

DECLARATION

I, Sunga Mkandawire do declare that this Report is my own work which has not been submitted for a Master of Arts in Population Studies at this or any other University.

Signature of Author:

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APPROVAL

This dissertation by **Sunga Mkandawire** is approved as fulfilling part of the requirement for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Population Studies of the University of Zambia. It is submitted with approval by the Examiners and with full consent from the Supervisor.

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DEDICATION

To my dearest wife Mbiliya Luhanga, our children Bakwiza and Zyolani and my late brother Mizzie Mkandawire.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This paper would not have been written without the support from the people mentioned here below; My parents (Mr. & Mrs. Mkandawire) who have always believed in my abilities to excel in life, my wife who has always understood my busy schedule of work and education.

The Population Studies Department at the University of Zambia for accepting me to pursue my studies in the department

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to investigate the influence of norms and beliefs on gender based violence (GBV) experiences among women in Zambia while answering the question: Did norms and beliefs among men and women perpetrate the experience based on evidence from the 2013-14 ZDHS. The study employed a non-intervention and explanatory research design; non-intervention study design since no manipulation was applied to the target population. The findings of this study indicated norms and beliefs have a significant bearing on the incidence and prevalence of gender based violence in Zambia. All of the responses that were classified as norms which included women that think GBV was justified had statistically significant relationships with the dependent variable. Both bivariate and multivariate analyses revealed a consistent relationship between social norms and violence against women. The primary strength of this study is that it examined the direct relation of norms and beliefs on the experience of GBV for women in their reproductive ages. The study used fully comparable and nationally representative data from the 2014 Zambia Demographic and Health survey. Given global efforts to end violence against women, this study is important both for policymakers and service providers. It highlighted how social norm impact gender-based violence perpetration in Zambia and suggested that solutions should be aimed at controlling social pressures and expectations that influence individual behaviour. Among the recommendations is that policy makers and service providers should aim at controlling social pressures and expectations that influence individual behaviour and to introduce techniques such as public shaming and requiring community service as a punishment for abusive behaviour. The other important recommendation was to introduce groups of trained local women and men who should provide education about the law and rights, and to challenge the culture of justifying emotional and physical abuse of both women and children. The study further recommended that greater attention is needed in future research on the interaction between social norms, gender roles, and the intersection of gender inequality in Zambia.

Key Words: Gender based violence; norms; beliefs; cultural; social

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CHAPTER ONE

OVERVIEW

This chapter presents the background of the study, Statement of the Problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, and definitions of terms.

1.0 Background

The phenomenon of Gender Based Violence (GBV) has been the subject of numerous studies and researches by scholars and a number of other institutions. The scourge keeps rising especially in developing countries like Zambia despite many efforts by both government and non-governmental organisations. The 2017 GBV third quarter statistics by the Victim Support Unit of the Zambia Police Service revealed that in 2016 the country recorded 18,540 cases of gender-based violence, more than the 18,088 cases recorded in the previous year. Similarly, the 2017 Gender Based Violence third-quarter report indicates that the total number of GBV cases in just one quarter countrywide was 16,090, compared to 13,092 cases in 2016 during the same period representing a 18.6% increase. The Zambia police service noted in the same report that there had been an increase in physical GBV cases such as those involving assault and murder (UN, 2018).

The UN Economic and Social Council (2017) emphasises that Women and girls, everywhere, must have equal rights and opportunity, and be able to live free of violence and discrimination. Women's equality and empowerment is one of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals, but also integral to all dimensions of inclusive and sustainable development. Aspiration 6 of the African Agenda 2063 states: An Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children. One of the aims of the Agenda 2063 is to ensure all forms of gender-based violence and discrimination (social, economic, political) against women and girls will be eliminated and the latter will fully enjoy all their human rights. All harmful social practices (especially female genital mutilation and child marriages) will be ended and barriers to quality health and education for women and girls eliminated.

Notwithstanding the many studies and research conducted on GBV, norms and beliefs and their relationship to the perpetration of the vice need to be investigated. This paper sought to answer the question whether norms and beliefs among men and women perpetrate the experience of gender-based violence against women in Zambia.

Social Norms, Beliefs and Gender Based Violence

The terms of Gender Based Violence (GBV) and violence against women are often used interchangeably, as most violence against women is gender-based, and most GBV is inflicted by men on women and girls. Gender-based violence involves both men and women, in which the female is usually the victim, and is derived from unequal power relationships between men and women. It includes, but is not limited to, physical, sexual, and psychological harm. The most pervasive form of gender-based violence is abuse of a woman by intimate male partners (UNFPA, 1998).

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Eastern Europe and Central Asia provide the following forms and contexts of gender-based violence against women:

- (a) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family; including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation.
- (b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution.
- (c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs”.

While trying to explore GBV, one needs to understand the definition of gender as it refers to the social roles, responsibilities and behavior created in our societies and cultures. The concept includes the expectations held about the characteristics, attitudes and behavior of men and women (femininity and masculinity). For example, men are perceived to be income earners

and women are caregivers (UNESCO, 2003). The roles are learnt and passed on from one generation to the next. It is not biologically determined or fixed. They can be changed to achieve equity and equality for both men and women.

Social norms are customary rules of behavior that coordinate our interactions with others. Once a particular way of doing things becomes established as a rule, it continues in force because we prefer to conform to the rule given the expectation that others are going to conform (Lewis, 1969).

The function of a social norm is to coordinate people's expectations in interactions that possess multiple equilibria. Norms govern a wide range of phenomena, including property rights, contracts, bargains, forms of communication, and concepts of justice. Norms impose uniformity of behavior within a given social group, but often vary substantially among groups. Over time norm shifts may occur, prompted either by changes in objective circumstances or by subjective changes in perceptions and expectations. The dynamics of this process can be modeled using evolutionary game theory, which predicts that some norms are more stable than others in the long run (Geertz 1973).

David Hume (1978) was the first to call attention to the central role that norms play in the construction of social order. Norms define property rights, that is, who is entitled to what. They determine what commodities are accepted as money. They shape our sense of obligation to family and community. They determine the meanings we attach to words. Indeed it is hard to think of a form of interaction that is not governed to some degree by social norms. (For book-length treatments of the subject see Lewis, 1969; Ullman-Margalit, 1977; Sugden, 1986; Young, 1998a; Posner, 2000; Hechter and Opp, 2001; Bicchieri, 2006).

1.1 Overview of Gender Based Violence in the World

Gender-based violence undermines the health, dignity, security and autonomy of its victims, yet it remains covered in a culture of tolerance (Ayodapo et.al 2012). Victims of violence can suffer sexual and reproductive health consequences, including forced and unwanted

pregnancies, unsafe abortions, traumatic fistula, and sexually transmitted infections including HIV, and even death.

Statistics on gender-based violence around the world are alarming. According to a 2013 global review of available data, 35 per cent of women worldwide have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence. However, some national violence studies show that up to 70 per cent of women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetime from an intimate partner. It is estimated that of all women killed in 2012, almost half were killed by intimate partners or family members (UN Women, 2014). Worldwide, more than 700 million women were married as children (below 18 years of age). More than one in three million women were married before 15. Child brides are often unable to effectively negotiate safer sex, leaving themselves vulnerable to sexually transmitted infections, including HIV, along with early pregnancy. The fact that girls are not physically mature enough to give birth, places both mothers and their babies at risk. Among the married girls, current and/or former intimate partners are the most commonly reported perpetrators of physical violence in all the countries with available data. Around 120 million girls worldwide have experienced forced intercourse or other forced sexual acts at some point in their lives (UN Women, 2014).

