

**COMMUNICATION AS FACTOR IN THE PERPETRATION
AND PREVENTION OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST
WOMEN AMONG THE BEMBA PEOPLE OF MWAMBA'S
VILLAGE IN KASAMA DISTRICT**

By

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**A report submitted to the University of Zambia
in Partial fulfilment of the Requirements of the Degree
of Master of Communication for Development**

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

2014

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of Alfred ChongoMupeta is approved as fulfilling the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Communication for Development by the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is entitled 'Communication as a factor in the perpetration and prevention of domestic violence against women among the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village in Kasama District.' The scourge of domestic violence against women in Zambia has reached alarming proportions and calls for the attention of all stakeholders. Some victims of domestic violence end up being traumatized, maimed or dying thereby compromising the survival and psychological development of their children. This study was aimed at investigating whether Bemba communication culture is a contributing factor to domestic violence against women and at finding out how the same Bemba communication culture can be used to fight this scourge.

A snap shot survey design was adopted in this research; employing the triangulation approach to data collection and analysis. The qualitative data gathering methods included the review of secondary data on the topic as well as five in-depth interviews and four focus group discussions. As regards the quantitative methods of data collection, there was community mapping and a questionnaire which was administered to 90 members of the community. The research participants were chosen by purposive as well as cluster sampling. The quantitative data obtained from the field research was processed into tables and charts by means of Microsoft excel while the qualitative data was summarised and arranged into themes.

The study found out that women have lost the high status that they enjoyed in Bemba society. The Bemba communication system is now dominated by men and the cultural messages favour men rather than women. Although the people of Mwamba's Village perceive domestic violence against women as an issue and are aware of the gender imbalances present in their communication culture, they believe that their culture fights against domestic violence against women rather than contributes to the problem.

The researcher's conclusion is that Bemba communication culture is a driver of domestic violence against women. Since this is a communication issue, behaviour change campaigns would help to address domestic violence against women. Nevertheless, this approach has to be combined with social change communication and advocacy communication. The researcher, therefore, recommends that the powerful Bemba communication media and channels be employed for an effective and efficient response to the problem. He is calling on government organs like the presidency, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, the Ministry of Gender, the courts of law and the police to work closely with NGOs, the media, the Church and traditional leadership in order to come up with culturally embedded communication programs to fight domestic violence against women in Zambia.

DEDICATION

To my late parents:
Felix Chongo and AndelaChewe.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the University of Zambia for having allowed me to study at this institution and for providing the necessary facilities. Many thanks go to my supervisor, Mr. Kenny Makungu, for guiding me throughout this work. I also wish to thank the people of Mwamba's Village for their cooperation during my research especially Mr. ChipalaMulilo who helped me in the organization of research participants. My special thanks go to my family and community for their advice and encouragement without which my research would have been a difficult task to accomplish. Last but not the least, I wish to thank Frs. Garth and Winfield for their technical assistance.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AD	:	<i>Anno Domini</i>
DAPP	:	Development Aid from People to People
GBV	:	Gender Based Violence
GDP	:	General Domestic Product
NGO	:	Nongovernmental organization
UNIP	:	United National Independence Party
ZNBC	:	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Zambian nation today is assailed by all kinds of violent activities prominent of which is gender based violence. This research zeroed in on domestic violence against women. As more and more cases of abuse of women by their spouses are reported in today's media, the stakeholders want to know the causes of this social problem. The hypothesis of this research was, thus, whether communication is a factor in the whole issue of domestic violence against women. Rather than taking the entire Zambian nation the researcher focused on a small fraction of it; he studied the Bemba people around Chief Mwamba's Palace in Kasama District. The question was: Is communication a factor in the perpetration and prevention of domestic violence against women among the Bemba People of Mwamba's Village?

The researcher decided to research on this topic because the issues of gender, justice and family are very close to his heart given his vocation as a priest. In his ministry, he has learnt to live and work with the weak and the poor in society. Since the majority of the regular Catholic flock are women and girls, he listens a lot to their life stories in an effort to support and empower them.

This research report carries five chapters. This introductory chapter indicates the parameters of the research, gives the background to the topic under study, states the problem this research was trying to resolve and outlines the objectives of the research. Chapter two outlines the methodology that was employed in the whole study and the techniques that were used to gather and analyse data. Chapter three provides the conceptual and theoretical framework of the issue under study and chapter four presents the literature review on the topic. Chapter five presents the findings of the research and chapter six discusses the findings. The last chapter gives the summary of the findings, the conclusion and recommendations.

1.2 BACKGROUND

Having stated the topic and concern of this study and having given the overview of this paper, the researcher now turns his attention to giving the bigger picture of Bemba communication culture and domestic violence against women.

1.2.1 The Zambian Socio-economic and Political Context

Zambia is a landlocked country in south-central Africa. The country is mostly a plateau that rises to 2400 metres in the east. The total area of the country is 752,614 square km. Today the country is made up almost entirely of Bantu-speaking peoples. The major tribes include the Bemba, Tonga, Lozi, Chewa, Luvale, Kaonde and Lunda. The Central Statistics Office (2011) puts the population of Zambia at 13 046 508, the population growth rate at 3.5 percent, the birth rate at 44.08/1000, the infant mortality rate at 66.6/1000, the life expectancy at 52.36 years and the ratio of men to women at 49 to 51 percent. The literacy rate is estimated at 81 percent while the GDP is pegged at \$20.04 billion and the *per capita* income at \$1,500. After mining, the second biggest industry is agriculture. About 80 percent of the population are peasant farmers who grow crops such as maize, cassava, beans, cotton and groundnuts.

Early humans inhabited present-day Zambia between one and two million years ago. According to Lambert (2006), around the fourth century AD, a wave of Bantu speaking immigrants arrived from the north. These farmers and iron workers seem to have lived peacefully alongside the Bushmen, who were earlier inhabitants. Present-day Zambia came under British rule through the efforts of Cecil Rhodes, who in 1889 obtained mining concessions from King Lewanika of the Lozi people and sent settlers to the area soon thereafter. The territory which was later named Northern Rhodesia was ruled by the British South Africa Company, which Rhodes established, until 1924, when the British government took over its administration. The discovery of copper in the 1930s marked the beginning of industrialization in Northern Rhodesia. This provided great employment opportunities for the people from the tribes in the country and from the surrounding countries. From 1953 to 1963, Northern Rhodesia was federated with Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (now Malawi).

