economic empowerment has sometimes provoked hostility from male partners, particularly when men feel threatened by the increased autonomy of women. This has, in some instances, led to an escalation of violence in the short term, as men retaliate against what they perceive as a disruption to traditional gender norms (Vyas & Watts, 2009). This highlights the critical need for economic empowerment programs to be coupled with broader strategies that also aim to shift social norms. Without accompanying transformations in societal attitudes toward gender roles, the benefits of economic empowerment may be undermined by backlash or even further violence. Thus, while economic empowerment is essential, it must be integrated into a more comprehensive strategy that also fosters changes in gender norms and power dynamics.

#### **Community and Social Norm Transformation**

Interventions that focus on transforming community-level attitudes toward gender equality have demonstrated the most sustainable and far-reaching impact on reducing GBV. Programs that target social norms and deeply ingrained cultural attitudes about gender roles and violence are particularly effective in the long term. One such program is the Tostan Community Empowerment Program in Senegal, which has integrated human rights education, literacy training, and participatory dialogue within communities. By combining these elements, the program has significantly contributed to the reduction of practices such as female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C) and IPV. The program's success lies in its ability to create community-wide changes in attitudes, challenging the cultural norms that perpetuate violence and inequality (Diop & Askew, 2009). It has been shown that engaging entire communities both men and women can help break the cycle of violence and gender discrimination, ensuring that changes in attitudes are sustainable and far-reaching.

Similarly, the Stepping Stones program in South Africa focuses on participatory learning, where both men and women come together to challenge harmful gender conventions and reimagine relationships based on equality and respect. Evaluations of the program have demonstrated significant improvements in participants' attitudes toward gender equality, as well as a reduction in the self-reported perpetration of violence (Fleming et al., 2015). These types of programs emphasize the importance of engaging all members of a community, including men, elders, and leaders, to address and transform the deep-rooted cultural norms that perpetuate violence. However, changing societal attitudes toward gender roles and norms is inherently a gradual process. It requires sustained community involvement, long-term investment, and patience. Transforming deeply ingrained social norms cannot be accomplished in short-term interventions alone; it requires a persistent effort to shift community consciousness over time.

## Psychological Resilience and Survivor Agency

Psychological empowerment plays a crucial role in enabling survivors of GBV to resist further abuse, assert their rights, and seek support when needed. Programs that focus on building psychological resilience and survivor agency are particularly effective in helping women regain control over their lives after experiencing violence.

One example is the City of Joy program in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which offers a six-month residential empowerment program specifically designed for survivors of sexual violence. This program combines psychotherapy, leadership training, and community reintegration efforts. The outcomes of the program have been remarkable, with participants showing increased self-esteem, a better understanding of their legal rights, and a greater sense of civic participation (Morton & Montgomery, 2011). The City of Joy program, like other trauma-informed interventions, underscores the importance of addressing both the psychological and emotional needs of survivors, as well as fostering leadership skills and community involvement.

While psychological empowerment does not directly eliminate violence, it provides survivors with the emotional tools and strength to challenge their situations, seek help, and advocate for themselves. The increase in self-esteem and empowerment of survivors enables them to take on leadership roles within their communities, thereby changing the power dynamics in a broader context. This approach reinforces the necessity for a holistic model of empowerment, one that addresses the emotional and psychological dimensions of survivors in tandem with economic and social needs. However, such programs are often resource-intensive and pose challenges for scalability and sustainability, particularly in low-resource settings. The need for substantial funding and long-term commitment to ensure the continued success and expansion of these programs remains a critical challenge for their widespread implementation.

#### Integration with Legal and Policy Frameworks

The success of women's empowerment programs is often contingent upon their integration with legal frameworks and policies that support gender equality and the protection of women's rights. Legal support and policy alignment play a crucial role in ensuring that empowerment initiatives can have a transformative effect on reducing GBV. For example, programs that include legal literacy training, as seen in Bolivia during the COVID-19 pandemic, were more successful when aligned with national gender and labor policies. These initiatives demonstrated that when women's empowerment programs are integrated into broader policy frameworks that protect women's rights and promote gender equality, their impact is significantly enhanced (Escalante & Maisonnave, 2022). Legal frameworks that ensure property rights, prohibit domestic violence, and provide access to justice for survivors of violence are essential components of an effective empowerment strategy.