Table 1 shows the cultural and social norms supporting different types of violence against women:

Table 1: Regional cultural and social norms supporting Violence

Country/Region	Norm	Author
Ghana - Africa	A man has a right to assert power over a woman and is socially superior	Amoakohene, 2004
China - Asia	Physical violence is an acceptable way to resolve conflicts within a relationship	Liu and Chan, 1999
Palestian - Middle East	A woman is responsible for making a marriage work	Espanioly, 1997

1.2. Overview of Gender Based Violence in Zambia

The scourge of GBV in various forms is quite prevalent as well. In 2014 alone, almost half (47 per cent) of all women in the reproductive age group have experienced physical violence since age 15 and 77 per cent of the women reported the perpetrator was a current/former husband/partner (CSO, 2014). CARE (CARE 2013) observed that one in five women has experienced sexual violence in their lives with about 64 per cent being perpetrated by an intimate partner. However, less than half (46 per cent) of abused women and girls seek help for various personal, economic, and social concerns; especially fear of stigma. Factors contributing to GBV include sexual cleansing rituals, initiation ceremonies, women's economic dependence on men, socialization of boys and girls at home and in school, inadequate laws on GBV and domestic violence, a lack of law enforcement, and intimate partner violence (IPV) (Ibid, 2007).

The 2010 report by the UN's special rapporteur on violence against women showed that the causes and consequences of GBV were disheartening to Zambian women. The report cited the prevalence of customary law and its institutions, and the power of traditional leaders to influence and shape societal norms. This system affects women differently from men, as structures and attitudes within the family and the community marginalize them. Deeply embedded patriarchal values have led to women remaining discriminated against and disadvantaged in many sectors and to their being at a higher risk of violence.

The drivers of GBV in Zambia are numerous and as identified in a 2010 United States Agency for International Development (USAID)-funded study, one of the most influential drivers is traditional and social norms/beliefs that teach women to accept and tolerate physical violence, and teach men that it is normal to beat his wife or partner (USAID, 2010).

Attitudes towards gender-based violence in developing countries like Zambia tends to be poor in many cases. For instance, a study in Zimbabwe by Mamimine et al, (2007) found that the general thinking among women and men was that only very serious acts of gender-based violence should be reported to authorities and that the less serious ones implicitly should pass unreported. The study suggested that this culture of silence only serves to condone the practice. Further, the 2001-2 ZDHS found that 15 per cent of Zambian women reported having experienced sexual violence in the context of an intimate partnership. Fewer

than 25 per cent of Zambian women interviewed in the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) believed that a married woman could refuse to have sex with her husband, even if he had shown infidelity and was infected with HIV, and only 11 per cent thought that a woman could ask her husband to use a condom in these circumstances (National Action Plan on Gender-based Violence, 2008). Such attitudes and norms are main drivers in the perpetration of GBV and this study was set to investigate such a possibility.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

Domestic Violence is one of the most aggressive forms of Gender based violence. In 2013 a report of the World Health Organization (WHO) found that intimate partner violence affects about a third of women worldwide. Therefore it is the most prevalent type of violence against women. Moreover it reports that about 42% of women who had been sexually or physically abused by their partner were injured as well.

Women and men in Zambia have been experiencing GBV that has taken many forms especially in the recent past ranging from physical, sexual, psychological, emotional abuse and harmful traditional practices. Records at the Victim Support Unit (VSU) of the Zambia Police Service shows upward swing with 6,716 cases reported in 2008, 8,382 in 2009; 8467 in 2010; 11,914 in 2011; 12,924 in 2012; 10,217 in the first three quarters of 2013 and 12,998 in 2014 countrywide. The government of Zambia has enacted several acts of parliament such as Act No. 22 of 2015 to help in curbing GBV. Despite Zambia having taken deliberate steps to deal with Gender-Based Violence, the vice continues to be perpetrated. However, little attempt has been paid to explain whether or not beliefs as well as norms among women could explain this increase in GBV. It is for this reason that this study examined the influence of beliefs and norms held by women on Gender Based Violence experiences in Zambia.

1.4. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to establish whether norms and beliefs play a role in perpetuating Gender Based Violence. The study contributed knowledge regarding the the interaction between cultural norms and GBV as most of the studies rarely concentrated on the this topic.

1.5. Research Objectives

Main Objective

To examine the influence of beliefs and norms held by women of reproductive age (15 – 49 years) on Gender Based Violence experiences in Zambia.

Specific Objectives

- i. To examine the common beliefs and norms among women that influence GBV
- ii. To establish the levels of GBV experienced by women according to the types (physical, emotional and sexual violence).
- iii. To investigate the influence of interpersonal, traditional, and regional as well as social-economic determinants on GBV.

1.6. Research Question

Do beliefs and norms about GBV among women of reproductive age (15 – 49 years) influence their experience of the vice in Zambia?

1.7. Significance of the study

Although there is a series of previous studies that explored the issue of gender-based violence in Zambia, most of them show the magnitude of the phenomenon, and highlighting people's attitudes towards the phenomenon. No previous research has focused on exploring the causes of violent practices and how a woman's norm and beliefs reinforce the vice.

This motivated the need to identify and explore social norms and factors influencing gender-based violence among women of reproductive age. This research fills an important knowledge gap, which is critical for programming and effective measures to address these phenomena. The research findings shed light over factors at both the individual level (one's attitudes, beliefs, values and knowledge) and the social level (power relations, the influence of reference networks, social sanctions and reinforcements, gender norms and expectations) that maintain and perpetuate violence in Zambia. They will also help decision-makers in government, civil society and international organizations, and initiative

groups at local level to go beyond awareness-raising when tackling the issue of violence, and rather to encourage a public dialogue about the cause of violence, about gender norms and stereotypes and how to address them.

1.8.Operational Definitions

Gender-based

violence:

any act that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering among women, including threats of such acts and coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life

Norm:

a social construct. It exists as a collectively shared belief about what others do (what is typical) and what is expected of what others do within the group

Social norms:

customary rules of behavior that coordinate our interactions with others

Beliefs:

The ideas that some has about the world that influence him to live in a social context

Gender:

It refers to the relationship between men and women, boys and girls, and how this is socially constructed. Gender roles are dynamic and change over time.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Overview

This chapter reviews and discusses the literature on the experiences and perpetration of GBV. It also explains the link between “cultural norms and beliefs,” and GBV as part of

the empirical review from studies done by others. The gap in literature is also shown in this section of the study.

2.2. Empirical review

Nature of GBV

Violence can be perpetrated by both men and women and consequently affects all members of society (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). According to research, men are reported to be the worst perpetrators of GBV (Abrahams, Jewkes, Hoffman & Laubsher, 2004; Bott *et al*, 2005; Dunkle *et al*, 2006 & Strebel *et al.*, 2006), although women can also be perpetrators (Browne, Williams, & Dutton, 1999). The common denominator linking violence in the political and domestic spheres is the fact that both forms of violence are gendered. It is in the family that children first learn this behavioral option for conflict management in the context of use of violence. GBV has grown rapidly because of factors such as high levels of poverty, unemployment, widespread substance abuse, reinforced social constructions of gender and shifting gender power dynamics, war, displacement and economic and social inequities (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005; Strebel *et al*, 2006). Thus it is rapidly becoming one of the most visible areas of human rights social work (Green, 1999).

While both sexes suffer due to this problem, it is widely recognized internationally that women more disadvantaged when living in a patriarchal society that favours men and oppresses women through its social, political and economic institutions. This disadvantage is reflected particularly in employment, access to justice and income inequality which subsequently impacts on political, social and economic development (Green, 1999, Stepney & Popple, 2008; UN Women, 2011). International research (as cited in CSV, 2011) consistently demonstrates that societies with high levels of inequality tend to have high levels of violence. In working with male perpetrators of GBV, it was found that violence in many instances seemed to be a response to the activation of feelings of inequality and helplessness (McKendrick & Hoffman, 1990). Violence in many African countries including Zambia is accepted as a social norm as it is common in conflict situations and political struggles (Jewkes, 2002). “Sexual violence, gender-based violence,

domestic violence and violence against women are all terms that are used interchangeably. These three terms refer to human rights violations that perpetuate roles that deny human dignity of the individual and hamper human development. In particular, the term GBV is used to distinguish ordinary violence from violence that targets individuals on the basis of their gender. GBV, therefore, has been described by the UN as violence that is directed at a person on the basis of their gender or sex and “includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threat of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty” (UNHCR, 2010).

