

**A STUDY OF BATTERED WOMEN SEEKING SHELTER AT  
YWCA SINCE ITS INCEPTION IN 1993 TO 2003**

by  
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THESIS

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**A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Zambia in Partial  
fulfilment of the Requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in  
Gender Studies**

**University of Zambia**

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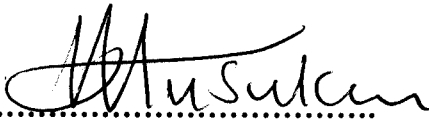
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## DECLARATION

I LINAH MPUNDU MUSUKUMA hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work, and that it has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other University. All published work or materials from source that have been incorporated have been specifically acknowledged and adequate reference thereby given.

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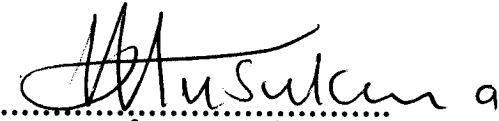
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## APPROVAL

This dissertation of LINAH MPUNDU MUSUKUMA has been approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in Gender Studies of the University of Zambia.

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Date 6 June 2005

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Date 6 June, 2005

3 ВНЕШНЯЯ - СЛУХОВЫЙ

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## **DEDICATION**

In loving memory of my late son Taizya Chenda, taken to be with the Lord on 11<sup>th</sup> January 1998; God had a reason for taking away my only child.

This dissertation is also in memory of my late twin sister Evelyn Mpundu Musukuma taken to be with the Lord on 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2001. My twin sister died at the hands of an abusive husband and hence the choice of my dissertation topic. I would like to remember my other departed sisters namely Fostina Musukuma and Mundi Musukuma. I would like to remember my late Mum Mrs Jane Katai Musukuma who I wish should have been on earth to see me reach this far.

I would like also to remember my late cousins the Sensentas namely Mwaka, Chiponti, Chipungwa, Sundu, Chilanzi and Kapumba. The Chizus namely Peter, Michael and Maureen.

**MAY THEIR SOULS REST IN PEACE!**

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<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
List of Tables	(ix)
List of Boxes	(ix)
Appendixes	(ix)
Declaration	(ii)
Acronyms	(x)
Dedication	(iv)
Acknowledgements	(v)
Abstract	(xi)

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Structure of dissertation	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	2
1.3 Objectives of the study	2
1.4 Research questions	3
1.5 Significance of the study	3
1.6 Limitation of the study	3
1.7 Delimitation of the study	3
1.8 Operational definitions	3

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

2.0 Introduction	5
2.1 Wife battering	5
2.2 Prevalence of wife battering in developed countries	5
2.3 Prevalence of wife battering in developing countries	7
2.3.1 Asia and Latin America	7
2.3.2 Africa	8
2.4 Prevalence of domestic violence in Zambia	9
2.5 Historical context of wife battering	11
2.6 Social context of wife battering in the developing countries	13
2.6.1 Asia	13
2.6.2 Africa	14
2.6.2.1 Zambia	14
2.7 Psychological and Sociological explanations of battery	14
2.8 Literature on shelter	16



### **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

3.0 Introduction	18
3.1 Study design	18
3.2 Sampling and sample size	18
3.3 Data collection	19
3.4 Data analysis	19
3.5 Problems encountered during field study	20

### **CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

4.0 Introduction	21
4.1 Social backgrounds of battered women	21
4.1.1 Age	21
4.1.2 Education of battered women	22
4.1.3 Occupation of battered women	23
4.1.4 Tribal background	24
4.1.5 Types of Marriage	25
4.1.6 Age at marriage	27
4.1.7 Duration of marriage	28
4.1.8 Number of children	29
4.1.9 Counselling before marriage	29
4.2 Prevalence of wife battering among social groups	30
4.3 Battered women's explanations of spousal violence	31
4.4 Frequency and forms of battery experienced by women	33
4.4.1 Injuries sustained	35
4.5 Battered women's reasons for remaining in abusive marriages before seeking refuge at the shelter	35
4.6 Coping strategies used by battered women	39
4.7 Battered women's reasons for leaving violent spouses	41
4.7.1 Constraints faced by women that cause them to return to their abusive marriages	42
4.8 Support services offered to battered women at YWCA Shelter	44
4.8.1 Significance of the Shelter	47
4.8.2 Constraints faced by YWCA Shelter	49

### **CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

5.0 Conclusions	50
5.1 Recommendations	53
Bibliography	55

	<b>LIST OF TABLES</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
Table 1	Age of battered women	22
Table 2	Education of battered women	23
Table 3	Occupation of battered women	23
Table 4	Tribe of battered women	25
Table 5	Type of marriage	26
Table 6	Age at marriage	28
Table 7	Duration of marriage	29
Table 8	Causes of battery	33
Table 9	Forms of battery	34
Table 10	Injuries sustained	35
Table 11	Women's reasons for staying on with abusive spouses before the shelter	38
Table 12	Battered women's reasons for leaving	41
Table 13	Where did the women go after the shelter	42

### **LIST OF BOXES**

Box 1: Aggravated assault of a woman by the husband	34
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### **APPENDICES**

APPENDIX A: An interview Guide for battered women respondents	60
APPENDIX B: A questionnaire to YWCA staff at the DIC and Shelter	70

## ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
CODESRIA	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DHS	Demographic Health Survey
DIC	Drop-in Centre
GIDD	Gender in Development Division
HIV	Human immuno virus
LRFN	Legal Resource Foundation News
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for women
USA	United States of America
TCRGV	Technical Committee reports on gender based violence
VSU	Victim Support Unit
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
WILSA	Women in Law in Southern Africa
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

## **ABSTRACT**

Wife battering is not a recent phenomenon in Zambia and has been exacerbated by customs and traditions. Wife battering is one of the forms of gender violence that has the potential to destroy women's sense of self.

The establishment of battered women's shelter at YWCA presented an opportunity for battered women fleeing from violent marital homes. Women were given an opportunity to access a safe and enabling refuge. The women that went there received counsel and appropriate referral to relevant organizations. The overall objective of the study was to get an insight into wife battering in Lusaka and what role the YWCA has played. The study sought to examine patterns and levels of battery. The study aimed at finding out what services were offered to battered women and how beneficial they were.

The study further investigated whether women stayed in abusive marriages.

The study was undertaken between June and July 2004. Data was collected using both the qualitative and quantitative methods and involved interviews for all the 40 respondents and a questionnaire to YWCA staff at DIC and the Shelter.

The study revealed that 377 women sought shelter in the period between 1993 and 2003. The study revealed that the shelter was under-utilized partly because the majority of women did not know of its existence and also because women were not keen in reporting cases of wife battery for fear of losing the marriage.

The services that are offered at the shelter are temporary accommodation, counselling and provision of basic needs to battered women and their children. The study revealed that only practical needs of women were met whilst at the shelter and no support groups were formed as had been planned. At the beginning of the project women were given skills in baking and knitting however this service could not continue due to erratic funding. The study further revealed that women were not given financial assistance upon discharge from the shelter to enable them settle on their own.

The study has also demonstrated that though follow ups on clients was one of the services offered at the shelter it was not consistently carried out due to lack of funds and also due to frequent change of addresses by the clients.

The study has also revealed that over half of the battered women remained in abusive marriages for the sake of children and also because they were economically dependent on

their husbands. Out of the 40 women under study, 52.5 percent decided to go back to their abusive marriages after a short stay at the shelter and only 25 percent set up their own homes while 22.5 percent went to live with their relatives. The study further revealed that there were some changes in the lives and marriages of the women. The women gained self-confidence and some left abusive marriages. Those who went back reported a reduction in the incidences of battery.

In conclusion the services offered at the shelter were good services but most of them were not carried out according to their mission. The services did help the women to some extent in that their self-esteem was raised. The services effected changes in some women's abilities and perception of themselves though they were not economically empowered, as they needed self-sustaining skills.

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Introduction**

Violence against women is a global problem and it has been campaigned against by feminists over a long period of time. Wife battering is one of the forms of gender violence that is being perpetrated all over the world; it is aggravated by customs and traditions in various societies. The inequality of the marriage contract and the hierarchical conjugal family, cultural expectation and lobola “ bride price” have been effective barriers to taking actions against wife battering.

Shelter provision has proved to be the most important service for victims of domestic violence. Usually refuges are run by voluntary organisations. In Zambia YWCA, a non-governmental organisation, has established a centre for battered women where services in form of a place to stay and counselling are done. YWCA first emerged in Zambia in 1957 initially involved in Christian fellowship and assisting the poorest in society , skills training and income generating projects for women, recently women’s rights issues have become predominant. This is the only shelter in Zambia at the moment dealing with battered women. A total of 377 women sought shelter in the period 1993 to 2003.

### **1.1 Structure of dissertation**

The thesis is divided into five chapters. The chapter that follows discusses the literature available on domestic violence with emphasis to wife battering. It will also look at literature on the shelter system. Chapter three presents the research methodology utilized for the study. Chapter four provides analysis and discussion of the findings of the study. The conclusion and recommendations are contained in chapter five.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Wife battering permeates all levels of Zambian society, for example in Zambia a femicide register recorded 105 women killed by their own husbands out of a total of 316 women killed by men. Wife battering is a phenomenon that cuts across ethnic grouping, age, religion and education status. Wife battering is a violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Yet throughout the world it remains a hidden problem and underestimated everywhere. In Zambia and indeed in many other societies such violence is used as a mechanism by which women are forced into a subordinate position. Acts of such nature create a climate of fear and powerlessness that limit women's freedom of action and ability to make choices about their lives; this in turn prevents women from participating in development and contributing fully to their country.

YWCA is currently offering services to the battered women in the form of shelter. Other than the efforts by YWCA, over the last ten years awareness of this problem has been growing. The police force established VSU to curb domestic violence. The study attempts to investigate the role YWCA Shelter has played in battered women's lives. A review of literature indicates that very little research has been conducted in this area particularly in Zambia.

## **1.3 Objectives of the study**

The overall objective of the study is to get an insight into wife battering in Lusaka and what role the YWCA has played. My specific objectives are:

- (i) To examine patterns and levels of battery
- (ii) To find out if women taking refuge find support services useful
- (iii) To find out how women responded to services offered by YWCA

## **1.4 Research questions**

- (i) Is wife battering more prevalent among any social group?
- (ii) Do women stay in abusive marriages?
- (iii) How beneficial are services offered and do they change the pattern of marriage?

## **1.5 Significance of the study**

The study is significant because it will fill in the literature gap in researches done on gender violence that have not specifically dealt with the shelter remedy in wife battering. The study will also be beneficial to YWCA as an organisation because it will be an assessment of their efforts in the fight against gender violence and wife battering.

## **1.6 Limitation of the study**

The study may have some limitations in lack of information because only a small fraction of battered women go to the shelter.

## **1.7 Delimitation of the study**

The study shall exclude other forms of gender violence such as rape, incest, defilement, and sexual harassment: it shall focus on abuses of wife battering and also violent acts involving living-in partners or cohabits. The study will only cover those women who have sought refuge at YWCA shelter.

