

**Gender Based Violence against Men in Zambia Compound
of Choma, Southern Province.**

By

JANET MUNDANDO

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF
ARTS IN GENDER STUDIES**

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DECLARATION

I, JANET MUNDANDO do hereby declare that this dissertation is a product of my individual effort and that scholarly content obtained from other sources has been acknowledged. This dissertation has not been submitted previously at this University or indeed any other University elsewhere for any qualification.

Signature

Date:

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This dissertation by **JANET MUNDANDO** has been approved as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies by the University of Zambia.

Examiners:

Signature..... Date.....

Signature..... Date.....

Signature..... Date.....

ABSTRACT

While it is true that most gender-based violence occur against women, it is not true that women are the only victims and that men are the only perpetrators. Women are perpetrators of this violence against men just as men are. The difference however is that the rate at which women perpetrate this violence is low as compared to that of men. It is the bias in research that has led to the framing of gender-based violence as solely perpetrated by men against women portraying the latter as only victims. This study was set to explore gender-based violence against men from the lenses of the perpetrators (women) and the victims (men) of this violence in Zambia compound of Choma in the Southern province of Zambia. The study was focused on the causes and types of this violence. This was a qualitative based research, taking an exploratory descriptive design. The sample was composed of fifty-nine (59) married women and twenty-one (21) married men respectively, making a total sample of eighty (80) respondents. Purposive sampling was used to recruit participants to the study. Data was analysed qualitatively as it was codified and categorised according to themes as they appeared in the data collection procedure. Themes and patterns were identified from the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews to generate descriptions of the phenomenon under study. The objectives of this study were: to establish the motives wives have for their violence against their husbands, to describe the ways wives exhibit violence against their husbands and to assess the characteristics associated with violent wives. The study was therefore poised to answer three questions emanating from the above objectives: (i) what causes the violence of women towards men? (ii) What are the types of violence that women use on men? (iii) What are the characteristics of women who are violent to their husbands? The study findings revealed that women are violent towards men and this was confirmed by both men and women recruited to this study. The study revealed that women had a number of reasons for becoming violent towards men including the following: poor financial support, infidelity, beer drinking, non-involvement in household chores, suspicions and jealousy, husband's late coming and dependence of husbands on their wives (lacking source of income). The types of violence that women used were grouped into physical i.e. fighting, beating, burning and breaking household goods; and psychological i.e. denial of sex, insults and yelling and use of juju. According to this study, relatively all women regardless of their socio-economic status were violent to their husbands, though the degree of violence differed to some extent. Highly educated women were relatively less violent and so were older women. While men and women agreed that women were violent, there was a slight difference in reasons why that happened. For example, what women termed 'poor financial support'; men blamed it on women and termed it 'materialism'. Neither women nor men cited reasons that would implicate them as perpetrators of this violence. The key features of female violence as established by this research are that it was always out of provocation and that it was purely taken as a corrective measure. Gender-based violence against men is real and this was confirmed by both women as its perpetrators and men as its victims.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my late mum, Christine Mwanamombo Chilamwisa for laying a firm foundation for my education. As early as first grade, I could tell that my mum would not settle for anything less than excellence and she gave me no option to that. I learnt since then that I was not destined for mediocrity in as far as academics were concerned. I miss my mum so much and often wish she was here to see how far the seed she planted in me has grown. Every other educational achievement I make brings back memories of my mum and while others are celebrating with their mothers for the same achievements as mine; my eyes are full of tears wishing my mum was alive to celebrate with me also. I have promised myself to live to my mum's expectations, not to compromise my intellectual abilities but to go even beyond what she would have wanted of me had she been alive.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

Chapter one contains the introductory part of this dissertation. It discusses the background to the problem; the statement of the problem; the purpose of the study; the objectives of the study; the research questions; the significance of the study and the theoretical framework. This chapter justifies the need for the study and therefore sets the direction and tone of the study.

1.1 Background

Gender-based violence (GBV) has been framed and understood exclusively as a women's issue. In today's language, the phrase gender-based violence is almost synonymous with abuse of women and girls. While most attention is given to women who are abused by men, the latter are often overlooked victims of this type of violence. In 1993, the United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women gave the first official definition of gender-based violence in two separate articles as follows: Article 1: "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life."

Article 2: the second article was an extension of the earlier one and it states that, "gender-based violence encompasses but is not limited to acts of physical, sexual and psychological violence within the family, child sexual abuse, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation, rape and sexual abuse, sexual harassment in the workplace and educational institutions, trafficking in women and forced prostitution." In its subsequent assembly in 1995, the United Nations stated that, "violence was an intentional act, either threatened or actual against oneself, another person and which either resulted in or had a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation" (UN, 1995). In 2010, the Zambia Central Statistical Office (CSO) defined gender-based violence as, "any physical, mental, social, or economic abuse and threats of such acts against a person because

of that person's gender." A reconciliation of these definitions shows that gender-based violence includes all forms of violence involving women and girls; men and boys perpetrated based on their gender.

It could be deduced from the above paragraph that violence is multifaceted. Even though the term violence is mostly associated to its physical sense such as beating and fighting, in the context of this research, the meaning of the term violence extends to psychological and economic abuses. When this violence is directed to a person on account of that person's gender, it then becomes GBV.

GBV occurs both in the private (home) and public spheres (work place). This research however is focussing on the violence in the home specifically between married couples which is sometimes referred to as domestic violence. Men and women interact both in the home and at work places but this interaction is higher in the home hence this is where victims of violence are more likely to be found. The research attempts to improve the understanding of the dynamics of domestic violence against men by showing how this violence is conducted, its causes and the type of women who are violent towards their partners. As seen in the foregoing paragraph, domestic violence is more than merely a question of hitting or aggression. In fact this aspect is what qualifies the existence of female violence or male victimization by females because most of it is not physical but psychological. The Pan African Health Organization (2003) argues that psychological violence is even more harmful because it tends to breed, impeding the establishment of healthy and rewarding relationships in future; in extreme cases, victims vent their frustrations on children and innocent people around them thus transmitting and intensifying the negative experiences of those around them male or female.

Domestic violence in the context of this research is mostly about situational behaviour and/or expressive violence. Research suggests that there are different motivations for the use of violence. Violence could be 'expressive' or 'instrumental.' Expressive violence is that violence which happens in the heat of anger thus resorting to violence to get one's point across. Violence becomes instrumental when it is used for purposes of controlling, subduing and/or reproducing subordination. Much of the domestic violence perpetrated by women is expressive and comes out of desperation to be heard. It is rare that women use violence as an instrument of power and control, yet it is also possible. Instrumental violence is common

among men, who appear to choose to use violence against their partners when they fear that their control in their relationships and over their partner is breaking down. Men's use of violence can be understood as restorative and retributive – a tool to regain their position of control and dominance in the relationship (Kimmel, 2002). Instrumental violence is characterised by an individual exercising power and control over another by isolation from friends and family, control over money, belittling, diminishing of self esteem, embarrassment and physical violence among others. It is a systematic pattern of control and fear, as opposed to an isolated expression of frustration or anger common among women.

According to the United States Bureau of Justice Statistics Crime Data Brief (2003), men account for approximately 15 percent of the victims of reported intimate partner violence perpetrated by women. This means that the remaining 85percent of victims are women. These findings were confirmed by another research publication in the following year 2004 in which Dubin quotes figures from the Justice Department's studies, which are conducted without bias, and which are based on police reports, FBI reports, and the National Crime Victimization Survey that "85 percent of intimate partner violence is committed against women and that only five to fifteen percent of intimate violence is committed against men" (Dubin, 2004).

Central Statistics Office (CSO) conducts regular research in Zambia and its report in the Gender Statistical Report (2010:16) states in part, that, "...more males (20 percent) than females (12 percent) indicated ever having physically hurt their spouses...20 percent of males ...and 11 percent of females in rural areas indicated ever physically hurting their spouses." The citations above show that it is no longer the debate of whether men are victims of domestic violence or not, but rather how and why men fall victim to women's violence, regardless of the small percentages of such men compared to those of women.

Despite this relatively small number of male victims of domestic violence, there are a number of reasons why we should all be concerned with women's violence against men. Some of such reasons are that: all victims (men and women) of violence deserve compassion; support and intervention. Women victims of GBV receive a reasonable amount of attention and support going by the policy interventions in that direction such as the National Gender Policy and shelter meant to serve battered women. Mtonga (2007) conducted a research on gender based violence and its effects on married women. It was a case study of women at three centres in

Lusaka district-Young Women Christian Association (YWCA), Women in Law in Southern Africa (WiLSA) and the National Legal Aid Clinic for Women. The study indicated that women receive some attention at the above institutions at least to those who manage to get there. On the other hand, Dubin (2004) asserts that men often suffer violence at the hands of women in silence fearing shame and ridicule if they reported, adding that they are too embarrassed to admit that they are being abused by their female intimate partners and especially wives.

The underlying truth here is that both men and women are victims of GBV, and that both men and women cause problems in marital relationships, yet literature is biased towards women and against men, portraying men as the perpetrators and women as only victims as this is evidenced in awareness campaigns, booklets and posters. But the question is, if women receive compassion and support when they are abused by men as Mtonga (2007) asserts, why then can't men be considered for such compassion and support? Secondly, examining women's use of violence can better illuminate the dynamics of men's violence against women. Since women's violence is often retaliatory or in self-defence (Dobash & Dobash 2004), it may help to expose some of the ways men use violence to control women, and women's perceived absence of options other than fighting back. Finally, acknowledging women's violence against men is important because women's use of violence in a domestic relationship increases their risks for more severe retaliation by men especially for those provocative women; therefore curbing women's use of violence towards men would ultimately reduce men's violence on women to a large extent (Kimmel 2002).

Regardless of whom the victim is (man or woman), GBV has adverse effects. These effects transcend the victim and affect their families, the perpetrators themselves and the society as a whole. Among the numerous effects, GBV threatens family structures and limits the participation of the sufferers in the development process at individual, community and national levels and this translates into poverty among other things.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

Using the strength of grounded theory as an epistemology and method, the study explores causes and exhibition of GBV against husbands from the lenses of both the perpetrators

(wives) and the victims (husbands) in Zambia compound of Choma district, in the Southern Province of Zambia.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

As earlier alluded to, much of the research on GBV portrays men as perpetrators and women as victims of this violence. Reasons why and how GBV against men is exhibited are unknown in Zambia. Research has shown that both men and women are violent and further indicates that men are more violent than women (Johnson 2006), (Dobash and Dobash 2004), (Heise et.al 2002), (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000), (Radicloaneneg 2013), (ZDHS 2007), (Carney et al 2006), (Romans et,al 2007), (Whitaker et.al 2007), and (Straus and Ramirez 2007), yet all these mention victimization of men in passing while discussing violence against women in detail. Not much research has been done in Zambia comparing intimate partner victimization rates between men and women, nor the aspect of men as victims of intimate violence. Most research in Zambia reveals why and how women are abused and they show at least some interventions put in place to help the abused women (Musukuma, 2005, Mtonga, 2007). However, there has been no research to show the manner (how) and reasons (why) women (wives) exhibit violence on their husbands in Zambia. In view of the foregoing, this research was conducted to investigate the reasons why and how wives become violent towards their husbands in Zambia compound.

1.5 Objectives

1.5.1 Main Objective

To explore causes and types of gender-based violence against husbands in Zambia Compound of Choma district.

1.5.2 Specific objectives.

1. To establish the motives wives have for their violence against husbands in Zambia compound.
2. To describe the ways wives exhibit violence against husbands in Zambia compound.
3. To assess the characteristics associated with violent wives in Zambia compound.

1.6 Research Questions

1. What factors induce the exhibited violence among wives in Zambia compound?
2. In what ways do wives exhibit violence against their husbands in Zambia compound?
3. What are the characteristics of wives who are violent towards their husbands in Zambia compound?

1.7 Significance of the study

This topic has been under-researched. Most of the research on gender-based violence focuses on women as victims and men as perpetrators. Therefore, this research will contribute to the body of existing knowledge on GBV against men.

1.8 Operational Definitions

Violence: Any form of behaviour by an individual that intentionally threatens to or does cause physical, economic or psychological harm to others.

Gender: The relations between men and women both perceptual and material as constructed by society.

Intimate Partner Violence: Any behaviour within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological, economic or sexual harm.

1.9 Theoretical Frameworks

This research was anchored on a grounded theoretical framework and was also influenced by Weber's *verstehen* approach to social phenomena.

1.9.1 Grounded Theory

Strauss and Corbin (1998:12) define grounded theory as, 'theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process.' A Grounded theory type of research disputes use of existing theory to direct research or test hypotheses, instead theories or explanations of phenomena are constructed from the data collected from the field after analysis. Glaser & Strauss (1967) assert that data collection, analysis, and the ultimate theory stand in close connection to one another, forming two fundamental features of this theory, (i) it is concerned with the development of theory from the data, (ii) the approach is iterative, or recursive, as it is sometimes called, denoting that data collection and analysis proceed in tandem, repeatedly referring back to each other. Yet it is not every research conducted that has the capacity to generate a theory. Bryman (2008:541) confirms that, '...although it has just been suggested that grounded theory is a strategy for generating theory out of data, in many cases, reports using a grounded theory approach generate concepts rather than theory as such.' Generation of a theory is a huge task and short term researches like this one may fall short of such capacities due to their small size and sometimes the duration that they cover. Failure to generate a theory however does not disqualify the use of grounded theory as a theoretical framework, as earlier alluded to, research anchored on grounded theory framework which fall short of the capacity to generate theory may at least provide enough information for detailed explanations of the phenomena under study. This research did not produce a theory but it has however generated important information on the topic of GBV against men in relation to its objectives.

1.9.2 Max Weber's *Verstehen* Approach

In literal sense, *verstehen* means understanding. Max Weber and Georg Simmel introduced interpretive understanding of sociology in which social phenomena are interpreted from the

point of view of the social actors rather than interpreting them in terms of the researcher's own perspective (Simmel 1920). Macionis and Gerber (2010) define Interpretative sociology (*verstehende Soziologie*) as, "the study of society that concentrates on the meanings people associate to their social world." Schwalbe (2001:83) commenting on the importance of the meanings people attach to their actions states,

"It is important to let people explain their own behavior. We might or might not accept their explanations at face value but we should at least listen to how people explain their own behavior before presuming or judge them. It is much easier to rely on stereotypes and prejudices than it is to find out the facts about other people's lives..."

Interpretative sociology strives to show that reality is constructed by people themselves in their daily lives and that taking away these meanings would be refuting the reality on the ground. It relates to how people in life give meaning to the social world around them and how the social scientist accesses and evaluates this "first-person perspective". The goal of *verstehen* is to identify human actions and interpret them as literal observable events which not only provide good explanations for individual actions but also for group interactions. The meaning attached to such actions help to analyze the motivation for such actions which ultimately provides the subjective understanding of the action of the social agents. This is important because human beings create their world by organizing their own understanding of it and giving it meaning, therefore ignoring their understanding of the meanings they attach to their actions would be treating them like objects.

1.10 Summary

This chapter has presented the background to the problem. It highlighted the subject under discussion through the presentation of the statement of the problem, the research objectives, research questions, purpose and significance of the study and the theoretical framework which guided the study. The next chapter provides the review of the literature for the purpose of identifying the gap in the current knowledge; hence justifying the need for this particular study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter analyses the studies conducted on GBV on the international level, in Africa and Zambia respectively. Suffice to say that literature that directly addresses gender based violence against men is limited, however studies have been conducted which indirectly hint on violence against men which the researcher reviewed for this study. This chapter is organized into four main components. The first component reviews studies done on gender based violence on an international level; the second component reviews literature of this topic in Africa and the third component reviews related literature on the local level (Zambia). The researcher saw it important to give a current picture of the phenomena GBV, to demonstrate how devastating it can be to society if not addressed and this shows the swiftness of attention with which this issue should be handled. To this effect, there is a presentation of a paragraph each on the effects and frequency of this violence against both women and men. Finally, there is a paragraph on the relevance of the reviewed literature to this study. In its respective categories, the literature is arranged in ascending chronological order.

2.1 International Literature on Gender Based Violence (GBV)

2.1.0 Types of Gender-Based Violence

Heise, Ellsberg and Gottmoeller (1999) used a triangulation research approach in studying gender based violence in Baltimore, United States of America (USA) and categorised it into physical, sexual and psychological (emotional) forms adding that all these forms were similar to the current trends of violence in the world. The study highlighted intimate partner physical violence as the most severe form of abuse of women by intimate male partners adding that this violence included a number of harmful behaviours that were directed at women because of their sex including wife battery, sexual assault, dowry-related murder and marital rape. They argued that violence against women was one of the most pervasive yet the least recognised

human rights violations in the world and that it was a profound health problem compromising women's physical health which subsequently eroded their self esteem.