Norms and Beliefs and their relation to Gender based violence (GBV)

Once a particular way of doing things becomes established as a rule, it continues in force because we prefer to conform to the rule given the expectation that others are going to conform (Lewis, 1969). While social norms formulate the normal behavior according to the majority of a particular society, the belief system is more individualistic. One way to define beliefs is to focus on the claim that a person believes that (or has the belief that) a certain statement is true. The question of what you mean by such a claim deals with the definition of beliefs. For example, a belief can be seen as a type of knowledge that is “subjective, experience-based, often implicit” (Pehkonen & Pietila, 2003), or as a personal judgment formulated from experiences (Raymond, 1997). Gender based violence is a behaviour which is highly influenced by the norms and beliefs held in any society Zambia included. Any attempts to understand GBV call for a thorough examination of norms and belief in relation to the behavior or the topic. Understanding the norms and beliefs can easily point to the perpetrators or would be perpetrators including victims.

Therefore, Cultural and social norms are highly influential in shaping individual behaviour, including the use of violence. Norms can protect against violence, but they can also support and encourage the use of it. For instance, cultural acceptance of violence, either as a normal method of resolving conflict or as a usual part of rearing a child, is a risk factor for all types of interpersonal violence. It may also help explain why countries experiencing high levels of one type of violence also experience increased levels of other types. Social tolerance of violent behaviour is likely learned in childhood, through the

use of corporal punishment or witnessing violence in the family, in the media or in other settings (WHO, 2009).

Social psychologists have long recognized the powerful influence of group identity (whether this is a national identity, ethnic identity, or political identity) on individual attitudes and behavior. Due to need, individuals have a basic drive to ‘fit in’ with valued and relevant social groups and to avoid deviance from the standards of those groups. Individual desire to conform to the standards of a group (Asch 1956), internal group pressure toward uniformity (Crandall 1988), and group sanctions of members who deviate from their standards (Brown & Abrams 2003) may vary according to context and culture. Individuals’ drive to fit in with their group is the starting place for understanding the power of social norms and how social norms would impact on GBV.

Relationships are socially and culturally constructed. A range of socio-cultural factors such beliefs, norms, values, taboos, community, expectations and rules, law and policies, economic and physical resources, technological and ethical factors influence an individual’s attitudes towards behaviours in and expectations about relationships (Mamimine et.al 2007).

Gender based violence is one type of behavior thought to be at least partially rooted in dysfunctional social norms pertaining to relationships among men and women. For example, norms governing violence against women describe typical or desirable ways to treat women—women who are members of a community where the norm applies, and women defined as ‘outsiders’ to the community by social or political divisions or by outright conflict (Jewkes 2005). The hypothesized role of social norms in perpetuating GBV – in, for example, promoting the perception that women in a community *typically* tolerate domestic violence or that men *should* “discipline” their wives – suggests that social norms interventions would be a relevant avenue for efforts to reduce GBV (Sable et al. 2006). Social norms are different from personal attitudes: they communicate ideas about social approval, or perceptions about what is normal or desirable in a given community, such as perceptions of the prevalence and acceptability of GBV (ibid, 2006).

The failure to recognize that others privately disagree with the perceived norm is a phenomenon called *pluralistic ignorance* (Miller, Monin, & Prentice 2000). Pluralistic ignorance can account for why dysfunctional group behaviors (such as violence or discrimination) are sustained even when individuals privately disapprove of the normative behaviors: individuals do not realize the extent of private support for overturning the norm. Pluralistic ignorance can also account for the endurance of customs.

Cultural and social norms do not necessarily correspond with an individual's attitudes (positive or negative feelings towards an object or idea) and beliefs (perceptions that certain premises are true), although they may influence these attitudes and beliefs if norms become internalized. Cultural and social norms also vary widely; so, behaviour acceptable to one social group, gang or culture may not be tolerated in another (Jewkes 2005).

Diverse cultural and social norms support different types of violence. For instance, traditional beliefs that men have a right to control or discipline women through physical means makes women vulnerable to violence by intimate partners (Ilika 2005) and places girls at risk of sexual abuse (Jewkes 2005). Equally, cultural acceptance of violence, including sexual violence, as a private affair hinders outside intervention and prevents those affected from speaking out and gaining support (Hussain & Khan 2008). In many societies, victims of sexual violence also feel stigmatized, which inhibits reporting (Sable et al. 2006).

Studies on GBV and “norms and beliefs”

According to a Baseline Study: Stamping Out and Preventing Gender Based Violence (STOP GBV) in Zambia (ODI and Frontiers Group: 2015) about 80 per cent of GBV perpetrators are male with a mean age of 39.8, and the majority were married to their victim (67 per cent). This was confirmed by respondents in the focus group discussions

(FGDs), i.e. most perpetrators were men and who were married to the victim. In at least three FGDs it was pointed out that both men and women commit GBV, but that men are reluctant to report it because of feelings of shame and humiliation and more generally an undermining of their masculinity. While there was a general sentiment that men of any age could commit GBV, it was also pointed out by FGD respondents that most perpetrators were older than the survivor, i.e. that there was an intergenerational dynamic. According to the FGD discussions, GBV survivors tend to be women and are often younger than the perpetrator. They were often thought to be less educated and also poorer, although schoolgirls are also reported to experience GBV. Children were mentioned by respondents in all FGDs as being especially vulnerable to GBV, with orphans in particular being abused by stepmothers, among others. From this study, it was clear that some other factors such as poverty perpetrated GBV because the poor had been victims.

Bamiwuye and Odimegwu (2014) did a study on the effect of wealth on GBV and stated that: similar measurements of household poverty-wealth have produced varying relationships with respect to experience of spousal violence in sub-Saharan African countries.

2.3. Gaps identified in literature

After a careful review of literature on the influence of social norms and beliefs on GBV, it was discovered that there were only a few studies that have evaluated the impact of social norms and beliefs on GBV. Thus, this study evaluated the effect of social norms and beliefs on GBV.

The relationship found between norms and gender based violence in literature is that Gender based violence is one type of behavior thought to be at least partially rooted in dysfunctional social norms pertaining to relationships among men and women. This is due to the fact that in most cases norms and beliefs are expected to be of common good to the individuals defined by it. However, these social norms become dysfunctional because they have negative effect on GBV as they strengthen certain norms that

perpetrate it and make it stand for a long time as individuals strive to keep it so that they can maintain a sense of belongingness.

This study also needed to highlight certain beliefs and norms shared within the Zambian context and show how they affected GBV.

2.4. Theoretical Framework

In order to understand the influence of beliefs and norms on the experiences of GBV in Zambia, the study used Bronfenbrenner's Social Ecology model of social change which was first introduced in the 1970s as a conceptual model and became a theoretical model in the 1980s. The Social Ecological Model (SEM) is a theory-based framework for understanding the multifaceted and interactive effects of personal and environmental factors that determine behaviors, and for identifying behavioral and organizational leverage points and intermediaries for health promotion within organizations. There are five nested, hierarchical levels of the SEM: Individual, interpersonal, community, organizational, and policy/enabling environment (CDC, 2014).

The model has been widely utilized in research and policy around various expressions/understandings of interpersonal, institutional, cultural and structural violence in human society. In his original theory, Bronfenbrenner postulated that in order to understand human development, the entire ecological system in which growth occurs needs to be taken into account.

Miranda (2014) carried out a research which centered at Applying the Social Ecological Model to Violence against Women with Disabilities. For this study, the social ecological model levels consisted of the following levels: society (United States), policy (Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and Violence against Women Act (VAWA)), community (resources/environment), interpersonal (relationships), and individual (intrapersonal). The study concluded that the Russian doll metaphor offered by Bronfenbrenner illustrates the interplay between all of the levels of the social ecological model. Therefore, you cannot implement a program at one level without impacting the other levels. For example, strengthening the protections offered to women with disabilities under the VAWA policy will challenge the stereotypes at the society-level as well as require resources at the community-level to be available to women with disabilities who are in abusive interpersonal

relationships and may be experiencing health consequences from being in an abusive relationship.

In a study carried out by the United Nations Women in 2011, it stated that the ecological model, described in detail in the module on Primary Prevention, provides a method for understanding some of the key factors that contribute to women's and girls' risk of violence. The model is organized in terms of four levels of risk: individual, relationship, community, and society. The model highlights the importance of understanding the complex interplay of biological, psychological, social, cultural, economic and political factors that increase women's and girl's likelihood for experiencing violence (and men's likelihood for perpetrating violence).