## **1.8 Operational definition of terms**

**Violence** - Violent behaviour involving the use of physical force.

**Domestic Violence** – Is a term used to describe a variety of actions that occur in family relations, it covers physical attacks, psychological and mental violence.

**Gender Violence** - Violence that is directed at a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental, sexual



harm, suffering and threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivation of liberty  
(UN1993).

**Traditions** - Are beliefs, customs or way of doing things that are believed to have existed for a long time among a particular group of people.

**Culture** - Customs and beliefs, art, way of life and social organisation of a particular country or group.

**Norms** - Standard of behaviour that is typical of or accepted within a particular group or society.

**Beliefs** - Strong feelings and opinion about something that is considered true.

**Victim** - shall refer to some one who has been harmed, injured or killed as a result of violent crime.

**Perpetrator** - A person who does something that is evil, harmful, illegal or dishonest.

**Wife Battering** - Shall refer to any act of aggression directed by a husband or live in partner against his wife or lover. It covers incidents of physical attacks such as punching, beating, slapping, stabbing, and throwing boiling water on or acid at (Heise et al 1994).

**Patriarchy** - A society, system or organisation in which men have all or most of the power and influence.

**Shelter for battered women-** Shall refer to a place where women fleeing from violence access a safe and enabling refuge while receiving information, counselling and appropriate referral to relevant organisations to help them make informed decision.

**Customary Marriage** – Shall refer to marriage which has taken place between man and woman according to traditional norms and practices.

**Statutory Marriage** – Shall refer to marriage between a man and woman, which involves state law. It's a marriage between one man and one woman to the exclusion of every body else.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents a review of literature on domestic violence; it looks at literature that discusses wife battering worldwide and the prevalence of domestic violence by region.

The chapter will also discuss literature on the historical and social context of wife battering. The researcher will present some of the theoretical explanations of wife battering. Finally it will present literature on shelters

### **2.1 Wife battering**

Wife battering is rampant in many countries but at the same time it is very much underreported and under documented around the world. Edwards (1989) argues that violence in the private domain between family members remains under recorded and this is attributed to the widely held ideology that marital violence is not a problem. A study by Oyekanmi in 1997 also reveals that wife battering is rampant in many countries but it is very much under documented around the world. However the few statistics available reveal the extent of the problem (Oyekanmi 1997).

### **2.2 Prevalence of wife battering in developed countries**

“You are more likely to be physically assaulted, beaten and killed in your own home at the hands of a loved one than any place else or by anyone else in society” (Gelles and Straus, 1989, p 1). This statement by two of the most respected researchers in the field of family violence reflects the findings of numerous studies on the prevalence of domestic violence in many societies.

Gelles and Straus (1975) cited in Gelles and Straus (1989) indicated that one out of every six wives reported that she had been hit by her husband at some point in her marriage. These were findings in America in 1975 during the first national family violence survey. This study, based on interviews with a national sample of more than two thousand families,

also indicated that about one woman in twenty two is a victim of physical abusive violence each year, with every battered wife being attacked on average three times each year in the USA.

Attacks took the form of severe beating in six cases out of one thousand and involved the use of guns or knives in two cases out of one thousand. Straus Second National Family Violence Survey a further study involving interviews with six thousand families indicated again that one out of six American couples experienced an incident involving a physical assault during 1985 (cited in Gelles and Straus 1989).

Carrillo (1991) reported that violence occurs at least once in two thirds of all marriages in the USA, while one out of every eight couples admitted that there had been an act of violence between them which caused serious injury; further according to Benokraitis's (1996) report in the United States of America (USA) alone over two million women get battered each year. Abane quoted in Oyekanmi (1997) found that between forty and sixty per cent of all police night calls were domestic disputes. These statistics show that violence against women in America is rampant.

Carrillo (1992) cited in Oyekanmi (1997) indicated that in France ninety five per cent of victims of violence are women, while twenty five per cent of women cited battery as the reason for divorce. Hyden (1994) reported that nine thousand five hundred wife assault cases are reported annually in Sweden while Ampto (1992) quoted by Ofei-Aboagye (1994) reported that five million wife assault cases are reported annually in Germany. According to the UN (1989) the analysis of assaults on women in two Scottish villages in 1974 revealed that wife assault was the second most common form of violent crime recorded by the police. UN further reported that a crime survey carried out in 1974 in the United Kingdom found that ten per cent of all assault victims were women who had been assaulted by their present or previous husbands or lovers. Walby (1999) reports that in a

*national survey carried out in the United Kingdom in 1993, 1 in 4 women had been victims of domestic violence in their lives. The study further revealed that in Manchester in 1996 50291 cases of spousal violence were reported, 89 % on females.*

## **2.3 Prevalence of wife battering in developing countries**

*In the developing countries the pattern seems to be even worse.*

*United Nations Development Fund for Women UNIFEM (1992) summarised the research into domestic violence that has been undertaken in various regions of the developing world. In their fact sheet on gender violence on the incidence of wife abuse, it reveals that wife battering is common in Bangladesh, Barbados, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rico, Guatemala, India and Srilanka*

### **2.3.1 Asia and Latin America**

*Carrillo (1994) cited in Oyekanmi (1997) reported that a study conducted in Santiago Chile revealed that eighty percent of women were victims of domestic violence. The study also revealed that two thirds of rural women in Korea were periodically beaten by their husbands; furthermore, fifty percent of all married women were regularly beaten in Thailand. In Bangladesh, assassination of wives by husbands account for fifty per cent of all murders. Most of these are dowry deaths, this is done so that men can remarry and receive another dowry.*

*According to Bradley (1994), research in Papua New Guinea reveals that the majority of New Guinea wives have been hit by their husbands. The results showed that in a rural survey of nineteen villages in sixteen of Papua New Guinea's nineteen provinces, sixty seven percent of rural wives surveyed said they had been hit by their husbands, and sixty six per cent of rural husbands said they had hit their wives. Davies (1994) reported that in another survey of urban low income earners in Papua New Guinea, it was found that fifty*

six percent of wives claimed to have been hit by their husbands and fifty five percent of husbands admitted to hitting their wives.

The research also revealed that some Papua New Guinea women hit their husbands, with figures ranging from thirty percent in rural areas to fifty percent amongst urban elites. Nevertheless other studies by Walker (1989a), Browne (1987) and Jones (1981) have argued that wives hit in self-defence.

### **2.3.2 Africa**

In a research into wife battering among the Yoruba in Ibadan Nigeria conducted by Morayo Atinmo in 1997, five married couples, two social workers and four marriage counsellors were interviewed in a case study. Results revealed varied causes of violence, principal among which were male dominance and lack of communication between husbands and wives. Violent reactions from five female victims in the case study indicated that Yoruba women were ready to challenge the issues of male dominance.

In Ghana data obtained from a preliminary interview conducted on clients of the International Federation of Lawyers revealed that some abused wives could no longer suffer violence silently. The federation handled cases of child custody, maintenance, family reconciliation, marital violence and cases of paternity. The total number of cases handled rose from three hundred in 1990 to one thousand and forty seven in 1995. Marital cases rose steadily from forty-six in 1991 to one hundred and ninety two in 1995. The growing number of cases reported indicates that perhaps this is just the tip of the iceberg.

According to UNIFEM (1992) Kenya has the highest rate of wife battering in Africa. According to Machera (1997), A survey of newspaper reports in Kenya revealed that in 1983 the world was awakened to the shocking news about Piah Njoki, a Kenyan woman, whose eyes were gouged out by her husband, assisted by two other male relatives

apparently for giving birth to daughters only (Mama 1989). Such cases are reported to be common in Kenya.

## **2.4 Prevalence of domestic violence in Zambia**

Zambia's contributions to the literature on wife battering are researches conducted by Mutukwa in 1991 and the YWCA on the prevalence of domestic violence. Findings reveal that gender violence is very much prevalent in Zambia. A quantitative research carried out by the YWCA in 1994 with two hundred and four women interviewed in four compounds of Lusaka namely Kamanga, Chawama, Kabwata, and Chelstone revealed that over ninety two per cent, 189 of respondents, know some women who are beaten by their husbands. Only seven per cent, 16 of respondents, do not know any woman who is beaten, fifty per cent 103 know of many women in violent relationships. The YWCA conducted another evaluation study on violence against women in 1994 with a population of six hundred and forty six respondents; the sample had men, women, girls and boys. Findings revealed that violence against women in Zambia is a serious problem, and there were a lot of heart breaking stories from abused women. Women felt that the institution of marriage was like a torture chamber for them.

Another study carried out by YWCA on violence against women was the research on femicide, which began in September 1993 to document women killed at the hands of men from early 1970s to 1995. The findings were shocking; on analysis it was found that the husbands or live- in partners killed thirty three per cent of the women killed. Out of the 316 catalogued incidences of women killed by men it was found out that 105 women were actually killed by their own husbands or live in partners in domestic disputes (YWCA Femicide Register 1995). The research also revealed that men who kill their wives are sentenced to short jail terms although not consistently so. The Demographic Health Survey (2001-2002) carried out in Zambia revealed that forty five per cent of women report

physical violence by spouse, fifteen per cent by former spouse, twenty per cent by parents and nine per cent by siblings. The Technical Committee Report on Gender Based Violence (2000) carried out by Gender in Development Division at Cabinet Office in Lusaka revealed that violence against women in Zambia is located and manifested at three levels, namely the family, the community and the state. It is argued that unless there is change of attitude towards wife battering at these levels the fight against wife battering will be difficult to win.

The issue of violence against women in Zambia is closely linked to the socio-economic status of women and the strong patriarchal beliefs, which reinforce men's dominance over women and girls. While it may be said that the patriarchal beliefs tend to predispose women and girls to various forms of violence it is mostly the attitudes of some women themselves and the society that tend to perpetuate this scenario. This is evident in the latest Zambia's Demographic Health Survey of 2002 where 80 percent of Zambian wives said they found it acceptable to be battered by their husbands as a form of chastisement. Out of 5029 women interviewed country wide, 79 percent said they should be beaten if they went out without their husband's permission. Sixty one per cent said a beating was acceptable if they denied their husband sex, while 45 percent said a beating was in order if they cooked 'bad' food. This has been compounded by the traditional norms and the culture of silence around domestic violence. Getrude Mulande a traditional marriage counsellor confessed in an article on 'wife beating in Zambia a natural consequence' in the Mail and Guardian on line that they teach young girls to expect to be slapped or hit lightly as a form of chastisement. She said women are also advised to keep their marital problems within their family circles.

The fact that women are admitting that they expect to be battered for perceived wrongs means that the NGOs have a long way to go in sensitising the women.

## 2.5 Historical context of wife battering

Violence in the context of the home is part of the experience of many women; this is not a new ill. In Europe violence towards women was a common aspect of marriage since medieval times. Until the late nineteenth century, there were no laws in the UK prohibiting a man from physically abusing his wife short of serious injury or murder (Giddens 1993).

