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# Theology of sexual purity: Reimagining child marriages within the white garment churches in Zimbabwe

## ABSTRACT

*This article investigates the role of religious doctrine in sustaining child marriage in Zimbabwe, a practice that persists, despite its prohibition by the Constitutional Court in 2016. While existing literature often attributes the prevalence of child marriage to poverty and economic hardship, this research identifies the white garment churches' theology of sexual purity as a significant and underexamined driver. The study argues that this theology, synthesised from pre-Christian African cultural norms on sexuality and literalist interpretations of biblical texts, actively legitimises and perpetuates the practice. Furthermore, it examines how a mutually protective relationship between the white garment churches and the ruling ZANU-PF party has fostered an environment of impunity, allowing perpetrators to evade legal consequences. Through a descriptive and hermeneutic phenomenological analysis of qualitative data, this article uncovers a direct correlation between this specific religious ideology and the normalisation of child marriage as a form of gender-based violence.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Within the religious landscape of Southern Africa, church doctrines can paradoxically facilitate rather than prevent gender-based violence (GBV) . This is starkly illustrated, for instance, in South Africa, where GBV constitutes a national crisis, and trust is eroded especially when church leaders are

implicated as perpetrators, a profound betrayal of pastoral duty (Phalatsi-Shilubana 2025). Focusing on Zimbabwe, this article interrogates GBV as manifested in child marriages within the white garment churches. While extant scholarship has predominantly attributed the prevalence of child marriage in Zimbabwe to socio-economic determinants such as poverty and unemployment (Mbaradza 2019; Dudzai *et al.* 2023), this article posits an additional, salient driver, namely the unchecked theology of sexual purity within white garment churches. This article contends that this specific theology, synthesised from a literalist interpretation of biblical texts and the inculturation of pre-Christian Shona norms on sexuality, provides a legitimising platform for the practice. Furthermore, it is argued that a symbiotic political-religious alliance between the ruling ZANU-PF party and these churches creates a culture of impunity, allowing perpetrators within congregations to evade legal consequences. Consequently, the institutional reluctance to enforce the law is not merely a governance failure but a direct function of this enduring political accommodation. Reason to this submission is that, despite the 2016 Constitutional Court ruling, a key initiative in Zimbabwe's legal framework against child marriage (Dziva & Mazambani 2017), the practice persists, exposing girls aged under 18 years to significant harm, mostly within the white garment churches in Zimbabwe. Research on the Johane Marange Apostolic Church (JMAC), one of the major white garment churches, found that its doctrine provides a conducive environment for the abuse of women and the girl child under the guise of the sect's "sacredness" (Dudzai *et al.* 2023). Dudzai *et al.* (2023) also observe that adult members facilitated forced and teen marriages to older men and "highly safeguarded within religious cultism" in this church. This article widely views the relationship between the ruling party ZANU-PF and white garment churches analogised as a "marriage of convenience" (Musoni 2019) as a significant factor impeding the enforcement of child marriage laws, as the government is often reluctant to challenge the practices of a key constituency (Musoni 2019).

## 2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Methodologically, this article employed the descriptive phenomenological approach for data collection and hermeneutic phenomenology for interpretation of the data collected. The two approaches were selected because they complement each other. Using descriptive phenomenology, the researcher describes the lived experiences of an individual without analysing the data (Kasomo 2012:11). Employing the descriptive phenomenological approach suggests that what the participants provided as knowledge about the phenomena should be taken as authentic without questions. This, therefore, suggests that the researcher's perceptions are set aside or "bracketed" to enter into the lifeworld of the research participant without any presuppositions