GBV comprises a complex set of experiences, behaviors, and consequences. The reasons why couples are violent to one another are complex, multiply-determined, and differentially reinforced. The ecological framework was used to understand the interplay of personal, situational and socio-cultural factors that combine to cause abuse and to understand experiences of GBV. It shows how the environment influences human behaviour and vice versa and focuses on the interaction between the two at different levels (Green, 1994). The ecological framework supports the notion that apart from the individual's perspective to be considered, other factors have a role to play, as behaviour is determined by the individual, her/his environment and their interaction (Fraser, 1998).

The factors that influence GBV experiences and processes are dynamic, mutually reciprocal and bi-directional. Thus GBV is a complex issue, shaped by many forces which operate at various levels. The social ecological framework was used to understand the norms and beliefs that formulate the behavior of individuals and their links with social-community, gender and cultural factors.

2.5. Social Ecological Model Conceptual Framework

The ecological framework as re-developed by Ellseberg and Heise (2005) distinguishes risk factors at four levels: the individual, the relationship, the community and the structural level. These factors are associated with an increased likelihood that an individual will become a victim or a perpetrator of violence. This model offers a comprehensive framework for understanding the risk factors of GBV and their interplay. Figure1 and Table1 provide a brief description of each of the SEM levels.

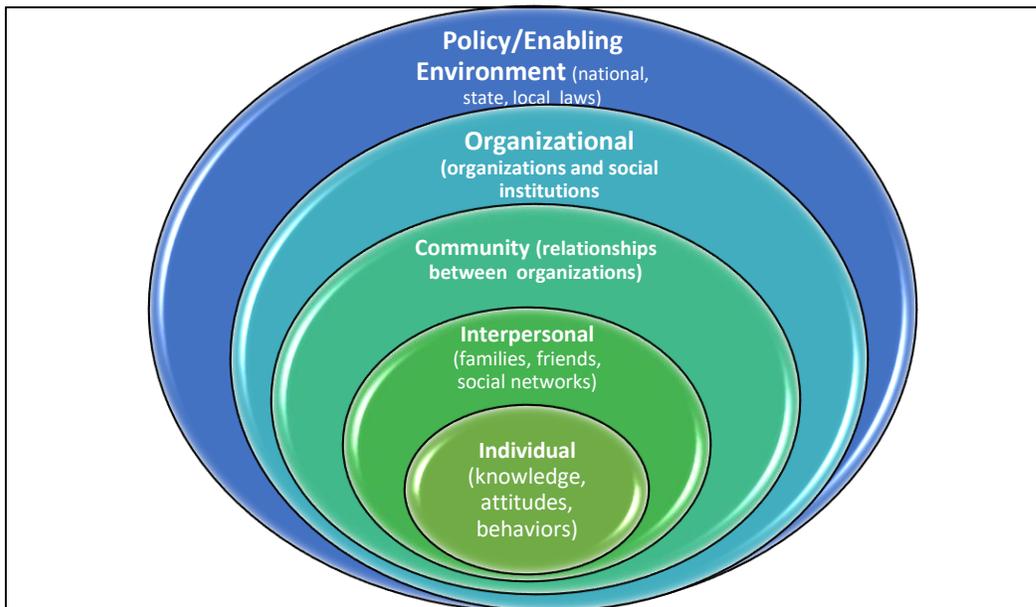


Figure 1: Hierarchical levels of the SEM

Table 1:A Description of Social Ecological Model (SEM) Levels

SEM Level	Description
Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Characteristics of an individual that influence behaviour change, including knowledge, attitudes, behavior, self-efficacy, developmental history, gender, age, religious identity, racial/ethnic identity, sexual orientation, economic status, financial resources, values, goals, expectations, literacy, stigma, and others.
Interpersonal	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Formal (and informal) social networks and social support systems that can influence individual behaviour, including family, friends, peers, co-workers, religious networks, customs or traditions.
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Relationships among organizations, institutions, and informational networks within defined boundaries, including the built environment (e.g., parks), village associations, community leaders, businesses, and transportation.
Organizational	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Organizations or social institutions with rules and regulations for operations that affect how or how well, for example, MNCH services are provided to an individual or group.
Policy/Enabling Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Local, state, national and global laws and policies, including policies regarding the allocation of resources for maternal, newborn, and child health and access to healthcare services, restrictive policies (e.g., high fees or taxes for health services), or lack of policies that require childhood immunizations.

Source: CDC (2014) The Social Ecological Model

2.6. Current Study Conceptual Framework

Borrowing on from the Social Ecological Model, a conceptual framework for the current study was developed. The Social Ecological Model has been widely used to understand the interplay of personal, situational, and sociocultural factors that affect behavior and in this case Gender Based Violence. The conceptual framework of this study postulated violence against women to be a result of factors at each of these levels with the proximate influence factor being the commonly held norms and beliefs. In keeping with the objective of the study, the conceptual framework explained how the experience of GBV by women was influenced by the common norms and beliefs held as proximate factors and the environment (regional, traditional, interpersonal and socio-economic) as both proxy and direct factors.

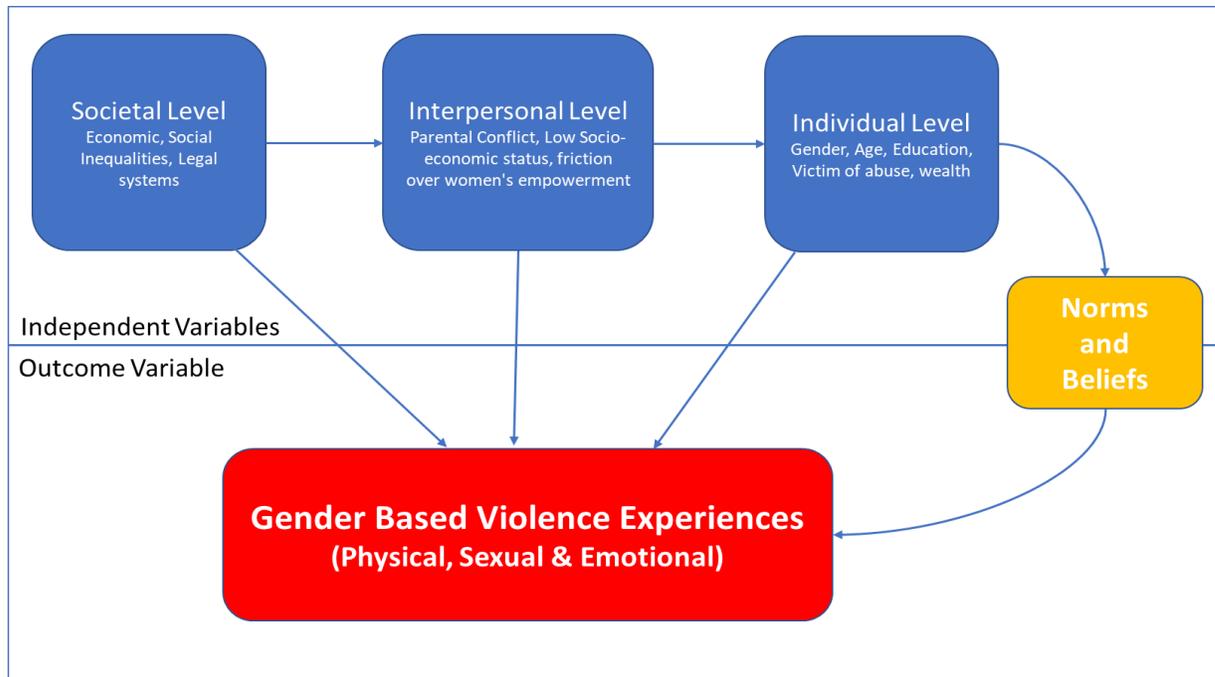


Figure 2: Conceptual framework of the study: Adapted from the Social Ecological Model

Individual Level

This level specifically relates to those factors that affect an individual's beliefs and consequently their actions. Factors such as a woman witnessing marital violence as a child were considered in this determinant. The DHS asked women if they ever witnessed their mothers being victims of GBV. Other factors that contributed to the individual level determinants were of socio-economic and demographic in nature (e.g. marital status, wealth index (used as a proxy) and level of education).