Johnson (2006) in his journal article, "Conflict and Control: Gender Symmetry and Asymmetry in Domestic Violence" and in his subsequent book, *A Typology of Domestic Violence* (2008) articulates four types of intimate partner violence. Only one of the four types articulated, Intimate Terrorism, involves one partner's domination over the other. The remaining three types of violence involve both husband and wife as victim and/or perpetrator and vice versa which Johnson terms, 'dual control context' of domestic violence. He attests to the fact that both men and women are violent and observes the following types:

Intimate Terrorism (IT): Johnson argues, is directly connected to the general pattern of control of one partner by the other. IT is further classified into the, 'general-violent-antisocial' and 'dysphonic borderline'. Johnson associates 'general-violent-antisocial' behaviour to people with general psychopathic and violent tendencies who Johnson argues suffer from serious mental illness which causes them to behave in violent ways towards their partners. He then attaches 'dysphonic borderline' to people who are generally unhappy and as a result they are emotionally dependent on their intimate relationships. This dependence causes such partners to be overprotective of their relationship to extents where they become violent.

Common Couple Violence (CCV): Johnson argues that common couple violence is not necessarily connected to the general control tendencies which are the major reasons for violence among couples but that it arises from simple arguments in which both or one partner physically lashes out in anger at the other partner.

Violent Resistance (VR): Otherwise known as 'self defence' is violence perpetrated by victims against their abusive partners. This is the violence that results from provocation from a partner and is therefore used to defend oneself. Finally Johnson propounded the fourth category of violence, called;

Mutual Violent Control (MVC): which he argues is a rare type of violence which occurs when both partners act in a violent manner, both of them battling for control. According to

Johnson, control being a critical issue in intimate relationships, relationships in which both partners battle for control are usually unstable because the two hardly agree.

Adams et al (2008) coined the theory of economic violence, which they claim attracts other types of violence, making its victims vulnerable to multiple types of violence as a result. Examples of the chain of other forms of violence which follow economic violence were psychological and physical. Adams et al define intimate economic violence as, ‘a form of violence in which one intimate partner has control over the other partner’s access to and control of economic resources.’ Adams substantiates his argument by stating that economic violence goes further to involve preventing a spouse from resource acquisition; limiting the amount of resources to be used by the victim; or by exploiting economic resources of the victim. The motive behind preventing a spouse from acquiring resources is to diminish the victim’s capacity to support themselves, thus forcing them to depend on the perpetrator for as long as they wanted to manipulate them financially and otherwise. To its extremes, economic violence includes preventing the victim from obtaining education, finding employment, maintaining or advancing their careers, and acquiring assets and sometimes putting the victim on an allowance whose expenditure is closely monitored by the perpetrator. The perpetrator may even spend the victim’s money without their consent to an extent of creating debt (Brewster, 2003).

Similar to Heise, Ellsberg and Gottemoeller (1999), Perera et al (2011), in the review of research evidence on gender-based violence by the Sri Lanka Medical Association, established that gender-based violence came in physical, sexual and psychological (emotional) forms and that all these forms were similar to the current gender based violence trends in the world. This research highlighted the nature of gender-based violence with regards to its types as mentioned above and how these impacted on the health of women, emphasising that this violence had a face of a woman even though the research did not dispute the fact that men were victims too.

The reviewed studies on the types of GBV given above are relevant to this study because it is out of this review that the gap in literature on the types of GBV was identified. From the 4 reviewed studies on the types of GBV, it is evident that the researchers Heise, Ellsberg and

Gottmoeller (1999) and Perera et al (2011) generalised the types of GBV into physical, psychological and sexual violence respectively. This kind of generalization is however too vague to explain violence in its physical sense. Physical violence could mean slapping, boxing, whipping, pouring hot liquid substances such as water and/or cooking oil and even breaking property, therefore simply stating physical or sexual leaves many questions as to what these meant exactly. These studies also revealed that violence against women received more attention than did violence against men. Out of the 4 revealed studies, only one study by Johnson (2006) significantly discussed violence against men. In his common couple violence (CCV), Johnson submitted that partners male or female could lash out in anger at the partner, though Johnson could not substantiate specific acts characterising common couple behaviour. The remaining studies by Heise, Ellsberg and Gottmoeller (1999), Adams et al (2008) and Perera et al (2011) all emphasised the effects of the types of violence on women not men.

2.1.1 Causes of Gender Based Violence

Causes of gender-based violence are multi-faceted and are shaped by complex forces that operate at different levels of a person's life, such as; individual, community, societal and state level. According to CEDAW (2005), culture plays a significant role in creating and perpetuating GBV. Traditional attitudes towards women and men around the world contribute to the perpetuation of GBV through stereotypical roles assigned to men and women respectively. These roles which are socially determined constrain women's ability to exercise choices that would improve their lives while maximizing opportunities for men. Therefore, domestic violence prevention strategies need deeper understanding of the fundamental causes of this violence. Experts in this field do not agree on what the exact causes of this violence are and because of this, there are several different and sometimes overlapping theories explaining causes of this violence, such as, the biological; psychological; jealousy related; behavioural; social theories; resource theory; power and control theory.

2.1.2 Biological causes

Weisfeld and Aytch (1996) submit that violent behaviour is biological and organic and therefore can be explained by genetics. Under this theory, violent behaviour is passed on from parents to children through genes. In their submission, they argue that since behaviour is mediated by the brain which develops through the influence of genes, it is inevitable therefore that genes influence behaviour including violent behaviour. Patrick (2008) also argues that violence could be because of someone's biological make-up, their genes and brain functioning. In his article, 'Psycho Physiological Correlates of Aggression and Violence', published in *The Journal of Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, Patrick explains that some violence is due to the inheritance of violent genes from parents and further states that violence of this nature has no remedy, and that neither punitive measures nor counselling can remedy such, only that the perpetrator must adopt ways of managing it.

2.1.3 Psychological

Kalmuss & Seltzer (1984) assert that psychological theories on violence focus on early childhood experience or observance of violence in the family to be one of the major causes of domestic violence. Their argument is that early childhood exposure to violence has the propensity to cause marital violence later on in adult life. They argue that socialization effects have a direct correlation between the stimulus (observed or experienced violence) and the response, which in this case would be marital aggression. Psychologists Huesman and Eron (1986) submitted that children who spent more hours watching violent television programs showed higher levels of aggressive behaviour when they became teenagers and in adulthood they were more likely to be arrested for criminal offences as a result of their violent behaviour.

To a large extent, the behavioural theories by Shorey, etal (2008) fit well under the psychological theories. The only difference could be that the psychological theories are much more inclined to children while the behavioural theories are more pronounced with adults who learn particular behaviours from friends. This approach uses the basic principles of learning theory to change behaviour. Examples here could be learned substance abuse i.e. alcohol and drugs and how these affect intimate relationships through violence. Gentile and Bushman (2012) after studying the effects of video games argued that exposure to media violence such

as video games was one of the many contributing factors to violent behaviours which could explain causes of violence in adult lives.

The social learning theory as explained by Bandura, Ross and Ross fit very well under the psychological theory despite the fact that Bandura and his colleagues went further to explain the effects of rewards and punishments which was not done by other psychologists under the psychological theory. Bandura, Ross and Ross (1961) in their Journal article, "Transmission of aggression through the imitation of aggressive models" contributed in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* assert that behaviour is learned from the various people (models) who surround a child including the parents, television movie stars, the child's peers and teachers. These models in a child's environment provide examples of behaviour which the child may observe and imitate. Once a child observes violence, they may imitate it. They argue further that if an imitated behaviour is not punished, it becomes part of a child's learned behaviour. So behaviour is either strengthened or weakened through rewarding and punishment by families and/or the broader culture. Researchers supporting this theory have found that batterers are much more likely to have had violent fathers than are non batterers. So according to these theorists, violence is a learned behaviour.

2.1.4 Jealousy

Gayford (1975, 1979) reported that two thirds of the women at a refuge for battered women in London area attributed their partners violence to excessive jealousy adding that in most cases their partners suspicions were completely without basis. Dobash and Dobash (1980) in their study of 109 battered women in Scotland indicated that half of the interviewed women identified their partner's extreme possessiveness and sexual jealousy as typical precipitants of violence. Mullen (1995) in his article 'Jealousy and Violence' in the *Hong Kong Journal of Psychiatry* submits that jealousy was a major contributor to violence and homicide because according to him, violence had roots in complex influences to which jealousy was a common feature. Roach (2011) argues that most cases of domestic violence come as a result of jealousy of one or both partners in intimate relationships. When one partner is either suspected of being unfaithful or is planning to break out of the relationship, the cheated on partner may either want to punish their unfaithful partner or may use coercion to prevent them from leaving and

ultimately protect their relationship. Roach argues that in such situations, intimate partner violence is very common.

2.1.5 Social theories

Gelles (1997) argues that all the other theories are limited in one way or another as long as they ignore social factors. In his attempt to explain causes of violence, Gelles developed the social theory in which he submits that external factors in the offender's environment, such as the family structure, stress, social learning, and even the quality of livelihood all influence a person's violent behaviour. Socialization in both the family and the society at large exert some influence on the behaviour of a person either positively or negatively. If the influence is negative i.e. frustrating, the person may be violent and vice versa. From that view, Gelles argues that social factors are more important determinants of violent behaviour because they occur in alterable conditions and that if these factors are changed, behaviour changes also.

2.1.6 Resource theory

The Resource theory was evolved by Goode (1979) to describe dependence on others for economic well being. Dependency means that the victims have fewer options and few resources to help themselves cope with or change their spouse's behaviour which may be characterized by violence. This may include coercion and threats, intimidation, emotional abuse, economic abuse and isolation. Adams (2008) expanded Goode's resource theory and called it the economic theory in which he submits that violent partners have control over the other partner's access to and control of economic resources. He argues that economic violence goes to extents of preventing a spouse from resource acquisition; limiting the amount of resources to be used by the victim and exploiting economic resources of the victim. As earlier alluded to, the intention of preventing the victim from acquiring resources is to suppress the victim's capacity to be self reliant thus forcing them to depend on the perpetrator for as long as they wanted to manipulate them financially and otherwise.

2.1.7 Power and control

Bancroft (2002) has contributed a lot on the subject of power and control in relationships. In his view, violence is seen to occur out of a need for power and control of one partner over the other. A perpetrator will use various tactics of abuse including physical, verbal, emotional, sexual or financial in an effort to establish and maintain control over their partner. Bancroft attributes the abusers' efforts to dominate their partners to either low self-esteem, feelings of inadequacy, unresolved childhood conflicts, the stress of poverty, genetic tendencies and socio-cultural influences. These factors create some anxiety and sometimes insecurity in the perpetrator, influencing them to behave in violent ways. The theory states further that couples that share power equally experience lower incidences of conflict, and when conflict arises, such couples are less likely to resort to violence. If one spouse desires control and power in the relationship, such a spouse may resort to abuse and ultimately use ways that are usually inappropriate.

2.1.8 Socio-economic Characteristics of Perpetrators/ Victims of Domestic Violence

Studying *Wife Abuse among Women of Childbearing Age in Nicaragua*, Ellsberg et al (1999) pointed out that there was no significant association observed between spousal violence and the age, education and occupation of the perpetrator and therefore concluded that domestic violence occurs in homes irrespective of one's socio-economic and cultural background.

Grande et.al (2003) had a different view from that of Ellsberg et.al (1999) after they conducted research in South Australia. Their conclusion was that demographic factors such as low household income, unemployment or part- time employment had a significant relationship with domestic violence. Their focus was on income and they argued that couples with inadequate financial standing were more prone to domestic violence than those with adequate finances. To some extent, his argument could be likened to the Goode (1979)'s resource theory and Adam (2008)'s economic theory.

Tuesca and Borda (2003) in their cross sectional study among women in Columbia argued that habitual alcohol consumption in women and their spouses was significantly associated with

domestic violence. They asserted that homes in which one or both partners took alcohol were more likely to experience violence than homes in which couples did not drink.

2.2 Literature on Gender Based Violence in Africa

2.2.1 Causes of Gender Based Violence

Ondeko and Purdin (2000; 2002) researched on causes of gender-based violence among Sudanese refugees in the Achol-pii refugee settlement in Northern Uganda and subsequently in the camp in Kiryandango. Using a participatory approach, the researchers observed that beer drinking among men and poverty of both but especially that of women caused gender-based violence. Based on their findings that the refugees in Achol-pii had no land to cultivate and that male tasks were diverted to unproductive vices like beer drinking, while women continued to undertake their traditional tasks such as fetching water and cooking, the duo stated that domestic violence was one of the negative outcomes of enforced idleness and its subsequent aggravation.

Raditloaneng (2013) identified women's poverty, unemployment, jealousy and alcohol as causes of gender-based violence while love of money, cell phones, and expensive cars as contributing factors which forced women to stay in abusive relationships which sometimes resulted in death. Intergenerational sexual relationships and love of materialism made women and girls resilient to gender-based violence at the expense of their own health and lives. Statistics from this study on causes of gender-based violence against women were that 37.6% (167) endured this type of violence because of the economic dependence on the abusers, jealousy 43.9% (195), and alcohol 34.0% (151) out of a sample of 444 respondents (Raditloaneng 2013). Raditloaneng argued based on her study findings that gender-based violence was life threatening; contributed to disability and increased victims' vulnerability to HIV and AIDS. Her focus was exploring gender-based violence in relation to HIV and AIDS in Southern Africa.

Raditloaneng's research questions on forms and common causes of gender-based violence were similar to this study's research questions but her study dwell much on violence against women and how it increased their vulnerability to HIV infection in the entire South Africa. In view of the forgoing, Raditloaneng's study findings could not be compared to the findings of

this research which was localised to a relatively small area and focused on violence against men not women as in Raditloaneng's research. However, Raditloaneng's research's provided important insights on the causes of gender-based violence among couples.

In 2012, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa commissioned a situation analysis study entitled, *Violence against Women in Africa: A Situation Analysis*. It was a desktop research basing its findings on administrative statistics (such as those of Central Statistical Office in Zambia) and previous research reports of private organizations and government institutions. The study revealed that gender based violence was a complex issue which was deep rooted in structural inequalities between men and women resulting in persistence of power differentials between sexes.

In Western Uganda, the Centre for Human Rights Advancement (CEHURA) under the auspices of the International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) a Gender Based Violence Prevention Network, and the Medical Research Centre (MRC) conducted a qualitative study entitled, *An Exploratory Study of Bride Price and Domestic Violence in Bundibugyo District, Uganda*. The aim of this study was to explore bride price practice and its links to conflict and domestic violence in three communities in Bundibugyo district in Western Uganda. The purpose of the study was to inform the development of community-based interventions to mitigate the negative impacts of bride price. Using focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews, the researchers collected data from men, women, community and clan leaders and service providers on community perceptions and views of the custom, and its relationship with domestic violence. More than 200 people participated in the study. Feedback dialogues were held at the CEHURA office with key stakeholders to discuss the research findings and develop strategies for action. Key findings of the research were as follows: bride price was a deeply embedded cultural practice in the study sites, yet support for the practice among young people was waning, arguing that things change and they were also changing in line with the changing things.

This difference in perception sparked some form of conflict between the old and the new generation. Establishing bride price was a bargaining process in which young women had little or no involvement. Their lack of involvement highly disadvantaged them especially in

situations of them being abused. This meant that many had to endure abusive marriages without question because they were not part of the bargaining process in the first place. Inability to pay bride price led to loss of respect for both men and women. Non-payment of bride price, heavy debt from paying bride price and the perception of women as property contributed to intimate partner violence. In such situations, women were not regarded with respect by their husbands as they became victims of insults, name calling and beating, creating fertile environment for domestic violence in homes.

This literature that has been reviewed is important not only to Africa but Zambia as well. It gives a picture of what causes GBV and types common to it and thus informing policy makers of where to concentrate in making policies to combat the problem. Owing to the fact that the culture is similar in most countries in Africa, likelihood is high that situations obtaining in surrounding countries may be similar to the situation obtaining almost everywhere in Africa including Zambia and therefore solutions may be uniform. To the researcher, the review has provided important insights on the subject under study such as the causes and types of this kind of violence and the methodologies used in the reviewed researches especially with those researches that had similar aspects to this research, for example the community based research done by the WHO in Western Uganda.