In contrast, programs operating in contexts where legal frameworks are weak or poorly enforced are less effective in achieving lasting change. The absence of strong legal protection for women's rights can undermine the efforts of empowerment programs, limiting their impact and leading to a situation where the benefits of empowerment are short-lived or symbolic. The integration of women's empowerment programs with legal and policy frameworks not only reinforces the gains made by the programs but also helps institutionalize these changes within the broader governance structure. As such, it is clear that the effectiveness of empowerment programs is not solely dependent on the interventions themselves but is also contingent on the broader political and legal environment that supports the protection of women's rights and the eradication of gender-based violence.

The following table summarizes the key findings from various women's empowerment programs and their impact on GBV outcomes:

Table 1. Summary of Key Findings

Author Title of Study Theme	Illustrative Programs	Reported Outcomes	Key Challenges	
-----------------------------	--------------------------	----------------------	-------------------	--

Allan-Blitz et al., 2023	Assessment of microfinance interventions and intimate partner violence: a systematic review and meta-analysis	Economic Empowerment	IMAGE (South Africa), Côte d'Ivoire	Reduced IPV, increased financial autonomy	Backlash from men if not paired with social norm change
Diop & Askew, 2009	The effectiveness of a community-based education program on abandoning female genital mutilation/cutting in Senegal	Community & Social Norm Transformation	Tostan (Senegal), Stepping Stones (South Africa)	Decreased FGM/C and IPV, improved gender attitudes	Sustaining change requires long-term community buy-in
Morton & Montgomery, 2011	Youth empowerment programs for improving self- efficacy and self- esteem of adolescents	Psychological Resilience & Agency	City of Joy (DRC)	Increased self- esteem, survivor leadership	Limited scalability, high resource needs
Escalante & Maisonnave, 2022	Gender and Covid- 19: Are women bearing the brunt? A case study for Bolivia	Integration with Legal/Policy Frameworks	Bolivia youth empowerment during COVID-19	Increased earnings, reduced violence exposure	Effectiveness depends on supportive state policies

These findings indicate that empowerment programs that address multiple dimensions economic, social, psychological, and legal are more effective in reducing GBV. However, challenges such as cultural resistance, sustainability, and the need for integration with legal frameworks remain significant barriers. Moreover, there is a need for more sophisticated monitoring and evaluation systems to measure long-term impacts and unintended consequences.

#### Discussion

The implications of this research are that women empowerment programmes (WEPs) may be effective tools of gender based violence (GBV) mitigation, but their effectiveness largely depends on a context, design and integrative issues with the broader social structures. Although all the mentioned economic, social, psychological, and legal aspects of empowerment play an important role, no particular strategy alone will be able to ensure the reduction of GBV on a sustainable basis. Instead, the most promising ones seem to be multidimensional strategies that will deal with both immediate capabilities and structural imbalances.

One of the salient themes that can be discussed on the basis of the evidence is the conflict between economic empowerment and the possible backlash. Programs which focus mainly on income-generation, microfinance, or vocational training often record increases in the financial independence of women, thus making them less dependent on abusive husbands. However, research carried out in sub-Saharan Africa suggests that failure of economic rewards to be matched with gender norm transformations may result in a hostile reaction on the part of men at times leading to the increased violence in the short-term (Vyas & Watts, 2009). This point highlights the contradiction of empowerment: the increase in female agency without a corresponding change in patriarchal institutions may help to increase risk. Therefore, economic empowerment should be integrated into the overall intervention that will defy unfair centers of power, involve men, and change community-based views.