On October 24, 1964, Northern Rhodesia became the independent nation of Zambia after a spirited fight for independence by the indigenous people. In 1972, Kenneth Kaunda, the first Republican president, outlawed all opposition political parties, leaving only the ruling party - UNIP. When the world copper market collapsed in 1975 the once booming Zambian economy was set on a nose-diving trend. With a soaring debt and inflation rate, in 1991, riots took place in Lusaka, resulting in a number of killings. Mounting domestic pressure forced Kaunda to move Zambia toward multiparty democracy. National elections on October 31, 1991 brought a stunning defeat to Kaunda (African Election Database, in press). The new president, Frederick Chiluba of the Movement for Multi Party Democracy (MMD), called for sweeping economic reforms, including privatization of public enterprises and the establishment of a stock market. The 1999 slump in world copper prices again depressed the economy because copper provides 80 percent of Zambia's export earnings. In 2001, Chiluba contemplated changing the constitution to allow him to run for the third presidential term. After protests he relented and selected Levy Mwanawasa, a former vice president with whom he had fallen out, as his successor.

In June 2002, Mwanawasa, once seen as a pawn of Chiluba, accused the former president of stealing millions from the government while in office. Chiluba was arrested and charged in February 2003. In April 2005, the World Bank approved a \$3.8 billion debt relief package for the country. In the September 2006 presidential elections, incumbent Levy Mwanawasa was re-elected. However, President Mwanawasa suffered a stroke and died in September 2008. Vice President Rupiah Banda took over as acting president and was elected president in October 2008, narrowly defeating a prominent opposition figure in the name of Michael Sata. In the presidential elections that were held in September 2011, Michael Sata of the Patriotic Front won the poll with 43.3 per cent of the vote (Electoral Commission of Zambia, in press).

As at now, the socio-economic prospects of the country are good. The growth of the economy is pegged at seven percent. Although poverty is at 60 percent, Zambia boasts of a lower middle income status with an ever growing middle class. The Patriotic Front government is investing heavily in infrastructure and social services.

1.2.2The Media in Zambia

Besides the communication types found in traditional society, there are different forms of communication media existing in Zambia today. Print media include newspapers, magazines and book publishing while electronic media ranges from radio and television to internet and telephone.

According to Kumbula (in press), the mass media were used in colonial days as a weapon of discrimination and domination against the Black Africans. They were basically set up to promote the welfare of the White colonialists and settlers, and not to conduct fair journalism. For the most part, Black Africans were demonized and depicted as ignorant, criminals and rabble-rousers. During the Federation, the federal government controlled radio and television outlets. The Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) was formed at independence. Initially it had only one television channel outlet and two radio stations (Radio One and Radio Two). ZNBC became a state-run institution that served the caprices of the 'Party and Its Government'. It had been transformed into a weapon against opposition views. In terms of print media, the major means of communication have been the two government owned national daily newspapers, the Times of Zambia and the Daily Mail. Until the advent of the PostNewspaper in 1990, Zambia could not boast of an impartial and autonomous media.

The shift from UNIP to MMD rule in 1991 signalled both a symbolic and philosophical change. A new media mantra was in the offing. It was called Press Freedom. The MMD's rhetoric on media independence did not translate into practical implementation until the year 2002 when Mwanawasa, under pressure from the citizenry, amended the ZNBC Act to free the air waves and assented to the Freedom of Information Bill (Makungu, 2004: 24-25). As at now, Muzyamba (2009:2) asserts that the public media has been relatively liberalized as can be seen in the current presence of six private newspapers, 32 private radio stations (most of which are of a religious and community nature) and three private television stations (Muvi, Mobi and Trinity Broadcasting Network).

In terms of telecommunication, the nation has witnessed an upswing of cell phone use and downward trend in the use of landlines. New media include blogs, social networking sites and online news publications such as *Zambian Watch Dog*, Lusaka

Times and Tumfweko. New media have revolutionized the freedom of the press. It is no longer the monopoly of the media owners or governments to dictate when and how the people access information (Kumbula, in press). It is a matter of time before Zambians begin to own non-traditional media as is already happening through internet.

With a good number of Zambians in a position to access all kinds of information and with many private media around, both print and electronic, many people feel empowered to contribute to national development. On the other hand, Kumbula (Ibid.) observes:

... despite the new freedoms, however, access to the media remains limited because of illiteracy, poverty, inability to afford newspapers, and the costs of radio and television. Moreover, the lack of electricity has kept the electronic media out of the reach of a majority of Zambia's citizens. Though the Information Revolution has made the Internet available in Zambia, poverty, however, has militated against making e-mail and other internet services available to most Zambians. Computers, simply, are too expensive. Internet sites and cafes are available, but most Zambians cannot afford to log on. Many prefer to spend their limited cash on more pressing needs, such as food.

All forms of media are shaped by political, economic, educational, and social conditions. However, media can shape itself, and in turn shape other things. For media to be seen to be performing a neutral role in national development, it must be independent and free of government interference. We are yet to see if the Sata Administration will go beyond promising the operationalization of the Freedom of Information and the Independent Broadcasting Authority enactments.

1.2.3 The Bemba People

The Bemba occupy the north-eastern part of Zambia, in present day Northern and Muchinga provinces. Roberts (1973) says the Bemba came to their present location from Congo during the great Bantu migrations of the eighteenth century. They organized themselves into a hierarchical structure of governance. At its head is a paramount chief, known as Chitimukulu, followed by senior chiefs and sub-chiefs, all of whom belong to the royal crocodile clan. It is estimated that 36 per cent of the Zambian population are Bemba or speak the Bemba language. Like many peoples of Africa, the Bemba have a rich cultural heritage that is transmitted by word of mouth from one generation to the next. Very little Bemba folklore has been written down.

1.2.4 Mwamba's Village

Zambia is divided into nine provinces. Kasama District, which hosts the provincial headquarters of Northern Province, is home to Chief Mwamba, one of the five senior chiefs of the Bemba people. Chief Mwamba's palace is situated 20 kilometres North West of Kasama Town. Around Chief Mwamba's palace, there are small villages and settlements which are collectively called Mwamba's Village.

Despite the inevitable contact with other cultures and the Western influence, the people of Mwamba's Village still lead a traditional lifestyle to a great extent and more so because they are around the chief's palace. Besides the communication of traditional knowledge and information among themselves, most of them also do afford to tune in to Radio One, Radio Two and above all to the community radio stationed in Kasama, called Radio Mano. The ZNBC television signal is there but few can afford a television set and a battery to operate it and almost none can afford to access the four popular and national newspapers on a daily basis because of the costs involved.