2.2.2 Types of Gender-Based Violence

Ondeko and Purdin (2000 and 2002), using participatory approaches in their studies on gender-based violence among Sudanese refugees in the Achol-pii refugee settlement in Northern Uganda and subsequently in the camp in Kiryandango, observed that husbands beat up their wives for failure to source and cook the type of food which the husbands demanded. In addition to beating which is physical violence, husbands called their wives all sorts of names causing humiliation of these wives and that was psychological violence. This research made important findings regarding the types of domestic violence among couples.

In 2003, the World Health Organization (WHO) conducted a community based research on domestic violence in rural Uganda's Rakai district. Using a sample size of 5, 109 women of reproductive age, the research revealed causes and types of violence which both men and

women suffered from their partners. The research also brought out the aspect of female against male violence but highlighted that, ‘roughly 4 out of 5 women who reported recent female against male domestic violence also reported recent male against female domestic violence.’ A critical analysis of this statement may indicate that female against male violence may have been caused by male against female violence which Johnson (2006) called violent resistance or self defence. On the causes of domestic violence, this research highlighted alcohol consumption and cultural factors which indicated a high acceptability of male against female domestic violence as this was seen in the 70 percent male justification and 90 percent female justification of wife beating by men. Specific causes of violence most of which are rooted in culture included women neglecting household chores; women disobeying their husbands; women’s refusal of sex; arguments over money; suspicions of infidelity; women’s insistence on use of condoms; use of contraception without permission and women suspected of being HIV positive. Types of violence brought out by the research were physical violence including pushing, hitting, punching and burning while psychological violence experienced included verbal abuse; shouting and yelling. 19.8 percent of women reported verbal abuse on their husbands which include insults, yelling and shouting. 3 percent reported actual physical violence but causes of female against male violence were not indicated (WHO 2003).

Kaaba (2011) studied sexual violence against women during the Rwandan genocide in 1994 and established that the violence which was fought outside homes crept into many home and even destroyed a good number of them. The Rwandan genocide of 1994 was perpetrated by Hutu ethnic group using their interahamwe militias against the Tutsi population and no aspect of human life was spared during that genocide including marriage. Married Tutsi women who suffered and survived this ordeal were accused of collaborating with the perpetrators by their surviving husbands. This resulted in many domestic conflicts e.g. psychological in nature characterised with name calling, humiliation and rejection as some of these women were disowned by their husbands. Kaaba added that the psychological trauma and stress caused by the genocide resulted in confusions in many homes increasing conflicts in such homes.

Raditloaneng (2013) in her research entitled, “An Analysis of Gender-Based Domestic Violence and Reactions in Southern Africa”, which was published in the *Wudpecker Journal*

of Sociology and Anthropology showed that violence against women took many forms ranging from murder, perpetrators threatening to commit suicide, sexual harassment, incest, sexual exploitation of under 16 year olds, psycho-social and economic abuse, verbal abuse, assault, severe beating, threats to kill ,sexual assault including rape by partners. The study revealed that cases of men were not easy to record since most of the men silently went through violence that went unreported, partly because it is by African socio- cultural norms an embarrassment and not masculine to be abused by women.

Vetten (2014) in the Institute for Security Studies Policy Brief, South Africa submitted that domestic intimate violence takes a range of forms including physical and sexual abuses; economic abuse which she defines as ‘unreasonably depriving family members of economic and financial resources to which they are legally entitled.’ Vetten grouped emotional, verbal and psychological abuse together and explained them holistically as a pattern of degrading or humiliating behaviour, repeated threats or recurring presentation of possessiveness or jealousy amounting to a serious invasion of the victim’s privacy and liberty adding controlling behaviour in form of intimidation, harassment, stalking and damage to property as types of violence. She submitted that the exact extent of domestic violence in South Africa was not known and that measuring the extent of domestic violence required particular attention to different sorts of familial and intimate relationships and the different types of abuses adding that data from the police would not offer comprehensive guide to this problem as it was highly underreported.

2.2.3 Literature on Gender-Based Violence against Men in Zambia

As earlier alluded to, literature on GBV against men in Zambia was very scarce and almost non-existent at least during the time of the research. Unlike in the other reviewed categories - International and African levels which have shown commitment seen in attempts to study GBV against men like Dobash and Dobash (1980) and Kimmel (2002) and WHO (2003), literature here in Zambia has remained silent on this subject, the review below demonstrates this fact.

2.2.4 Types of Gender-Based Violence

Mwiinga (2005), in her research on the prevalence of and factors that contribute to domestic violence against pregnant women concluded that domestic violence against women was a common phenomenon and common among the many types were: beating; insults and sexual abuse. The frequency of this violence and types according to her study were as follows: out of the 385 respondents, 169 (44.0 percent) had experienced domestic violence and the common forms cited being beatings 166(68.6 percent), insults 55(32.7 percent) and sexual abuse 18 (10.7 percent).

The Gender Statistical Report (2010) indicates that both men and women fall victim to physical violence from their intimate partners even though the report does not show the exact sort of physical violence, rendering it open to speculation in that physical violence could mean any or all of the following: burning, kicking, whipping, or hitting with objects or with bare hands. This research aimed at filling this information gap by exploring gender-based violence against men, specifically the causes and types of violence that men experienced at the hands of their spouses.

Mtonga (2012) identified wife battery, abandonment, infidelity, forced sex, forced child bearing, mental torture and rape as common forms of gender-based violence. Mtonga asserted that violence against women was widespread and global but was hidden as a good number of incidences went unreported, adding that violence was tolerated and accepted by most societies and cultures world over, and Zambia inclusive. In Zambia, violence against women had been exacerbated by some aspects of customs and traditions, socio economic difficulties and to some degree, by law. Her study was undertaken to analyze and establish the effects of gender-based violence experienced by married women from three centres: YWCA, WLSA and National Legal Aid Clinic for Women. A sample of 40, consisting of 32 women and 8 key informants was used for this study. This violence caused emotional, psychological and mental damage to all involved, scarring and shattering the lives of the victims, experiencing low self esteem, depression, abuse of children and risk of HIV/AIDS among others.

After his study, “Violence against Refugee Women in Maheba Refugee Settlement”, Muponisi (2012) concluded that violence against refugee women in Meheba Refugee

Settlement existed and that this violence took the forms of physical, psychological, sexual, and cultural, girl child abuse and deprivation of financial and material resources, a typical deprivation of human rights. The types of violence according to the research were beating; cutting; burning of body parts; exploitation of women through labour/ hard work and fighting. Effects were injuries of either spouse; deformations of different kinds; loss of respect; sickness and weakness: poverty; hospitalization; children's mental torment and continuous misunderstanding. Muponisi's findings were well detailed yet they all addressed the violence in the context of women and completely ignoring the men.

Plan Zambia (2013) highlighted that physical and sexual violence was common and was evident in forced early marriages for girls and defilement for younger children and the study further established that women were forced into sexual cleansing activities in which they were forced to have sex with men whose spouses died and that generally women lacked influence in decisions regarding their sexual lives such as access to modern family planning methods. Physical violence, wife battery was mostly common during harvest time when men had money from the sale of farm produce. Economic violence was also rampant in that despite their hard work, women would not get a fair share of rewards as men mostly controlled all farm proceeds.

In its study, "*Gender-Based Violence - a Situation in Chadiza, Chibombo, Mansa and Mazabuka*", commissioned and published by Plan Norway, Plan Zambia set out to establish the types and causes of gender based violence, particularly against the vulnerables such as the girls and women in its areas of operation highlighted above. Denial of the existence of gender-based violence and the general acceptance of male infidelity by women victims contributed to its thriving. In Chibombo, for example cases of abuse resulting into pregnancies were reported to court only when compensation was not given and not because of the abuse itself. The study was basically qualitative using participatory data collection tools of focus group discussions and key informant interviews. The sample of the study was drawn from court officials, police and violence survivor testimonies. Its focus was gender-based violence against women and it completely left out the men.

Jere (2013) concluded that wife battery is a common type of violence and that it was made worse by its low prosecution. In his research, Jere employed descriptive and explanatory study designs and data collected comprised primary and secondary sources. Structured and semi structured self-administered questionnaires and Interview guides were used as instruments of data collection. Data was analysed using mainly qualitative methods though quantitative was also used to analyse part of the quantifiable data. The study was conducted in Lusaka urban district using a population of 3500 police officers. The 5 selected stations including the prosecutions department and Victim Support Unit officers had a defined population of 143 officers, who were found in 14 various police stations using simple random sampling, stratified, purposive and convenient sampling procedures. The sample size of this research was one hundred and twelve (112) respondents which also included church leaders and victims of wife battery who at the time were sheltered at the YWCA. This research was set on investigating reasons for low levels of prosecution against husbands who batter their wives. Not only does Jere's study portray men as perpetrators of violence, it completely ignores the aspect of men being victims of violence themselves.

Both electronic and print media have reported numerous cases of gender-based violence involving both women and men as victims and perpetrators. In fact a day hardly passes without such cases being reported by either electronic or print media or even both. The Post Newspaper, dated January 6, 2013 carried a sub headline, 'bodybuilder divorces abusive wife'. Details in this article were that a Luanshya based body builder Kelvin sued and divorced his abusive wife Helen for repeatedly beating him up. Upon divorce, Kelvin said he was saved from the jaws of death and thanked God for having heard his prayers because his wife had been beating and intimidating him and other members of the household using her police rank.

The Post carried another headline on Tuesday 22, July 2014 saying, 'Chongwe woman severs Hubbys Manhood.' In this article, Mulwanda (thirty-nine) of Chongwe was admitted to the University Teaching Hospital after his wife severed his manhood using a kitchen knife following a marital dispute. She began by biting him on his lips before stabbing him on his manhood and between the testicles.

“Husband complains over wife sleeping in leggings” was another headline carried by the Post Newspaper dated August 31, 2014. Gilbert (forty-two), a garden compound resident in Lusaka said his wife went to bed with leggings on to prevent him from touching her(demanding sex) and that at times she even demarcated the bed with a mosquito net to prevent any contact between them. Maria (thirty-two)the accused wife alleged that her violence was triggered by alot of things including her husband hiding his sickness and seeing another woman from another compound to which her husband blamed on her for sleeping with leggings.

The Post dated February 1, 2015 carried another story of domestic violence. The headline was, “Siavonga Woman bites hubby’s testicle” The story was that police in Siavonga had arrested a woman for allegedly biting her husband’s testicles. The paper reported that a police source confirmed the incident in an interview...and identified the woman as Madrina Mutinta, 27.

2.2.5 Causes of Gender-Based Violence

Mwiinga (2005) revealed that beer drinking of husbands and poverty among women were causes of GBV in homes and the same research cited teachings in initiation ceremonies such as not revealing domestic violence to outsiders as cause of its continuance, that men took beating their wives for granted after realising that their wives did nothing to stop them, such as reporting to police or telling on them to their relatives. The study revealed that because of the lack of economic empowerment among women to depend on themselves, most women were forced to remain in abusive relationships therefore citing lack of empowerment to be a contributing factor. So lack of empowerment among women caused them to remain under exploitative relationships which exposed them to economic violence as propounded by Adam et al (2008).

Musukuma (2005) out of her research on battered women seeking shelter concluded that economic dependence of wives on husbands exposed them to abuse. Her study established that the women were left without any option as they had nowhere to go if they left their abusive husbands while others chose to remain in their abusive marriages for the sake of their children, confirming assertions by Adams (2008) on economic violence.

On the causes of gender-based violence, Mtonga (2012) highlighted some aspects of customs and traditions such as not reporting violence, socio economic difficulties(lack of education and high poverty levels) to be among the causes. Her research established that women who underwent initiation ceremonies were taught not to argue against their husbands in their homes and not to share their marriage experiences especially negative ones such as being beaten with outsiders including the police. Therefore Mtonga concluded that perpetrators of violence in such situations took advantage and went on abusing their victims. Mtonga's study also established that the trickle down effects of lack of education such as poverty and dependence are among the greatest causes of this kind of violence. Once the perpetrators realise that they can mistreat their victims and they cannot leave the marriage relationship because they had nowhere to go, the perpetration would intensify causing much more suffering to the victims.

Muponisi (2012) concluded that violence against refugee women in Meheba Refugee Settlement really existed and that it was caused by drunkenness of either spouse; men's possessiveness; women's arrogance; men's frustration for living in camps/ settlements; women's refusal to love making when tired or unwell and extra marital affairs among others. Muponisi's findings were well detailed with his lists of causes, types and effects of gender violence longer than indicated. He found that camp life was frustrating to men and women alike due to the limited options of livelihoods and this caused many settlers to drink beer especially men to pass time. This drinking caused more problems in homes as drunken men would harass and beat their wives sometimes for no good reasons, for example for not preparing meat for them which they never bought and which their wives would not afford. Muponisi went on to say that some men accused their wives of infidelity and used that to get at their wives beating them and sometimes use such as grounds for divorce.

Plan Zambia (2013) highlighted poverty and some cultural practices as major causes of gender- based violence citing practices such as forced early marriages which were perceived as bringing in economic benefits through payment of the bride price (lobola). Perceptions or a social construction of being male and female, evident in the general acceptance of male infidelity by women victims also contributes to its thriving..

Jere (2013) argues that wife battery cases are caused by a number of factors which include victims' economic dependence, victims' lack of education, unsympathetic attitude of the police and fear of victimisation from relatives after reporting. Failure to report has continued to be cited as both a cause and an exacerbation of this violence. Jere adds that even in instances where the victim had a source of income, cases of wife battery were not prosecuted because of the cumbersome legal framework. This research was set on investigating reasons for low levels of prosecution against husbands who batter their wives. Not only does Jere's study portray men as perpetrators of violence, it completely ignores the aspect of men being victims of violence themselves.

From the Post Newspaper articles highlighted in the previous theme, four causes of domestic violence were revealed. In the Chongwe manhood severing incidence, beer drinking was the cause of the violence. According to the article, both husband and wife went drinking before getting home where that severing of the husband's manhood took place.

In the article involving Gilbert (42) who's wife went to bed wearing leggings, the cause was infidelity of the man as this was confirmed by the man himself and this was coupled by the sickness which the husband kept secret from his wife. The violence against Kelvin the bodybuilder had no precise cause mentioned apart from that the wife was abusing her police rank through beating and intimidating household family members.

In the Siavonga story involving Mutinta biting her husband's testicles, the cause of violence was generally beer drinking because a fight ensued after the husband and the wife came from their drinking sprees respectively. It was during this fight that the biting happened.

2.3 Characteristics of Perpetrators of Domestic Violence

Mwiinga (2005)'s research also revealed that there was a significant association between alcohol consumption and domestic violence. Her study revealed that 60 (65.2 percent) of the respondents who experienced domestic violence were married to men who took alcohol while 141 (36.6 percent) women whose partners did not take alcohol but experienced domestic violence. She concluded that respondents who had spouses who took alcohol were more likely

to experience domestic violence than respondents who had spouses who did not take alcohol. Mwiinga's study also revealed that there was no association between religion and domestic violence. In her study, 155 (40.5 percent) of the respondents were liberal protestants (Seventh Day Adventists, United Church of Zambia, Reformed Church of Zambia and Jehovah's Witnesses) while 116 were strict protestants or all Born Again denominations, the Catholics and the rest accounted for 12. All these respondents from different denominations were subject to domestic violence. With regards to education, 150 who had primary education and 144 who had secondary education experienced violence from their spouses and she concluded that there was no association between educational level and domestic violence.

The research conducted by the Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF)(1998) revealed that women are at greatest risk of domestic violence between the ages of 20- 40, emphasising that this being the reproductive age made the situation of women victims of GBV even more dangerous.

2.4 Effects of Gender-Based Violence

Even though effects of GBV were not part of this study, the researcher felt the need to include a paragraph to show how devastating gender-based violence can be to both the families involved and the society at large. The effects of this violence have a multiplier effect, meaning that if one is not affected directly, they will be affected indirectly, for example through strain on the economy of the country. Gender-based violence has devastating effects that not only affect the people involved but spill out to the entire society. Pan African Health Organisation (2003) research has categorised the effects of gender-based violence into physical, psychological and social respectively. Injuries, disability, sexual reproductive health problems and death are some of the physical effects Psychological effects include rejection anxiety, fear, mistrust of others, inability to concentrate, loneliness, post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, psychosomatic illnesses, withdrawal, alcohol or drug use and suicide. Social effects include divorce, poverty from low productivity, low self-esteem, self-blame, aggression against peers, family members, increased risk of children growing up to be either a perpetrator or a victim of violence.