The second important dimension is social-norm transformation at the community level. Tostan and Stepping Stones are programme initiatives that illustrate that

sustainable changes can be achieved more through the resolution of deep-rooted cultural attitudes than by individual empowerment. Such interventions demonstrate that empowerment should be enforced not only to women but also to men, elders, and leaders of the community. A rights-based discourse that changes norms regarding masculinity, married life, and family structures has been witnessed to decrease both the negative practices, such as female genital mutilation, and intimate partner violence (Diop & Askew, 2009). However, norm transformation is inherently gradual and requires patience, long-term investment and long-term community involvement.

Psychological empowerment and agency of the survivor is equally important. The case studies including the City of Joy programme reveal how trauma-based interventions may rebuild self-esteem, encourage resilience, and enable the survivors to take up leadership roles. Though these psychosocial benefits might not directly decrease violence exposure, they provide women with much needed weaponry against violence, assistance seeking, and advocacy in their respective communities. This aspect of empowerment may not attain the same level of academic interest as economic projects but it is necessary to break the intergenerational patterns of victimization. However, the fact that psychosocial interventions are resource-constrained can be viewed as a major concern in terms of sustainability; the policymakers need to consider the advantages of intensive and individualized programmes versus the scope of less personalized comprehensive strategies.

One more important finding is in the relevance of integration into law and policy. The best place to achieve optimum effectiveness of empowerment initiatives is through the presence of generous institutional frameworks. As an example, the effectiveness of youth empowerment initiatives in Bolivia in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic was multiplied by the fact that they were consistent with national gender and labour policies (Escalante & Maisonnave, 2022; Gutiérrez et al., 2020). Conversely, when there are either weak or poorly enforced domestic violence laws, then empowerment initiatives might not be transformative, but they might be symbolic. This highlights the importance of integrating the empowerment programmes with the sectoral governance reforms, such as access to justice, protection services and labour rights. Without such systemic support, the idea of empowerment will turn into a local or short-lived achievement that will not change the status quo of structural conditions.

These successes notwithstanding, there are a number of challenges that are critical. To begin with, there is the problem of sustainability and scalability that is not fully addressed. Most of the empowerment projects are donor-funded projects which are pilot projects with short durations, and hence their sustainability after funding remains questionable. Second, it is a threat of implementation of one-size-fits-all models. There is evidence that the cultural context determines the effectiveness of interventions; interventions that have worked in Senegal might not be as effective in South Asia or Latin America. Third, measurement strategies can be too limited. Other programmes focus on short-term decreases in the violence incidence without taking into consideration more fundamental changes in the power relationships or the possibility of the delayed backlash (LaFree et al., 2009). This in turn demands more sophisticated monitoring and evaluation systems, systems that focus not only on short-term impacts, but also on long-term impacts, including unintended impacts.

More importantly, the intersectionality of women experiences is also indicated in the literature. Empowerment does not work on all women equally. The mediation of programmes benefit and exclusion among women is through socio-economic status, education, ethnicity, age, and marital status. Indicatively, microfinance plans can mostly benefit women who already possess financial literacy excluding the marginalised women. This brings the matter of concern that empowerment programs might unwillingly strengthen intra-female disparities. Interventions in the future

must thus take an intersectional approach, which acknowledges these compounded vulnerabilities and works on them.

#### **CONCLUSION**

This paper highlights the critical position played by women empowerment programs in reducing gender-based violence (GBV). Such programmes, by developing access to education, multiplying economic opportunities, and developing leadership pathways, not only increase the level of agency of the women themselves but also transform the sociostructural factors perpetuate inequality. The empirical data proves two channels of intervention, one being a direct one, which provides women with the resources and skills to resist and report violence, and the other is an indirect one, which revises the community norms, challenges the patrilineal discourses, and provokes the institutional accountability. The effectiveness of these interventions, however, depends on contextual factors such as cultural openness, institutional support and long term policy commitment. Unless there is a conducive enabling environment, transformative potential of women empowerment efforts is limited. Therefore, policymakers and other stakeholders ought to incorporate empowerment policies in the general development and human rights approaches to achieve longterm change. The designs of the programs should be inclusive, consider intersectional axes of discrimination which include poverty, ethnicity, and ruralurban divides, as well as actively engage men and community leaders as partners in GBV prevention. In addition, long-term commitment, structured observation, and intense assessment are essential in terms of measuring the efficacy of empowerment programmes in the long term in mitigating violence. Altogether, despite the ongoing difficulties, the empowerment interventions of women provide a promising channel of achieving gendered equality and developing safer and fairer societies.