Interpersonal Level

The interpersonal level model examined close relationships that may have increased the risk of experiencing violence as a victim or perpetrator. A person's closest social circle-peers, partners, spouses and family members-influences their behavior and contributes to their range of experience.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology used in the study. It explains the research designs, population of the study, study sample, data collection procedure data analysis and sampling techniques used , ethical considerations and definition and description of variables

3.1 Research Design

This study employed a cross-sectional study design using quantitative and analyzed through quantitative methods. According to Myers (2009), a cross-sectional study involves looking at people who differ on one key characteristic at one specific point in time. The data is collected at the same time from people who are similar in other characteristics but different in a key factor of interest such as age, income levels, or geographic location. Participants are usually separated into groups known as cohorts.

3.2 Data Source

This study used secondary data from the Zambia Demographic and Health Surveys (ZDHS) conducted in 2013-14. The ZDHS is among the activities under the Measure DHS Program and has since 1992 been able to produce data on socio-economic and demographic aspects of the population in Zambia. Data was collected from men and women aged 15-59 and 15-49 years respectively; using two different questionnaires. For this study, the women's dataset was used. The ZDHS provides a good source of data that is relevant for this study.

3.3 Population and Sample of the Study

ZDHS samples are nationally representative of men and women who are in the reproductive age group (15-49 years) and, therefore, provide good source of data on gender-based violence and the factors that might be influencing it. The target population for the study was women in the age group 15-49 years in 2013-14.

A nationally representative sample of about 18,050 households were selected. All women age 15-49 who were usual residents of the selected households, or who slept in the

households the night before the survey, were eligible to be interviewed. The survey resulted in 16,411 interviews of women age 15-49 with a response rate of 92%.

3.4. Sample Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

The study included all women in the reproductive age (14 – 49 Years), there was no exclusion on any basis other than the sex.

3.5. Data Processing and Analysis

Analysis of data in this study was done using the statistical software Stata 12.0. Recoding of variables was done according to the definition of the researcher, this was done in order to have uniform variables. All missing and inconsistent cases were excluded from the sample and analysis.

The analysis of the data involved two stages. Firstly, descriptive statistics were conducted to determine the percentage distribution of women aged 14 - 49 in the study sample. Secondly, Bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analysis was used to predict the outcome variable. Multinomial logistic regression was used to predict the nominal dependent variable given the various independent variables. Binary logistic regression was used to predict the odds ratio of GBV given the independent variables (predictors). The formulas below were used in the analysis:

i. Multinomial Logistic Regression Model

Logistic regression analysis is used in case of two-category dependent variable; for all that, multinomial logistic regression analysis is used to explain the cause and effect relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable in case of dependent variable has at least three and more categories (Zortuk et al. 2013). The predictions were given by:

$$P_1 = \frac{e^{\alpha_1 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3}}{1 + e^{\alpha_1 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3}}$$

Where: P_1 = probability that GBV will be experienced by a woman aged 14 – 49

$X_1, X_2, X_3 \dots X_K$ = Independent variable (such as age, wealth, belief)

$\alpha_1, \beta_1, \alpha_2, \beta_2, \dots, \alpha_k, \beta_k = \text{are MLR model coefficients}$

3.6. Definition and Description of Variables

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable of the study “gender-based violence” was generated from a number of questions asked on domestic violence in the 2014 ZDHS. During the data collection women were asked questions about their experiences of physical, emotional and sexual violence by a partner/spouse. The description below is a detailed account of highlights of the question.

Table 2: Highlights of physical, emotional and sexual violence

Type of GBV	Questions about their experiences of GBV
Physical violence	Ever been pushed, shook or had something thrown by husband/partner
	Ever been slapped by husband/partner
	Ever been punched with fist or hit by something harmful by husband/partner
	Ever been kicked or dragged by husband/partner
	Ever been strangled or burnt by husband/partner
Emotional violence	Ever been humiliated by husband/partner
	Ever been threatened with harm by husband/partner.
Sexual violence	Ever been physically forced into unwanted sex by husband/partner
	Ever been forced into other unwanted sexual acts by husband/partner.

Responses to these questions included “yes” or “no” for follow up questions to determine the frequency of the acts recorded as “sometimes”, “often” or “not at all”. In this study, women who answered “sometimes” and “often” when asked if they experienced domestic violence were considered to have agreed experiencing GBV and as a result their responses were coded as “yes”. Further, the women who answered “no” and “not at all” to the domestic violence questions were coded as

“no”. This was done for all the physical, emotional and sexual violence questions. A GBV variable was generated and coded as, 1”yes” for women who reported ever experiencing any/and or all of the three forms of violence, and 0 “no” for women who responded never having experienced any form of violence.

The dependent variable was split into the three forms of GBV i.e. sexual, physical and emotional in order to perform the multinomial regression analysis. Multinomial regression analysis is preferred in this study because it is used to predict a nominal dependent variable given one or more independent variables and it is sometimes considered an extension of binomial logistic regression to allow for a dependent variable with more than two categories. As with other types of regression, multinomial regression can have nominal and even continuous independent variables and can have interactions between independent variables to predict the dependent variable. Since this study considered GBV to have three categories, multinomial regression analysis was thus used to determine the relationships between the dependent and the independent variables.

Independent Variables

To analyze norms and beliefs as independent variables, responses from the question listed below were proxies of independent variables.

In your opinion, is a husband justified in hitting or beating his wife in the following situations:

- i. If she goes out without telling him?*
- ii. If she neglects the children?*
- iii. If she argues with him?*
- iv. If she refuses to have sex with him?*

Responses to each of these questions were coded as: not justified “0” (used as a reference category), justified “1”, and don’t know “2”.

Other variables used in the study helped to explain women's social norms. These were; *if respondent's father ever beat her mother?* Responses to this question were coded as no "0" and yes "1". Also if respondent ever perpetrated violence. This was derived from the question: *"have you ever hit, slapped, kicked, or done anything else to physically hurt your (last) (husband/partner) at times when he was not already beating or physically hurting you?"* Responses to this question were coded "0" never perpetrated violence and "1" ever perpetrated violence.

The demographic and socioeconomic variables were also used as explanatory variables. These variables included: age, marital status, education level and household wealth index of the respondents at the time of the survey. Age was categorized as "0" 15-19 (used as a reference category, "1" 20-24, "2" 25-29, "3" 30-34, "4" 35-39, "5" 40-44, "6" 45-49". Education level was categorized as "0" no education (used a reference category", "1" primary and "2" secondary/higher. The variable wealth index was categorized as: "0" poor (combining the poorest and poorer), "1" middle and "2" rich (combining the rich and richer).

CHAPTER FOUR

STUDY FINDINGS

This chapter presents findings of the study. It is divided into the following sections: background characteristics of respondents, distribution of women's experiences by type of GBV; differentials in experiences of GBV among women Chi-square test; differentials in experiences of GBV by norms and beliefs of women. This chapter also presents the binary logistic bivariate results of demographic and economic factors influence on women's experiences of GBV; and lastly the multivariate results of GBV experiences influenced by norms, beliefs and socio-economic and demographic factors.

4.1. Background Characteristics of Participants (All women aged 14 – 49 years)

Table 3 below shows the background characteristics of the sample population for this study. Nearly half (43.46%) of the respondents were aged between 25 and 34. Most (21.64%) respondents had stayed in the marriage for 0-4 years followed by those (21.60%) who had stayed for 20 and above number of years in the marriage. It was also found that most of the respondents were poor accounting for almost half (43.71%) of the respondents while 35.07% and 21.22% were the rich and middle-income groups respectively. Finally, more than half (54.40%) of the respondents had attained primary education level.

Table 3: Background characteristics of the participants (all women aged between 14 – 49)

	Background characteristics	Number of participants	% distribution
Age	15-24	1655	23.41
	25-34	3072	43.46
	35-49	2342	33.13
Marital duration	0-4 years	1530	21.64
	5-9 years	1508	21.33
	10-14 years	1426	20.17
	15-19 years	1078	15.25
	20+	1527	21.60
Wealth index	Poor	3090	43.71
	Middle	1500	21.22
	Rich	2479	35.07
Education level	No education	806	11.41
	Primary education	3843	54.40
	Secondary or higher	2415	34.19

Figure 3 indicates that, among women aged 15 - 49, 47% reported ever experiencing gender-based violence, and 53% reported that they never experienced.