The first law in the United States to recognise a husband's right to control his wife with physical force was an 1824 ruling by the supreme court of Mississippi permitting the husband "to exercise the right of moderate chastisement in cases of great emergency" (quoted in Browne 1987, p 166).

Davis (1992) and Hart (1993) further argued that

Violence against wives is a right of men exercised with impunity for centuries. This prerogative of men has been articulated in the precepts of religion, philosophy and the law throughout the Northern Hemisphere. Physical violence was deemed necessary for the well being of women, it was couched in terms of corrective discipline and chastisement of erring wives.

A Christian scholar propagated "Rule of marriage" in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century and I quote

When you see your wife committed an offence, do not rush at her with insults and violent blows.... Scold her sharply, bully and terrify her, and if this does not work, take up a stick and beat her soundly, for it is better to punish the body and correct the soul than to damage the soul and spare her body.... Then readily beat her, not in rage but out of charity and concern for her soul so that the beating will redound to your merit and her good (quoted in Davidson, 1978, p 99).

Davidson (1977) reported that British common law later embraced, but limited the husband's authority to assault wives by adopting the "rule of thumb" which permitted a man to beat his wife with a rod not thicker than his thumb.

Hart (1993) reported that jurists and legislators in the United States followed in the tradition of the European clergy and lawmakers and approved the use by men of violence against their wives.



Similar rulings that followed in courts in Maryland and Massachusetts were based on English common law, which gave a husband right to “correction” of his wife, although he was supposed to use it in moderation (Bart 1993).

According to Hart (1993) it was not until 1871 that a court in America rescinded the legal right of men to beat their wives. Maryland was the first State to pass a law that made wife beating a crime in 1882, punishable by 40 lashes or a year in jail.

Nonetheless, over the course of the ensuing century, men’s use of violence went basically unfettered. According to US Commission on Civil Rights (1982) men still use violence against wives without fear of reprisal in many jurisdictions.

Hansen and Harway (1993) and Dobash and Dobash (1977-1978) argued that though wife abuse became illegal in two states of America by 1882 it was not until the women’s movement in America began to focus on women battered by drunken husbands that spouse abuse was carefully examined. Archer (1989) and Mier (1987) further argued that even with these changes wife battering was still tolerated by the courts to a far greater degree than other forms of assault, police were reluctant to arrest, prosecutors were unwilling to prosecute and judges hesitated to convict.

According to YWCA (1995) a similar situation persisted in Zambia until a decade ago. Domestic violence suggested “private” and therefore beyond the “public” responsibility of the police and other authorities.

According to findings by Caringella-Macdonald (1988) it was only with the increased activism of radical feminists in the United States and United Kingdom in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s that the outrage over battering returned and the US and many other countries of the world began to revise their legal codes regarding domestic violence.

Hart (1993) reported that the women’s liberation movements of the late 1960s later gave birth to women’s support centres and telephone crisis lines. Battered women quickly

responded, identified their plight and sought assistance. The fight against violence against women in Zambia became a priority in late 1970s.

## **2.6 Social context of wife battering in developing countries**

A study by Dobash and Dobash (1980) argues that men who assault their wives are actually living up to cultural prescriptions that are cherished in Western and other societies. Men use physical force to enforce their dominance. Connors (1992) reported that *violence against wives is an outcome of the beliefs fostered in all cultures that men are superior and that the women they marry are their possessions to be treated as they consider appropriate.* It is generally argued that in these cultures men beat their wives as a physical reprimand. The beating happens occasionally and causes the women no serious harm or permanent injury. Dobash and Dobash (1977-1978) and Magford and others (1989) further argue that spouse abuse is often viewed as a private concern by both the community and the agencies assigned to protect members of the community. Battering may not be recognised and intervened in as quickly as other crimes. Additional concern is the prevalence of the perception that spouse abuse is justifiable under certain circumstances, such a perspective can result in the often cited “Bitch deserved it defence” used by some men who kill their wives.

The implications of these studies are that wife battering in many countries is socially and culturally accepted.

### **2.6.1 Asia**

Davies (1994) reports that in Papua New Guinea, wife beating is so common that it is seen as a normal part of marriage life. This was evident by the survey conducted by Rank and Toff who found out that fifty seven percent of rural women and sixty seven percent of rural men accepted in principle the practice of wife beating. This study is supported by Richter

(1994) report, which indicates that Pacific societies consider a certain level of family violence to be normal.

## **2.6.2 Africa**

Ofei-Aboagye (1994) notes that wife beating in Ghana is seen as a man's way of teaching the wife a lesson, he argues that even women have accepted and show less sympathy to the victims of wife beating who according to their customs should learn to be obedient to their husbands

Okagbue (1996) indicates that wife beating in Nigeria is both prevalent and persistent because the society subscribes to the philosophies that the wife is subordinate to her husband and that the family life is immune to social control, intervention and sanction. This has led to the trivialization of the problem

### **2.6.2.1 Zambia**

Coming to the Zambian situation, according to YWCA (1994), Kazunga (1995) and WLSA (2001) violence against women have its roots in men's power over women, and in the retention of customs, cultural beliefs and traditions that contribute to the enslavement of women. Findings from these studies revealed that in the Zambian culture we have customs and traditions that encourage wife battering for example *lobola* is a justification for beating wives.

## **2.7 Psychological and sociological explanations of wife battery**

There are several theories on wife battering. Psychological and sociological theories have attempted to explain the violent family, including description of what types of individuals are violent or victims of violence and descriptions of what conditions result in violence in the families. Approaches that explain an individual's predisposition to be violent or to submit to violence as related to personality factors have led to psychiatric diagnosis and explanations for domestic violence that include a description of the battered women's

personality as deficient (L S Brown 1991 and Walker 1991). This view has been challenged by feminists such as Bograd (1984) and Gondolf (1985a).

This theory was not tested and does not apply to this study, as the researcher is not a psychiatric specialist.

Other theories that are not tested in this study are those of psychoanalysts such as Shainess (1979), Blum (1982), who use 'blame the victim' theoretical and clinical model. These have identified aspects of the victim's behaviour that are seen as responsible or contributory to the violence. Root (1992) sees the behaviour of battered women as a normal reaction to pathological situation. These theories could not be tested because victim's behaviour was not the focus of the study.

Another theory that could not apply to this study was Pizzey and Shapiro's (1982) theory whose arguments are that early childhood experiences can cement an association between pleasure and pain, with the result that some women become addicted to violence. This theory has been criticised by British sociologists and researchers and has not been applied to this study. A theory by Giles-Sims (1983) is another theory not applied in this study.. Giles-Sims described violence as arising out of dysfunctional relationships in which the violence is mutually caused. This theory could not be tested because the study was focused on battered women only and not their husbands and therefore it was not possible to determine if the violence was mutually caused

The theories that were tested and apply to this study are Walker's theory of learned helplessness, Dobash and Dobash's social learning theory and Rington's theory on retaliation.

Walker (1979), in her study of battered women explored the psychological factors which may underlie a woman's decision to stay on in an abusive relationship. She also argues that a woman's decision to stay on in an abusive relationship is influenced by her economic

status. She further argues that money or lack of it traps women in relationship through fear of becoming poor; money is used as a weapon. It is women's fear of being cut off with no money for basic necessities of life that perpetuates this kind of psychological battering. Economic dependence is one of the several factors identified as part of the helplessness of some women.

Dobash and Dobash (1979) theory also applied to this study. Dobash and Dobash argue that power differentials in society between men and women result in violence against women. Social learning theory propounded by Gelles (1979) asserts that women and men who grow up in violent homes learn to accept or tolerate violence in their own adult life relationship.

The theory by Ridington (1978) which argues that women stay in relationships because they fear retaliation from violent partners was also tested.

## **2.8 Literature on shelters**

Shelters are places where women fleeing from violent marital homes access a safe and enabling refuge while receiving counselling and appropriate referral to relevant organisations to help them make informed decisions. Connors (1989) found that in many countries, services for victims of domestic violence have become available as a result of efforts by individual women rather than at the initiative of governments. Often however, once services have been made available by efforts of such women, governments have stepped in and either taken over these services or introduced their own services modelled on those introduced by the voluntary sector. In Zambia YWCA, a non governmental organisation, has established a shelter for battered women where women can stay for three weeks while receiving counsel and other social services to help them make informed decisions.

*Connors (1989) further argues that shelter provision has proved to be the most important service for victims of domestic violence. She notes that shelters; which were originally conceived as advice centres for women at risk and eventually developed to provide temporary residential accommodation for them and their children, exist in various countries such as Trinidad, Tobago, Egypt, Malaysia, India, and Zimbabwe. .*

Brodsky and Hare Mustin (1980), and Register (1993) argued that shelters for battered women provide crisis intervention techniques after acute battering incidences as well as support to change the context of unequal power relations in which battering develops. The shelters are also important because they help break the cycle of violence and thereafter help the women to make informed decisions.

Billings Beck (1991) reported that groups at Haven Hill shelter in Californian focus on domestic violence education, communication skills, education regarding dysfunctional systems and education regarding relationships. In some parts of the world, shelters for battered women have been provided but they may not be the solution everywhere. Asian and Pacific Network (1990) reported that in Vietnam the women's union reject shelter and intervene directly in violent situation thereby focusing on men's behaviour.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the research design of the study. It discusses the sources of data and instruments used for data collection. The chapter also outlines the problems encountered in collection of data.

### **3.1 Study Design**

The study was undertaken between June and July 2004. The data was collected using both qualitative and quantitative methods. The study focused on battered women who sought shelter at YWCA from 1993 to 2003. The study was undertaken to examine patterns of levels of battery imposed on women, and the support services they received at the YWCA.

### **3.2 Sampling and sample size**

The total population was 377; these were the total number of women who sought shelter in the period under study. The total sample used for the study consisted of 40 women. The total sample was supposed to have been 66 but due to the fact that over the period of the study some women had passed away while others had relocated; it became impossible to trace them as they never gave their new addresses to YWCA. The actual response was 40.

A snowball sampling method was used, because the women went to the shelter at different times, some had died and others had changed location and it would have been difficult to trace them together and make a systematic sampling. The YWCA Staff were unwilling to give addresses of the women and they had no systematic list of women who had been to the shelter. No focussed group discussions were held because a substantial number of women could not be found at the same time to make up a group.

### **3.3 Data Collection**

Data for the study was collected using interviews based on open ended questionnaire for all the (40) women in the sample. The researcher decided to interview all the respondents instead of a self-administered questionnaire to avoid problems of low return rate of questionnaires. It was also observed in a pilot test that some respondents could not answer all the questions adequately and accurately due to their low levels of education.

Interview guide A was used to find out the pattern and levels of battery women suffered. It was also used to find out if battering was more prevalent among any social group. The instrument also aimed at finding out whether women stay in abusive marriages and whether they find support services offered to them beneficial.

Questionnaire B was used to find out what services were offered to battered women when at the shelter and after they have left. It was administered to six members of staff at YWCA. Four were counsellors, three at the Drop in Centre (DIC), one from the shelter. The two managers also participated, one from the DIC and the other from the shelter. These were the only employees at the DIC and Shelter at the time of the study. Efforts were made to interview the Executive Director but she was constantly busy and could not find time for the interview.