(Kasomo 2012:11). For Chitando (1998:105), descriptive phenomenology is used to describe religion in such a way that its "uniqueness" can be preserved and not "reduced" to anything else. The descriptive phenomenological approach allows the phenomena to speak for themselves. During the research, the researcher temporarily suspends issues pertaining to external validity (Chitando *et al.* 2014:110). However, an exclusive reliance on a descriptive phenomenological approach risks reducing academic inquiry to a form of confessional research that implicitly positions the believer's account as beyond critique. This limitation stems from the Husserlian emphasis on the perceived reality of the individual as the primary datum for understanding human motivation (Lopez & Willis 2004:727). Thus, the epistemological claim that essences can be abstracted from lived experience without critical interpretation has been widely challenged. Scholars argue that a purely descriptive account is problematic, as it often rests on the assumption of human beings as fully autonomous agents, solely responsible for shaping their environment and thus requiring no external analytical intrusion (Lopez & Willis 2004:728). To navigate this methodological tension between capturing the authenticity of lived experience and interrogating its deeper meaning, this article adopts a hybrid phenomenological framework. Descriptive phenomenology guides the data collection to ensure participants' experiences are documented with fidelity and minimal preconception. The analysis then transitions to a hermeneutic phenomenological approach, which facilitates the necessary critical interpretation and explication of the meanings embedded within those lived experiences (Horrigan-Kelly 2016).

The term "hermeneutics" finds its etymological origin in Hermes, the Greek deity who interpreted and conveyed messages between gods and mortals (Huffel 2008:3). As a methodological framework, hermeneutics is fundamentally a process of interpretation, dedicated to revealing meanings that are typically concealed within human experience and social relations (Pernecky & Jamal 2010:23). In applying this to the phenomenon of child marriages within Zimbabwe's white garment churches, hermeneutic phenomenology provides a critical analytical lens. It moves beyond a mere description of the practice to instead interrogate the factors that have sustained it within the JMAC, despite its condemnation by other denominations and its prohibition under Zimbabwean law. This approach enables an investigation into the church's theology on sexuality and the church's mutual relationship with the ruling party ZANU-PF as central platforms that have allowed perpetrators to evade accountability, even after the 2016 constitutional court ruling against child marriages. This study was conducted under an ethically approved protocol from the University's Research Ethics Committee, which mandated a rigorous consent procedure and guaranteed the full anonymity of all participants, both from within and outside the church congregations.

# 3. PROPAGATION OF A THEOLOGY OF SEXUAL PURITY WITHIN THE WHITE GARMENT CHURCHES IN ZIMBABWE

Child marriage is a serious issue in Zimbabwe, and it is most prevalent among the white garment (*Vapositori venguwo chena*), evangelical denominations with millions of followers across the country (Mavhinga 2022:1). In 2016, the Constitutional Court decision declared child marriages unconstitutional and set 18 as the minimum marriage age for girls and boys, without exceptions (Dziva & Mazambani 2017). However, despite this constitutional court decision, members of the JMAC continued to give young girls below the age of 18 years to marriage (Mabemba & Ntombela 2023:15). During interviews, a member of JMAC told the researcher that, as soon as a girl reaches puberty, any man in the church can claim her for a wife (Interview, 22 June 2024). Such practice causes untold suffering and long-lasting harm to the girls such as sexual abuse; forced into pregnancy and labour; exposed to serious reproductive health risk, including risk of death, and denied an education (Mavhinga 2022:1).

This analysis contends that the doctrinal tenets of white garment churches, notably the Johane Marange church's political alignment with the ZANU-PF party, function as critical, interlocking mechanisms perpetuating the practice of child marriage. The article draws on empirical interview data (2023-2024) to demonstrate how a theologically framed "sexual purity" doctrine serves to institutionalise this practice. This doctrine is shown to be a hybrid ideology, synthesising indigenous Shona norms such as endogamous marriage (*rooranai ve matongo*) and the commodification of virginity through the *mombe yechimanda* bride price with selectively applied biblical literalism. The resultant normative environment not only sustains but also actively legitimises child marriage, operating in a context enabled by the churches' political affiliations.

## 3.1 Marrying from the same neighbourhood

In the Zimbabwean Shona traditions, marriage has some cultural aspects that must be met for a marriage to be regarded as proper (Mbaradza 2019:111). This entails that certain protocols, including getting a mate only from one's neighbourhood (*rooranai ve matongo*), must be met before being pronounced an authentic marriage.