Bitangaro (1999) also highlighted the effects of GBV on society as having devastating effects on the reproductive health of especially women, that abused women could have forced pregnancies and are at greater risk of contracting the HIV virus and that all these drain resources at both individual and state level which ultimately exacerbates poverty at these levels. Bintangaro also reported that children who witness this violence are themselves likely to be aggressive in future, or become victims like what psychologists Huesmann and Eron (1980) have asserted.

Raditloaneng (2013) points out that gender- based violence is life threatening; contributes to disability and increased victims' vulnerability to HIV and AIDS. Muponisi (2012) highlights injuries of either spouse; deformations of different kinds; loss of respect; sickness and weakness; hospitalization; children's mental torment and continuous misunderstanding as effects of gender-based violence. Mtonga (2012) mentions that violence causes emotional, psychological and mental damage to all involved, scarring and shattering the lives of the victims, experiencing low self esteem, depression, abuse of children and risk of HIV/AIDS infection among others.

2.5 Prevalence of Gender Based Violence between Women and Men

Tjaden and Thoennes (2000) conducted a research in which the duo concluded that women were 13 times more likely than men to seek medical attention due to injuries related to spousal abuse and that they were more likely than men to be injured or murdered by an intimate partner as their research statistics revealed that of those killed by an intimate partner, about three quarters were female and about a quarter were male. Under the auspices of the United States Department of Justice Tjaden and Thoennes (2000) conducted a survey of 16,000(8,000 women and 8,000 men) in America and the results showed that 22.1% of women and 7.4% of men reported being physically assaulted by a current or former spouse, cohabiting partner, boyfriend or girlfriend, or date in their lifetime.

Kevin, (2011) conducted a similar survey of over 21,000 residents of England and Wales in the United Kingdom (UK) which showed that 7% of women and 4% of men were victims of domestic abuse in the previous year. Kevin points out that women were on the higher risk side of intimate partner violence and therefore were more likely than men to be injured and

murdered by an intimate partner and that of those killed by an intimate partner, about three quarters are female and about a quarter are male. Shannan et al (2009) revealed that females were killed by intimate partners at twice the rate of males. In 2007 the rate of intimate partner homicide for females was 1.07 per 100,000 female residents compared to 0.47 per 100,000 male residents.

In the American Journal of Public Health, Whitaker et al (2007) argued that the context of violence (reciprocal or nonreciprocal) is a strong predictor of reported injury and that prevention approaches that address the escalation of partner violence may be needed to address reciprocal violence. Their research indicated that almost 24% of all relationships had some violence, and half (49.7%) of those were reciprocally violent. Regarding injury, men were more likely to inflict injury than were women and reciprocal intimate partner violence was associated with greater injury than was nonreciprocal intimate partner violence regardless of the gender of the perpetrator.

2.6 Relevance of the Reviewed Literature to this Study

The literature review given above has demonstrated that although gender-based violence has been extensively discussed at all levels (global, regional and local), hardly any literature exists about violence against men with regards to its causes and types, especially here in Zambia. This is against the reality of the existence of this type of violence in many societies in the world, Zambia inclusive and this has been admitted by the following studies: Johnson(2006), Dobash and Dobash (2004), Heise et al(2002), Tjaden and Thoennes (2000), Raditloaneng (2013), ZDHS (2007) and the Gender Statistical Report(2010) reviewed above. Going by the reviewed literature, there is some reasonable amount of literature on gender-based violence against women; and the literature incorporated in this review was just the tip of an iceberg.

Owing to this amount of research on violence against women, there were some interventions to mitigate the suffering of women as victims of gender-based violence, even though not all abused women seek help from such interventions. Yet due to scanty research on violence against men, intervention to counter it was almost nonexistent. Almost all the studies reviewed were focusing on violence against women including the following: Ondeko and Purdin(2000

and 2002 respectively), Raditloaneng (2013), Centre for Human Rights Advancement (2012), Rwandan Women's Network(2012), WiLDAF (2011), Muponisi (2012), Mtonga (2012), Jere (2013), and Plan Zambia (2013) among others.

In addition to showing the gap, this review gave important insights which proved useful to this research. Aimed at improving gender-based violence research initiatives, Clark (2003)'s research urges researcher's understanding of local gender norms, customs and values before venturing into a community to conduct research. Clark urges researchers to contextualize especially vague terms like "violence" which may mean different things to different people. The involvement of both sexes in studying gender-based violence was also highlighted. For example in studying gender-based violence against men, one needs the perceptions of both men and women. Some theories on the causes of domestic violence such as the power and control by Bancroft (2002), Roach (2011)'s jealousy theory and the resource theory by Goode (1979) provided important insights to this study.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has reviewed literature relevant to the gender-based violence subject. Starting with the international literature and ending with Zambian literature, the review has demonstrated that gender-based violence literature is biased against men, focusing very much on women as victims and the men as perpetrators. The chapter also contains a paragraph on each of the following effects of GBV on both men and women and how that affects society; prevalence of GBV against men and women respectively and finally the relevance of the literature reviewed to the study. These were not part of the objectives of this research but were added to broaden the understanding of the phenomenon under study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter presents the research design of the study, discusses the sampling technique and the sampling procedure. This chapter also shows the sample size of the research from the approximated total population of the area in question. The chapter also shows the sources of the information including the specific instruments that were used for data collection.

3.1 Research design

This was a qualitative based research, taking an exploratory-descriptive design. This design was preferred because of the need for comprehensive understanding of the subject of study, *violence against men* which is relatively new here in Zambia. Exploratory research design seeks to find out how people get along in the setting under question; what meanings they give to their actions and what issues concern them and in so doing, investigating social phenomena without explicit expectations (Russell, 1996). In exploratory-descriptive design, the researcher has to find out what was not known using the questions: What factors induce the exhibited violence among wives in Zambia compound? In what ways do wives exhibit violence against their husbands in Zambia compound? and What are the characteristics of wives who are violent towards their husbands in Zambia compound? These questions are the ones that were covered under the exploratory part of the design. After the answers were collected to the above questions, the researcher went on to show the verbal accounts of those given answers, thus illustrating the description part of the design. This research employed Weber's *verstehen* way of understanding social phenomena i.e. from the point of view of the people involved. This is one of the strengths of qualitative research.

3.2 Study Population

This study drew its sample from a population of men and women in Zambia compound. Zambia compound also known as Mubula ward is the biggest of the four wards that make up Choma town. According to the Zambia Population Summary Report (2010), Mubula ward has approximately 4,269 households with an approximate population of 20,838 of men, women and children. Out of this number men and boys are approximated to be 10,133, while women and girls are approximated at 10,705. Statistics from the same report indicated that other wards which include Kulundana ward have an approximate total population of 13,142 in which females are approximated at 6,768 and males at 6374 respectively. Sikalundu ward with a total population of around 9,431 with males approximated at 4,541, females at 4,890 and Simacheche ward with an approximate population of about 8,431 in which total males are approximated at 4,206 and total females at 4,225 respectively.

In terms of its geographical location, Zambia Compound encompasses the south eastern part of Choma, while on the Southern part it stretches into Shampande (middle class compound) engulfing within its confines Shampande Basic School which is located on the southern entrance of the compound. Respondents in this study were strategically sourced at a women's affairs committee.

3.4 Sample size:

The sample was composed of fifty-nine (59) married women (wives) and twenty-one (21) married men (husbands) respectively, making a total sample size of 80 respondents

3.5 Sampling Technique and Procedure

Purposive sampling was used to recruit participants to this study. The researcher used a women's affairs support group as the entry point as this was the most appropriate option at the time of the research. This women's affairs committee was formed in 2012 by the area councillor for Mubula ward Mrs Habunyemu (not real name), to look into the welfare of women in her area. Among its interests, this support group looks into issues of women empowerment, spearheads the formation of HIV and AIDS support units and issues of gender based violence. Through this group, the researcher sampled 59 wives who once or more times brought complaints or shared their marital conflicts to the group for support or advice. Not all

the 59 wives were members of this committee some out of this number reported their marital problems to the support group and were captured in its data base. Only 12 out of the 59 women were members of the support group and the remaining 47 were non members who still enjoyed the services provided by the group by virtue of being in its catchment area. Once these women were identified, the researcher was indirectly linked to their husbands who were anticipated to be 59 going by the number of the women. However, only 21 husbands were recruited to this study. Out of the anticipated men participants, 19 husbands refused to be part of the study alleging that the issues to be discussed were too personal to be disclosed to outsiders and that the researcher was too young to meddle into other people's marriage experiences. Even after offering that an elderly man discusses with them, they still refused arguing that the information would ultimately come to the young and inexperienced person they would have avoided in the beginning. 7 withdrew after second thoughts, 12 were working out of town, 5 were in the public service and one had filed for divorce. Some husbands who were local drivers and public servants kept shifting dates for interviews an action which simply showed that they were not interested even though they did not want to directly say it.

Sampling members of the women's support group was the most appropriate option considering that the researcher needed to sample women with a variety of attributes such as different education levels and means of livelihoods. The women's support group was the only option which provided this variation because it had in its data base women of varying educational backgrounds, means of livelihoods, duration in marriage and Christian backgrounds. This support group was also preferred because it attracted women from nearly all corners of the compound. Other options which included a market and a school and the whole compound had shortcomings which would have incapacitated this research. The market, for example, would have limited the composition of the sample to marketers while the school would have limited the sample to teachers. The women's committee provided this variation and therefore was preferred by the researcher.

3.6 Data Collection Tools

Focus group discussion guide and interview guide were used as data collection tools in this study. The focus groups were used for women and a total of 9 focus group discussions were

conducted composing a range of 6-8 members each. The difference in the composition across the groups was due to withdrawals at the eleventh hour and this happened even after confirmation of participation in certain instances. Male respondents (husbands) were interviewed. Initially, the researcher intended to conduct focus group discussions and interviews for both wives and husbands; however this plan failed as most men declined to discuss their private lives in the presence of fellow men. This decline called for change of strategy and the new strategy was to use focus group discussions for wives and interviews for men respectively. Focus group discussions with the women were instrumental in getting women to talk. It appeared they got interested to talk after realising that relatively all of them had experiences when they either became violent or hostile towards their husbands. This realisation was instrumental in getting them to talk and they gave sufficient and real life experiences judging from both their emotions and gestures. The same was true with the men with whom the researcher used in-depth one on one interviews. The researcher used the advantages of in-depth interviews to dig sufficient and adequate information from the men, bearing in mind that the number of men was smaller compared to that of women. Therefore, both these data collection techniques did generate good and useful information to this research.

3.7 Data Presentation and Analysis

Being a qualitative approach research, data was presented and analyzed thematically. Theme I presented the answers to research question 1 which inquired on the causes of violence. Theme II presented answers to research question 2 on the types of violence and theme III presented answers to research question 3 on the characteristics of women likely to be violent. In this research, presentation of the findings for particular themes and sub-themes were followed by the necessary discussions. In short, presentation and discussion of the findings were done concurrently.

All qualitative analysis involves attempts to comprehend the phenomenon under study, synthesize information and explain relationships, theorize how and why the relationships appear as they do, and reconnect the new knowledge with what is already known (Ary et al, 2006). Data analysis in this study used much of what Smith and Osborn (2008) terms, ‘double

hermeneutic'. Double hermeneutic analysis is characterised by two features. The first feature is Weber's *verstehen* with the use of the original descriptions of social phenomena as experienced by the social actors themselves, containing the original meaning shown by what the respondents actually said (Weber and Simmel, 1920). The second feature is when the researcher attaches meaning to what the respondents may have said by quoting literature and adding their personal interpretation of the social phenomena. Much as the original meaning may be important, relying on the original meaning alone as given by the respondents may not be sufficient considering what (Gadamer, 1989) argues that there are no such things as original meaning because making sense of the respondent's speech is more than just effecting a mental translation of the words. Gadamer (1989) argues that for speech utterance to retain the meaning, it must be seen and interpreted in the context it was spoken taking into consideration the non-verbal communication such as gestures and emotional expressions adding that attempting to make sense of utterances independent of the above mentioned non-verbal communications would mean losing an essential part of its meaning. Therefore using both the original meaning and the researchers view based on their interaction with the respondents gives a well thought-out view. In this study, constructs, themes and patterns were identified from the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews to generate a description of phenomenon that was under study.

The respondents' interpretations or narrations were extracted from focus group discussions and in-depth interviews which were tape-recorded and transcribed. These were then coded and recoded, codes that represented a category or themes found in the data were put directly into the text by attaching to segments of text. Each respondent interviewed was evaluated by the set of thematic codes developed. Similarities and differences were identified from the participants' responses. Categories of the responses were formed, and the researcher looked for underlying themes and relationships from the categories. After examining the themes and relationships, tentative theoretical statements were constructed from among the relationships.

3.8 Challenges Encountered During the Study

This study encountered some challenges in its process. One of the challenges was that some participants withdrew at short notice and this inconvenienced the process of data collection. Another challenge encountered was that some respondents demanded payment to release their

information, claiming that nothing was for free and this partly explains the withdrawals mentioned in the first line of this paragraph. Such demands and subsequent withdrawals accounts for the varying numbers of the female respondents in focus groups with some groups having 6, others 7 and 8 members respectively as indicated in this chapter under sample size and the decline of some men to participate. As earlier mentioned some husbands refused to discuss their marriage life and therefore could not be recruited to this study, while others were simply inaccessible as they were working out of town at the time of the research. Some men and women recruited to this study refused to disclose some information which by the nature of the study would be important, such as age and duration in marriage. Another challenge was the time in which the research was to be conducted which was limited.

Language also posed some challenge to this study in ways that majority of the respondents used the local language in their responses and this meant that the researcher had to translate such work into English thus further constraining on the time factor.

To curb these challenges, the researcher made efforts to explain the importance of such academic studies especially to the men who were hesitant arguing that such studies had the capacity to draw the attention of stake holders to consider the issue of violence against men. Participants were also assured of anonymity in an effort to convince them to take part. The most notable limitation to this research was its size. Some researches on GBV reviewed in the second chapter were on regional and country levels, while this research was only confined to a small compound.

3.9 Limitations of the Study

This study had limitations. Women who went to the support group may have been biased with particular types of violence or may have been of a particular class. This, coupled with the fact that these women were not randomly picked may imply that the sampling of women from the women's support group was not entirely representative. The smaller number of men compared to women was another limitation to the study. Even though the strength of qualitative research does not lay in numbers, 38 men less than the number of women in such a research meant losing out a considerable amount of information.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues were highly adhered to. Participants were well informed about the nature and purpose of the research prior to the research process and their participation was purely voluntary. In this study for example, 19 husbands refused to be part of the study and 7 who had earlier agreed to participate withdrew after second thoughts citing reasons given above. Confidentiality of respondents and anonymity were preserved and this is seen in the use of numbers for women (e.g. anonymous 1, 2, and 3) and letters for male respondents (e.g. respondent A, B, and C).

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.0 Overview

The key component of research is the presentation of the research findings to the outside world because it is the very essence of conducting research i.e. contributing to the existing body of knowledge in that particular field. This chapter contains the research findings and the discussions thereof. The chapter is organised in such a way that findings on husbands and wives on particular themes are discussed simultaneously to give a clear picture on the topic from both the husbands and wives points of view. Owing to the realisation that different causes of violence attracted relatively the same type of violence, the researcher found it convenient to first articulate particular causes of violence followed by the types of the reaction and finally the discussions of such will be given in that consecutive manner.

4.1 Classification of the Women Respondents

A classification of the women by occupation indicates that thirteen (13) were teachers and one (1) was a secretary; twenty (20) women were marketeers; 8 were bar patrons who run small businesses either at their homes or at the bar selling roasted pieces of meat (shokas) to other bar patrons from the bars; 6 were hair dressers and about 8 are maids and piece workers. Three (3) women were strategically sourced from the different churches domicile in the area and these spoke from the perspective of the church because even though all respondents in this research claimed to be Christians, there were women who were deemed staunch members of particular churches who the researcher saw fit to extract information from, from the religious perspective. No woman in this research was entirely dependent on their husband; they all

claimed to be responsible wives and/or mothers to extents where some husbands depended on them for livelihood.