#### REFERENCES

- Al-Ahmadi, A., Heinemann, A., Mossman, L., & Rawlings, L. (2024). *Accelerating Gender Equality Through Social Protection*. World Bank.
- Ali, S., & Khan, R. (2022). Community-based approaches to women's empowerment and violence prevention in South Asia. Journal of Gender Studies, 31(4), 567–582. https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2022.2045678
- Allan-Blitz, L. T., Olson, R., & Tran, Q. (2023). Assessment of microfinance interventions and intimate partner violence: a systematic review and meta-analysis. *JAMA* network open, 6(1), e2253552-e2253552. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2022.53552">https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2022.53552</a>
- Allen, E. M., Munala, L., & Ward-Rannow, J. (2024). Do gender-based violence interventions consider the impacts of climate change? A systematic review. *Trauma*, *Violence*, & *Abuse*, *25*(3), 2421-2435. https://doi.org/10.1177/15248380231214793
- Cornwall, A., & Rivas, A. M. (2015). From "gender equality" and "women's empowerment" to global justice: Reclaiming a transformative agenda for gender and development. *Third World Quarterly*, *36*(2), 396–415. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1013341">https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1013341</a>
- Diop, N. J., & Askew, I. (2009). The effectiveness of a community-based education program on abandoning female genital mutilation/cutting in Senegal. *Studies in family planning*, 40(4), 307-318. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4465.2009.00213.x
- Escalante, L. E., & Maisonnave, H. (2022). Gender and Covid-19: Are women bearing the brunt? A case study for Bolivia. *Journal of International Development*, 34(4), 754-770. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.3603">https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.3603</a>

- Fleming, P. J., McCleary-Sills, J., Morton, M., Levtov, R., Heilman, B., & Barker, G. (2015). Risk factors for men's lifetime perpetration of physical violence against intimate partners: results from the international men and gender equality survey (IMAGES) in eight countries. *PloS one*, 10(3), e0118639. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0118639">https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0118639</a>
- Garcia-Moreno, C., & Amin, A. (2019). The sustainable development goals, violence, and women's and children's health. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 97(9), 614–621. <a href="https://doi.org/10.2471/BLT.19.234088">https://doi.org/10.2471/BLT.19.234088</a>
- Gulesci, S., Puente-Beccar, M., & Ubfal, D. (2021). Can youth empowerment programs reduce violence against girls during the COVID-19 pandemic?. *Journal of development economics*, 153, 102716. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2021.102716
- Gupta, J., Falb, K. L., Lehmann, H., Kpebo, D., Xuan, Z., Hossain, M., ... & Annan, J. (2013). Gender norms and economic empowerment intervention to reduce intimate partner violence against women in rural Côte d'Ivoire: a randomized controlled pilot study. *BMC international health and human rights*, 13(1), 46. https://doi.org/10.1186/1472-698x-13-46
- Gutiérrez, D., Martin, G., & Ñopo, H. (2020). The Coronavirus and the challenges for women's work in Latin America. *UNDP Latin America and the Caribbean*, 18, 142-166.
- Hanson-DeFusco, J. (2024). Dissemination and Implementation Gaps in Policy Efforts to Prevention and Responses to Female Statutory Rape: A Case Study Analysis of the 2006–2018 Liberian Sexual and Gender-Based Violence Referral Pathway. *Global Studies Quarterly*, 4(2), ksae039. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1093/isagsq/ksae039">https://doi.org/10.1093/isagsq/ksae039</a>
- Kabeer, N. (1999). Resources, agency, achievements: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment. *Development and Change*, 30(3), 435–464. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7660.00125">https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7660.00125</a>
- Keith, T., Hyslop, F., & Richmond, R. (2023). A systematic review of interventions to reduce gender-based violence among women and girls in sub-Saharan Africa. *Trauma*, *Violence*, & *Abuse*, *24*(3), 1443-1464. https://doi.org/10.1177/15248380211068136
- Klugman, J., Hanmer, L., Twigg, S., Hasan, T., McCleary-Sills, J., & Santamaria, J. (2014). *Voice and agency: Empowering women and girls for shared prosperity*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Koris, A., Steven, S., Akika, V., Puls, C., Okoro, C., Bitrus, D., ... & Stark, L. (2022). Opportunities and challenges in preventing violence against adolescent girls through gender transformative, whole-family support programming in Northeast Nigeria. *Conflict and health*, 16(1), 26. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-022-00458-w
- LaFree, G., Dugan, L., & Korte, R. (2009). The impact of British counterterrorist strategies on political violence in Northern Ireland: Comparing deterrence and backlash models. *Criminology*, 47(1), 17-45. <a href="https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2009.00138.x">https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2009.00138.x</a>
- Lwamba, E., Shisler, S., Ridlehoover, W., Kupfer, M., Tshabalala, N., Nduku, P., ... & Snilstveit, B. (2022). Strengthening women's empowerment and gender equality in fragile contexts towards peaceful and inclusive societies: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Campbell systematic reviews*, 18(1), e1214. https://doi.org/10.1002/cl2.1214