1.2.5 Gender Based Violence

Statistics indicate that domestic violence is a worldwide epidemic. UNICEF Studies (in press) show that between one quarter and one half of all women in the world have been abused by intimate partners. Domestic abuse of women is commonplace in Zambia as well. IRIN (2003) quotes the then Police Public Relations Officer, Brenda Muntemba, saying: "We are receiving about five cases of wife battering a day. I cannot say whether it's an increase or just more cases being reported, but there is cause for concern."

The Zambian government is working closely with a number of non-governmental organizations to put up a coordinated fight against this scourge which is increasing at alarming rate. The Anti Gender Based Violence Act of 2011 is a major step forward. The Act has given hope to many women and children who are subjected to GBV without adequate recourse. It offers a comprehensive framework for protection and means of survival for victims and survivors of GBV as well as prosecution of perpetrators. However, there are challenges to be overcome which include effective implementation; limited financial and human resources; weak monitoring and evaluation strategies; slow court trials and low levels of public awareness, especially

in rural areas. The other challenge is that customary laws, which are unfriendly to women, still influence the behaviour of many Zambians.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Wife battering continues to scar many individuals, marriages and families in Zambia. Tembo (2013) reports that at the close of the year 2011, 11908 cases of gender based violence were recorded. He continues:

When one goes to a news stand, it is common to be faced with headlines such as 'Man batters wife to death,' 'Man defiles girl' in the public and private newspapers... These headlines appear almost every day as GBV seems to be taking centre stage countrywide.

The Cross Project (2012) says more than one in ten married women in Zambia has experienced physical violence in every three months, and a far higher number has been assaulted at least once during marriage. Some victims of domestic violence end up dying, maimed or traumatised. Moreover, violence perpetrated against their mother compromises the survival and psychological development of the children. Even though most men and women formally acknowledge that the abuse of women is not acceptable behavior, practically speaking, they find it acceptable for a man to use violence to control his wife or girlfriend. To find a sustainable solution to the problem of domestic violence against women, it is important to look at the underlying causes of it. It seems the cultural perception and socialization of the woman has a role to play in this problem.

The role of the woman in bearing and educating children cannot be overemphasized and more so in Zambia where the woman contributes a lot to the economy and social stability of the family and of society. Unless the causes of domestic violence against women in Zambia are known and addressed, Zambia's development strides will be compromised.

1.4 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This research set out to investigate the relationship, if any, between domestic violence against women and Bemba communication culture. The researcher wanted to find out whether the beliefs, perceptions, cultural messages and practices and the way information and knowledge are transmitted among the Bemba people contribute

to domestic violence against women. The researcher also wanted to consider how the same communication culture can be used to fight the scourge.

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To examine the sources of communication among the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village.
2. To study the various media of communication among the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village.
3. To evaluate the cultural messages that the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village are subjected to in relation to domestic violence against women.
4. To examine the practices of Bemba people of Mwamba's Village regarding domestic violence against women.
5. To examine the perceptions of the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village regarding domestic violence against women.
6. To establish the possible link between the communication culture and domestic violence against women among the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Who are the sources of communication among the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village?
2. Which are the media of communication among the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village?
3. What is the effect of cultural messages on the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village in relation to domestic violence against women?
4. What are the practices of the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village that are associated with domestic violence against women?
5. How do the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village perceive domestic violence against women?
6. What is the link, if any, between domestic violence against women and the communication culture of the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village?

1.7 RATIONALE

In some talks, conferences and literature, the Zambian culture is cited as one of the causes of gender based violence but there is no known study that has investigated the

role of Bemba communication culture in the perpetration or prevention of domestic violence against women. It is in this respect that the researcher embarked on this study to fill the gap.

It is hoped that this research will add momentum to the fight against gender based violence in Zambia by guiding policy makers as well as gender activists on the appropriate strategies to use. The study will also add value to the existing body of knowledge in the Discipline of Communication for Development.

CHAPTER TWO:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Having presented the introduction and background information of the research, it is now opportune to look at the methods and techniques that were used to gather the data for the study. The researcher describes the research design, instruments and procedures.

2.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

To address the objectives of this study, the researcher employed a snap-shot survey design. He used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of data capturing and analysis. The qualitative approach to research helps to answer the question why something is happening in a certain manner. It seeks to describe and analyse the culture and behaviour of humans and their groups from the point of view of those being studied. In this method, feelings and insights are considered important. It tries to understand a topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves. “Qualitative research is especially effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours, and social contexts of particular populations” (Family Health International, in press).

When used along with quantitative methods, qualitative research can help us to interpret and better understand the complex reality of a given situation and the implications of quantitative data. Quantitative research relies on the principle of verifiability. It seeks to confirm hypotheses about phenomena. It uses “highly structured methods such as questionnaires, surveys, and structured observation to quantify variation, to predict causal relationships and to describe characteristics of a population” (Ibid.).

The use of various techniques to collect data facilitates triangulation and thus assures valid and objective results. Bryman (in press) says that triangulation refers to the use of more than one approach to the investigation of a research question in order to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings. According to Olsen (2004), triangulation in research is the use of two or more methods in the collection of data and it can help to explain more fully the richness and complexity of the data gathered. Each method reveals different aspects of empirical information within the same site. By examining

information collected by different methods, using different people, findings can be corroborated, thereby reducing the impact of potential biases that can exist in a single study.

The combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods was useful to gather data regarding the Bemba communication culture in its relationship to domestic violence against women. The perceptions and attitudes of the community in this regard were captured by use of a questionnaire while the experiences and personal feelings of the victims of domestic violence were captured by use of observation, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews.

2.2 CHOICE OF STUDY AREA

Since the thrust of this study was to investigate whether Bemba communication culture is a factor in domestic violence against women in Zambia today, the researcher picked on Mwamba's village because himself being Bemba and from Chief Mwamba's chiefdom, wanted to appreciate his culture and how it can be a solution rather than a problem to the scourge of domestic violence against women. Moreover, Mwamba's village was strategic from the point of view of this research because on one hand, it is a royal village and hence a custodian of Bemba culture and on the other hand, it is a semi-modern population centre only 20 kilometres away from Kasama town. Its inhabitants, on top of rubbing shoulders with the few civil servants that have been deployed to this village, often go to Kasama town to sell their products and to shop from there. As such, the research site has some aspects of traditional life and some aspects of modern life, a reality which is representative of contemporary Zambia.