Data from YWCA records was used to find out what role the YWCA has played and to establish the number of women that were attended to during the period under study. The Femicide Register showed the number of women that had been killed by their husbands and living in partners.

### **3.4 DATA ANALYSIS**

The qualitative data was analysed by themes, while quantitative data was analysed using tables. The details are presented in chapter four.



### **3.5 Problems encountered during fieldwork**

The researcher encountered a number of problems during fieldwork. Despite having obtained an approval before starting the research the counsellors at YWCA were not keen to give the addresses of the battered women citing the reason that they had signed the oath of secrecy and were not supposed to divulge the information relating to the whereabouts of the women to any one. The researcher had to be in the company of the counsellors to get to the women. The researcher was not allowed to visit *Laweni* House (Shelter) as it is regarded as a secret place; even records from the shelter were shown to the researcher by one of the staff at the shelter who brought them to the YWCA main office.

Getting into YWCA Library was also a problem, as the researcher was not allowed to be left alone. The director at YWCA said they had lost a lot of books by allowing outsiders to use the Library. The researcher spent two weeks trying to secure someone to be with and finally did manage and a YWCA volunteer agreed. YWCA Library had no librarian at the time of the study.

Some women were difficult to interview in that they were not at home despite repeated visits being made. Two women simply declined to be interviewed because they were afraid of provoking another dispute with their husbands. Some of the women wanted to know if the researcher was married before discussing their relationships.

Other constraints faced were time, a large amount of time was spent in trying to trace the women and since the researcher had to be escorted by the counsellor that also contributed to the time problem. Last but not the least the researcher is a self-sponsored student, and therefore had some constraints on financial resource.

However despite these shortcomings forty women were interviewed and sufficient data was obtained to pursue the research.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the findings of the study. Section 4.1 discusses the social backgrounds of the battered women. Section 4.2 highlights the prevalence of wife battering among social groups. Section 4.3 will give battered women's explanations of spouse violence. In section 4.4 the researcher discusses the frequency and forms of battery experienced by women who sought shelter at YWCA. Injuries sustained by women will be outlined in section 4.4.1. Section 4.5 provides an analysis of women's reasons for remaining in abusive marriages before seeking refuge at the shelter while section 4.6 highlights the coping strategies used by battered women. Section 4.7 will discuss battered women's reasons for leaving violent spouses. The constraints that women face which cause them to return to their abusive marriages will be highlighted in section 4.7.1

In section 4.8 the researcher will discuss the support services offered to battered women while at the shelter. The significance and usefulness of the shelter will be analysed in section 4.8.1; while the constraints faced by YWCA Shelter will be discussed in section 4.8.2.

### **4.1 Social backgrounds of battered women**

For the purpose of anonymity, the women were given alphabetical names. The women who were battered and sought shelter were mostly Zambians with Christian backgrounds. Only two women were non-Zambian and non-Christians; one woman was from India another from Congo.

#### **4.1.1 Age**

The age groups that were mostly battered are between 25 and 34, which had 18 cases representing 45 percent of the respondents and the age group between 35 and 44 that had

12 women representing 30 percent of the respondents. This could be attributed to the fact that most of the women in these age groups are married.

The age group between 15 and 24 had the lowest number of cases; it had only four women representing 10 percent of the sample. The possible explanations for this could be that young married girls in this age group would rather go back to their parent’s home when battered than seek refuge. The age group above 45 years recorded only 6 cases, representing 15 percent of the respondents. This signifies a correlation between maturity and battery; the findings imply that mature couples have less cases of battery because they are less violent. The findings could also mean that women in that age group are more able to handle their problems because they have lived together longer or have split up and hence the few cases reported at the YWCA shelter (see table 1) below.

**Table 1: Age of battered women**

Age	Frequency	Percentage
15 – 24	4	10
25 – 34	18	45
35 – 44	12	30
45 plus	6	15
Total	40	100

Source: Data from interviews 2004

**4.1.2 Educational background**

The findings also reveal that the majority of women that sought shelter at YWCA had some education. There were fifteen women representing 37.5 percent with primary level of education and another fifteen 37.5 percent with secondary level of education. Seven women representing 17.5 percent had reached college level of education. Of the seven that went to college, five went to a teachers training college while the other two went to a secretarial college. Two women had no education at all while only one woman had gone to University.

This suggests that highly educated women are less likely to be battered; however interviews with the Shelter manager indicated that even the educated are battered but they do not report their abuse.

**Table 2: Education of battered women**

Educational Level	Frequency	Percentage
No education	2	5
Primary	15	37.5
Secondary	15	37.5
College	7	17.5
University	1	2.5
Total	40	100

Source: Data from interviews 2004

### 4.1.3 Occupations of battered women at the time of interview

Just over half of women in the sample were in the informal sector, which accounted for twenty-one respondents 52.5 percent of the sample. These women were mostly in small-scale businesses doing petty trade; others were employed as hairdressers and sales ladies.

Twelve women representing 30 percent of respondents were housewives and dependent totally on their husbands for their livelihood. However there were also seven women (17.5 percent) in the formal sector comprising five teachers and two-secretaries. These occupations are lowly paid in Zambia.

**Table 3: Occupations of battered women**

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Formal sector	7	17.5
Informal sector	21	52.5
House wife	12	30
Total	40	100

Source Data from interviews 2004

Table 3 indicates that there were more incidents of battery among housewives that were totally dependent on husbands and on the women in the informal sector who had less income from petty trade. The reason why we have more women in the informal sector can

be attributed to high unemployment rates in Lusaka. According to Zambia's 2000 Census of Population Analytical report, the unemployment rates in Lusaka for women stood at 30 percent compared with the male that accounted for only 24.2 percent. In an economy where economic progress is negligible, it is typical to find the majority of the workforce employed in various forms of self-employment activities.

#### **4.1.4 Tribal background**

The tribe that recorded majority cases were the Bembas which had sixteen women followed by the Tongas which had six women. The rest of the Zambian tribes recorded a maximum of two women (Table 4)

The reason for higher number of cases for the Bembas is because Bemba is one of the major language cluster groups in Zambia. Bemba represents a language cluster around which exist several dialects. The term Bemba is used as an umbrella term, which includes several other smaller tribes such as Bisa, Aushi, Chishinga, Tabwa, Lala and Swaka. Some of the respondents came from these smaller tribes but when asked about their mother's tongue they mentioned Bemba because it is the one which is recognised for broadcasting and official dissemination of information. According to 2000 census of population the predominant spoken language of communication in Zambia was Bemba cluster with 30.1 percent of the population. Bemba is a trans-tribal language. The Bembas were also early settlers on the Copperbelt and they were in large numbers who later migrated to other parts of the country including Lusaka. The 2000 census of population statistics on predominant language of communication in Lusaka indicated that Nyanja had the highest with 52.8 percent followed by Bemba with 14.5 percent. Nyanja is not a tribe, it is just a language spoken in Lusaka. It is interesting to note that statistics from my sample showed 40 percent for the Bembas and the general statistics from census of population in Lusaka indicated 14.5 percent for Bembas while the other smaller tribes had less than 8 percent. The

statistics imply that Bemba is widely spoken in Lusaka; other tribal languages had less than 8 percent.

The reasons why we have more Bembas could also mean that more Bembas from the general population of Lusaka are aware of the Shelter and also the assumption that Bembas seem to be more stubborn than other tribes.

**Table 4: Tribe of battered women**

Tribes	Frequency	Percentage
Bemba	16	40
Chewa	3	7.5
Hindu	1	2.5
Ila	1	2.5
Kiluba/Lingala	1	2.5
Lamba	1	2.5
Lozi	1	2.5
Lunda	1	2.5
Luvale	2	5
Mambwe	2	5
Nsenga	2	5
Nyanja	2	5
Soli	1	2.5
Tonga	6	15
Total	40	100

Source: Data from interviews 2004

**4.1.5 Types of marriage**

When asked how they were married, twenty-four, women representing 60 percent of the respondents were married through customary law while twelve women representing 30 percent of the respondents just eloped with their husbands. This is also a common type of marriage in Zambia among the less educated and low-income people. Among the twelve women that eloped eight had primary education and only four had secondary education. The majority of those that eloped had low incomes and others had no income in case of housewives. There were five housewives, two hairdressers, two petty traders and three sales ladies in this category.

There were only three women married through statutory law and one went into forced marriage at the age of thirteen.

**Table 5: Type of marriage**

Type	Frequency	Percentage
Customary	24	60
Statutory	3	7.5
Eloping	12	30
Forced	1	2.5
Total	40	100

Source: Data from interviews 2004

Customary marriage had the majority cases in this study. Customary marriage is a term used to describe marriage that has taken place according to traditional arrangements and practices. In Zambia customary marriage is a common form of marriage especially in the rural areas and with people not highly educated. In this study ten women with customary marriage had primary education. Battered women **J, K, M, N, P, R, X, J2, O** and **W** had reached up to primary level of education and were married by customary law. Battered women **F2** and **I** who had no education at all were also married by customary law. The other twelve had secondary level of education.

Statutory marriage that involves state law is not very common among less educated people. The reasons why the findings show a higher number of battered women who were married by customary law can be attributed to Zambia’s customary law practices that have continued to recognise the traditional rights of a man to strike his wife as a way of instilling discipline in the home. According to findings by YWCA (1994) in an African house a man thinks he is head of the house and he rules with an iron fist. The norms about men’s rights in marriage under customary law are that since a man is head of the house he has total control of a home; he is allowed to marry other women or have mistresses if he so wishes.

In this study 19 husbands had mistresses, these are husbands to **C, B, E, F, H, M, Q, R, S, T, U, X, Z, F2, G2, H2, J2, K2, and M2**. These are some of the major causes of battery.

Under customary marriage polygamy by men is accepted while under statutory law if a man marries another wife he commits an offence known as bigamy, and if he gets a mistress, it is adultery and a cause for divorce. This causes men to opt for customary marriage rather than statutory marriage.

The other major reason why we have higher number of marriages through customary law in this sample is because the process of marriage in this type of marriage is fast and easy as compared to statutory marriage whose process is long. In a statutory marriage, the marriage partners are expected to give a notice of marriage to the church minister or a registrar of marriage and it has to be published. A marriage can only be allowed and a certificate issued if there are no impediments to the marriage after three months. Statutory marriage has an age restriction; a girl below 21 years cannot be allowed to marry under this act without parental consent. In this study 37.5 percent of the women were below 21 when they got married and had no parental consent because they got married after becoming pregnant. This was the case for battered women **G, S and M**. The twelve who eloped were married against the wishes of their parents therefore it was not a consented marriage and could not qualify for statutory marriage.