Figure 3: Women Experience of GBV

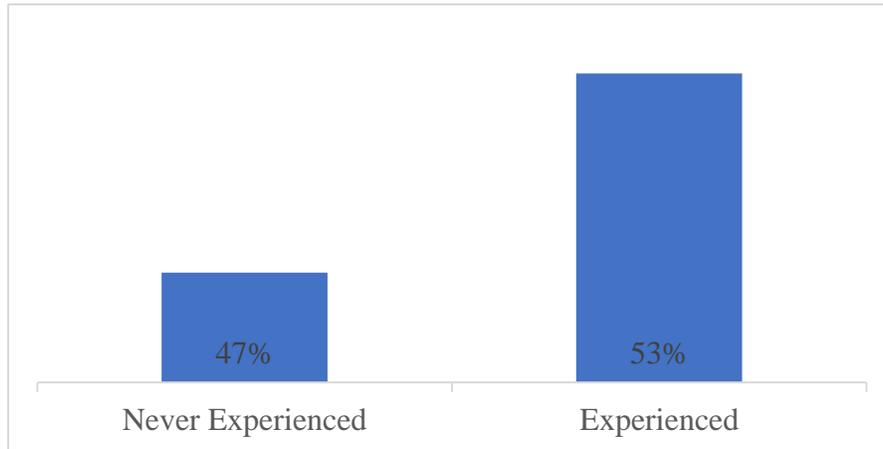
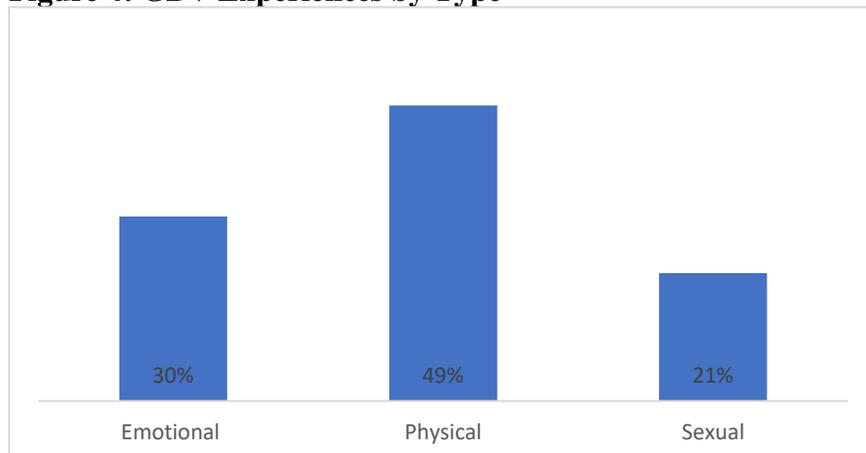


Figure 4 shows distribution of women aged 15-49 who have experienced gender-based violence (GBV), in terms of emotional, physical and sexual violence. About (49 per cent) of the women reported having been victims of physical violence while 24.1 per cent and 17 per cent were victims of emotional and sexual violence respectively.

Figure 4: GBV Experiences by Type



4.2. Differentials in Experiences of GBV among all women

Table 4 shows differentials in GBV experiences among women by demographic and socio-economic variables. Results show that there is no significant association between age and residence of women and their experiences of GBV (p-value= 0.146 and 0.455 respectively). On the contrary, there is a significant association between women's education level, wealth index and marital duration and experiences of GBV (p-value<0.05). About 50 per cent of women with primary education and 43.2 per cent of women with secondary education have experienced GBV from their husband/partner. Table 4 also shows that 50.9 per cent and 48.5 per cent of women in the middle wealth quintile and poor wealth quintile respectively have experienced GBV by a husband/partner. About 53 per cent of women who have been married for 10-14 years and 39.6 per cent of those married for less than 5 years have experienced GBV perpetrated by a husband/partner.

Table 4: Differentials GBV Experiences by demographic and economic variables

Variable	Experienced GBV		Chi square P-value
	Number	Percent	
Age			
15-19	210	41.6	0.146
20-24	774	46.7	
25-29	1,064	49.0	
30-34	965	48.1	
35-39	699	46.8	
40-44	478	47.7	
45-49	301	43.5	
Residence			
Urban	1,765	46.5	0.455
Rural	2,725	47.6	
Education level			
No education	497	45.6	0.000
Primary	2,630	49.8	
Secondary/higher	1,359	43.2	
Wealth index			
Poor	1,973	48.5	0.000
Middle	927	50.9	
Rich	1,589	43.8	
Marital duration			
0-4	757	39.6	0.000
5-9	968	47.6	
10-14	1,054	52.8	
15-19	756	49.6	
20+	954	46.4	

4.3. Experiences of GBV by norms and beliefs among all women

Table 5 presents results of a chi-square test of significance of differentials in experiences of GBV among women of various norms and beliefs.

The chi-square test results in table 5 show the statistical significance association between the respective norms and beliefs and GBV experience among women. It was found that 88% of women who have physically hurt their husbands have experienced GBV. Further, 40% of the women who reported that they were afraid of their husbands have experienced GBV. 42 per cent of women who may have witnessed or reported that their father beat their mother have ever experienced GBV by husband/partner as well. Over half (57.5%) of all women who agreed that a husband is justified to beat his wife if she left home without telling had experienced GBV compared to 42.5% who never experienced GBV. The table also shows that women who agreed that a husband is justified to beat his wife if she neglects children, 57.1% had experienced GBV. And concerning those women who agreed that beating a wife is justified if she argues with her husband, 56.8% of them experienced GBV compared to 43.2% who never experienced GBV. Another finding shows that out of the women who agreed that beating a woman was justified if she refuses to have sex with the husband him, 55.8% also experienced GBV compared to 44.2% of women who shared the same belief but did not experience GBV.

Thus, there was a positive relationship between the norms and beliefs that women held in the society and their experience of GBV. This is because those women who thought that beating of the wife was justified if she did something that they considered unacceptable (a taboo) such as refusal of having sex with the husband, most of such women reported to have experienced GBV. It has also been seen that most of the women who never agreed that it was justified to beat a wife under any of the listed circumstances were less likely to experience GBV.

Table 5: Differentials in Experiences of GBV by norms and beliefs among women

	Experienced GBV		P-value
	Number	Per cent	
Women who physically hurt husband (norm)			
Yes	695	87.9	0.000
No	3,795	43.5	
Women afraid of husband (norm)			

Never afraid	1,521	33.9	0.000
Most of the time	1,129	68.7	
Women whose father ever beat mother (norm)			
No	2,169	41.8	0.000
Yes	1,871	53.7	
Beating justified if wife goes out without telling husband (belief)			
No	2,700	42.2	0.000
Yes	1,749	57.5	
Beating justified if wife neglects children (belief)			
No	2,588	41.9	0.000
Yes	1,879	57.1	
Beating justified if wife argues with husband (belief)			
No	2,496	41.5	0.000
Yes	1,945	56.8	
Beating justified if wife refuses to have sex with husband (belief)			
No	2,688	42.7	0.000
Yes	1,722	55.8	
Beating justified if wife burns food (belief)			
No	3,046	43.5	0.000
Yes	1,406	57.3	

4.4. Multinomial Regression results on Gender Based Violence (three norms) against selected background characteristics

To ascertain the determinants of gender-based violence (Physical, Emotional and Sexual) among women on the norms (Beating justified if wife argues with husband, Beating Justified if wife refuses to have sex with husband and Beating Justified if wife burns the food), multinomial regression was used. Table 7 shows that women of a higher age are associated with a lower relative risk ratio (RRR) of experiencing GBV if they thought beating of wife was justified when they argue with the husband those aged 25-34 (RRR=0.706,95%;CI:0.576-0.865 and 35-49 (RRR=0.570,95%CI,0.438-0.741). Further, results reveal that the risks of a woman being beaten if a she argues with husband increases as the number of years in marriage increase (RRR= 1.567,95%CI, 1.166 – 2.105).