2.3 STUDY POPULATION

Mwamba's village boasts of 380 households giving a total population of 2,513 of whom 1,378 are above 18 years of age and 716 are married or have been married before. The village is divided into seven sections (sub-villages) covering a radius of three kilometres.

2.4 SAMPLE SIZE

The researcher worked with a sample of 119 people: 90 participated in the questionnaire while 24 took part in the focus group discussions and five in the in-

depth interviews. This sample size is commensurate with the population we are interested in (716). This position is supported by Israel (2013) who says that for a population of 700, a sample size of 88 is justified for a precision of ten percent.

2.5 SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

For both qualitative and quantitative research, the researcher employed a combination of purposive sampling and cluster sampling. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method which groups research participants according to preselected criteria relevant to a particular research question. The advantage of purposive sampling is that it allows the researcher to home in on people who have good grounds in what they believe and so are critical for research. Purposive sampling may involve studying the entire population of some limited group or a subset of a population. It does not produce a sample that is representative of a larger population, but it can be exactly what is needed in some cases (Columbia Education Project, in press).

Since this study is investigating as to whether Bemba communication culture is a factor in domestic violence against women, the researcher subjectively selected respondents depending on their possession of certain characteristics. The researcher went for men and women of Mwamba's Village who are relatively elderly and have a family. Such people are usually knowledgeable in matters of culture and have experiences or have been victims of domestic violence.

Cluster sampling is a random method of picking elements of a population that is widely distributed geographically or occurs in natural clusters of subunits. It was employed to arrive at a representative and proportionate number of respondents with regard to the sex, age, marital status and residential areas of the study population.

2.5 INSTRUMENTS FOR DATA COLLECTION

Data for the study was gathered from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was sourced through a questionnaire, an observation check list, an interview guide and a prompt list for focus group discussions while secondary data was gotten from the review of a wide range of literature on Bemba culture. The researcher ensured confidentiality and anonymity of the participants in the study and obtained prior consent from them (Appendix A).

2.5.1 Questionnaire

For the quantitative aspect of the study, the researcher gathered data on Bemba communication culture and domestic violence against women by means of a questionnaire which was distributed to 90 people. The questionnaire, originally in English (Appendix B), was translated into Bemba. Before printing the final edition, the questionnaire was tried on ten people of Mwamba to test the translation and comprehensibility of the questions by the people. Since the research is dealing with people in a village set up, the questionnaire was very basic and for those respondents who cannot write, the researcher himself posed the questions to them and wrote down the answers as the interviews progressed.

2.5.2 Observation

When the researcher got on the ground for research, he involved himself in participatory techniques such as informal interactions and conversations with families. He also did community mapping. This was in an effort to gain a broad understanding of the community lay-out and structure and to enlist its support.

2.5.3 Focus Group Discussions

The researcher conducted four focus group discussions each of which comprised six family people: one male representative from the royal palace or village committee, one female traditional instructor (*nacimbusa*), one male traditional instructor (*shimafunde*), one female victim of domestic violence, one ordinary female villager and one ordinary male villager. The selection of discussants was based on their knowledge of the topic under discussion and was representative in terms of age, gender and locality. For the prompt list, see Appendix C.

2.5.4 In-depth Interviews

The researcher also arranged for five in-depth interviews whereby interviewees were selected for their expertise or experience as regards Bemba communication culture vis-a-vis domestic violence. These included a village headman, one female traditional instructor, one male traditional instructor, one female victim and one female ordinary villager. For the interview guide, see Appendix D.

2.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Both quantitative and qualitative techniques were used to analyse the data that was collected in this study. The researcher used the manual method and the computer, especially Microsoft Excel. The information from the questionnaires and mapping was converted into tables and charts for easy comparison and interpretation. The data from focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and literature review was critically examined, explained and rearranged into specific themes.

CHAPTER THREE:

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Having looked at the methodology of the study, it is now opportune to consider the concepts that the researcher employed and the theories that were used in the study.

3.1 CONCEPTUAL AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

At this point the researcher deems it fit to unpack the technical terms that have been commonly used in this study. Thus this section provides both the general meanings of the terms and the sense in which they are used in this paper.

3.1.1 Communication

Since the research was aimed at finding out a nexus between domestic violence against women and Bemba communication culture, a clear understanding of the term “communication” was important. The definition of this term is as varied as the approach to the study of communication which is not a precise science as it deals with human behaviour. According to Infante et al. (1997:33), Communication involves humans manipulating symbols to stimulate meaning in other humans. Communication is giving, receiving or exchanging ideas, information, signals or messages through appropriate media, enabling individuals or groups to persuade, to seek information, to give information or to express emotions. The Centre for Good Governance (2001:2) understands communication as a transactional process in which the sender and the receiver of signals mutually share meaning with each other via a channel. Initially communication was regarded as a linear process whereby information transmission was impersonal and one-way. Today, it is understood as a two-way process with the sender and the receiver standing on an equal footing. Infante et al. (1997:12) talks of different types of communication depending on the context. He asserts:

The idea that communication is contextual is a well-accepted idea in communication theory. There also is rather extensive agreement on the contexts. Generally the contexts are: interpersonal, small group, organizational, public, mass, intercultural, family, health and political.

In this study, the researcher has used the term “communication” to refer to the whole business of transmitting information and knowledge from a source to a receiver and

back to the source through a medium. Owing to the fact that the research is about communication among the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village, the term has been used in interpersonal, small group, family and political senses. To measure this human behaviour, variables of the communication process have been scrutinized: the source, the message, the medium and the receiver.

3.1.2 Communication Source

This term refers to the person who takes the initiative of putting across some information in order to attain a certain end. Infante et al. (1997:147,157) says "the efficacy of communication is very much affected by the credibility of the source; ...the idea that credibility affects persuasion seems to be self-evident, hardly worth investigating." The authority, influence, popularity, skill, charisma and morality of the communicator are important factors in communication. In this study the term was employed to refer to those people who have the power of knowledge and information and all the messengers in a communication chain among the Bemba people.