#### **4.1.6 Age at marriage**

The women were asked at what age they got married. Findings revealed that the four battered women (**L, O.V, W**) who were in the age group between 15 and 24 at the time of the study as shown in table 1 got married at 20, 15, 19 and 19 respectively. The findings in table 6 further revealed that twenty nine women representing 72.5 percent of the respondents got married at the age between 15 and 24 and this includes the four battered women mentioned above. Ten women representing 25 percent of the respondents got



married at the age between 25 and 34; one was forced into marriage at the age of thirteen as stated earlier. There was no woman married at age above thirty-five. This is because by Zambian traditions women are encouraged to marry early; although this is slowly changing as more women are going for further studies as a result of education and gender policies put in place.

The findings reveal that there is a correlation between age at marriage and battery. When a girl marries at a younger age, as it was the case for the twenty-nine women in this study, they are not adequately prepared for marriage and most of the girls in that age group lack exposure to life issues, they tend to be immature and they normally find difficulties in adjusting to married life. This usually results in conflicts and misunderstandings with their husbands who are usually older. Out of the twenty nine women that were married at a younger age seventeen were over five years younger than their husbands; nine of them were five years younger, three were eight years younger, two were ten years younger and the other three were over thirteen years younger than their husbands. The other eleven were younger by two to four years, only one woman was of the same age as the husband.

**Table 6: Age at marriage**

Age	Frequency	Percentage
13 –14	1	2.5
15 – 24	29	72.5
25 – 35	10	25
36 plus	0	0
Total	40	100

Source: Data from interviews 2004

**4.1.7 Duration of marriage**

The findings revealed that fourteen women 35 percent of the respondents were married for less than five years. Twelve women 30 percent of the respondents were married for over five years; six women 15 percent of the respondents were married for over ten years.

Another six women 15 percent were married for over fifteen years; only two women 5 percent of the respondents were married for over twenty years.

**Table 7: Duration of marriage**

Period	Frequency	Percentage
4 years and below	14	35
5 – 9	12	30
10 – 15	6	15
16 – 20	6	15
20 plus	2	5
Total	40	100

Source: Data from interviews 2004

Table 7 indicates that there is a correlation between the duration of the marriage and battery and the incidences of battery has been decreasing. The findings imply that the longer the duration of the marriage the lesser the incidences of battery; the assumption is that the couple have known each other better and have less conflicts in marriage or have separated

**4.1.8 Number of children**

The findings revealed that thirty-five women 87.5 percent of the respondents had children while only five women 12.5 percent of the respondents had no children. These were the women that were recently married. Of those who had children, six representing 15 percent had more than five children. The findings revealed that the women were battered irrespective of the number of children they had.

**4.1.9 Counselling before marriage**

When asked if they had gone through an initiation rite and counselling before marriage, thirty-two, 80 percent of the respondents said they had gone through an initiation rite and twenty-eight, 70 percent of the respondents said they had received counsel before marriage. Only eight women, 20 percent did not go through an initiation rite and twelve, 30 percent had no counsel before marriage. These are the twelve women that just eloped with their husbands. The findings further revealed that women were told to accept some form of

chastisement as a form of discipline, they were also told not to reveal what happens in the home. Battered women further revealed that they were advised to endure whatever circumstances they would encounter in marriage.

## **4.2 Prevalence of wife battering among social groups**

The findings suggest that battering was more prevalent among low-income lower class women. The findings further revealed that victims were economically disadvantaged, as 30 percent of them were housewives; others were in petty trade while their husbands had less well paying jobs.

In interviews with the Shelter manager Mrs Tayali and the DIC Manager Mr Mbatia they claimed that though the average women that go to the Shelter are less educated, the real situation is that the educated from middle and upper classes experience battery except that they do not report their abuse. The educated and wealthy women are less likely to use women's emergency homes because of their financial position; they are more able to handle their situation without seeking refuge.

According to the two managers the women that had been going to the Shelter for assistance since 1993 have been those who are less privileged and had less well paying jobs.

This study supports findings by Davies (1994) of the United Kingdom, Tocaven and Rodriguez (1989) of United States and YWCA (1994) in Zambia, which argued that spouse abuse occurs among families of all backgrounds, rich and poor, urban and rural. It happens from any social class but given the limitation of existing research, it is difficult to generalise accurately about the social position of victims of domestic violence. Much of the information on wife battering is based on studies of people who come to the attention of researchers and emergency homes and these women are mostly less privileged. Also records from social welfare files contain information on less privileged groups, while

wealthy people from middle and upper class though they may also be victims are less likely to use women's emergency housing.

These studies indicated that violence against wives appears to have no cultural barriers. In this study battered women F and Y were not Zambians and were married to non-Zambians. They had foreign cultural backgrounds but they also experienced battery from their husbands just like their Zambian counterparts.

**4.3 Battered women's explanations of spousal violence**

The message from four of the battered women (C, E, J, L) was that men are violent and they use battery as an expression of power and control over women in the marriage.

The women stated that the use of violence for control in marriage is perpetuated not only through norms about a man's rights in marriage but because of women's continued economic dependence on husbands. They argued that Zambian customary laws and practices are to blame for their continued recognition of the traditional rights of a man to discipline the wife through battery as a way of instilling order in the home. Five women further argued that most men believe that they are justified in their use of violence by their wives behaviour or by what they feel are acceptable norms in Zambia. Respondents were asked to state what they considered to be major reasons for spouse violence; Table 8 shows that two major reasons emerged which stem from sexual jealousy. Eighteen women representing 45 percent of respondents cited male suspicion and jealousy, this was singled out as a leading cause of battery. Women's questioning their spouses' extra marital affairs followed closely and was identified by fourteen women representing 35 percent of respondents. Other cited reasons were, coming home late by both wife and husband identified by six women 15 percent of respondents; six women cited minor arguments; four women were battered over food; one woman was battered for refusing to sleep with a dog

(see box 1). Other women were battered on a variety of petty matters; some women gave more than one reason for battery.

Alcohol was another major cause of battery, the majority of the women had drinking husbands, thirty-five women representing 87.5 percent had drinking husbands and only five women had non-drinking husbands. The findings also revealed that only thirteen women drunk beer while twenty-seven did not take any alcohol. When asked if they were battered when the husband was drunk, 50 percent of the women said their husbands became more violent when drunk than when sober and that the battery took place in most cases when the husband was drunk.

Interviews with the two managers alluded to the fact that sex role attitudes of men have mostly caused battery among the middle and upper class women. Some men are said to evaluate their wives feelings for them by how well the woman fulfils her stereotypical sex role functions; when the wife is relatively assertive, a husband with a violent prone personality may be unable to tolerate this conflict and would express himself through battering. This is particularly evident from battered woman **D** who had gone up to college levels and had a well paying job. She was battered by her husband for preparing little food that the husband alleged was not nicely prepared.

Demand for *lobola* by parents and non-payment of *lobola* can be a contributing factor to wife battering in Zambia. Three battered women **G K and U** stated that their husbands could batter them because they have paid *lobola* and therefore have the right to batter them. Also men have a notion that once he pays *lobola* then he can do anything to the wife. This has been worsened by the high prices that the parents are demanding for their daughters before marriage. In the olden days *lobola* was paid to the girl's parents as a token of appreciation, it was not used but kept and returned to the son-in law in times when a girl was mistreated by the husband and returned to her parents.

*Lobola* these days is a large amount and it is distributed among relatives. This makes it a legal contract. *Lobola* has been commercialised and unless this concept is changed the husbands will always mistreat their women. *Lobola* reduces a woman to a property of a man just like any other household property.

**Table 8: Causes of battery**

Causes	Frequency	Percentage
Male suspicion and jealous of wife	18	45
Women questioning extra marital affairs	14	35
Husband/wife coming home late	6	15
Minor arguments	6	15
Over food	4	10
Woman going to church	2	5
Over relative	2	5
Husband drinking	35	87.5
Over new born baby	1	2.5
Wife drinking	13	32

Source: Data from interviews 2004

#### 4.4 Frequency and Forms of battery experienced by women

The research found out that the women who sought shelter were battered frequently. Ten percent were battered weekly, 67.5 percent monthly and only 22.5 percent were battered after some months. Battered women who sought refuge at YWCA shelter experienced varying degrees of physical violence that extended over several years. The respondents experienced various forms of battery and some experienced more than one form. In their own words the women narrated that their husbands violence ranged from mental cruelty to physical violence, battered women **C F W E2 F2 and G2** said they feared they were going to be killed. Twenty women 50 percent of the respondents experienced more than one form of battery. Nine women 22 percent of the sample experienced slaps only while seven women 17.5 percent of the sample experienced punches only; three women 7.5 percent of the respondents were beaten against objects or with objects. One woman 2.5 percent experienced kicks only (Table 9).

**Table 9: Forms of battery**

Forms	Frequency	Percentage
Slaps	9	22
Punches	7	17.5
Against objects/ with objects	3	7.5
Kicks	1	2.5
More than one form	20	50
Total	40	100

Source: Data from interviews 2004

The findings in this study reveal that the most common form of battery involves a combination of forms, this is mostly done to ensure that the women do not fight back.

These findings are similar to the experience of violence of Islington London women reported in the Islington crime survey, in which Maclean Jones and Young (1986) found that 74.5 percent were grabbed or punched, 92 percent punched or slapped, 56.9 percent kicked, a weapon was used in 19.7 percent of cases. Edwards (1989) study of battered women in the UK refuge also indicated that 81 percent of respondent’s sustained extreme physical violence involving several types of abuse, 19 percent experienced punching only.

**BOX 1**

**Case story: Aggravated Assault of a woman by the husband**

Rita (not real name) is a 21-year-old woman who was married to an abusive and violent man. His violent behaviour became worse to the extent that he chained Rita to the bed naked and forced a dog to have sex with her. The dog penetrated but Rita managed to push it out before ejaculation. He also forced a bottle in her private parts while repeatedly physically beating her. He then poured battery acid on her private parts. Finally Rita managed to escape from the man to her parents who live in Kabwe, a town that is about 130 kilometres from Lusaka. Rita’s mother brought her to the YWCA main DIC and reported the case. Rita was taken to the hospital to have her wounds treated. The case was taken to court and the man was sentenced to 3 years in prison. During the period that the case was being handled, Rita was admitted at the YWCA ‘s shelter for battered women.

Source: YWCA Annual Report 2001

The above testimony and the incident that happened in Livingston where a Mr Chris Kalenga sliced the palm of his wife Carol Mulumba shows how merciless some men can be to their wives. The parents to Mulumba were demanding for *lobola* from the son in law,

which he had not paid since the girl eloped with him (Legal Resource Foundation News may 2002 no 62).

**4.4.1 Injuries sustained**

The findings of this study also reveal that few women sustained some serious injuries such as in the case of battered woman (W) who had battery acid poured on her private parts and was forced to sleep with a dog (see box 1 on the previous page). Battered woman (N2) had her teeth broken and boiling water poured on her leaving her with wounds. Twenty-one women, representing 52.5 percent of respondents, were battered and left with swollen faces and bodies. Fourteen women, 35 percent of respondents, had minor cuts and bruises. The rest of the women sustained various kinds of injuries ranging from vaginal bleeding, nose bleeding, liver and spleen damage and red eye. One woman was battered until she fainted (see table 10 below). The reasons why the thirty-five women (87.5 percent) sustained no major injuries but cuts, bruises and swollen body can be attributed to the fact that batterers’ intentions were to discipline the wives and not to kill them.