4.2 Definition of ‘Violence’

In the context of this research, violence is any act with intent to cause hurt and/or punishment, physical and psychological harm. It was not one particular act or a particular category but a collection of them with some severe and others mild. In a nutshell, we could relate this violence to a continuum or a scale starting with physical personal violence and property damage; intent to harm through use of juju and refusal of sex; to psychological harm through avoidance and coldness. Other acts with the same intent could not amount to violence because even though they were meant to hurt, they are/were not mandatory for women to do and they neither harmed the men physically nor psychologically. These included withdrawal of domestic services such as cooking, cleaning and laundry, these are things men can do for themselves. With the increasing rates of women’s participation in the labour force, the traditional single earner family is slowly going into extinction. Women are now active income earners either in the formal or informal sectors.

With this in mind, domestic chores need not be left to women alone but that men must take an active role through participation in these chores. Berardo, Shehan and Leslie (1987) state, ‘...even in dual earner couples in which spouses spend comparable hours in paid labour, women do the vast majority of house work spending nearly 15 hours longer than men’s work, clearly taking on a second shift of work in the home.’ In view of the foregoing, a wife refusing to iron her husband’s shirt cannot be termed violence. However these ‘hostile acts’ are discussed along with the ‘actual violence’, firstly because they were administered together with the other types of violence and were seen as a form of punishment by the women; and secondly because the two shared the same causes.

Below is the presentation and discussions for themes I and II on inducers and types of violence articulated by women and summarised by tables 1 and 2 respectively.

4.3 Theme I and II: Inducers and Types of Violence

The study revealed that the violence of women was caused by many factors. The most frequently cited inducers of this violence being husband's poor financial support, infidelity, beer drinking, non-involvement in household chores, suspicions and jealousy, late coming and dependence (lack of source of income), correction and/or rebuke, materialism and women's lack of attention from their husbands (Table 1 below). This study also revealed the following types of violence in response to the inducers (provocations) outlined above: denials of sex and cooking/ laundry services, avoidance, insults and yelling, fighting, use of juju, beating, burning and breaking household goods. Table 2 below categorizes these into physical and psychological respectively.

During FDGs, women articulated the causes of their violence and the types of reactions simultaneously. Therefore, the discussions below incorporate both the inducers and the types of this violence according to the way the women articulated them. At the end of these discussions, table 1 and 2 summarizes the causes and types of violence respectively. However, there are some inducers of violence which were not mentioned by women but were cited by men which the researcher discussed towards the end of the discussions. Below is what the women and men said concerning violence against the latter and because we are using double hermeneutic analysis, the researcher combined the original verbatim of the respondents and her personal interpretation of the responses considering the respondents' emotions and/ gestures and other literature studied.

4.3.1 Poor Financial Support

Poor financial support was the leading cause of violence against men from the sample with 29 women of the 55 citing it. Men in this research were reluctant to admit that their poor financial support to their wives and families was a cause of violence to their women. This is seen by the

fact that only 2 out of the 21 men participants in this research cited poor financial support as a cause of violence from their wives. Asked on poor financial support as a cause of violence, most of the men claimed their wives were just extravagant and ungrateful, adding that the finances they provided were enough for their families.

4.3.1.1 Types of Violence/ Reactions

Poor financial support attracted a host of hostile behaviour characterised with denials of cooking, cleaning and laundry services. Almost all the 29 women who cited poor financial support withdrew their services to punish their husbands for their inability to provide for their families. Poor financial support did not only attract hostile behaviour, it also attracted actual violence through denial of sex and beating. The two men who consented that poor financial support triggered some hostile behaviour from their wives said the types of violence they suffered were denials of cooking, cleaning and laundry services. These men confirmed what the women said that poor financial support to their families caused the above service denials and explained the agony they went through from such denial that life became very hard because they were made to do things they were not used to do. Below is what the women said:

“[...] Himwi hiindi inga balumi bangu tabayandi buyo ikundipa mali akuula hyakulya...inga ndilalibelekela kutegwa nduule chakulya bana bangu batafwi nzala. Eno kuti ndime ndaula chakulya eecho, hebapi nkaambo chakulya chuulwa amali tachibwezwi buyo...inga ndila bapa chisubulo heba washili hisani akubajikila konse ndilaleka kutegwa bahibe kuti heli muzike pele indili mukaintu wabo” meaning

“[...] sometimes my husband simply does not want to buy food or give me money to buy food...I strive to buy from my small business so that my children do not starve, but if it is me who has bought the food, I don't give him because food is not just picked but bought... and not until he buys food or gives me money to buy he won't eat. I don't wash or cook for him because I want to punish him so that he realises that am not his slave but his wife...” (A. 1, 36, mother of 4 and a marketeer).

“[...] When he is not around I buy nice food i.e. chicken and nice vegetables, I even make tea with milk and eat with my children...when he comes back and asks for food, I simply tell him there is no food. Usually he complains but I ask

him where he expects me to find food if he doesn't buy it himself... (Do you want me to steal or prostitute to find money to buy food?) Meanwhile my children and I would have eaten already [...]

"[...]jelo kuwasha nako nileka ndaba nilibbe mpamvu, nasopo yoowashila kuliibe. Meaning,

" [...] even washing clothes I stop because there is no soap, washing also needs energy if I don't eat I can't wash)it's not like I don't wash my clothes, I do it's just that I want to punish him for not being supportive" (A 2, 34, mother of 3).

"[...] my husband is not supportive so I had to start a business selling nshima in a restaurant to support my children...I don't even know how much he makes out of his carpentry job. I have now stopped him from bringing his relatives because there is no way I can be buying food for his relatives and himself while he takes his money to drink beer and give his girlfriends ...now I just cook for myself and my children and forget" (Anonymous 3, of age 32, a grade nine school dropout with 4 children).

"[...]I don't have authority over any money in our home, even the money we make out of the plants which I personally sale, he takes it away from me, so when I get home after the sales, I have to account for all the plants sold. when he gets paid, he tells me that I have no share out of his money because I was not there when his mother was educating him...it breaks my heart to hear such from my husband such that i cant even have sex with him and so I chase him from my house so that he sleeps in the second wife's house even when it is my turn" (A 4, aged 46, with 20 years polygamous marriage experience and mother of 3 children).

"[...]Nima zisebenzela neka,bamuna banga sibanitandizako, bavomelapo kupasa ndalama babululu babo noti ine....bakafola banilangiza ndalama buti banuza not kugwilapo olo kusebenzesa po. Nika gwilapo nikumenyewa mpaka kuzibwezapo ndalama ziija. Olo nankala naproblem kufamily nimazionela neka. So nikalwisha kugula vokudya nima batana ndaba olo Bible ikamba kuti bamuna bafunika kusamala mabanja yaw. Nima kangiwa kugona nabo vaso ngati vachitika", meaning:

"[...] I fight hard to survive because my husband never helps me with his money....he would rather give his relatives than me. When he gets paid he shows me the money but he tells me not to touch or use any of his money, if I do that it is fighting until I return the money. Even when I have a problem in my family he's not ready to help...I have to work hard all by myself...so I don't

give him the food I buy and for as long as he does not buy, we stay like that, meanwhile I eat from my friends...even the bible says husbands must provide for their families” (A 5, aged 32, a teacher, married for 7 years).

“[...]Kuti ndamuuma inga ulachincha, akotoka inga usika ulalengeleha kapepa atuntu mukati, nkuti boo kuti walubaluba ulaleka kuleta chitaa alimwi waumwa...”, meaning:

“[...] when I beat him, he changes and when he knocks off he comes with a plastic bag hanging with some stuff inside, otherwise when he forgets about the beatings, he stops bringing unless I administer another beating” (A. 6, aged 36, mother of 4 and a restaurant owner).

As earlier alluded to, only two men openly acknowledged that their inadequate financial statuses attracted violence and hostile behaviour from their wives and this is what they had to say:

“[...]Sometimes my wife complains of the little money that I earn and uses that excuse refusing to cook whatever food may be available. Even washing she abandons alleging that there is no soap but she manages to wash her own clothes...It’s hard to knock off from work and come en start cooking...cutting rape and tomatoes..., our only child is too small to be sent to cook... sometimes I feel like just walking away and finding another place to stay” (R. 1 did not disclose his age but looked to be in his early 30’s).

“[...] She wants us to lead a life style we cannot afford, if our neighbours cook chicken; she wants me to buy chicken even when I have no money. When I buy the rape or beans which I can afford, she refuses to cook; I feel we should lead our own life style which suits our pocket” (R. 2 aged 38, a local small scale businessman).

The excerpts presented above show that women strongly associated their husbands with breadwinning obligations, and under this obligation men were supposed to buy enough food and/or leave money for their families and failure to provide was viewed as provocation. Women responded to poor financial support in many ways, some women would simply not allow their husbands eat the food they bought with their own money, while others would not cook for them, others like in the case of A.6 saw beating as the solution which she admitted was only a temporal solution because the behaviour would carry on after some time. These women argued that food did not fall from heaven like did manna (the food that God provided for the people of Israel during their 40 years in the desert) (Exodus 16:4) but that it needed

either buying or cultivating by the one who would eat it. They quoted 1 Timothy 5:8 and 2 Thessalonians 3:10 which say that men who do not provide for their families are worse than unbelievers and that he who does not work, neither should he eat respectively. Wives who were not in formal employment and found in such situations had to find means such as do informal jobs to earn money to buy food for their families while those who were in formal employment bought food for the families which they denied their husbands from eating. In isolated circumstances, women claimed they were not given enough money to enable them secure enough and decent meals and this still left them with the responsibility to top up.

4.3.2 Infidelity

Infidelity was another common inducer of violence among wives in the sample. In simple terms, infidelity simply means cheating on one's spouse. In this research, many women submitted that cheating by their husbands was common and this aroused feelings of rage and betrayal which they found hard to overcome. In fact in this research, 25 women out of the 55 who consented to using violence cited infidelity as the cause of their violence. Infidelity was rated the second most common inducer of violence among women after poor financial support. Asked on allegations of infidelity, all the 21 men in this study disagreed to such claims. 8 men out of the 21 said their wives were always suspicious of their behaviour such that even visiting with friends (male and female) meant sleeping around with them. About 3 husbands claimed that their wives wanted too much attention as if they were newly married when in fact they were years old together and had gone beyond years of fantasy.

4.3.2.1 Types of Violence/Reactions

Infidelity attracted different types of violent behaviours but common among them was denial of sex. Others included physical acts of breaking household goods and use of juju. Juju is use of charms/ love portions believed to have influence on people's lives but have no scientific explanations (refer to the 4th caption below). Women spoke so unsympathetically of how their husband's infidelity drove them into violent behaviour. In their own words, this is what they said:

“[...] ahibwaabi hoonse hyobachita ibalumi bangu, bumambi inga ndaalilwa kubuzunda mumoyo wangu, eelipenzi ndeliyandika chisubulo chipati loko kwiinda bulubizi bumwi. Inga mane ndalombohya kuti twabula mali mung’anda pesi katuli antoomwe muluumuno kwiinda kuba amali nkaambo ngayunga balumi bangu kundisiya akutobela tusimbi tuumbi”, meaning:

“[...] of the many bad things that my husband does, cheating is what I fail to overcome in my heart, this particular problem is the one which deserves even more serious punishment than anything else. In fact I would prefer having no money and staying in peace than us having money which influences my husband to leave me for other girls...I don’t sleep (have sex)with him when I discover that he has an extra-marital affair, I assume he gets enough from his girlfriends” (A. 9, aged 39 a house wife with 6 children).

“[...]among the problems that I experience in my marriage, cheating is the most prominent...my husband likes girls such that sometimes he sleeps out and only comes in the morning. Because of his behaviour, he has on several occasions brought sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) in our home. So because I know that it’s his money that he gets which influences him to behave that way, I break household goods so that his money keeps circulating by buying to replace those that I break. and not taken it to his girlfriends...so every time he misbehaves say he leaves me for other girls, I break all breakables in our home...including plates, cups, radio speakers, television sets and his ATM cards...I don’t enjoy it but I have no option because it is the only language that makes him behave” (A. 10 aged 25, a teacher, mother of 2 with 3 years marriage experience).

“[...]ine vhuto nilinayo munyumba yanga niba muna banga kusanvela, bakonda kuggona kumacha road kuhuule yawo...mutima umababa elo ninvela monga bakabwela ninga batile manzi yoobila koma nikalibe nabatila po. Nika uuza bapongozi baniyanka ati nkalani chabe maayi bamuna boonse ndiye mwamene balili[...]. Mutima umababa maningi so bakabweela nimakana kugona naabokuyopa kuti banganipase matenda ndaba bakazi bakumacha road nimahule elo baggona namwamuna alionse”

“[...] the problem I have in my marriage is that my husband is promiscuous...he sleeps out at Macha road compound at his girl friend’s place....my temper rises and feel like spilling him hot water but I have never done that yet. When I report his behaviour to his parents they tell me to just stay and that all men are just the same, this hurts me even more just resort to not sleeping(having sex) with him, i fear that he would give me HIV because those girls at Macha road are prostitutes who sleep with any man” (A. 11 aged 34, a house wife and mother of 3).

“[...]nkaambo kakuti balashaba maningi tusimbi, inga ndibelesha musamu, tuwiita kutimusamu wadada kubaanga busankwa kutegwa bainka kutusimbi busankwa kabutaimi. Kuti kabala kokuno ndabaangulula kutegwa babeleka kabotu. Eechi chibapa kutaunka kutusimbi nkaambo chilasampuhya...”

“[...] because he is fond of girlfriends, I use juju (musamu wadada) to tie his manhood so that when he goes to his girlfriends, his manhood does not erect and therefore fails to function. When he is here with me I untie him so that his manhood functions as normal. This restrains him from going for women for fear of embarrassment and he stays home with me” (A. 12, aged 38, hairdresser and mother of 1).

“[...]most of the time what I do is that when am disturbed during the day, I wait for night to come and during bed time am going to deny him sex because during the day he would have made my life difficult. I feel this is the best punishment because men are very weak sexually, therefore denying my husband sex makes him realize his wrongs quickly and come crawling back to me...he can even kiss my feet in trying to make me happy” (A.13, 42, teacher(degree holder) and mother of 4 with 14 years marriage experience).

“[...] denial of sex is a good punishment for my husband [...] situations differ and different situations call for different types of punishments, in situations when I discover some unfaithfulness I deny him sex because I assume he gets enough from his girlfriends. Denying my husband sex really works for me, it's the best psychological punishment because it makes him do the right thing” (A. 14, 44, mother of 4 and a teacher by profession).

“[...] mebo balumi baangu balashaba maningi, tabanyi bukoko pe, tabaumi alimwi tabaambauli, pele bo basimbi. Bachinchauhya basimbi mbulikuti tabakwete. Inga nsechikonhzyi koona ambabo nkaambo ndanyema inga mubili tuuchili wangu pe” Meaning:

“[...] my husband does not drink beer neither is he outspoken, the only problem he has is that he likes girls too much, he changes girls like he is not married [...] No! no! no! I cannot manage to have sex with him, when am annoyed I don't feel myself [...] I feel like it is not my body and in that state I cannot allow him to have sex with me, I tell him to just leave me alone” (A.15, 39, a housewife and mother of 4 and spoke in Tonga).

The men in this study as earlier alluded to denied any acts of infidelity. In the except below respondent A, father of 3, a driver by occupation with 10 years marriage experience narrated how his wife accused him of infidelity when in fact she was overtaken by suspicions and respondent B, a court magistrate, with 30 years marriage experience and father of 5 gives his version on accusations of infidelity which he described as lack of attention respectively:

“[...] it's not true that all men are unfaithful, it's just that most of the times women don't just understand. Being a driver sometimes am called at awkward hours when there are emergencies, for example two weeks ago when there was a fire at choma boarding secondary school kitchen, i was called around 2 am

to drive the senior district officials to the school but my wife could not understand. She accused me of having connived with some friends of mine to call me so that i can go and see my girl friend. She complained and complained until i just decided to go without her approval, she only calmed down when she heard what had happened later that day...when she's upset with me often for wrong reasons, such as suspicions, she stops washing and preparing my clothes for work... when i knock off, i will find no food, not even a welcome greeting, i have to cook for myself while she watches telemundo on DStv (channel on television), the facility i pay for. So she won't talk to me, and as long as she remains in that state, we would have no sex" (R. A aged 46)

"[...] it is normal for men who have lived with their wives for a very long time to treat them like any other common person. But my wife always expects that special attention and if that attention is lacking, she becomes upset with me accusing me of seeing other women to whom am devoting my attention to" (R. B, a Govt. employee, father of 5, refused to disclose age but appeared to in his early 50s).