- Maruo, M., Arango, D. J., Grossi, A. M. D. M., & Contreras-Urbina, M. (2023). Addressing Gender-Based Violence to Accelerate Gender Equality. *Gender Thematic Policy Notes Series: Issues and Practice. World Bank, Washington, DC.*
- Morton, M., & Montgomery, P. (2011). Youth empowerment programs for improving self-efficacy and self-esteem of adolescents. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, 7(1), 1-80. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1002/CL2.71">https://doi.org/10.1002/CL2.71</a>
- O'Brien, J. E., & Macy, R. J. (2016). Culturally specific interventions for female survivors of gender-based violence. *Aggression and violent behavior*, 31, 48-60. <a href="https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1016/j.avb.2016.07.005">https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1016/j.avb.2016.07.005</a>
- Sarnquist, C. C., Ouma, L., Lang'at, N., Lubanga, C., Sinclair, J., Baiocchi, M. T., & Cornfield, D. N. (2021). The effect of combining business training, microfinance, and support group participation on economic status and intimate partner violence in an unplanned settlement of Nairobi, Kenya. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 36(7-8), 3903-3921. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260518779067">https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260518779067</a>
- Shell-Duncan, B., Njue, C., & Muteshi-Stratchan, J. (2017). Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting: sharing data and experiences to accelerate eradication and improve care: part 2. *BMC Reproductive Health*. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12978-017-0361-y
- Taylor, G., & Pereznieto, P. (2014). Review of evaluation approaches and methods used by interventions on women and girls' economic empowerment. London: ODI.
- UN Women. (2020). The shadow pandemic: Violence against women and girls and COVID-19. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/infocus/in-focus-gender-equality-in-covid-19-response">https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/infocus/in-focus-gender-equality-in-covid-19-response</a>
- Vyas, S., & Watts, C. (2009). How does economic empowerment affect women's risk of intimate partner violence in low and middle income countries? A systematic review of published evidence. *Journal of International Development: The Journal of the Development Studies Association*, 21(5), 577-602. https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.1500
- Wood, L., Schrag, R. V., Baumler, E., Hairston, D., Guillot-Wright, S., Torres, E., & Temple, J. R. (2022). On the front lines of the COVID-19 pandemic: Occupational experiences of the intimate partner violence and sexual assault workforce. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 37(11-12), NP9345-NP9366. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520983304">https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520983304</a>
- World Health Organization. (2021). Violence against women prevalence estimates, 2018. Geneva: WHO
- Yount, K. M., Cheong, Y. F., Khan, Z., Miedema, S. S., & Naved, R. T. (2021). Women's participation in microfinance: effects on women's agency, exposure to partner violence, and mental health. *Social Science & Medicine*, 270, 113686. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1016/j.socscimed.2021.113686