This article argues that the Shona concept of marrying from your neighbourhood seems to be one of the platforms on which the theology of sexual purity is thriving within the Johane Marange Apostolic church in Zimbabwe. For instance, the idiom *rooranai ve matongo* (marrying from one's neighbourhood) has influenced the JMA church to propagate the teaching that

emphasises marrying someone of the same beliefs and doctrine. Congregates are encouraged to marry within the church setting. However, through interviews, this article observed that, in the same churches, only a girl child was not allowed to marry someone of a different faith, whereas a boy child was permitted to marry someone of a different faith (Interview, 22 July 2023). In fact, boys were encouraged to engage with and marry girls of different faiths, in order to grow the church. The fact that boys were encouraged to marry outside of the church presents a significant obstacle for many young girls in the church who are unable to find a suitable young man to marry. In such situations, getting married to an already married church man becomes the only option for these young girls in the church; hence, the proliferation of polygamous marriages within the above church in Zimbabwe. The teaching on marrying from the same church seems to be on the men's agenda to keep these young girls for themselves. This is evidenced by the fact that, while the girl child was denied an opportunity to get a mate from outside the church setting, boys were allowed to marry from outside the church. This article argues that there is a need to abolish such doctrines that promote gender disparities and to abolish detrimental church norms that diminish and limit girls' choices, leaving them with no option but to embrace polygamous and child marriages. In addition to the church customs of *rooranai ve matongo*, or marrying within the church, the church emphasises that a holy marriage is one in which a woman maintains her virginity until marriage.

## 3.2 The sacrality of virginity before marriage

Within the Johane Marange church, female virginity is constructed as a sacred and socially esteemed virtue, central to a woman's moral identity and future marital harmony (Musevenzi 2017). As supported by interview data, a woman who marries as a virgin is accorded significant respect within the marital union. This article, however, reveals a distinct gendered dichotomy. While adolescent males face no commensurate sexual restrictions, the imperative of premarital chastity falls exclusively upon females. This imposes a unilateral sexual morality that socialises young women to believe their worth and a successful sexual life are contingent upon the preservation of their virginity. This article posits that this paradigm is deeply rooted in the Shona religious world view, which sacralises female virginity. Consequently, the preservation of virginity is not merely a personal choice, but a culturally cherished, honoured, and rewarded practice (Matswetu & Bhana 2018:11). This cultural perpetuation is reinforced by tangible incentives; for instance, the parents of a virgin bride traditionally receive a symbolic bridewealth gift, known among the Shona-Karanga as *Mombe yechimanda*, a beast from the husband's family.

The terminology itself is profoundly symbolic. The word *chimanda* is derived from *mhanda*, referring to the fork of a tree where branches diverge,

which serves as a metaphor for the female reproductive organ. From this concept, an unmarried woman is termed a *mhandara* (a virgin). The phrase "*chikwama chababa*" (father's wallet) is used interchangeably as another symbolic representation. This symbolism is ritually reinforced through cultural practices such as the Jiti rites, a pedagogical technique for inculcating adolescent conduct. A well-known Shona hymn, "*Chengeta chikwama chababa chinemadhora*" ("Keep your father's wallet pure, for inside it holds money"), is performed during these ceremonies. Such songs elevate and transmit societal norms and values, explicitly linking female sexual purity to familial honour and economic metaphor, thereby ensuring its continued cultural significance.

Against this background, virginity testing continues to be a widespread practice in the JMAC in Zimbabwe, typically administered by female elders within the congregation (Musevenzi 2017). As Dudzai *et al.* (2023:4) document, this practice categorises adolescent females into a binary of "virgins" and "non-virgins". The results are subsequently announced to the entire congregation by a male church leader. Empirical research, including an interview conducted on 1 April 2024, elucidates that this public declaration is a deliberate institutional strategy serving three distinct social and religious functions. First, it functions as a mechanism of religious exclusion, barring those who have "failed" the test from partaking in holy communion. Secondly, it operates as a disciplinary technique, using public shaming to instil fear and deter premarital sexual activity among other adolescents. Thirdly, and most critically for social mobility within the church, it serves to eliminate these young women from the pool of candidates deemed eligible for marriage within the community, thereby directly linking perceived sexual purity to marital prospects. This article argues that such practice is indistinguishable from violation of one's religious right and discrimination against female congregants in the church. It is discrimination against female congregants, because only girls are subjected to this test, whereas boys are exonerated from such practice.