3.1.3 Message

This refers to the form that the communication takes: a letter, memo, telephone call or gesture. The sender puts the information into the best form in a process called encoding. The efficacy of communication is dependent on the structure, appeal and language of the message. For Manfredo (1992), a persuasive message generally "consists of three parts: An advocated position, a set of general arguments in support of the advocated position, and specific factual evidence designed to bolster the general arguments." Appeals add some spices to the communication recipe. They are like bait one includes in a message in order to lure the interaction of receivers through emotion or reason (Mefalopulos and Kamlongera, 2004). The richer the vocabulary of the message, the more effective a message will be. This study analysed the content and styles of communication among the Bemba people.

3.1.4 Communication Medium

This refers to the channel of transmission of the message from the source to the receiver and back to the source. This could be written, oral, visual or non verbal. Interpersonal medium of communication is the best followed by group

communication then television and radio (Ibid.). This study considered the various media of communication found in the group under study.

3.1.5 Communication Receiver

The person or persons on the other end of the communication enterprise is the receiver. Being on the receiving end, this person deciphers the message and responds. For communication to be effective, it has to be properly targeted. The communicator should take into consideration the intelligence, age, sex, culture and socio-economic environment of the receivers so that the messages are properly tailored to them. Among the Bemba people communication receivers are mostly young people.

3.1.6 Bemba Communication Culture

Culture has many definitions, and it affects everything people do in their society because of their ideas, values, attitudes, and normative patterns of behaviour. Culture is not genetically inherited, and cannot exist on its own, but is always shared by members of a society (Hall 1976:16). Culture is a set of shared and enduring meaning, values, and beliefs that characterize national, ethnic, or other groups and orient their behaviour.

Bemba culture is thus the collective traditions, customs, norms, beliefs, values, and thought patterning which are proper to the Bemba people and are passed down from generation to generation. The Bemba culture comprises the Bemba cosmology, language, institutions, social activities, spirituality, art and science. The way the Bemba people transmit ideas, information, knowledge and skills is what the researcher is calling the Bemba communication culture.

3.1.7 Education

Communication and education are closely linked and often go together. Both formal and non-formal education involves processes of communication. Thus education is a systematic process which occurs over a certain period of time in which the people are informed, instructed and inspired to participate in their own lives, to actualize their potential and to integrate themselves in society. Among the Bemba people the preponderant type of education is the informal and unguided one. This is the sense in which this term is used in this paper.

3.1.8 Development

Development is a planned and participatory transformation of society from a state of poverty to one of dynamic socio-economic growth that makes for greater equity and the larger unfolding of individual potential (Quebral, 2001). As a process, it is aimed at satisfying the authentic needs of a people through the rational and sustainable use of natural resources and systems based on a technology which respects the cultural features of the people.

Development is usually expressed in economic terms such as employment rates, *per capita* income and gross national product. However, experience tells us that economic growth statistics alone do not constitute development. The development of people should be the main focus. According to Lagerwey (1990), “The needs of the people predicate the delivery of development, whether it be in the form of values, education, skills development, livelihood assistance or human settlements, just to name a few.” This is the development the Bemba people of Mwamba’s Village yearn for.

3.1.9 Domestic Violence

Awareness, perception, definition and documentation of domestic violence differ widely from country to country, and from era to era. Domestic violence is defined as a pattern of behaviours characterized by the misuse of power and control by one partner against another in an intimate relationship such as marriage, dating, family, or cohabitation. Siemieniuk (2010) continues:

Domestic violence, so defined, has many forms, including physical aggression or assault (hitting, kicking, biting, shoving, restraining, slapping, throwing objects), or threats thereof; sexual abuse; emotional abuse; controlling or domineering; intimidation; passive/covert abuse (e.g., neglect); and economic deprivation.

The term “domestic violence” is used in this study in the narrow context of marriage whereby the husband is the abuser and the wife is the abused as the usual case is in Zambia. The forms of domestic violence will remain the same as the above indicated: physical, verbal, sexual, emotional and economic.

3.2 THEORIES USED IN THE STUDY

Having done the conceptual and operational definitions of the key terms employed in this study, the researcher finds it fit to explore several theories on which the research was anchored.

3.2.1 Communication Theory

Communication is important in the development of any given society because it determines how people relate with one another and with the environment. Describing the structure of communication as “Who says What in What channel to Whom and with What effect”, Laswell(1948) talks of four ways of examining communication: control analysis, content analysis, media analysis, audience analysis and effect analysis.

Most communication scholars agree on the functions which communication fulfils for humans. Griffin (1994) says that information function has to do with the receiving and giving of information, about what is going on in the environment, which concerns the people. The function of mass media is to observe the society closely and continuously and warn people about threatening actions that are likely to happen in future in order to decrease the possible loss. Likewise, mass media also informs the concerned authority about the misconducts happening in the society and discourage malpractices. As regards command function, Griffin (Ibid.) continues:

Those who are hierarchically superior in the family, society or organization, often initiate communication either for the purpose of informing their subordinates or for the purpose of telling them, what to do, how to do and when to do...

The third function of communication is persuasion whereby mass media are used to induce people; to change their behaviour in the desirable direction. Media content builds opinions and sets agendas in the public mind. It influences votes, changes attitudes and moderates behavior. Media also assist in the transmission of culture through socialization. Media are the reflectors of society. They socialize people, especially children and new-comers. Socialization is a process by which, people learn how to behave in ways that are acceptable in their culture or society. Through the process of socialization media help to shape people's behaviours, conducts, attitudes and beliefs. The process of socialization brings people close and ties them into single unity.

3.2.2 Intercultural Communication Theory

Every human being passes through a development period of enculturation. Traits and taboos are passively and actively inculcated through childhood and adolescence. As culture is not a static concept, the very definition of culture can be as broad as to refer to the difference between people of the same ethnic group raised in rural and urban environments. This is a case of two subcultures. It is when one comes into contact with a person that is separate from one's own culture that one engages in intercultural communication, and forges a synthesis of cultures.

For years, Tannen has studied the language and cultural differences of men and women, girls and boys, within American society (Talbot 1998). She has found a prevalence of communication differences between genders that often lead to miscommunication between the two. Men and women have different experiences that shape the way they view the world and so form vastly different identities and communication styles, even if they are raised in the same homes, educated in the same schools and live in the same country. This is because there are "invisible rules of communication" that are unique to each gender. These "rules" are known to all adult members of that gender, but because men and women behave according to two separate sets of rules about what is appropriate, communication mishaps can occur between a man and a woman. Women seek human condition (friendships, intimacy, true solidarity and communion) while men are concerned with status (independence, hierarchy, competitive accomplishment and achievement). Women talk more in private for connection and to disclose details of life while men talk more in public to command attention and to convey information. For Tannen (1990), male-female conversation is cross-cultural communication. Masculine and feminine styles of discourse are best viewed as two distinct cultural dialects rather than as inferior or superior ways of speaking.