The excerpts presented above demonstrated that infidelity was a serious cause of violence among women in the study as this was confirmed by both husbands and wives. This finding therefore confirms the findings of Muponisi (2012) and Mtonga (2012) on infidelity of especially men being a cause of violence of women towards men. Muponisi (2012) after having studied violence among refugee men against their wives concluded that infidelity was one of the causes of this violence. The emotions/ behaviour of these women during the discussions indicated that they were very much affected by the infidelity of their husbands and so they had so much hope in their reactions as they claimed these would restrain their husbands from being unfaithfulness.

4.3.3 Suspicions/ Jealousy

According to table 1 below, suspicions and jealousy appears after beer drinking and non-involvement in household chores but in this discussion, the researcher decided to discuss suspicions and jealousy immediately after infidelity because the two are almost the same thing. This research revealed that 9 of the 55 women and 7 men of the 21 cited suspicions and jealousy as the cause of aggressive behaviour in the women. Such suspicions and jealousy in the women were necessitated by the men's suspicious behaviour such as long unexplained absence from home, phone text messages and phone calls and sometimes misplaced anger all caused the aggressive behaviour of wives towards their husbands.

On the other hand, these women claimed that their men were also too suspicious of them such that they would not allow their wives to either attend school, do business and in rare incidents to get employment. This just added to their anger because these wives claimed that their husbands knew that they were innocent of their suspicions and they just did that to cover up their own suspicious behaviours. So we have two types of suspicions both inducing aggression in women towards their husbands. Suspicions stemming from men's suspicious behaviour such as mentioned above (hidden messages and unexplained phone calls) and aggression coming from men's possessive behaviour over their wives and both these suspicions made women aggressive towards their husbands. In this research, suspicion and jealousy comprises the behaviour exhibited by women in reaction to their husband's suspicious behaviour.

4.3.3.1 Types of Violence/ Reactions

The types of violence that suspicions and jealousy attracted were use of juju, beating and verbal abuse evident in insults, yelling and name calling. The excerpts below show that beating, insulting, yelling and name calling were the responses to provocations of suspicions of unfaithfulness and jealousy.

"[...] I have used juju on him in the past after suspecting that he was cheating on me... nowadays beating him works better, because after beating him he comes early and stays home. Beating him has really worked for me, though for now it's like it's been long since I last beat him and he needs another beating. When I beat him too much, he goes to report me to my mother." (A. 21 aged 32, with 13 years marriage experience and mother of 4, spoke English).

"[...]jine vhuto naba muna banga niyakuti bakachoka kumahule yawo bama ganiza kuti naine nimachita vaupuba vamene bamachita. So upeza ati bafuna kunicheking'a ku ukazi ati baone ngati nenze kugona nabamuna benangu. Nindani wamene saangakalipe kumuchita soo? Sibama nivomelesa noenda kuona bachibbululu ndaba ya jelasi yaayo yaupuba " meaning:

"[...] my problem is that when he comes home from his prostitutes, he thinks i behave irresponsibly like he does so he demands to inspect my private parts to check if I have had sex with another man when in fact its him who sleeps around, who wouldn't be annoyed of such a behaviour. He doesn't even allow me to visit my relatives because of his stupid jealousy" (A. 22, mother of 3).

“[...] ine bamuna banga niba truck driver, so ntawi zina siba bwela kunyumba kwantau itali, chimani baaba. Manje kaili sininga bamenye balinampamvu kunichiila. So nima batukana chabe...mmmmhh nimatukana vikali vakuti siningakambe pabantu. Ngati sinina kalipe maningi nibakamba chabe ati chipuba iwe, imbwa iwe, matako yaako olo mbuzi iwe”.

“[...] my husband is a truck driver and sometimes he doesn't come home for a long time which is really painful, but since I can't beat him, because he is stronger than me, I simply insult him...mmhh I can't do anything else apart from insulting and calling him name. They are serious insults that I cant even say them in a group like this one but when am not very annoyed I simply tell him you fool, you dog, your bumns, you goat. (A. 22 aged 38, a bar patron, married for 8 years and mother of 6).

“...yes sometime I find messages in his phone which I suspect are from his girlfriends and there are calls he avoids to pick up when we are together, why?...I yell and insult him I don't care whether any one is listening... 'wechipuba chamwaume iwe' (stupid husband)...we mbwa we (you dog)...' (A.23, 36 years old, another bar patron with 4 children).

Respondents G and H both victims of their wives' aggression on grounds of suspicions had this to say:

“[...] she shouts at me on top of her voice and in front of my children [...] calling me names such as foolish, and calls me dog[...] I feel very bad and useless even embarrassed...”(Respondent G, 38, father of 4).

“[...] my own wife calls me stupid simply because she suspects I have a girlfriend” (R. H with 10 years marriage experience).

Tension in many homes was caused by suspicions and jealousy and this aspect is not unique to this study only. Roach (2011), a scholar in domestic violence listed jealousy to be a significant cause of violence in most marriages. Muponisi (2012) also listed jealousy and suspicions of unfaithfulness among the causes of violence in his research cited earlier. From the researcher's point of view and as earlier alluded to, jealousy and suspicions of unfaithfulness was one of the common causes of hostile behaviour exhibited by women.

4.3.4 Beer Drinking

Beer drinking in this research means sometimes staying out late drinking beer and not chronic drinking. Precisely 12 wives out of the 55 women who said they were hostile to their husbands listed beer drinking as a cause of their hostility and these women said alcohol was a serious threat to their marriages. About 6 men in this study consented that their beer drinking induced violence in their wives, but only one man agreed to dwell on the issue of how beer drinking affected their wives.

4.3.4.1 Types of Violence/ Reactions

The types of violence that was common in homes where husbands drunk beer was beating and fighting. These two were cited by both husbands and wives. Below is what the women said in relation to their husbands beer drinking and their violent behaviour

“[...] When he gets some money, he leaves home for days just drinking. When he comes back, he wants food and clean clothes... then he finds am ready for him, he finds am ready and just waiting for an opportunity to strike...whatever he asks, it sparks an argument which deteriorates into a fight and I hit him using anything at my disposal.... you know men are strong and as a woman I cannot fight him with my bare hands, this is the reason I use anything to hurt him...things like stones, logs and almost anything within my reach...” (A. 19, with 20 years marriage experience and mother of five children).

“[...] the biggest problem my husband has is drinking, he buys everything for me, he gives me money but he drinks too much such that his drunken behaviour irritates me to an extent where I beat him up” (A. 20, with 16 years of marriage experience and a teacher).

“[...] my husband drinks like I have never seen any man do, when he gets paid, he spends all his money on drinking and prostitutes. He expects me to feed him together with his relatives. I tried to do that when I just got married but now I’ve failed. Now I treat him back because it is very frustrating...I treat him when he comes back from drinking, when he gets back from drinking and asks for food ask him if he left money, sometimes he reacts badly by either yelling at me or wanting to hit, it is then that I hit him with just about anything that is within reach. Such fights happen often even during working days” (A. 21, 40, a marketeer and mother of 4).

Among the men who spoke on their beer drinking was respondent F and below is what he said regarding beer drinking:

“[...] the time I was getting married, I was already drinking and my wife knew that she was marrying a person who drinks. I do not understand how my beer

drinking must become a problem now when it wasn't before and I cannot promise my wife that I will quit drinking because she doesn't like it...beer is nice and I don't see myself stopping any time soon. My wife gets real mad at me when I come from drinking and she beats me. One time she got a knife and threatened to cut my throat but I overpowered her and grabbed the knife from her, it was such a bad evening, my children were traumatise" (R. F, 34, a banker and father of 2).

As indicated above, both men and women submitted that beer drinking attracted some hostility from their wives. Beer drinking from the women's point of view translated into many problems in their marriages, it led to unbudgeted spending, denied spouses precious time together as their husbands spent a lot of time drinking with their friends and that it exposed their spouses to risky behaviour. All these factors that came with beer drinking made wives dislike beer drinking. Women in this study alluded to the fact that when their men came home drunk, they became provoking, made noise, insulted, while some would yell at their wives to extents of starting fights. Mtonga (2007) made this finding in her study on wife battery in which she indicated that beer drinking was one of the leading causes of wife battery (violence). Odenko and Purdin (2000 & 2002) also concluded that alcoholism among men of the Achol-pii and Kiryandango refugee settlements led to violence in most homes. It is well known to many that alcohol impairs the reasoning and judgement of the consumer and ultimately may cause them to act in aggressive and irritating manner. Such aggression and irritations triggered hostility in their wives.

From the findings of this research and with the confirmation from other research findings cited above, it is wise to posit that beer drinking really does lead to violence in many homes in Zambia compound and induces violence in wives of those men who take it. Violence of these women varied and depended on the manner of provocation as indicated in the above excerpts. Women who drink beer were also seen to contribute to their violence towards the men as they claimed to rush into insulting each time they were provoked when they were drunk and hesitated to do so when they were sober (Muponis 2012).

4.3.5 Non-involvement in Household Chores (Laziness)

Non-involvement in household chores triggered hostile behaviour in at least 9 out of the 55 women who consented to violent behaviour to their husbands. Benin and Agostinelli (1988)

argue that husband's involvement in household chores contributes significantly to marital quality and stability because according to them, wives are happy when their spouses take part in even in the smallest way possible in traditional female chores. Berardo, Shehan and Leslie (2007) state, "...women view men's contribution to household chores as a considerate, supportive intimate act and evidence of their love." This implies that when husbands entirely refuse to take part in these chores both quality and stability of such marriages is at stake. The refusal creates frustration in the partner who is left to do all the chores alone or even most of them which may result in emotional build-up likely to cause arguments and fights in the home. Schwalbe (2001) argues that men's non-involvement in household chores creates and perpetuates inequalities in the home and at work. In his own words, Schwalbe (2001) states,

"[...] women cannot compete as men's equals at work if they are doing a second shift of cleaning, laundry, and childcare at home. A man whose wife does these chores for him, or a man who doesn't do his share of work, is freer to devote him to his job. As this freedom translates into higher earnings, a man expects and gains more power in the home because his job becomes the chief source of family income...A little extra power at home, arising out of old ideas about gender, can give a man an edge at work which can in turn, over time, amplify his power in the home."

From the above quotation, it is clear that the writer is challenging the idea that housework is a woman's responsibility and is also advocating for men's involvement in household chores. In this research, women said that their husbands did not help out in any domestic chores, not even in 'masculine' home chores such as slashing the lawns, cutting flower hedges, digging rubbish pits or gardening. These women claimed that it would be understood if their men refused to wash dishes because these are typically done by girls and women, but where they entirely refuse to do chores that are suitable for men was totally unacceptable. This made the women hostile and sought ways to 'correct' their husbands.

Generally men refused involvement in household chores claiming that they worked all day long and therefore they felt less responsible for housework and that it was the responsibility of women and that they were not ready to compromise to such levels.

4.3.5.1 Types of Violence/Reaction

Non-involvement in household chores by husbands attracted a variety of hostilities. The 9 women who cited non-involvement in household chores as a cause of their hostility said they denied their husbands cleaning, laundry and catering services claiming that they were tired due to the heavy loads of household chores and other domestic responsibilities such as child care which were all left to them. Using the same argument of being tired, women denied their husbands sex. The excerpts below show how husbands' non-involvement in household chores triggered hostile behaviour in wives of such husbands:

"[...] Yes my husband is extremely lazy. What pains me the most is that he does not allow me to have a maid to help me at the same time he does not help out with work at home. I have to do the laundry, cooking, cleaning all alone. Sometimes we knock off at the same time from work and we reach home tired, he will go straight to watch the television and read newspapers while I struggle alone to prepare food. After eating he quickly goes to bed while I remain to tidy up the kitchen. I punish him also, sometimes I just wash but I don't iron so that he irons for himself and when am very upset with him, I tell him that am not able to cook because I say I have a headache and he will have no option but to cook but usually I deny him sex and especially with denial of sex, I would have achieved my objective of punishing him..." (A 6, a teacher and a mother of 3, married to a fellow teacher).

"[...] my husband does not do any household chores, both I and him work but in addition to my teaching job, he expects me to cook, do laundry and cleaning the house, cut the flower hedge, slash the lawns, dig the rubbish pit and do gardening. What kind of a husband would subject his wife to such exploitation? I know how to punish him...depending on how annoyed I become, sometimes I subject him to silent treatment where I don't talk to him, sometimes even not responding when he asks me something, just treat him like he does not exist. In addition to that i deny him sex either because after such hard work, i am too tired to have sex" (A 7, 33, mother of 2 boys and a teacher by profession).

In view of the foregoing, it can be deduced that husbands' non-involvement in household chores induces hostile behaviour in their wives. Women suffer from a cultural bias which stereotypes them as homemakers and they are made to carry a full burden of household management. The case of A6 above in which the husband who is the sole decision maker does not authorise the hiring of a maid but at the same time does not help out with domestic chores to lighten the burden of his wife shows how serious the issue of husbands' non-involvement in

household chores is. In any case, the violence of these women is justifiable considering the pressure they are subjected to. The triple roles to which women are subjected to weighs heavily on them and to the researcher it was considered to be exploitation. Judging from the emotions these women attached to their experiences, men's non-involvement in household chores was a serious source of frustration and anger. In this triple role, women engage in the productive activities to generate income for the household use through informal employment like selling at the market and hair dressing. The same women have the reproductive role of bearing and looking after children; in addition to the maintenance work of cooking food, washing clothes and cleaning both the inside and outside of their homes. These women also have a community role to play such as their membership in committees and attending funerals meant to lighten burdens of community members and to improve wellbeing of their communities (Longwe 2008). Men therefore should consider the wellbeing of their wives and help out with household chores, where they refuse; women are justified to teach their lessons. This is evidenced by women giving examples of situations where both wife and husband worked and sometimes doing the same kind of job yet men expected their wives to do all the work alone.

4.3.6 Late Coming

Late coming in the context of this research meant not reaching home on the normal (usual) time with the reasonable allowance for delays within and outside the work schedules. 8 women in this study attributed their violence against their husbands to late coming. On the other side 12 men out of the 21 recruited to this study agreed with the women that their getting home late induced violence in their wives. The women admitted that life was full of uncertainties and that their husbands were victim to such, but they were quick to argue that in this era of high technological advancements in communication, late coming need not be a problem. They submitted that their husbands only failed to communicate when they were not truthful in what they were doing but when they were genuinely delayed, they communicated without problems. The women further submitted that it was quite easy for them to know that their husbands were not being truthful once they lied to them and that triggered hostility from the women. The women claimed that late coming was one of the most difficult marital problems and therefore required a firm reaction to counter it.

4.3.6.1 Types of Violence/ Reaction

Almost all women who cited late coming as an inducement of violence used avoidance and frustration as their types of violence. The men who said that their getting home late agitated their wives cited avoidance. In this research, avoidance meant women would just ignore their husbands and not respond when they were talked to or gave cold responses if they chose to respond. Those who chose frustration delayed to open the doors for their husbands to get in as punishment. Below is what the women said in relation to their husband's late coming:

"[...] too much coming late, 22-23hrs and sometimes 02, 03 in the morning...late coming is one of the most difficult things to handle because one wouldn't be sure where they are and whether they are safe or not. As such late coming attracts even stiffer punishment" (A.16, mother of 2 girls and a petty business woman).

"[...] my husband comes home late most of the time. I know the time at which he knocks off from work and even when he has extra work, he would not stay in the office up until 22 hours...I don't like it when comes home late, I get really upset that days would pass without talking to him" (A.17, aged 25, mother of two).

"[...] He usually comes home late, it's not always that coming home late is a problem, its normal for people who work to come home late but sometimes it's too much and no explanations fits, I treat him by cutting all manner of communication, even in bed, there would be no communication what so ever" (A.18, 32 years old).

While some men took the blame by accepting that it was wrong for the men to go home late after knocking off from their places of work, others among them insisted that women were just complicated human beings and that bending to their demands all the time meant that one was not man enough. Other men submitted that women were always suspicious and quick to make conclusions without proof. The following men said:

"[...] each time I get home beyond the usual time, my wife gets agitated and stops talking to me, stops serving my food and send the children...but am not married to my children, I have a wife who always does that for me. One thing

my wife forgets is that am a social being and my children and my wife are not my only friends...” (R.C aged 41, a headmaster at a named school and father of 4).