Adding to the three functions mentioned above, a previous study observed that a girl child was not given an equal opportunity to education as a boy child did. It is important to note that education is a fundamental human right and should be accessible to all, regardless of gender or religious affiliation. However, a study conducted by Dudzai *et al.* (2023:4) found that the church doctrine within the JMAC provides a conducive environment for the abuse of women and the girl child by subtly discouraging girl child education beyond primary school level. Thus, a girl child is allowed to go to school only to acquire basic knowledge such as reading and writing. The argument raised by the JMAC is that boys are given an opportunity to pursue their education beyond primary education, because they are breadwinners. For this church,

men are the breadwinners and pay lobola for marriage. Women and girls were not allowed to get a formal employment in this church. This article argues that denying girls to pursue their education and to get formal employment are fertile grounds for the violation of women and girls' rights within the white garment churches in Zimbabwe. Accordingly, such violation against human rights negatively impacted the chances of girls reaching their full potential and their dreams, hence increasing their vulnerability to child marriage as it is the only option left for them to do. Another factor that has created a high platform for child marriages within the white garment churches in Zimbabwe is the church's literal interpretation of some biblical texts.

## 3.3 Literal interpretation of the Bible promoting child marriages in Zimbabwe

Interviews with the JMAC report that the literalist approach to written Scripture is central to child marriages within the church. The JMAC misread certain portions of the Bible, in order to support child-marriage practices in Zimbabwe. One male JMAC leader quotes the Bible verse *verbatim* and opines that early child marriage is permissible:

> Now therefore kill every male among the little ones and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him. But all the women and children that have not known a man by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves (Num. 31:17-18 [KJV]).

The literal interpretation of the above portion of Scripture, namely that women and children, who have not known a man by lying with him, should be kept alive for themselves, meant that virgin young girls and even mature girls who have never had intercourse with any man should be kept and get married by church men within the JMAC in Zimbabwe. Another male church leader of JMAC had this to say:

> The Bible does not specify any age requirement for a person to be married; rather, it speaks in general terms of marriage as of those who are 'grown up' (Ruth 1:12-13). In our understanding a girl who has started menstrual cycles is grown up. After puberty, a girl has met the condition to get married. In our reading of the Bible boys were not considered 'men', and therefore cannot marry, until the age of 20 and girls are not considered 'women' until when they start their menstrual cycles (Interview, 15 July 2023).

For this church, a girl who has started menstrual cycles is ready to be taken for a wife. Asking another male informant about "marriageable age", this is what he said:

> The biblical culture set marriageable age for boys at 20 (Numbers 1:18) and girls were considered marriageable after they started their menstrual cycles. Usually, most girls begin their menstrual cycles between the age of 12 to 14 depending on individuals (Interview, 20 June 2023).

This research has shown that, unfortunately, women were also involved in the enforcement of child-marriage practice by participating in the virginity testing. The question is: Why would women participate in the enforcement of sexual abuse of their young girls without raising their voices against such practice? This question can be answered when one understands the power dynamics that prevails within the JMAC in Zimbabwe. In an interview (23 June 2023), responding to the question as to why women are not raising their voices against child marriages, a female congregant of the JMAC quoted Peter 3:1-7, which states that a woman was supposed to submit to her husband. Women in the JMAC understand that all decision-making duties are for men. This literal interpretation of Bible verses has put women on the receiving end and men as decision-makers, making decisions that affect women and their children. Another woman stated:

> Through the reading of the Bible, we now understand that us women, were made from man's rib only to be men's helpers and to submit to our husbands. Man is the head of the family. Men were created to make decisions of the homes and us women were made to support those decisions. Because we are just helpers, we cannot decide for our own cause or decide for our children. Our husband holds the key to every decision-making and so is the case in every family (Interview, 10 July 2023).

The phrase "submit to your husband" means uncontested submissiveness, without questioning the authority and decision of men, even when the husband is abusive (Mabemba & Ntombela 2023:14). This article, therefore, observes that the above biblical verses are twisted and used to silence the voices of women and girls within the JMAC in Zimbabwe.

In this church, women are not allowed to occupy church leadership positions (Dudzai *et al.* 2023), making it very difficult for them to raise their voices against men's decision of giving young girls to marriage. In another interview, one married woman of the JMAC had this to say:

> In our church, there are no leadership positions for women. Women only act as counsellors giving counselling to girls for marriage and act as midwives. In our church women also do not preach at church

> gatherings. The duty of a woman is to look after the husband and the children. Most importantly, our duty as women is to give birth to many children as the Bible commands when it says '... bear as many children as the sand that is on the seashore (Genesis 1:22)' *berekanai muwande muzadze Nyika se musheche wegugwa*.