3.2.3 Social Learning Theory

There are many theories as to the causes of domestic violence. These include psychological theories that consider personality traits and mental characteristics of the perpetrator. Other causes of domestic violence are explained by social theories which consider external factors in the perpetrator's environment. The social learning approach looks outside of the individual, at information exchanges with others in

order to explain how human behaviour develops. According to Bandura (1971), an individual learns from another by observing

“...what another person is doing, and then does something similar but not exactly the same thing... Social modelling permits the observer to extract the essential elements from an observed behaviour pattern in order to create a similar behaviour... The individual does not actually need to experience a verbal exchange of information in order for the individual's behaviour to be influenced by the model. Thus, nonverbal communication is considered important in behaviour change.”

The individual can learn a new behaviour by observing another individual in person or via the visual media like television or film. People who observe their parents abusing each other, or who were themselves abused may incorporate abuse into their behaviour within relationships that they establish as adults.

CHAPTER FOUR:

LITERATURE REVIEW

Taking a close look at the Bemba traditions, one realizes that there are many aspects in them that point to their communication culture. The Bemba people have their own way of transmitting knowledge, sharing information and resolving conflicts within the family and village set-ups. This same communication culture points to the position of the woman in Bemba traditional society and her relationship with the husband. A good number of people ranging from historians to anthropologists and missionaries have documented different aspects of the Bemba culture. The researcher has reviewed the literature relevant to the thesis theme by theme.

4.1 THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN BEMBA SOCIETY

In order to understand who the Bemba people are and where they place the woman in their society, it is important to explore their sociology, cosmology and religion. These three tenets of their culture are deeply influenced by the geography and history of their society. The important epochs of their history form different layers in their culture. The early inhabitants of present day Northern Zambia were the Bushmen followed by the Proto-Bantu (Bemba) from the North after whom the Luba people from *Kola* (Angola-Congo). Then came the Christian missionaries and British colonialists and now we are in the era of Zambian self rule. How has the Bemba woman featured in these epochs?

4.1.1 Bemba Society is Matrilineal

The social organization of any society and the relationships among its members create a certain balance of power which ensures harmony and progress in that society. The Bemba ethnic group is matrilineal and matrifocal; meaning that kinship, which influences the formation and composition of residential units, is based on ties between women, between siblings of the same mother and between maternal uncles and their sisters' children (Geisler et al., 1985: 4). In the past, young men performed agricultural work (bride service) for their prospective in-laws and resided with them for many years until finally establishing their own domicile among them. Geisler (Ibid.) continues:

This didn't constitute matriarchy but it did mean that women were surrounded by a group of supportive kin and that they had access to such resources as land and labour (that of their sons in-law, brothers if not their husbands) and played an important part in resource allocation and decision making.

When the patrilineal Luba people conquered the Proto-Bemba and imposed themselves on them, they adopted the matrilineal descent of the vanquished. In patrilineal and patrifocal tribes (societies where descent through the father is deemed to be stronger and influences the formation of residential units); women are detached from their own kin and are dependent on their husbands and in-laws for access to resources. Such patrilineal system articulates with capitalist production relations with fewer contradictions than does a matrilineal system. Men are able to utilize the labour of wives and children in order to build up individual estates though at the same time share resources and labour with paternal relatives.

The Bemba people practice shifting cultivation (*chitemene system*) using simple agricultural tools in the name of an axe and a hoe. The sexual division of labour is quite rigid among them. Although men work more in the fields during peak agricultural season than women, the total female work-day is longer than that for men and it is also more constant throughout the year. Much of the women's labour time is spent in food preparation. The Mambwe (a patrifocal tribe on the north-eastern border of Bemba land) instead practice permanent cultivation with ox-drawn ploughs handled exclusively by men. Thus female labour is not as important in agricultural production as it is among the Bemba. Moreover, there are no rigid sexual divisions of labour among the Mambwe (Richards 1939).

The traditional and residential system of the Bemba people has been undermined but not completely destroyed by the penetration of other cultures. The old ties of kinship are now expressed in new social relations in diverse and contradictory ways. For instance, the fact that female divorcees or widows may reside with and under the protection of their maternal relative, gives the impression that the traditional value on maternal relationships continues to be relevant while, on the other hand, the labour of such adult, single women may be exploited by their entrepreneurial male relatives to facilitate individual male accumulation, though this may be glossed over as "traditional". The opening up of Bemba society today to the influence of other peoples has seen a shift from matrilineal to patrilineal tendencies. The role of the

father has become stronger over the years. In some Bemba areas, women move with the husband after marriage though the role of the mother's brother is still important while in other areas the inheritance is said to follow more and more the patrilineal pattern (Geisler et al., 1985:5).

All in all, women are freer in the matrilineal set up than in the patrilineal one. Richards (1956) argues that Bemba women had high social status compared to women in patrilineal societies.

They could argue their own cases in court break their marriages with relative ease and were valued because they were central to creation of new lines of descent and residential units. At the same time, however, men were dominant in Bemba society. The *cisungu* (young woman's initiation) ceremony served to resolve the contradiction of matrilineal society "in which men are dominant but the line goes through women", by sacralising a girl's reproductive powers.

4.1.2 Indications of High Status of the Woman in Bemba Cosmology

The woman features prominently in Bemba cosmology. According to Hinfelaar (1994:1), the world view that people hold is definitely connected to the surroundings in which they live. The Bemba speaking people of Zambia inhabit a high plateau in Central Africa comprising of extensive woodlands and shallow marshes. It was an area through which, for centuries, Bantu pastoralists and agriculturalists trekked on their way to greener pastures. The yearning for a better future was exacerbated by the arrival of fresh waves of immigrants who forced those before them to move onwards. Thus the notion of life as a perpetual journey became deeply ingrained in people's world view.

The high plateau is surrounded by escarpments to the north, east and west. These points of the compass also have special significance in the cosmology of the people. During the heavy rainy season from November to April, the region serves as a saucer-like catchment that feeds perennial rivers flowing to both the Indian and Atlantic oceans. Consequently, in the cosmological mind-set of the people, the land is seen as an open womb that waits for the divine rains so as to become fertile.