**Table 10: Injuries sustained by women**

Injuries	Frequency	Percentage
Swollen face/Body	21	52.5
Cuts/Bruises	14	35
Broken teeth/teeth bite	3	7.5
Swollen/Red eyes	3	7.5
Fractures	3	7.5
Liver and spleen damage	1	2.5
Vaginal bleeding	1	2.5
Nose bleeding	2	5
Private parts wounds	1	2.5
Fainted	1	2.5

Source: Data from interviews 2004

**4.5 Battered women’s reasons for remaining in abusive marriages before Seeking refuge at the Shelter**

McHugh (1992) argues that ‘why women remain in abusive marriages’ is the most often asked question about wife abuse. This question may reveal the most basic ideology about



wife battering; if the woman would leave she wouldn't get beaten. The most popular intervention strategy has been focused on the victim; the solution has been to relocate the woman physically and psychologically. McHugh labels this as both victim blaming and counter reproductive.

Earlier research focused on logistic reasons for some women not leaving abusive husbands such as lack of money, transportation and a safe place to go to. The findings in this study as shown in Table 11, reveal that women used to contend with violence which had extended over a long period of time before they came to the shelter and they gave various reasons.

Fourteen women, 35 percent of respondents remained in abusive marriages because of children. The women said they did not want to leave their children in the hands of stepmothers who might mistreat them. Other reasons given were that the women could not afford to look after the children as single parents. This proves the arguments by Browne (1987), Walker and Browne (1985) who argue that abused women's perception of alternatives may be influenced by society's expectation related to gender and role relationship. Women are encouraged to be self-sacrificing and adaptive and to care for and protect those close to them regardless of the cost.

The second frequently cited reason for staying on was that women loved their husbands; twelve women representing 30 percent of the sample remained in abusive marriage for love. The findings agree with and are in support of the argument by Browne (1987), Dutton and Painter (1981) and Walker (1983) who argue that battered women form emotional bonds with their batterers. Ten women in the sample alluded to the misconception that fighting with a husband is an expression of love; they stated that 'If I am not beaten when I am wrong it means the man does not love me.'

Seven women went to the extent of saying that having sex after a fight is a way of making up and it is worth the fight. The findings are similar to 2002 Zambia Demographic Health survey which reported that 80 percent of Zambian wives find it acceptable to be beaten by husbands as a form of chastisement. These sexual manipulations are the reasons why the women stay on in such relationships pretending that they love each other. The women having internalised the sexist ideology that man is the head of the house and that he can beat the woman whenever he thinks she deserves it, sexual intercourse after a beating seems to be adequate compensation for the pain and humiliation she has suffered. This study supports the arguments by Mcfadden (1992) that violence is humiliating under any circumstances but when it precedes sexual intercourse, it is particularly effective in establishing a relationship of power and powerlessness. This supports the theory that suggests that battering is used as a means of control in the marital relationship. It is a means through which men assert their power and authority.

Other women remained in marriage citing fear of loss of social status, disapproval of family and friends, and feelings of failure or guilt for abandoning the relationship. The women stated that a single or divorced woman has no respect in the society. Five women said they wanted to remain married and give the men chance to change.

One woman stayed in the relationship for fear of retaliation from her violent partner. Battered woman (A) was followed to Kafue and beaten whilst on separation. This supports the argument by Ridington (1978) who argued that some women stay in relationships because they fear retaliation. This experience also supports arguments by Browne (1987), Jones (1981) and Pegelow (1981a) who indicated that women who leave abusive partners have been followed and harassed for months as it was in the case of women (A) and (G). Goodwin and McHugh (1990) have labelled the coercive harassment and threat of violence

that occur in the context of the attempted break-up of a romantic relationship as ‘termination terrorism’. Mahoney (1991) labels it ‘separation assault’.

Findings in this study support Walker’s learned helplessness theory. <sup>17.5</sup>Thirty percent of the respondents stayed in relationship for financial reasons. The women felt that they had no option but to remain with their abusive husbands because they were dependent on the husbands economically. Economic dependency that is expressed in these women is one of the several factors identified as part of the helplessness of so many battered women and the so-called battered women syndrome. The syndrome in this case describes a state of mind often induced in women who are victims of abuse over a period of time. According to Walker’s theory women have learned helplessness, they allegedly have developed motivational, cognitive and behaviour deficits as a result of the battering.

Women reported that after the first battering incidence they thought they could control the battering by identifying ways of preventing the abuse from reoccurring; they kept on hoping that the man would change.

**Table 11: Women’s reasons for staying on with abusive spouse before the shelter**

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
For children	14	35
For love	12	30
Financial/economic dependency	7	17.5
Wanting to be married	5	12,5
Disapproval by family and friends	2	5
Fear of loss of social status	3	7.5
For shelter	1	2.5
Fear of retaliation	1	2.5
Guilty If abandon relationship	1	2.5
Risk of HIV/AIDS	1	2.5

Source: Data from interviews 2004

## **4.6 Coping strategies used by battered women**

One key coping mechanism identified in this study was the rationalization developed by battered women to understand the context within which the battering was occurring. Most of the respondents gave a justification and seemed to understand why the battering occurred.

One of the major coping strategies identified in this study was the need to endure the violence for the sake of some higher commitment, in this case bringing up children was a higher commitment. Table 11 indicates that thirty five percent of the women remained in abusive marriages citing commitment to look after their children. Women are socialised that as mothers they are the only parents who can bring up children in a proper way.

Another coping strategy devised by women which emerged in this study was self-blame. Women blamed themselves for causing the battery. They stated that if they had not asked their husbands about his extra marital affairs there wouldn't have been any fights, 35 percent of respondents were battered for questioning spouse's extra marital affairs and they blamed themselves for that. The findings have also revealed that battered women tended to minimise the severity of the battery as a means of coping with an intolerable situation. When asked how bad the beatings were, some women said the beating was not always severe, others said the beating did not happen always and that some wanted to give the husband chance to change. This was done so that the women could justify their reasons for remaining in their abusive marriages.

By making excuses for spouse's behaviour, women eroded their own abilities to escape from abusive relationships. These coping mechanisms allowed the women to survive the battering but most also ensured that women would remain in abusive relationships and hence the helplessness discussed above.

According to the researcher's analysis, the main reasons for women's acceptance of the abuse is due to the socialization which women undergo, especially the teaching in initiation rites and teaching before marriage. In this study twenty-eight women, 70 percent of the respondents, received counsel before marriage, this has a correlation to staying in violent marriages because the women are encouraged to endure whatever the circumstance. In this study twenty-one women, 52.5 percent of the respondents went back to their abusive husbands after a short stay at the shelter while nineteen women, 47.5 percent of the respondents left matrimonial homes (see table 13). Of the twenty-eight women who received marital counsel before marriage, twenty-one went back to their husbands while only seven left matrimonial homes. This signifies that the teachings have an influence on women's decision to stay. Women have from time immemorial been socialised not to talk publicly about their marital problems. If a woman has problems with her husband she was advised to endure as much as possible, in other instances she is told to inform the women who counselled her in readiness for marriage to take up the issue at hand for her; she was also advised to go to her relatives or the man's relatives to discuss the matter. These were the normal channels; it was shameful if a woman just decided to leave the home or if she decided to discuss the issue outside these channels. The women were further socialised to believe that marriage and child bearing are the only destinies for their lives. The society expects and socialises women to behave as 'normal people' and the definition of a normal woman means coping, caring, nurturing and sacrificing self-interest to the needs of others. It is this kind of socialisation that makes women vulnerable to violence and this has been compounded by the poverty levels among the women.

4.7 Battered women’s reasons for leaving violent spouses

The findings reveal that 19 women representing 47.5 percent decided to leave their matrimonial homes after a brief stay at the shelter while 21 women representing 52.5 percent decided to go back to their matrimonial homes.

There were varying reasons given as to why battered women decided to finally leave their violent spouses. Women gave reasons such as the husband not wanting them, chased from home because the husband wanted to marry some other women. Of the 19 women that left matrimonial homes, three were just forced by their husbands to leave and instituted divorce. Some feared loss of dignity as the husbands were always embarrassing the wives.

The frequently cited reasons and the major ones were that the women ‘have had enough’ And ‘threat to kill’ which was cited by a total of 13 women, representing 68.4 percent of the women that left matrimonial homes. Severe physical violence was cited by 21.1 percent of respondents. The other reasons were effects of violence on mental state cited by two women 10.5 percent of the women that left, see table 12 below.

Table 12: Battered women’s reasons for leaving

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
Severe physical violence	4	21.1
Threat to kill	6	31.6
‘Had enough’	7	36.8
Effects of violence on mental state	2	10.5
Total	19	100

Source: Data from interviews 2004

The findings also indicate that out of the nineteen women that left matrimonial homes only ten set up their own homes and lived independent lives. Nine of them went to live with their parents or other relatives because they had no means to live on their own table 13 refers.

**Table 13: Where did the women go after the shelter**

Where to	Frequency	Percentage
Returned to matrimonial home	21	52.5
Set up own homes	10	25
To the parents/Relatives	9	22.5
Total	40	100

Source: Data from interviews

**4.7.1 Constraints faced by women that caused them to return to their abusive marriages**

The constraints that women faced are more or less the same as the reasons they gave for staying on with abusive husbands tabled in section 4.5.

Women face various kinds of constraints that cause them to remain in abusive marriages. Some women were forced to go back even after they had left their matrimonial homes. In this study 52.5 percent of the women returned to their matrimonial homes giving multiple reasons. When asked what they considered to be the major constraining factors, women cited children, financial dependency and disapproval by family and friends as some of the constraints. Children keep on coming up as the reasons for women tolerating the abuse, this is because many batterers do not usually comply fully with child support orders in cases of separation and divorce. Some women in the sample who left matrimonial homes ended up bearing the cost of bringing up the children. Battered women **C and F** are still battling the cases with their ex-husbands in court over child maintenance.

The other constraint that came out very prominently in this study was the dependency syndrome. Women were financially dependent on their husbands as shown in table 11, 17.5 percent of women cited economic dependency as their major reason for going back. According to Hart’s (1993) report battered women and their dependant children are often economically compelled back into relationships with batterers. She further argued that women suffer substantial economic losses upon separation and divorce, the majority of

women who establish households independent of battering husbands find themselves in poverty. Female-headed households usually live below the poverty line. This was evident in this study with the ten women who set up their own home (refer to table 13); these women hardly had three meals a day and the researcher had to assist with some food to some of them.

This study supports the arguments by Gondolf and Fish (1988) and Okun (1986) who argue that the most likely predictor of whether a battered woman will permanently separate from her abuser is whether she has the economic resources to survive without a husband. We see from this study and studies by Aguire (1985) and Strube and Barbour (1983) that economic viability appears to be a critical factor in the decision making of battered women. In this study more than half of the women decided to go back to their matrimonial homes because they had less well paying jobs and less than half took the risk and left matrimonial homes. Insecurity and economic dependence are major constraints faced by women.