The roles of women within the white garment churches are those on the periphery and restricted to influential leadership positions (Mapuranga 2013). Accordingly, women within the white garment churches are still regarded as subjects. The Bible has been used by male church leaders to keep women as subjects and objects within the vast majority of white garment churches in Zimbabwe. Thus, women could not raise their voices against men, because they were taught that men represent God on earth. Equally, all male members of the Johane Marange white garment church are taught that they should guard against repeating Adam's mistake. In one sermon during data collection, a preacher of the JMAC made the following claim:

> Men, you should always be in control and make decisions for your families. Learn from Adam's mistakes. Adam allowed his wife Eve to lead him when she suggested that eating the forbidden fruit will not lead to death. Look!!! Today people are dying because Adam listened to his wife and ate the forbidden fruit. Every man must take charge of his home. All your wives must take orders from you … (Participant observation, 30 November 2024).

This article argues that this patriarchal ideology that approves male headship has been highly instrumental in creating platforms were women remain passive recipients, while men make ultimate decisions for the families and in the church. The article further argues that, because women are not consulted on matters of leadership or even marriage, young girls are left vulnerable to sexual abuse in the hands of male leaders in the church. Thus, the fact that women are non-decision-makers in the church, such situations leave women with no platform to raise their voices against child marriages in Zimbabwe.

## 4. WHITE GARMENT CHURCHES AND THE ZANU-PF RELIGIO-POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP

This article posits that the protection of children from forced marriage in Zimbabwe is established not through a singular child protection statute, but via a composite legal framework comprising constitutional provisions and specific legislation. This domestic framework aligns with international human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which enshrine the principle of free and full consent in marriage (Muchacha *et al.* 2021). The Constitution of Zimbabwe guarantees children's rights and

mandates that state policy prioritises their best interests (Benque 2021). This constitutional mandate is operationalised by legislation such as the Marriages Act, which was comprehensively amended in 2022 to modernise the legal regime governing marriage (Government of Zimbabwe 2022). Nevertheless, the persistence of child marriages, particularly within certain indigenous apostolic churches, reveals a stark contradiction between this robust legal architecture and deeply entrenched sociocultural norms(Mushunje *et al.* 2024). Within this context of implementation failure, this article examines the symbiotic relationship between the ruling party ZANU-PF and the white garment churches, arguing that this politico-religious alliance functions as a platform that shields perpetrators from legal accountability.

The enduring alliance between Zimbabwe's ruling party, Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and white garment churches (*Vapositori*), a relationship established during the Mugabe era, functions as a strategic "marriage of convenience" (Musoni 2019). This arrangement appears to be founded on mutual political expediency rather than on shared ideological conviction. It has demonstrated significant resilience, persisting through the political transition from Robert Mugabe to the presidency of Emmerson Mnangagwa. Within this symbiotic framework, the ruling party engages with the *Vapositori* to secure moral legitimacy and mobilise electoral support. This dynamic is exemplified by the public participation of senior figures, including President Mnangagwa and Vice President Constantino Chiwenga, in church gatherings, a tactic aimed at leveraging the congregations' substantial public following (Musoni 2019).

In return for their political endorsement, the *Vapositori* churches receive official recognition and a privileged status, operating as a *de facto* "official Church" and enjoying protection from state interference, a position that more critical mainstream churches have lost (Ndlovu & Muringa 2025). Scholars argue that indigenous churches have been co-opted by the state and now function as an extension or subsidiary of the ruling ZANU-PF party. This symbiotic pact fosters a culture of impunity, where the state's reluctance to enforce laws against harmful practices such as child marriage within these communities stems from a desire not to destabilise a relationship that provides crucial political support (Ndlovu & Muringa 2025). During Mnangagwa and Chiwenga's visits to the white garment Mapostori (the Apostles) shrines, the two presidia never openly condemned the practice of child marriage and the churches' custom of not encouraging girls to attain education (Mpofu & Ncube 2023). This article, therefore, argues that, when a religious institution becomes an arm of the state, its internal power structures are reinforced, and its leaders are shielded from legal consequences, making it profoundly difficult to hold perpetrators of crimes accountable.