From around the 15th century onwards, migrations had mainly come from the Lunda-Luba kingdoms in the west and had moved onwards to the east. This east-west orientation forms an important part of the girl's initiation ritual. In the decorated

house, the young woman has to face the East when standing on the floor paintings and is then taught the meaning of the four corners of the earth. The East signifies the future, hope, light and happiness. The High God is the divinity of the East, towards which the clan community moves during its pilgrimage on earth. The West is *Kola*, the country of origin, the past, the place of darkness and the fecund home of the founders of the clan, the ancient ancestors (*ifkolwe*). The initiate is told to stretch her arms outwards towards the north and the south. The spirits of the recently dead, the great grandparents (*imipashi*) are situated in the North and South. They occupy a position in the present, deep in the forest. The North and South also designate the collective presence of the guardians of the land, the spirits (*imilungu*) of the original inhabitants. Both North and South designate the ambivalent woodlands that surround the village of the clan community (Ibid, 1994: 3 and 5).

The transcendent beings have no partial gender but are complete; they possess both the male and female mode of being human. The pursuit of perfection consists in combining the male and female. During initiation rites, the young man was taught to reach out towards the cavity of the womb and the young woman towards the phallus. Transcendence, the ideal of perfection, was represented by a bored stone or the bead called *ubulungu* (divinity). The perfect state of the matrilineal village was seen as the husbands inside the rest-house (*mu nsaka*) surrounded by their wives near their homes. Access to the divinity travelled from the man, via his legal wife and then via the living dead and the ancestors (forbears) to God (See Appendix E).

Through their myths Bemba women relate that the Creator's gift of female sexuality to them goes together with three other presents: the ownership of the Seed (*Imbuto*), the trusteeship of the Sacred Hearth (*Ishiko*) and the knowledge of the Bored Stone (Ilibwe) as symbols of agriculture, domestic science and productivity. To the man, the Creator granted implements to protect his mate: the axe and the spear as symbols of his virility.

Separation from perfect transcendence is explained, through myths, in terms of man's disrespect of feminine sexuality. Hinfelaar (Ibid: 9) continues:

...“contempt of divine fecundity caused a rift between humans and the divine.” The way back to this fecundity could only occur through the return journey of the woman back to the Divine to beg for parenthood. This she does through her monthly period which is seen as her return to the transcendent. While menstruating she is seen to move away from human contact in the warm village towards the ... coldness of the surrounding forests. As the Divine has moved away from human intercourse, the woman now receives the gift of parenthood through the intercession of the forbears. In Bemba language the monthly period is referred to accordingly as *ukuyakumpepo* – to go to the coldness (of the forest).

During the initiation of the young man, it was said that he only managed to reach Transcendence by going to the threshold of the forest and boring with great patience a tunnel through a boulder (*ilibwe*). It signified that access to the Divine, to life, happiness and health for the community happened through marital intercourse, through the woman, who had to be approached with patience and reverence. This basic dogma caused the Bored Stone to become one of the main symbols of the traditional religion of the Bemba speaking peoples. Many of the caves on the plateau have paintings of bored stones. Originally an object of considerable technical advancement from the Late Stone Age and used by the original inhabitants of Zambia as a weight to their implements, the bored stone had become not only a sacred relic of the past but also a symbol of fecundity. It is one of the principal emblems in the initiation ceremony for the young woman. The culmination of the rite occurs when her fiancé, facing east and holding his bow over his shoulders shoots an arrow into the target (*ukulasaimbusa*) which is a painting of the Bored Stone on the Western wall of the house. Small bored stones of gem-like quality were and are worn by Bemba women as beads around the waist and other parts of the body. They are signs of the sacred blessings (Ibid.).

The stringing of beads is a symbolic act of parenthood and through it of immortality. The expression: “*katwishingandebutunga*” – “I wonder whether I will string beads” is uttered by a mother whose children continue dying and who fears not having any grand children. Access to transcendental parenthood, to immortality was through the woman. Like the earth, she possessed the seed in her. The way the earth tames the fierce sun at night by swallowing it, is the way the woman tames the fiery and wild character of the man into the service of production and reproduction. Among the

matrilineal peoples of the Central Plateau, descent was traced through the females. This was not necessarily based on any biological concept but on the religious belief that the couple had access to the ancestral spirits through marital intercourse and that the spirit of the maternal forbear was thought to quicken the child in its mother's womb. The central act of marital intercourse in the house-shrine was a prayer of which the woman was the main celebrant (Richards 1939: 34, 38 and 146).

4.1.3 The Threefold Religious Role of the Woman in Bemba Society

Hinfelaar (1994:12) states that women among the Proto-Bemba (before the coming of the Luba people) had three titles which emphasized their religious position, namely: *CibindawaNganda* (Enabler of domestic cult), *KabumbawaMapepo* (Initiator of public Worship) and *NacimbusawaCisungu* (Tutor of the Transcendent).

Just as God is the creator of everything (*Cibindauwapangafyonse*) so also is the married woman the maker and priestess of the home-shrine. She has the responsibility of finishing the construction of the mud and pole house by smearing clay on the inner walls and on the floor after which she constructs the family hearth by bringing small *mafwas* (small anthills) on which to balance her pots when cooking. Then she lights the sacred and undefiled fire by rubbing sticks. The circular hut was a symbol of her womb. *Inganda* designates the married woman as owner of the house as can be seen in the idiomatic expression, “*ubukosakanwatabutekanganda*” – a foul-mouthed husband cannot govern his house (wife).

During the day, the woman fetched clear water from a running stream while she kept the sacred fire burning. After sunset, her husband had to approach her home with reverence, leaving his tools, the axe and the spear, outside the door. In order to be granted the gift of new life, perfect understanding (*icumfwano*) had to exist between husband and wife. It had to be ascertained that neither had committed adultery nor even seen or touched the life-blood of another sexually active person (*ukusakanyaumulopa*). It was the wife who usually took charge of this mutual confession because for her, it was a matter of life and death. She could die as a result of either her misbehaviour (*ukufwaincentu*) or of the husband's misbehaviour (*ukufwaincila*) (Ibid: 14).

If she was not convinced of her husband's innocence, she had the right to refuse intercourse and demand that her husband pay a public visit to the local healer, who could be her paternal aunt or the village headman, her male relative. The sign of mutual trust and of access to the forbears was given by the woman who then poured water into her marriage vessel (*akalongo*) and put it on the sacred fire to warm the water. The heat was the symbol of the husband's part in the reproductive process. The marriage vessel had been given to the wife by her *nacimbusa* (tutor) after initiation into marriage. When the water was warm, both husband and wife would hold the vessel (*ukutekainongo*) and cleanse each other while invoking the Divine power who had given them the gift of life.