Conversely, results in table 7 show that women in the middle wealth index were more likely to experience violence if they argued with a husband (RRR=0.701, 95%CI, 0.592 – 0.829) and for the rich (RRR=0.297,95%CI, 0.245 – 0.360).

Another norm considered was beating Justified if wife refuses to have sex with husband. Table 7 shows that women aged 25-34 were more likely (RRR=0.834,95%CI, 0.675 – 1.029) to be beaten if they refused to have sex with husband than those aged between 35- 49(RRR=0.715,95%CI, 0.531 – 0.963). Marriage duration is yet another factor determinant to whether a woman would be beaten or not she refuses to have sex with husband. Table 7 show the risk of a woman being beaten if refuses to have sex were increases as the number of marriage duration increases (RRR=1.549, 95%CI, 1.111 – 2.159). Results show that the risk of being beaten were for those in the middle wealth index (RRR= 0.606, 95%CI, 0.511 – 0.718) compared to those in the rich index (RRR =0.282, 95%CI, 0.288 – 0.347).

Table 6: Multinomial Regression results on Gender Based Violence (three norms) against selected background characteristics

Factor	Category	RRR	SE	Sig.	C.I for Exp(B)
<i>Beating justified if wife argues with husband</i>					
Age	15-24 (RC)				
	25-34	0.706	0.073	0.001**	[0.576-0.865]
	35-49	0.570	0.076	0.000**	[0.438-0.741]
Marriage duration	0-4 years(RC)				
	5-9 years	1.092	0.108	0.370	[0.900-1.326]
	10-14 years	1.178	0.143	0.176	[0.928-1.494]
	15-19 years	1.253	0.173	0.104	[0.954-1.643]
	20+ years	1.567	0.236	0.003**	[1.166-2.105]
Wealth index	Poor(RC)				
	Middle	0.701	0.061	0.000**	[0.592-0.829]
	Rich	0.297	0.029	0.000**	[0.245-0.360]
Education Level	No education (RC)				
	Primary education	1.163	0.115	0.125	[0.958-1.412]
	Secondary or higher	0.992	0.117	0.946	[0.787-1.249]
<i>Beating Justified if wife refuses to have sex with husband</i>					
Age	15-24 (RC)				
	25-34	0.834	0.089	0.092*	[0.675-1.029]
	35-49	0.715	0.108	0.027**	[0.531-0.963]
Marriage duration	0-4 years(RC)				
	5-9 years	1.078	0.114	0.474	[0.876-1.328]
	10-14 years	1.140	0.149	0.313	[0.883-1.474]
	15-19 years	1.177	0.173	0.269	[0.881-1.572]
	20+ years	1.549	0.262	0.010**	[1.111-2.159]
Wealth index	Poor(RC)				
	Middle	0.606	0.052	0.000**	[0.511-0.718]
	Rich	0.282	0.029	0.000**	[0.228-0.347]
Education Level	No education (RC)				
	Primary education	1.059	0.101	0.554	[0.876-1.279]
	Secondary or higher	0.818	0.099	0.241	[0.646-1.037]

Beating Justified if wife burns the food					
Age	15-24 (RC)				
	25-34	0.703	0.431	0.489	[0.155- 2.439]
	35-49	0.668	1.877	0.558	[0.242-3.745]
Marriage duration	0-4 years(RC)				
	5-9 years	0.880	0.097	0.252	[0.473-4.670]
	10-14 years	1.006	0.140	0.964	[0.345-8.907]
	15-19 years	0.998	0.153	0.993	[0.231-9.572]
	20+ years	1.271	0.227	0.180	[0.056- 3.764]
Wealth index	Poor(RC)				
	Middle	0.652	0.322	0.355	[0.219-1.724]
	Rich	0.240	0.259	0.210	[0.224-1.388]
Education Level	No education (RC)				
	Primary education	0.996	0.103	0.975	[0.413-2.251]
	Secondary or higher	0.803	0.105	0.094*	[0.222-2.393]

4.5. Multinomial Regression on determinants of GBV to those who did not experience compared to those that experienced

To ascertain the GBV determinants influence on the risk of experiencing the different forms of gender-based violence (Physical, Emotional and Sexual) among women, multinomial regression was used.

Table 9 shows that the risk of a woman experiencing sexual violence if she thinks beating is justified if wife argues with husband was the highest (RRR= 2.017, 95%CI, 1,484 – 2.742) when compared with Physical and Emotional (RRR=1.826, 95%CI, 1.571 – 2.123 and RRR=1.421, 95%CI, 1.108 - 1.821 respectively). The risk of a woman experiencing sexual violence was highest (RRR=1.978, 95%CI, 1.469 – 3.101) if the woman thought beating is justified if wife refuses to have sex with husband. Physical violence followed had a higher risk (RRR=1.566, 95%CI, 1.342 – 2.102) than emotional violence with (RRR=1.331, 95%CI, 1.028 – 1.678). The other determinant that was analysed is, ‘beating is justified if wife burns the food’. Women at a higher risk of experiencing sexual violence (RRR=2.321, 95%CI, 1.713 – 3.451) , the risks of experiencing physical and emotional violence given the belief were (RRR=1.597,95%CI, 1.370 – 2.013) and (RRR=1.484, 95%CI, 1.143 – 2.100) respectively.

Table 7: Results from Multinomial Regression on determinants of GBV to those who do not experience compared to those who experience

Factor	Physical Violence				Emotional Violence				Sexual Violence			
	Exp(B)	SE	Sig.	CI for Exp(B)	Exp(B)	SE	Sig.	CI for Exp(B)	Exp(B)	SE	Sig.	CI for Exp(B)
Beating justified if wife argues with husband												
NO RC												
YES	1.826	0.140	0.000**	[1.571-2.123]	1.421	0.180	0.006**	[1.108-1.821]	2.017	0.315	0.000**	[1.484-2.742]
Beating Justified if wife refuses to have sex with husband												
NO RC												
YES	1.566	0.123	0.000**	[1.342-2.102]	1.331	0.175	0.030**	[1.028-1.678]	1.978	0.299	0.000**	[1.469-3.101]
Beating Justified if wife burns the food												
NO RC												
YES	1.597	0.125	0.000**	[1.370-2.013]	1.484	0.197	0.003**	[1.143-2.100]	2.321	0.358	0.000**	[1.713-3.451]

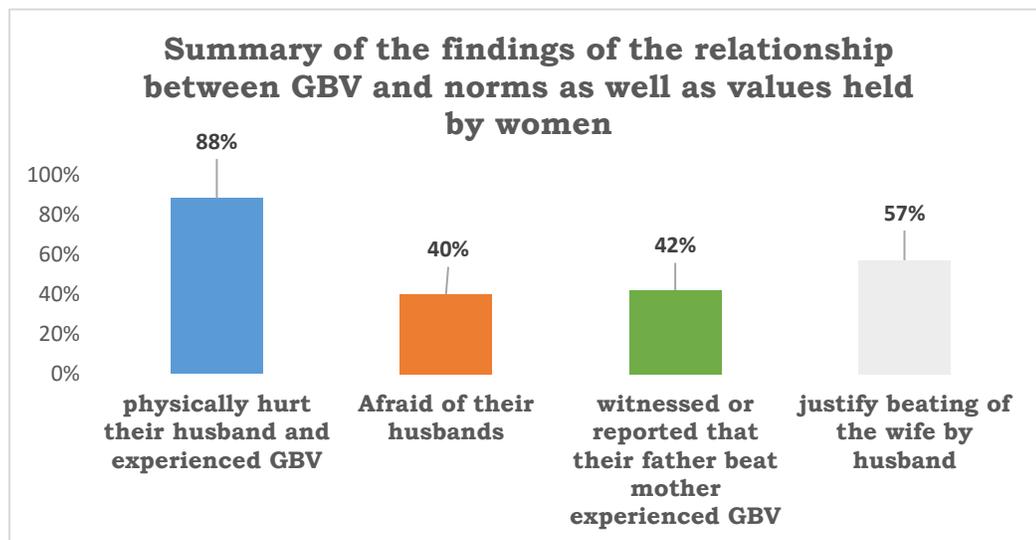
4. Source: ZDHS 2013-14, P-value in the parenthesis; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$; RC= Reference Category & C.I=Confidence Inter

4.6. Summary of Findings

Zambian women of reproductive age (14 – 49 years) in the 2013 – 14 ZDHS reported 88% that physically hurt by their husbands had experienced GBV as well and 40% of the women who were afraid of their husbands. It was also found that 57% of the women who justified beating of the wife by husband had experienced GBV and those women who witnessed or reported that their father beat their mother had experienced GBV.