Other constraints identified by women in this study were those due to outside influence. Disapproval by family and friends caused some women to go back to their matrimonial homes; battered woman H was sent back to her husband by her parents because they were afraid of refunding the *lobola* bride price to the son-in-law since this woman had no children with the man. In Zambian traditions under customary marriage and especially for the Tongas in the event of a woman deciding to divorce a man, a request which is rarely granted by the Zambian local courts; cattle must be returned to the man and most parents are not prepared to return the cattle which they may not even have at the time of the divorce (WILDAF 1994). This also happens to other tribes in Zambia where a man is entitled to claim for the *lobola* from the wife if she decides to leave the marriage. This happens only when it is the woman who has decided to leave. When a man divorces a wife he does not claim *lobola*.



Poverty on the parents' side causes them to discourage daughters from leaving abusive husbands. In some cases where a woman manages to leave; she is sent back like in the case of woman **H**. Other parents fear getting into trouble with the son-in-law who may accuse them of interference.

Some women were constrained by society's expectation. When asked why they had decided to go back to their marriages, 50 percent of the respondents said they had wanted to remain married because the society does not respect unmarried and divorced women; they feared the reproach and stigma attached to divorced women. These are some of the unfortunate myths and misconceptions about marriage. Other constraints ranged from fear of embarrassment as people would think that they had failed to maintain the marriage. Only one woman **O** mentioned the pandemic of HIV/AIDS as a constraining factor. She said looking for other men would put her at the risk of contracting the disease.

The findings have further revealed that out of the twenty-one women that went back to their matrimonial homes after a short stay at the Shelter only one woman experienced major changes in marriage in that her husband had completely stopped battering her. The rest stated that they had become more confident though their husbands had continued battering them though with less frequency and that the communication between couples had improved.

#### **4.8 Support services offered to battered women at YWCA Shelter**

The shelter for battered women also known as '*laweni* house' a Ngoni word for dormitory offers a safe environment for battered women running away from violent homes. The few days or weeks women stay at the shelter they are encouraged and supported in determining their future; women are helped to decide whether to build an independent life or to return to their matrimonial homes. If a woman decides to reconcile the husband is called to YWCA for counsel.

The shelter also recognises, protects and cares for the emotional needs of the children of the battered women. Some women run away from their matrimonial homes with their children. In this study thirteen women 32 percent of the respondents that went to the shelter had gone with their children. One of the major services offered to women is temporary accommodation. A woman is expected to be at the shelter for a maximum of three weeks and only those with special cases such as court cases can go beyond the three weeks; battered women **A, C, F, F2, W and X** went beyond the three weeks. The shelter offers crisis counselling both individual and couple counselling. Women are also given paralegal counsel, clients are at times referred to relevant organisations such as victim support unit, Legal Aid Clinic, hospital and other non governmental organisations. Some women are accompanied to the courts of law in divorce case like in the case of battered women **A, F and F2**.

The association also provides medical support if a woman is injured when she comes to the shelter; battered women **B, W and X** came with injuries and were taken to the hospital and all the medical bills were paid for by the organisation.

During the seclusion period the YWCA is responsible for all basic needs of the woman and children, food, clothing and other daily needs of life including security. Battered woman **X** delivered while at the shelter and the organisation bought baby clothes.

Although couple counselling is one of the services offered at the shelter, this service has not been effectively carried out because batterers refuse to show up when called for counselling to help them resolve their problems. The shelter manager said the service is rarely done; women end up divorcing or going back to their matrimonial homes without couple counselling to avoid overstaying at the shelter. The findings revealed that in the study's sample only seven batterers 17.5 percent turned up for counselling while 82.5 percent refused to come.

Follow up on clients is another service offered to the women but due to lack of funding, low staffing levels and also due to clients' frequent changes of address, this service has not been carried out to expectations although those they feel might be in danger are followed.

During the first few years when the shelter was opened the women were exposed to occupational therapy in which they learnt skills such as cooking, baking, sewing and knitting but due to erratic funding this service is no longer provided though the shelter manager said they were planning to resume the service when they source some funds.

Another major service offered to women concerns information dissemination on human rights. Women are sensitised on their human rights, they are advised that a wife and husband have equal rights as individuals which must be respected. They are told that wife battering is a violation of human rights and is a criminal offence, which must be reported to the police victim support unit. Some women are given money and transport to go to their new homes in cases where a couple fails to reconcile; battered woman L2 was given repatriation money to go to her parents' village.

The support group system is non-existent at YWCA, though this was intended to be the core services if the shelter was to contribute to meaningful changes in the lives of the women. The manager attributed this to non-availability of funds to organise and support ex-residents. She said even the ex-resident's meeting that was planned with a goal of organising the women for a skills training in business in 2000 could not take place due to financial constraints.

Other than formal advice from professionals, women at the shelter are encouraged to engage themselves in group discussions to enable them share their problems and find ways and means of resolving them. According to the women this was very beneficial and helped them to respect their feelings; women were helped to realise that they were not alone with such problems.

#### **4.8.1 Significance of the shelter**

The shelter is significant to battered women because first and foremost it breaks the violence and offers a safe environment for a woman away from the batterer. The forty battered women were accorded a safe home where the batterer had no access and in the weeks the women were at the shelter the violence had stopped. While at the shelter the women are counselled and helped to explore their sense of identity learned in their family of origin and their current social sphere. The counsel helps a woman to recognise how she sees the world and her place in it. Women are further helped to relinquish faulty defences so that they can develop coping mechanisms to tolerate profoundly painful feelings; the refuge helps women to raise their awareness and insight into their backgrounds and situations, it also enlightens them on their human rights. Eighty percent of the women said they were now aware of their human rights that they did not know before coming to the Shelter. Shelter helps women to work through abandonment and separation issues in order to bring about a person who is able to maintain her boundaries under stress and anxiety. It helps women share problems, women discover their commonalities and this helps to console them knowing that they are not alone. Women are helped to discuss as inmates on how to handle certain problems in marriage, as women are together they share information on legal aid and divorce; they act as information resource for each other.

In the final analysis, it helps empower the women to recognise and respect their feelings and thoughts enough to make healthy choices

When the women were asked what they had valued most when they were at the shelter, the women seemed to have valued the company of other women and the assurance that there were others in worse situations. The women had experienced marked changes in their circumstances and 47.5 percent women faced life as single parents with their children.

When asked what differences the shelter had made to their lives, the comment from the women concerned perceived improvements in self-image and capabilities. The majority of the women said they felt more confident. These are some of the responses from the women;

It has made me stronger in myself

It has given me more courage

You feel more independent

You feel you're yourself

Taught me how to communicate

The majority stressed the importance of learning about other women's problems; for many it had marked a turning point as 80 percent of the respondents said counselling at the shelter had made them more aware of their human rights; with interactions women gained new perspectives on their experiences of violence and its causes.

When asked what they thought the refuge was trying to achieve, eighty percent of the women emphasized the refuge's attempt to effect changes in the women's abilities and perception of themselves. They said the refuge was trying to give them time to think and learn to be independent. The other twenty percent of the women said the shelter is meant to rehabilitate them so that they could run their own lives whereas before they thought of themselves as useless bits around the house they became human beings after the shelter.

It can be seen from these comments that the shelter had offered far more than accommodation in a crisis, it had given the women a new perspective through sharing experiences with other women, it had enlightened them about their human rights and to them these were the most crucial advantages of a shelter.

According to the women's own comments one would argue that the services offered to the women were beneficial because they helped raise women's self-confidence. The services also helped in changing the pattern of marriage to some extent in that after the shelter 47.5

percent of the respondents decided to leave their abusive husbands; and those that went back said there was better communications between couples, though the battering had continued but with less frequency.

#### **4.8.2 Constraints faced by YWCA shelter**

The Shelter, like most programmes, is expensive and faces a lot of limitations in as far as achieving the set objectives. The shelter at YWCA had many activities during the past years and continues to operate under very difficult circumstances especially the lack of adequate funding. No support group existed at the organisation at the time of the study due to lack of funds.

The staffing levels at the shelter are always inadequate to engage in follow-ups. There were only six members of staff at the two departments, the DIC and Shelter at the time of the study, the shelter had only two staff and a security guard. Considering the nature of the programme, the shelter alone needed about six members of staff to effectively carry out the mission and achieve their set objectives

The researcher identified lack of proper coordination of activities and programmes at the organisation, non-monitoring and evaluation mechanisms as some of the contributing factors to the state in which the programme is in now. There is also lack of adequate publicity of YWCA activities in general. When the women were asked how they came to know about the DIC and Shelter, 50 percent said through friends, 12.5 percent said through relatives, 17.5 percent said through the Victim Support Unit and 20 percent said through neighbours. There was no single woman that mentioned YWCA as a source of information. The shelter has limited sources of support, they normally get support from well wishers who donate materials to the shelter among them are Diplomatic Spouses Association of Zambia, Bank of Zambia and Mrs Morgan of Canada.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.0 Conclusion**

In this study, the researcher had an overall objective of getting an insight into wife battering in Lusaka. The other objectives were to examine patterns of levels of battery women were subjected to. The study aimed at finding out what services were offered to battered women at the YWCA Shelter, the study also sought to find out if the services were beneficial to women and if women stayed in abusive marriages.

In this chapter, the researcher will discuss the conclusions of the study following the above-mentioned objectives. Finally, the researcher will conclude by outlining the achievement made and the constraints of YWCA Shelter for battered women. The researcher will also give recommendations based on this study.

This study has shown that YWCA Shelter for battered women was officially opened in 1993 in Lusaka. At the time of the study it was the only Shelter for battered women in Zambia. The study has further shown that 377 battered women were attended to in the period from 1993 to 2003; it was observed that majority of the women that sought shelter were less educated and had low incomes, they were mainly underprivileged women.

The study has also revealed that few women accessed the services due to low publicity of YWCA activities.

This study has discussed the forms of battery that women were subjected to, it has been demonstrated in this study that women were subjected to various forms of battery which included kicks, punches, slaps and at times beatings with or against objects. Majority of the women experienced more than one form of battery. The study revealed that the most common form of battery involved the combination of all other forms.

An analysis of reasons for the husbands violence revealed that male suspicion and jealousy of their wives was a leading cause of battery and also women questioning their spouses' extra marital affairs.

The study revealed that a small majority of the women in the sample (52.5 percent) remained in abusive marriages because of children and because they were economically dependent on husbands. It was observed that women faced a lot of constraints because of their low levels of education. One third of the respondents had no income of their own because they are house wives and totally dependent on husbands while 52.5 percent were in the informal sector doing petty trade and earning meagre incomes.

The study has further shown that 60 percent of the women had a customary marriage; this could be the reason why they were prone to battery. Zambia's customary law practices have unfortunately continued recognising the traditional rights of a man to chastise his wife.