“[...] sometimes women become unrealistic...my wife becomes really hostile with me for going home late. She wants to treat me like a kid who can't take care of themselves. When I get home late, she stops talking to me and her responses to my questions are low.” (R. D aged 32, a banker and father of 2).

“[...] my wife is always suspicious of my getting home late and she starts up quarrels with insults because of that but at the same time I cannot be running home each time I knock off so that I don't reach home late,otherwise these women can make one run mad...” (R. E aged 34 and father of 4).

The above excerpts given by both women and men demonstrate just how provocative late coming was to the women which was worsened by the resistance from the men with some arguing that listening to women all the time would make one ‘run mad’ while others accused their wives of being unrealistic. Men would simply not agree with the women on accusations of late coming and even though they showed concern over their wives reactions, they did not exhibit willingness to change.

4.3.7 Dependence (Lack of Source of Income)

Dependence here meant men relying on their wives for livelihood. Such men looked up to their wives to feed them together with their children. This meant that their wives had to pay rentals, buy food, clothes and everything that was needed for their families. 2 women out of the 55 cited dependence of their husbands on them as a cause of violence in their homes. One of these two women said her husband was a casual worker who claimed that he was not getting paid by his employers and waited for his wife to support the family. Another woman of the two who cited dependence as a cause of her violence said her husband seemed not interested to neither work nor do business but to just stay at home. None of the 21 men recruited to this study cited their dependence on their wives as cause of hostile behaviour from their wives towards them. In fact all the 21 men in this study claimed to be responsible husbands and alleged that their wives were extravagant amid the harsh economic conditions and once their desires were not met, they accused them of dependence.

4.3.7.1 Types of Violence/ Reaction

The reactions of the two women involved were different. The woman who had a casual worker for a husband but who was a hair dresser herself used physical violence. On two separate occasions, she burnt her husband, with hot water and cooking oil respectively. She was not remorseful at all. The other woman used verbal aggression to force her husband to do house work because she would be tired by the time she got home. In their own words, the two women who cited dependence as a cause of violence said the following:

“[...] once, out of frustration I poured hot water on him[...] unfortunately the water was not very hot so he wasn't seriously burnt. The second incidence was a more serious one; I used hot cooking oil and targeted the legs. My husband sustained serious burns. His relatives took me to police while he was taken to the hospital by some friends of his. I was charged with assault which I paid and after days in hospital he was discharged and now he's refusing to take me back...he has since sued me for divorce alleging that I will kill him in future. I don't regret what I did and I can't apologize because he has never apologized for the wrongs he has done to me” (A. 8, a hair dresser in a named saloon at kalukungu market with 10 years marriage experience and mother of 4).

“[...]the problem we have in our home is that my husband is too dependent on me to provide, it's like I stay with a small boy from whom I can't expect any help yet I live with a full grown man who I think we can work together to better our living, but he can't[...] so because I work every day to put food on the table, he must remain working at home as well, he must cook, draw water for use and for bathing, instead of waiting for me to come and do everything for him because I come home tired” (A. 8, 38, a casual worker at a named pre-school, mother of 2 and a bread winner of the family).

From the two situations above, issues of stereotyping men as breadwinners and primary income earners stemming from religious and cultural norms come into play. At the same time, these norms assign women to domestic work even in situations when they are involved in productive activities. Under such norms, the man is the head of the house and they are not expected to completely take over the homemaking role which is assigned to women as doing so attracts ridicule from society on both the man and the woman. It is because of this that the man involved with A.8 had to be commanded to do the house work which he was not happy about and which he would not have done if he had another option.

Ondenko and Purdin (2000 and 2002) made this observation in their study among Northern Uganda and Kiryandango in which men championed demand for food which they did not

work hard to secure. In this case, the man who was not employed and could not contribute anything financially and failed to even help out with the domestic chores was subjected to what the researcher termed, ‘masculine chauvinist behaviour’ from his wife. Here the woman assumed the position of the ‘head of the home’ the position which according to culture and religion is a preserve of husbands. In this research, men who completely failed to provide were highly expected to do all the home chores while their wives fended for their families.

4.3.8 Correction/ Rebuke

Correction and rebuke was cited by 2 men in this research but no woman ever listed it as a cause of violence in their homes. The men who cited it said their wives did not want correction and especially rebuke, adding that correcting and rebuking their wives ended into annoyance on the part of the women.

4.3.8.1 Types of Violence/ Reactions

According to the men, the behaviour that was common following correction and rebuke was avoidance. The women would get annoyed and stop talking to their husbands and husbands said the consequences of correcting/advising their wives and especially rebuke were so severe that avoidance was rated the second most used of the types of violence. Respondent I, a family man of 2 and married to a bar patron (with visibly red and swollen eyes and displaying a medical report) narrated how he earned himself a beating after rebuking his wife for beer drinking:

“[...] mwalimona ilinso efyo lilemoneka ili? inshiku shitatu ishapita nafumine kuunchito, nasangile fye abana kung’anda ninshi umukashi waandi ali kubar. Elyo naile mukumusenda, aitle abashitisha mubar namaguys baambi obo alenwa nabena nokwaamba ukunguma. Baali ngumine ububi saana. The following day naile kupolice mukusenda call out iyamukashi wandi pantu ii tefirst time iyo. Last time alingumine nepulanga pampumi, nalikweete ichilonda ichikulu sana”. Meaning:

“[...] You see how my eye is looking , three days ago, when I knocked off from work, I found that my wife was still drinking at the bar and when I went to fetch her , she called the bar attendant and other guys to beat me up and I was badly beaten . Where you see me here, I have a medical report and I want to

go and get a call out for my wife. Because this is not the first time she has done this, last time she hit me with a log and I sustained a deep cut on my forehead...”(R. J, 42,a local truck driver and father of 3).

In reference to the above, women took offence in their husband’s correcting and rebuking them with some reacting to extremes. Rebuke and correction was viewed as a right in the eyes of tradition in that men being the heads of their homes, they shoulder the responsibility of order in their homes.

4.3.9 Materialism

Although the women denied it, 2 husbands in this research cited materialism as a cause of violence which they suffered from their wives. The women claimed that their husbands wanted them to dress in rags and plait ‘mukule’ (African natural braid) and look dirty while they go after other girls who look smart. The two men alleged that their wives once their demands were not met would be annoyed; adding that such days would be chaotic as there would be no peace in their homes.

4.3.9.1 Types of Violence/ Reactions

The most common type of violence associated with materialism of the women was avoidance. In the excerpts below R. J and K suffered violence because of their wives’ materialism and here is what they said respectively:

“[...] people are always imperfect. My wife especially always wants to be up-to-date with fashion and so she demands money for hair, shoes and clothes...when I say I don’t have money, my wife becomes annoyed with me..She’ll just keep quiet (i.e. she stops communicating) and starts comparing me to other men who buy their wives all sorts of things...Until she gets what she wants, quarrels will not stop in the home...” (R. J, 39 a businessman with six years marriage experience and father of two).

“[...] sometimes my wife wants certain things bought even when I don’t have money ,but she doesn’t want to understand because my wife being my best friend must understand, sometimes you advise her, let’s do this or buy that which is more urgent first and then buy what you want later but she becomes annoyed and starts behaving strange by keeping quiet and generally uncooperative in the home...” (R. K, a businessman, owning a welding enterprise with 16 years marriage experience and father of 4).

Both men who cited materialism as a cause of violence strongly condemned their wives' actions as unrealistic. The men claimed that their wives' behaviour was characterised by obsessions of fashion in clothes, hair and shoes. They accused their wives of neglecting sustainable investments in businesses and infrastructure, in preference for clothes and fancy hair styles. These men claimed their women were short sighted.

4.3.10 Lack of Attention

Men cited lack of attention to their wives as an inducer of hostile behaviour in their wives. With only 2 men citing it, lack of attention was not cited by women directly, but indirectly through other causes that have already been mentioned such as late coming and beer drinking. Respondent L below commented how his lack of attention was an inducement of violence to his wife and said the following:

“[...] just by being a father, I have to balance between work and leisure, showing your wife and children that you are the man of the house. Everyone expects you to provide. So much as my wife needs attention, I have to work hard to feed my family, I don't understand when my wife tells me that I don't pay attention to her, I feel she enjoys nagging. She avoids me and when I try to reason with her she yells at me” (R. L 33, a self employed driver and father of 3).

No literature was found that discussed lack of attention of men to their women as a cause of domestic violence and everything that comes with it. The excerpts above however do demonstrate that lack of attention to women caused the violence of avoidance annoyance among women. In the context of this research, avoidance was exhibited in many ways including ignoring the victim, not responding to queries and general coldness towards the victim which caused discomfort. In R.L's situation, the wife yelled at him even.

The above discussion has brought out the inducers and the types of violence discussed alongside each other. The tables of inducers and types of violence could not be put alongside each other because the two have separate varying frequencies which would not combine as they would not correspond hence the separate tables. The percentages do not add up to 100 because of multiple response set i.e. women citing more than one cause and type of violence respectively. Such overlapping meant that percentage totals went beyond 100. Tables 1 and 2

below give a summary of the causes and types of violence that have been discussed above and as revealed by the research respectively.

Table 1: Causes of Violence Articulated by Wives of Zambia Compound by Frequency

Inducer of Violence	Frequency	%
Poor Financial Support	29	49.2
Infidelity	25	42.4
Beer drinking	12	20.3
Non-involvement in household chores	9	15.2
Suspicious & jealousy	9	15.2
Late coming	8	13.6
Dependence-no source of income	2	3.6
Correction/ rebuke	2	3.6
Materialism	2	3.6
Lack of attention	2	3.6

Source: Field Data (2014)

Table 2, Types of Violence Associated with Wives of Zambia Compound By Frequency.

Type of Violence		Frequency	%
Physical	Beating	2	3.6
	Fighting	5	9.0
	Burning	1	1.7
	Breaking Household Goods	1	1.7
Psychological	Denial of sex	32	54.2
	Denial of cooking, laundry	29	49.2
	Avoidance	16	27.1
	Insults and Yelling	8	13.6
	Use of juju	3	5.1

Source: Field Data (2014)

The general picture of the inducers and types of violence in women as revealed by this research indicates that poor financial support, infidelity and beer drinking were highly

pronounced inducers of this violence while denials of sex and avoidance were highly pronounced types of violence. The research also revealed that female violence is rarely physical with only 9 out of 59 using it. Female violence is mostly psychological with denial of sex and avoidance being its strongholds. The hostile behaviour earlier mentioned as not amounting to violence was also a common behaviour among women. This included denials of cooking, laundry and cleaning services.

4.4 Theme III- Characteristics of Violent Wives

To answer the third and final question of the research, characteristics of violent women were identified using the following: age, educational attainment, means of livelihood, duration in marriage and religious affiliation. Knowing that employment or means of livelihood depends so much on education, education and means of livelihood have been discussed together but with respective tables to illustrate their impact on female violence. The tables could not be merged because each had relatively unique details which all needed to be shown clearly and merging them would have meant leaving out some information to create space for compatibility.

4.4.1 Age and Female violence

As the table above indicates, the youngest respondent was 25 years old and the oldest was 65 years. The average age was 37. In this research both the young and the old exhibited violence on their husbands, although younger couples (25-30) which happened to have the highest frequency of all age ranges were relatively more violent than older age ranges. The younger age ranges were mostly associated with physical violence, for example the woman who broke household goods was 25 while the one who beat up her husband was 32. Older women (40 years and above) mostly used psychological hostile behaviour characterised with avoidance and the various denials of cleaning and laundry services, cooking and denial of sex. This however is not to imply that the younger aged women did not engage in psychological violence but that the older women were never engaged in physical violence while the younger women were involved in both. The table above shows the age range and their corresponding frequencies including the kinds of reaction against husbands in relation to age.

Musukuma (2005) argues that women of ages 25-34 were at the highest risk of battery. Considering that Musukuma studied violence against women, this finding contradicts though slightly with the findings of this research which recorded 25 -30 as having the highest frequency of the respondents in this study. In this research, the age range 25-30 was the most physically violent compared to any other age range. Considering the women’s argument that their hostile behaviour was as a result of provocation, one would conclude that the victims of the women’s violence were the source of the violence. It is almost the same age range with Musukuma’s respondents who battered their wives. So if in Musukuma’s research women of age range 25-34 were battered and in this research women of the similar age range 25-30 accuse their men of provoking them, then the age range of men who married women between 25 and 34 are violent. Usually men marry women younger than themselves and going by the women’s age range, these men could be in the age range of 30 to 40 but could still be younger or older.

Table 3: Age of Female Respondents by Frequency.

Age Range	Frequency	%	Type of Violence
25-30	21	35.6	Fighting
			burning,
			Breaking property.
31-36	16	27.1	Beating
			sex denial
			Verbal abuse
37-41	10	16.9	Sex denial
			Verbal abuse
42-46	2	3.4	Withdraw of cleaning
			Laundry
47-65	2	3.4	Avoidance

Source: Field Data (2014)

4.4.2 Education and Means of Livelihood in Relation to Female Violence

Nearly every woman in this study was rather literate with the majority (26) not having gone beyond junior secondary school. Of these, thirteen (13) had only completed primary level and almost all of them unsuccessfully. Another thirteen (13) had only reached junior secondary level with others failing to proceed due to lack of financial support from their parents and/or guardians while others failed their examinations and others fell pregnant and stopped school. About 19 women completed their secondary education but due to either poor performance or lack of finances and preference of marriage to school could not continue with education. About 14 women successfully completed secondary school and proceeded to tertiary education with 13 training as teachers while one did secretarial at Kasiya business college in Pemba before getting married.

Going by these levels of educational attainment, means of livelihood of the women in this study varied. With majority (45) not having attained tertiary education, many were in informal means of livelihoods, typically female in nature. About 20 women were marketeers selling vegetables, dry fish and beans; others in the same group were employed as shopkeepers. 8 were bar patrons who also did petty businesses of roasting sausages and chicken pieces (shokas) which they sold to their fellow bar patrons whom they drank beer with. Some women in the sample (8) worked in saloons as hair dressers; the other 9 women were house maids who also did some small businesses at their homes commonly known as *tuntembas*. In the sample, 13 women were teachers while 1 was a secretary at a named school just within the compound.

Relatively all women regardless of their means of livelihoods which is mainly influenced by their educational attainment were violent to their husbands in one way or another. In his own words, Kelly (1999:27) argues that 'education should strengthen the feeling of responsibility...at the same time should strengthen will power and make a person's conscience sensitive both to moral and intellectual truth; and should impart some power of discrimination between good, evil and reality.' Despite the fact that all these women were violent, the violence of those with a higher education (tertiary) was mild and well thought out and justifiable actions were given for their violent behaviour livelihood. To this extent, education greatly influences aspects of social behaviour such as violence. The research revealed that

relatively all women both lowly and highly educated are violent to their husbands but the types of violence differed. This research established that education did not completely stop violence but that it reduced it significantly just like Kelly asserts early on in this paragraph. Women from the tertiary education level did not engage in beating, burning and fighting but mostly denial of sex and avoidance (table 4).

With the exception of the woman who broke household property, we can argue that highly educated women were generally not physical in their violence as compared to those in the primary range who used juju, burning and fighting. Mwiinga (2005) argues that there is no association between education level and domestic violence. Going by Kelly's submission, it is common knowledge that people who are educated behave responsibly, with the ability to weigh consequences of their actions and therefore this research agrees with Mwiinga's argument. Educated women recruited to this study were rarely physical in their approach to violence and their argument for this was that they feared the law would catch up with them if they injured their spouses in the process and also that the injuries that result from physical violence would drain the very resources they were working hard to earn. On the other hand, the woman who burnt her husband did not care about the consequences of her actions and was not remorseful at all. The woman who broke household property argued that her actions worked well for her marriage because her husband could afford to stay home and not go out for other women and/or beer. In view of the foregoing, education has influence on female violence.

Means of livelihood also was seen to have some influence on female domestic violence even though the women in their submissions presented that they did not mind the poverty so much the way they minded their husband's unfaithfulness. Close examination of table 5 above indicates that all the 8 bar patrons and all the 8 hair dressers and 19 out of 20 marketeers were violent. The types of violence engaged in by these women is what emphasises the influence, for example, bar patrons yelled and insulted their spouses regardless of the place and who was listening and hair dressers used juju, burning and fighting while teachers used mostly avoidance. From this it is right to argue that means of livelihood influences female domestic violence. This finding is inconsistent with what Mwiinga (2005) concluded on domestic violence that means of livelihood did not influence domestic violence.