There was a statistically significant relationship between norms/beliefs and GBV. Higher aged women (35 - 49 years) were associated with a lower risk (RRR=0.570,95%CI,0.438-0.741) of experiencing GBV given that they believed it was justified for the husband to beat the wife if they had an argument, the preceding age group had a higher risk. Wealth index had a statistically positive relationship with GBV with women in the middle index being at a higher risk to experience the GBV given they conformed to the belief system that it was justified for their partners to perpetrate violence against them.

Figure 5: Summary of the findings



CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Overview

The main objective of the study was to examine the influence of beliefs and norms held by women on Gender Based Violence experiences in Zambia. The study had three specific objectives which included: examining the common beliefs and norms among women that influences GBV, to establish the levels of GBV experienced by women according to the types (physical, emotional and sexual violence), investigating the influence of interpersonal, traditional, and regional as well as social-economic determinants on GBV.

5.2 Differentials in experiences of GBV among women by socio-demographic

The findings of this study show that social norms and beliefs held by women in Zambia influence their experiences of GBV. Results have showed that there was a statistically significant association in the difference of GBV experiences among women that held certain beliefs and those that did not.

The study found that the only socioeconomic characteristics of the women that were statistically significant in determining the experience of GBV were level of education, duration of marriage (20+ years) and wealth index. On the contrary, the results indicated that there was no statistically significant difference between women's age and residence with experience of GBV. The finding on age is consistent with a similar study that was conducted by Mahmoud and Abed (2014) in Palestine that looked at Modeling Violence against Women in Palestinian Society. The study found that young women have a higher chance than older women of being exposed to all forms of violence from all sources.

The wealth index was found to have a statistically significant relationship with gender-based violence. As expected the women in the rich quantile had a lower risk of experiencing violence than those of the middle and poor ones given that they believed it was justified for a husband to beat the wife if there was an argument and if the wife went out without the permission of the husband. The relationship of wealth index and GBV was consistent before and after adjustment with other determinants. This finding contradicts those of Bamiwuye and Odimegwu (2014) that stated: similar measurements of household poverty-wealth have

produced varying relationships with respect to experience of spousal violence in sub-Saharan African countries. While experience of violence is significantly higher among women from rich households, than those from the middle and poor households in Zambia and Mozambique, it is not so for Zimbabwe and Kenya where more women from poor households experienced spousal violence than those from middle and rich households.

5.3 Norms and beliefs and influence on GBV experiences

Rules or expectations of behavior – norms – within a cultural or social group can encourage violence. As earlier discussed, norms are the unspoken rules of behavior considered acceptable by society and determined by what an individual thinks other are doing. There are two broad categories of social norms: descriptive norms that imply a perceived consensus on the pattern of behavior i.e., in our community men hit their wives and injunctive norms that describe consensus about prescribed or prohibited behavior i.e., in our community it is acceptable for men to hit their wives (Paluck, 2009). The descriptive norms in this study answered the question whether wife beating by their husbands was justified. The injunctive norms used were derived from the women whose father ever beat mother, those who physically hurt husband and those who were afraid of the husband.

The study findings are consistent with the explanation given by the conceptual framework on the effects of norms and beliefs on GBV experiences. There is indeed a strong relationship between the norms held by an individual woman and their risk of experiencing GBV. The study found that women stated that it was justified to be beaten by their husbands when they did something wrong like neglecting children or going out without permission were twice more likely to experience GBV than those that said it was not justified. This finding is consistent with those of the World Health Organization (2009) that reported the following norms that promoted intimate partner violence: Physical violence is an acceptable way to resolve conflicts within a relationship and that a man has a right to “correct” or discipline female behavior. The injunctive norms derived from the actual incidence or violent behavior indicated that women who physically hurt their husbands were more likely to experience GBV. The norm in this case was that it is normal to fight each other in a union.

Furthermore, multinomial analysis of the risks to experiencing GBV given norms and beliefs held by women found that there were statistically significant relative risk ratios for the norms and beliefs when adjusted for the social-economic variables (age, wealth index, marriage duration and education level).

The determinant ‘beating justified if wife argues with husband’ adjusted for age in table 8 indicated that the risk was higher for younger women (25 – 34years) to experience GBV than those in the older age group (35 – 49 years). The age of the woman only became a factor when analysed together with the norms and beliefs. The findings were consistent when the selected norms and beliefs were adjusted for age, the women in the younger ages had a higher risk of experiencing GBV if they believed it was justified to be beaten if wife argued with husband.

The multinomial regression analysis for norms and beliefs against marriage duration only had one category (20+ years) to be statistically significant. This was contrary to the expectations as the study expected to find newer marriages to be at a higher risk of experiencing gender-based violence.

The wealth index of the women produced statistically significant results. Women in the middle index had a higher risk of experiencing GBV when adjusted for the norms and beliefs than those in the rich index.

The study indicates that the experience of GBV by women who hold certain norms vary when subjected to the different social economic characteristics. This finding explains the reason for different levels of GBV in different areas among women holding the same beliefs and norms.

5.4. Levels of GBV experienced by women according to the types (physical, emotional and sexual violence)

All the three forms of GBV which include physical violence, emotional violence and sexual violence were experienced by women in Zambia. The findings showed that the most experienced form of GBV was physical violence which accounted for 38.7% compared to 24.1% and 16.7% of emotional and sexual violence respectively.

There was a higher percentage of physical violence due to the fact that most women as shown above believed that a husband was justified to beat the husband which is a common belief held by most cultures in Zambia.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents the conclusion, recommendations of the study and implication for future research

6.1 Conclusion

Norms and beliefs have a significant bearing on the incidence and prevalence of gender-based violence in Zambia. The primary strength of this study is that it examined the direct relation of norms and beliefs on the experience of GBV for women in their reproductive ages. The study used fully comparable and nationally representative data from the 2014 Zambia Demographic and Health survey. Given global efforts to end violence against women, this study is important both for policymakers and service providers. It highlighted how social norms impact gender-based violence perpetration in Zambia.

The results obtained after data analysis suggested that indeed norms and beliefs do play a role in the perpetration of GBV. All the responses that were classified as norms which included women that think GBV was justified had statistically significant relationships with the dependent variable.

The findings of this study contribute towards a better understanding of the link between social norms and violence against women in Zambia. Violence against women is significantly higher to those that subscribe to the norm that suggests GBV is justified regardless of the perpetrator as long as there seems to be a genuine reason behind the violence.

The findings suggest that eliminating violence against women requires a comprehensive understanding of the social norms and how to change them. This is an important implication for any policy and programs aimed at reducing domestic violence levels in Zambia. Violent behaviour is strongly influenced by cultural and social norms; so efforts to prevent violence must consider how social pressures and expectations influence individual behaviour.

Interventions that attempt to alter social norms to prevent violence are among the most widespread and prominent.

Despite the usefulness of the findings arising from this study, there are a number of limitations, such as the cross-sectional nature of the data which cautions us from making long-term causal inference between social norms and violence against women and the fact that the study relies mainly on women's report of violence suffered from their partners/spouse which could have left out those women who never wanted to report when the survey was being conducted.

6.2 Recommendations

From the findings of this study, the following are the recommendations:

- Introduce education that promotes restraint of both males and females in cases of disputes.
- Introduce techniques such as public shaming and requiring community service as a punishment for abusive behavior. This would drive change of social norms at the societal level.
- Introduce groups of trained local women and men who should provide education about the law and rights, and to challenge the culture of justifying emotional and physical abuse of both women and children.

6.3 Implication for Future research

- Future research should focus on vetting causal pathways using cohort studies.
- Qualitative research is needed to gain insight on factors that influence reporting accuracy of GBV in Zambia.
- Future research on the interaction between social norms, gender roles, and the intersection of gender inequality in Zambia.

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