This analysis contends that the strategic alliance between the ZANU-PF party and the white garment churches has profound consequences for both democratic norms and freedom of religion in Zimbabwe. The co-option of religious institutions for state projects neuters their prophetic voice and critical function. As these churches assume a stance of "faithful obedience" to the ruling party, they abdicate their traditional role as the moral conscience of society. Moreover, the mobilisation of religious networks for partisan ends blurs the distinction between spiritual and political authority, effectively compromising the autonomy of congregants' political choices. This symbiosis fosters an uneven religious landscape, where state patronage of compliant groups marginalises independent religious voices and critics of the political status quo. Consequently, the relationship reinforces a political culture built on patronage and loyalty rather than on accountability and performance, thereby hindering democratic consolidation. A critical manifestation of this arrangement is the state's failure to prosecute perpetrators of child marriages within influential white garment congregations. This impunity elucidates the President's consistent reluctance to condemn such practices during official visits to these churches. The article concludes that, despite a definitive Constitutional Court ruling against child marriage, the practice persists within these sects, shielded by the protective patronage of the political establishment.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This article discussed factors fuelling the unremitting rise of child marriages within the white garment churches in Zimbabwe. It was noted that the JMAC has propagated a theology of sexual purity. This theology of sexual purity emanates from the church's inculcation of African traditional norms and taboos on marriage and the church's literal interpretation of certain biblical texts. Some Scripture verses were used to promulgate child marriages within the white garment churches in Zimbabwe. The Shona traditional teaching on marrying from your neighbourhood, which was interpreted to mean marrying someone from the same faith and doctrine, has left girls with no other option but to get married to the already married church men. Adding to that, the Shona traditional culture of subjecting girls to a virginity test prior to marriage was inculcated by the JMAC as the church advocates for a theology of sexual purity flagged as a negative practice reducing girls only to sex objects. Due to this theology of sexual purity, young girls were given to marriage at a tender age on the pretext of protecting them from indulging into sex prior to marriage. The findings of this article posit that early child marriages incapacitate the victims, as they are left with no other choice but to depend on their husbands for sustenance. The findings of this article also observe that women of the JMAC were not raising their voices against the child-marriage practice,

because the doctrine of the church does not allow women to speak against the authority of man.

The symbiotic relationship between some churches and the ZANU-PF government has impeded the legal prosecution of perpetrators of child marriage. Despite a 2016 Constitutional Court ruling that established 18 as the minimum legal age for marriage, the JMAC has persisted in sanctioning underage unions. This article observes that, during presidential visits, these practices were never publicly condemned, a strategic silence likely intended to secure the substantial political support these white-garment churches have provided to the ruling party since the Mugabe era. Consequently, the government's failure to enforce the constitutional ruling has facilitated the unremitting prevalence of child marriage in Zimbabwe.

## 6. RECOMMENDATIONS

This article presents some recommendations to mitigate the perennial problem of child marriages in Zimbabwe. It argues that the solutions to early marriages require a multifaceted approach involving various stakeholders, including the government, religious leaders, communities, families, and women themselves to speak against such practices that violate girls' human rights. The reason for this is that it is a fundamental right for an individual to choose a marriage partner. It is also a fundamental right for both girls and boys to attain education for economic empowerment. The promotion to equal education for all children is key to unseat child marriages in Zimbabwe. This article also recommends more programmes that empower a girl child. By "empowerment for girls" I mean providing girls with opportunities to develop life skills, critical thinking, and decision-making abilities. It was observed throughout this article that girls in these churches are at the receiving end; hence, this article advocates for empowerment and equipping girls with appropriate knowledge so that they can stand for their rights. This means to empower them to assert their rights and make informed choices about their lives. This article argues that there is need to educate girls about the importance of delaying marriage until they are economically, emotionally, and mentally ready. In light of the findings, this article recommends that the Government of Zimbabwe ensure the rigorous and impartial enforcement of existing legislation prohibiting child marriage. The enforcement of such laws will ensure that perpetrators of child marriages are held accountable. Lastly, the article recommends that community engagement programmes be intensified; engaging with community leaders, religious leaders, and influential individuals to challenge theologies and social norms that perpetuate child marriages; promote community dialogues, awareness campaigns, and positive role models to shift attitudes and behaviours.

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