On the services offered at the centre, the study revealed that the major services offered at the shelter were temporary accommodation and counselling, both couple counselling and paralegal counselling. The study has shown that although couple counselling was one of their services offered, this service was not done effectively because batterers refused to show up when called at the centre. Some called it an "organisation of frustrated elite women who were using poor women" (YWCA, 1994).

The study revealed that women were referred to relevant organisations and some were even accompanied to the courts of law in cases where woman pressed for divorce. Other services included the provision of all basic needs of the women and their children such as food, clothing and other necessities of life.



The study further revealed that follow ups on clients was also one of the services offered at the shelter but due to lack of funding, low staffing levels and frequent change of addresses by the clients, this service was not carried out as per expectations.

Results of this study have further shown that support services in form of support group system were non-existent at the shelter.

One of the achievements made is the actual establishment of battered women's shelter, although few women access the services. The other achievements were that there were some changes effected in some women's abilities and perception of themselves. On the other hand, YWCA's efforts in mitigating gender-based violence through the provision of shelter to battered women will only be meaningful if women themselves change their attitude towards battery. Studies by Mutukwa (1991), Demographic Health Survey of 2000, and indeed the YWCA itself have demonstrated that only a small fraction of women report their abuse to relevant organisations. Women would rather stay home and pretend nothing has happened than risk losing the marriage.

Unless women themselves take seriously the issues of wife battering by reporting cases to VSU, the fight against wife abuse will be difficult to win.

## 5.1 Recommendations

1. YWCA should embark on fund raising ventures to raise sufficient funds for their anti violence project.
2. The YWCA should ask for more funds from donors and government so that they could engage in follow-ups on former residents to monitor change in women's lives, without follow-ups it is impossible to evaluate the programme.
3. Support groups should be encouraged.
4. Women should be given skills to enable them start income generating activities that will make them live independent lives.
5. The organisation should employ a few more staff at the shelter even on volunteer basis to enable them cope and carry out efficiently the good work they have started.
6. The YWCA shelter programme should also target the batterers. The organisation should visit the homes where battered women come from and counsel the batterers from their homes.
7. More Shelters should be opened in provinces and districts to provide for more battered women in Zambia. Women should be encouraged to report cases of abuse.
8. The organisation should embark on vigorous publicity of their activities to publicise the existence of the Shelter, a lot of women in Lusaka do not know that there is a shelter where they can seek refuge away from the batterers.
9. There should be follow up research to evaluate the YWCA Shelter for battered women program.

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**Appendix A**

**Interview Guide**

Good morning / Afternoon. My name is Linah Mpundu Musukuma, Iam a candidate for a Masters of Arts degree in the department of gender studies at the University of Zambia. Iam carrying out a study on battered women who seek shelter at the YWCA.

The aim is to find out if women find the support services useful and whether refuge changes the pattern of marriage. I would appreciate it if you could spare some time to answer some questions and please bear in mind that no name will be used and the interview is confidential.

1.	Age	
A.	15-24	1
B.	25-34	2
C.	35-44	3
D.	45 and above	4
2.	Marital status	
A.	Single	1
B.	Married	2
C.	Widowed	3
D.	Separated	4
E	Divorced	5
F	Living with man not married to	
3.	What is your level of education attainment?	
A.	Primary	1
B.	Secondary	2
C.	Tertiary (specify).....	3

4.	What is your husband/ partner's education attainment?	
A.	Primary	1
B.	Secondary	2
C.	Tertiary (specify).....	3
5.	Nationality	
A.	Zambian.....	1
B.	Non Zambian.....	2
6.	What tribe are you?	
A.	Bemba	1
B.	Tonga	2
C.	Lozi	3
D.	Nyanja	4
E.	Kaonde	5
F.	Luvale	6
G.	Lunda	7
7.	What is your husband's tribe ?	
	.....	
8.	What is your religious denomination?	
A.	Christian	1
B.	Moslem	2
C.	Other specify .....	3
9.	What is your husband/partner's religious denomination?	
	.....	

10.	What do you do for your living?	
A.	Business woman.....	1
B.	Employee .....	2
C.	House wife.....	3

If the answer is A go to question 11 and 12 if it is B go to question 13

11.	How much do you make per annum?	
A.	Below one million .....	1
B.	Two to four million per annum.....	2
C.	Five to ten million per annum.....	3
D.	Any other specify .....	4

12.	How long have you been in business?	
	.....	

13.	What kinds of job do you do/ or what is your occupation?	
	.....	

14.	At what age where you married?	
A.	15-24	1
B.	25-34	2
C.	35 and above	3

15.	What is the age difference between you and your husband/ partner?	
	.....	

16.	How were you married?	
A.	Customary	1
B.	Statutory	2

17.

How long have been married?

A.

1-4 years

1

B.

5-10 years

2

C.

11-15 years

3

D.

16-20 years

4

E.

21 and above

5
18.

How many children do you have?

A.

0

1

B.

1-4

2

C.

5-10

3

D.

11 and above

4
19.

Is this your first marriage?

.....
20.

Was your husband/ partner married before or is it also his first marriage?

Yes.....

1

No.....

2

Don't know .....

9
21.

If it is not his first marriage what made him leave his previous marriage?

.....
22.

What kind of family background does your husband/partner come from?

A.

Monogamous

1

B

Polygamous

2

C

Violent

3

D

Don't know

9

E

Any other specify .....

23. If violent what kind of violence?

.....

24 Did his father beat his mother?

.....

25 Does your husband/ partner have another wife or mistress?

Yes ..... 1

No ..... 2

Don't know ..... 9

If so do you think this could be the cause of battery?

.....

Where you beaten by parents in your childhood?

.....

27 Did you experience any other child hood abuse in your parents home?

.....

If so, what kind of abuse was it?

.....

.....

28. Did your father beat your mother?

.....

29. Did you go through a marriage ceremony?

.....

30. Did you receive any teachings before marriage?

.....

31. How many years after marriage did the problem of battery begin?

.....

32. How bad was the beating and did you need to go to the clinic

.....  
.....  
.....

33. How were you normally beaten?

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| A. | Slaps  | 1 |
| B. | Kicks  | 2 |
| C. | Punches  | 3 |
| D. | Thrown against objectives or beaten with objects | 4 |
| E. | Any other (specify)                              | 5 |

.....  
.....  
.....

34. What reasons are given by your husband/ partner for beating you?

.....  
.....  
.....

35. How often are you beaten?

- |    |                       |   |
|----|-----------------------|---|
| A  | Daily or almost daily | 1 |
| B  | Once a week           | 2 |
| C. | Twice a week          | 3 |
| D. | Once a month          | 4 |
| E. | Others specify.....   | 5 |

36. Do you and your husband/ partner drink alcohol?  
.....
37. If your husband/ partner drinks does he beat you when drunk?  
.....  
.....
38. After the beating incidents where do you go? Circle as may as applies.
- |    |                     |   |
|----|---------------------|---|
| A. | Stay home           | a |
| B. | To my parent’s home | b |
| C. | To my in-laws       | c |
| D. | To YWCA             | d |
| E. | Victim support unit | e |
| F. | Church pastor       | f |
| G. | Others specify..... | g |
39. Give reasons as to why you choose to go where you go?  
.....  
.....  
.....
40. How did you come to know about YWCA drop in centre and shelter?  
.....
41. When did you first come to the shelter?  
.....

42. What services where you given when you first came to the drop in centre and Shelter?

.....  
.....

43. Did you come with your children?

- A. Yes..... 1
- B. No..... 0

44. How long did you stay at the shelter?

.....

45. What changes did you notice in your marriage after receiving counsel at YWCA?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

46. What other support services were you given when you came to the drop in Centre and shelter?

.....  
.....  
.....

47. How helpful and useful were these services?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....



48. Did they help you make choices about your life? If so how?  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....
49. Give reasons why you decided to stay in marriage considering this abuse?  
.....  
.....  
.....
50. Why did you decide to live an independent life? (For those who have decided  
To break away).  
.....  
.....
51. How did you feel when you broke up?  
.....  
.....  
.....
52. Did you find difficulties in adjusting to the new life?  
.....  
If so, in which areas of your life?  
.....
53. Do you think education of a woman contribute to battery? If so  
HOW?.....  
.....  
.....

Why? .....  
.....  
.....

54. What constraints do women face that causes them to return to  
their abusive marriages?  
.....  
.....  
.....

55. What do your customs, beliefs and traditions say about wife battering?  
.....  
.....  
.....

56 Did you go through any form of initiation ceremony?  
.....

57. If so what were you taught concerning marriage?  
.....  
.....  
.....

58. Do you think some of those teachings have contributed to your problem of  
Wife battering? .....

59. If so, which teachings in particular?  
.....  
.....

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire to YWCA staff

You are kindly asked to answer the questions that follow alone, please answer the questions to the best of your knowledge and be assured that all your answers will be treated with absolute confidence. Where options are given put a tick to indicate your choice. For open-ended questions, answers should be written in the spaces provided

1. What is your Age?  
.....
2. What is your marital status?  
Married ..... 1  
Divorced. .... 2  
Widowed. .... 3  
Others specify ..... 4
3. Gender  
A. Female ..... F  
B. Male ..... M
4. What is your highest education attainment?  
A. Primary..... 1  
B. Secondary. .... 2  
C. Tertiary (specify)..... 3
5. Nationality .....
6. What is your religious denomination? .....
7. How long have you been working for YWCA? .....
8. What are your specific duties at YWCA? .....  
.....

9. What cases of abuse do you receive and handle?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

10. How often do you receive cases of wife battering?

.....

.....

11. What support services are given to battered women?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

12. How long do battered women stay at the shelter?

.....

13. Do you get in touch with the batterers? And if so what advice is given to them?

.....

.....

14. What is the average education background of battered women?
- A. Educated 1
- B. Uneducated 2
15. Do battered women find support services useful? If so specify which services
- They find useful. ....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....
16. Do you make follow-ups to those women after they have left the shelter?
- Yes ..... 1
- No ..... 0
- If not why? .....
- .....
- .....
17. If follow up are done what kind of advice is given?
- .....
- .....
- .....
18. What changes are observed in the marriage pattern of those women who have been to the shelter after follow ups?
- .....
- .....
- .....

19. How many divorce cases if any have you dealt with since the inception of the Battered women shelter?

.....

.....

.....

20. What constraints do you think some women face that causes them to return to their abusive marriages?

.....

.....

.....

21. What do you think are the major causes of wife battering?

.....

.....

.....

.....

22. What customs or traditions do you think promote wife battering in Zambia?

.....

.....

.....

23. What do you think is a lasting solution to wife battering in Zambia?

.....

.....

24. What sensitisation programmes are you engaged in?

.....

.....

.....

.....

25. Which other organisations or institutions do you collaborate with in the fight  
Against violence targeted at women?

.....

.....

.....

26. What do you think the society of Zambia feel about wife battering?

.....

.....

.....

.....

26. What influence do you think the shelter has had on battered women in Zambia  
since 1993?

.....

.....

27. Has refuge and other services helped change patterns of marriage?

.....

If so how

.....