Musukuma (2005) made a similar conclusion by arguing that more incidents of violence were recorded among housewives who were totally dependent on their husbands and among women who were in the informal sector who had less income because these were obviously vulnerable to their husbands. The research by Plan Zambia (2013) also cited low household income was a cause of domestic violence in many homes. All these studies however examined the domestic violence from the view of female victimization and they mostly focused on the income of the men. Even though the cited studies examined violence from the context of female victimisation, relating them to this study is a good idea because women argued that their violence was never without cause i.e. they were provoked which can also mean that violence from their men is what provoked them to administer the violence we are discussing in this study.

Table 4: Education of Female Respondents by Frequency

Education Range	Frequency	Types of violence/ response	No. of Perpetrators	%
Primary Range	13	Juju	3	5.1
		Denial of sex	3	5.1
		Burning	1	1.7
		Fighting	2	3.4
		Verbal abuse	5	8.5
Junior Secondary	13	Juju	1	1.7
		Denial of sex	8	13.6
		Beating	2	3.4
		Fighting	2	3.4
		Verbal abuse	3	5.1
Completed Secondary	19	Denials of laundry	6	10.2
		Fighting	1	1.7
		Cooking	5	8.5
		Sex denial	14	23.7
Tertiary Education	14	Breaking property	1	1.7
		Denial of sex	7	11.9
		Avoidance	14	23.7

Source: Field Data (2014)

Table 5: Means of Livelihood of the Women by Frequency and Type of Violence

Means of Livelihood	Frequency	No. Violent	%	Type of Violence/ reaction
Marketeers (vegetables, shop keepers, fish etc.)	20	19	32.2	Beating
				Denial of sex
				Insults & yelling
Hair dressers and saloon owners	8	8	13.6	Burning
				Juju
				Denial of sex
Maids and piece workers	9	8	13.6	Avoidance
				Fighting
				Denial of sex
Bar Patrons (sold roasted sausage, chicken and pork)	8	8	13.6	Insults & yelling
				Denial of sex
Teachers	13	11	18.6	Breaking property
				Denial of sex
Secretary	1	1	1.7	Denial of sex
				Avoidance

Source: Field Data (2014)

4.4.3 Duration in Marriage and Female Violence

The shortest duration in marriage was 2 months and 46 years was the longest. Generally duration in marriage had no much influence on female violence against their husbands. This is evidenced by the fact that the woman who had stayed the shortest and the longest period alike were hostile/ violent to their husbands. The only difference was that the women who had stayed longer would not engage in physical violence like did those for shorter durations. This finding compliments what has been discussed on age and female violence where it was discussed that those young women were the ones who engaged in physical violence while

women who were advanced in age mostly used psychological violence. Duration of 31 to 50 years did record psychological violence not physical while the remaining durations used both. The youngest in marriage of 2 months also had exceptions of not having used physical violence while the rest used both.

Table 6: Duration in Marriage of Female Respondents by their Frequencies

Duration Range	Frequency(approximate)	%	Violence Form
0-10	21	35.6	More physical, less psychological
11-20	16	27.1	Psychological- all denials Less physical
21-30	19	32.2	Psychological- Verbal abuse
31-40	2	3.6	Psychological- all denials Verbal abuse
41-50	1	1.7	No physical only psychological

Source: Field Data (2014)

4.4.4 Religion and Female Violence

Every woman respondent in this study claimed to be a Christian (Table 6). Majority, 27 belonged to the established protestant churches which include churches like the Baptist, Brethren in Christ, the Reformed Church in Zambia, the United Church of Zambia, the Seventh Day Adventists and the Methodist church. The Pentecostal churches had 19 member representation in this research while 13 were Catholics. Even though they all claimed to be Christians, 19 of the women respondents argued that their Christian faith influenced them to reduce on their violence. The following excerpts illustrate how these women’s Christian faith (1 from each denomination) influenced their violent behaviour.

“[...] when am upset I go quiet, stop talking to him until we resolve, but at times he wouldn’t talk to me either, eventually being a Christian I just let go...”
(A. 24 aged 39 a grade twelve, mother of two and a keen Pentecostal Assemblies member).

“[...] my husband is a human being like any other person and is prone to making mistakes just like I do. am mindful the way I treat him when he wrongs me because after all am just punishing him to make him do the right thing especially that am a Christian...I just ignore him like he does not exist and stop talking to him and that sends him in the panic mode and he realises the gravity of the mistake he has made...” (A. 25 aged 52, a grade nine school dropout, mother of six and a devoted Adventist -Dorcas mother).

“[...] Nganaaba tuka insele teekweba ati mbaseebanye iyo...Ndapepa ine elyo nalibatemwa abalume baandi, niicho fye ifyo bachita fimo fyabupuba. Nganaabatuka ndefwaya bachiinje ukuti mbatemwe bwiino’ meaning

‘When I insult my husband, it’s not that I want to embarrass him no, am a christian mind you and I love my husband very much, but the problem is how to make this stupid man behave. When I insult him I just want him to change so that I love him nicely...’ (A.23, 36 years old bar patron with 4 children, a catholic).

“[...] kuba muklistu tachaambi kuti bantu kabachita humbwa nchibayanda alindiwe, alimwi tachaambi kuti muklistu tanyemi, andiswe tulanyema pesi kuyandika kulijata, pesi ndanyema awalo weelede kuhyiba kuti ndanyema, inga nduumuna buyo weeee mbuli menda atontola. Ono nkambo kakuti tuhyibide kubandika akuseka ikuumuna kwangu kunyonganya hintu hinji ang’anda alimwi nchisubulo chibotu maningi...” meaning,

“[...] being a Christian does not mean that anyone can do whatever they want on you...we also get annoyed but what matters most is what you do after you get annoyed, there is need for self control or temperance but your offenders must know that you are offended. When I get annoyed with my husband, I go silent like cold water and because we are used to laughing and talking, my keeping quiet changes a lot of things in the home and it is a very good punishment for my husband” (A. 24, 44 years and mother of 6 and an Adventist).

From the above captions, it is clear that religion has an influence on female violence. Religion impacts on almost all members of society because society itself seems to be built on religious teachings. Because of the foregoing, almost every aspect of our daily lives has been influenced by religion including marriage, after all marriage even has a religious origin (Genesis 1: 26-27). However, the fact still remains that religion does not hinder female violence from existing but that it just regulates it. In the first caption above, the woman uses

religion to back down from not talking to her husband by simply letting go of her anger and normalising things. From the second excerpt, the woman stresses a point that punishing her husband was only done to make him do the right thing not to hurt him per se. A. 23 also said her insults were just an indication to her husband that she wanted him to behave in the right manner. Contrary to Mwiinga (2005), who made a conclusion that there was no correlation between religion and domestic physical violence, this research established that religion impacted on female domestic violence whether it be physical and/or psychological. This impact was in a positive manner as it tended to reduce its escalation, not necessarily preventing its occurrence.

Table 7: Religious Denomination of Female Respondents by Frequency

Type of Religion	Denomination	Frequency	Influenced	%
Christianity	Catholics	13	5	9.0
	Established Protestants	27	8	13.6
	Pentecostals	19	6	10.2

Source: Field Data (2014)

Chapter 4 above has presented and discussed the findings of this research. Causes of female violence as revealed by this research include poor financial support, infidelity, suspicions and jealousy, late coming, beer drinking, men's non-involvement in household chores and dependency. These causes of violence attracted both violent and non-violent reactions beating, fighting, breaking property, use of juju, denial of sex, avoidance and denial of laundry, cleaning and cooking services. The research established that female violence results from provocation and that generally all women are violent.

Table 8: The Gender Based Violence Conceptual Model Associated with Wives of Zambia Compound

Inducers of violence(motives)	Typical gendered violent/ Reactions
1. Beer drinking	Beating and Fighting
	Denial of sex
	Avoidance
2. Infidelity; Suspicious and Jealousy	Denial of Sex
	Avoidance
	Use of juju
3.Late Coming	Delay to open the door
	Avoidance
	Denial Sex
4.Poor Financial Support	Avoidance and Denial of Sex, beating.
	Denial of cooking, cleaning and laundry services
5.Non-involvement in home chores and Dependency	Verbal abuse
	Denial of cooking, cleaning and laundry services
	Denial of sex

Source: Field Data (2014)

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Domestic violence against husbands in Zambia compound is a real phenomenon. From the findings of this research, the reality of this violence has been confirmed by both wives as perpetrators and husbands as victims. Inducers of the said violence include poor financial support, infidelity, beer drinking, non-involvement in household chores, suspicions and jealousy, late coming and dependence/ having no source of income to support oneself. The common types of violence revealed by this research include denial of sex, avoidance, insults and yelling, fighting, use of juju, beating, burning and breaking household goods. Other types of reactions which are not violent in nature include denial of cooking and laundry services, On the characteristics of wives who are violent, the research revealed that relatively all wives of different age groups were violent but the types of violence they engaged in were slightly different. The younger ages of 23 to 36 were both physical and psychological in their violence. The older ages of 37 to 65 only used the psychological type of violence.

The reality however is that all age groups were violent. Education was also seen to relatively have some influence on female violence. The highly educated women in this case those who had tertiary education were less physical in their approach to violence. This category did not fight, beat or burn their husbands as did the other two categories with an exception of one woman who was in the habit of breaking household goods whenever she was provoked.

Religion also had some slight influence on female domestic violence in that for some women, it prevented the escalation of violence while others claimed to have been cautious in the way they reacted from their husband's provocations as such measures were only precautionary or lessons to their husbands.

In addition to the above, this research revealed that female violence is generally psychological with denial of sex being the most widely used type of violence. With denial of sex, it did not matter the type of the provocation, it is as if it was the universal type of punishment common to relatively all types of provocation. It is where the strength of female violence lies.

5.1 The Gendered Perspective of Female Violence

From which ever perspective one looks at it, violence is wrong and has to be condemned at all costs and it does not matter who or what causes it, it still remains violence. This research is in agreement with what Dobash and Dobash (2004) asserted that in as much as men are violent, women are violent too. The difference is that the extent, frequency and severity are different, in female violence the degree of violence is lower compared to that of men. In view of the foregoing, this section of the research discusses violence based on the researcher's interaction with both the research data and the respondents including their gestures; emotions and the researcher's personal field notes.

Firstly, female violence is retaliatory in nature; almost all women were constrained to evoke punishment on men in one way or the other. There was no violence that was without an inducement or provocation. In fact some inducements went unpunished. Some husbands did cite moods as a cause of violence yet none of the female respondents ever mentioned that aspect and going by the emotions and experiences of women during their submissions to this research, the researcher concluded that female violence is retaliatory in its nature which without provocation, it would not be in existence.

Secondly female violence is mostly psychological in nature. Even though the research did reveal female physical violence on men, majority of women used psychological violence on their husbands. Some women attributed this aspect to their lack of strength but others said psychological violence worked better for them and they got what they wanted done in the shortest possible time.

Thirdly, the researcher concluded that women are rational human beings endowed with the capacity to reason and use logic to think out a problem. With this capacity, women are able to figure out on how to best deal with a problem when confronted with one. Commenting on the rationality of human beings, Max Weber coined four theories and the first one of the four is of particular interest to this subject of discussion. In his first theory, which he called *Zweckrational* or purposive/instrumental rationality, Weber relates it to the expectations about the behaviour of other human beings or objects in the environment. These expectations serve as means for a particular actor to attain ends; ends which Weber noted were “*rationally pursued and calculated.*” The behaviour of women in this study therefore can be termed *zweckrational* or purposive rationality because their behaviour is simply a means to an end in this case ‘change of behaviour’ of the men to get what they wanted. In the Bible, great men fell at the hands of women: Adam (Genesis 3: 6-7), David (2 Samuel 11:2- 5) and Samson (Judges 16:17-21) the strongest man who ever lived. Therefore women are not as powerless as society perceives them to be. Women are powerful human beings who are capable of manipulating situations to suit their desires. If women are able to get men to do what they want, then women are not powerless at all

5.2 Recommendations

1. More research needs to be conducted not only on domestic violence against men but violence against men in general.
2. More literature has to be generated through research on what gender based violence is, and what it is not. There is need for a change in perception that gender based violence is only a woman's issue. This research has revealed that gender based violence affects men as well yet there is more to this violence than what has been revealed.
3. Some literature reveals that men suffer gender based violence from women but are embarrassed to report or even seek advice. Therefore, research must be instituted to establish ways that men victims of gender based violence can be helped.
4. Men need to be encouraged to adopt a more equal concept of work in the home so that they realise that their involvement in domestic chores will improve the quality of their marriages and reduce instances of violence.
5. Churches must take a leading role in counselling other counsellors such as traditional and community counsellors to help curb this type of violence.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Focus Group Discussion on Wives

1) Theme I: Please tell me about yourselves.

Probe for the following if not covered in the self-description:

- Education
- Religious affiliation
- Number of children
- Marital status (Polygamy or monogamy)
- Income level (considered by women themselves as adequate, inadequate or none)

2) Theme II: Inducers of the exhibited violence?

a) There are situations when women just see a need to punish a husband.

b) What are these situations? And narrate one or two experiences of such

3) Theme III: Ways Wives Exhibit Violence in Zambia Compound?

- What do you actually do to them? (probing the various forms of violence)
- Please explain why you select what you do?

RECORDS, IF THEY WILL BE AVAILABLE

4) Theme I: Description of woman

Description of the man

Check for the following:

- Place or residence
- Education of man or woman
- Marital status of man or woman (Polygamy or monogamy)
- Income level (considered by women themselves as adequate, inadequate or none)

5) Theme II: Inducers of the exhibited violence?

c) What are causes or justifications for the violence

6) Theme III: Ways Wives Exhibit Violence in Zambia Compound?

- Please explain why wives selected what they said they did in their violence.

Appendix 2: Thematic Questions for In-depth Interviews with Husbands

- 1) Theme I: Please tell me about yourself and your wife.
Probe for the following if not covered in the self-description:
 - Education
 - Religious affiliation
 - Number of children
 - Marital status (Polygamy or monogamy)
 - Income level (considered by women themselves as adequate, inadequate or none)
- 2) Theme II: Inducers of the exhibited violence?
 - a). Do you understand the term violence? (if not, explain to them).
 - b). Are there situations when you feel that your wife has acted violently towards you?
 - c). what are these situations?
- 3) Theme III: Ways Wives Exhibit Violence in Zambia Compound?
 - What does your wife actually do to you? (probing the various forms of violence)
 - Please explain why you think they do that and not otherwise?

RECORDS, IF THEY WILL BE AVAILABLE

- 4) Theme I: Description of woman
Description of the man
Check for the following:
 - Place or residence
 - Education of man or woman
 - Marital status of man or woman (Polygamy or monogamy)
 - Income level (considered by women themselves as adequate, inadequate or none)
- 5) Theme II: Inducers of the exhibited violence?
 - a) What are causes or justifications for the violence
- 6) Theme III: Ways Wives Exhibit Violence in Zambia Compound?
 - Please explain why your wife selects what you say she did

Appendix 3: Approval Letter of Research Proposal



THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Telephone:: 292884/291777
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3rd March 2014

Janet Mundando (512805386) /
Department of Gender Studies,
University of Zambia,

LUSAKA.

RE: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

The Graduate Studies Committee of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences has approved your research titled Gender based violence against men: a case of Zambia compound in Choma, and your supervisor is Dr. F. Gadsden.

You are required to contact your Head of Department or Supervisor to guide you as to the next course of action.



Congratulations!

C.C Mapoma, PhD

ASSISTANT
DEAN
(POSTGRADU
ATE), HSS

Cc:
Director,DRGS
Dean, HSS
Head,
Department of
Gender Studies.

Appendix 4: Student Introductory Letter



UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

**SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF GENDER STUDIES**

Tel: +260-295216

P.O. Box 32379
LUSAKA

27 May, 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam

I write to confirm that **Janet Mundando**, Computer Number 512805386. is a Master of Arts Student in the Department of Gender Studies at the University of Zambia for the academic year 2014. One of the requirements for this programme is to conduct research in any relevant area of interest. Her research topic is "**Gender Based Violence against Men in Zambia Compound, Choma, Southern Province.**" She is seeking to collect data from your institution.

The department would appreciate any assistance rendered to her in this regard.
Yours faithfully

DEPARTMENT OF GENDER STUDIES

DR. T. KUSANTHAN

MAY 2014 | .d

DR. T. KUSANTHAN

ACTING HEAD - GENDER STUDIES DEPARTMENT