After marital union, the thanksgiving meal called *ubwalibwacitemwiko* would follow. It was prepared by the wife using the same clear water drawn from the running stream. In the morning the wife would gather the ashes of the sacred fire, face the rising sun, throw the ashes to the West while praying: *LesaatuposakuKabanga; nombatwapepaImilunguyesu* – “The High God has fixed our attention towards the East, but presently we pay homage to our divinities.”

After giving birth, the wife had to call her *nacimbusa* for another religious ritual. In the presence of her tutor, the wife rubbed her marriage vessel over the marriage mat while calling on forbears by name. The name being pronounced at the moment the vessel got stuck against the reeds of the mat was the name given to the newly born child. The *nacimbusa* blessed the baby by tying a string of tinny white beads around the baby's arm. To the mother, she gave a small gourd (*ulukombo*), symbolizing the womb and the home of the child's protective shade called the guardian spirit. When the child became dangerously ill, offerings of white beads and flour would be placed in the gourd while the mother prayed to the guardian spirit of her child (Etienne, 1948).

The second religious role of a married Bemba woman was the *Kabumbawamapepo* (Initiator of worship). *Kabumba* means the potter or the creator. God is called *Kabumba*. His work is associated with that of the women who make clay pots, clay homes and clay figurines for the initiation rites.

This area of women's religious role was situated in the field, outside the home. This neutral zone on the verge of human habitation was believed to be occupied by the

spirits of immediate forbears while more nebulous divinities inhabited exotic places deep in the forests such as water falls, groves, high tress and grottos. The presence of the family spirits was symbolized by a tiny hut called *ulufuba* built on the edge of the village, behind the home-shrine. It was the woman's task to take small offerings to the family shrine to obtain health and life from the forbears.

The layout of the home with the husband in the centre of the village in the men's shelter (*mu nsaka*) and the woman in between the house-shrine (*inganda*) and the family spirits (*mu lufuba*), designated cosmologically her role as mediator between the living and the dead, between the warm and the cold areas of the village community (See Appendix E). This was a matrilineal and uxorilocal (wife-centred) community where the young man came to live with the family of his wife and so was regarded as a foreigner who had little knowledge of the local divinities and their territorial cults. It was a society where successive waves of immigrants conquered and married the local women who remembered the places and the names of the territorial cults. After a fierce war, women survived. In times of calamities such as drought or epidemic, the position of conquerors became precarious. Theses disasters were regarded as signs of the displeasure of the collective spirits of original inhabitants (*bashimatongwa*) who had to be placated. Access to them was only possible through the surviving women of the vanquished who were usually incorporated as lesser wives in the households of the new overlords.

The third religious role of the Bemba woman was the *NacimbusawaCisungu* (Tutor of the Transcendent). The word *icisungu* is a short form for the noun *icisungusho* (a miraculous or startling event). *Ukuwaicisungu* or *ukuwilwaicisungusho* – to have one's first menstruation – was celebrated as a wondrous thing that befell a young woman. She received the gift of her sexuality from the transcendent. Initiation ceremonies symbolized the arduous responsibility of coaxing the miraculous gift of generating new life out of the peripheral zone of the cold forest into the security and warmth of the village. The young woman was on a journey from the forest into the village with the *nacimbusa* as her tutor.

Imbusa means "things to be handed down". Life has to be handed down from one generation to the next. It is like a string of beads (Richards, 1959:59). The status of the *nacimbusa* (the mother of the things to be handed down) was very high. She was recruited from original inhabitants and was well versed in the ritual of the territory.

She became the young woman's counsellor at initiation and remained so until after the birth of her third or fourth child. She kept an eye on the young couple's moral behaviour and made sure that their union was in accordance with customary teaching. She would not allow the young man to endanger in any way the wondrous but precarious gift of her protégé's procreative power. She could pass on her role to a young woman she selected, one who had shown great aptitude in grasping the deeper meanings of the initiation emblems (*imbusa*). She would call her to assist her on all possible occasions and eventually she would pass on to her the sacred emblems and the titles of her predecessors (Etienne, 1948: 15 and 27).

4.1.4 A Historical Sketch of the Woman's Status in Bemba Society and in Zambia

The different epochs in the history of Bemba society have affected the Bemba culture for better and for worse. In today's culture of the Bemba and of the Zambian people, there are traces of the influence of the original inhabitants of the Central plateau (*bashimatongwa*). As already pointed out, the use and value of bored stones date back to the Stone Age people. A lot of what has been said in the foregoing three sections about the position of the woman is associated with the Proto-Bemba people (6th - 17th century A.D). The coming of the Luba people and their lordship over the Proto-Bemba had a telling effect on the status of Bemba women and so were the coming of European missionaries and colonialists. The First and Second Zambian Republics witnessed a further diminution of the influence of Bemba women and Zambian women in general. It is only the democratization and economic boom associated with the Third Zambian Republic that has seen an upward graph in the status of Zambian women.

Traditionally the Proto-Bemba, as mentioned already, adhered to a house-religion where the married woman was in charge of all domestic ritual. She led her family in the veneration of the recently dead clan members and the public remembrance services to the ancient guardians of the land. Moreover, the knowledge of the community's religious heritage plus the guidelines for worshipping the Transcendent was passed on by the women during the ceremonies of initiation. However, in the 17th and 18th centuries the older family cult had slowly to give way to a more centralized and public worship that reached its zenith during the paramountcy of the BenaNgandu Dynasty. Hinfelaar (1994: X, 21) states:

Chiefs managed to manipulate religion to enhance their own power. The focus shifted from the house-shrine attended by the housewife to the court cult where the royal relics were venerated along with other magical objects... The royal and sacred authority was based on the Luba-Lunda dogma that granted supernatural powers over land to chiefs and these powers had been vested in moveable objects rather than territorial shrines.

The headman was now centrally appointed and saw to it that ritual was observed such as nobody sowing before the principal Mukabenye had sown seed in the field of Paramount Chief Chitimukulu. Mukabenye (an elderly lady who was believed to be married to the chief's relics and who was not allowed to have sex with any person) became the principal owner of the seed, the divine gift of fecundity and the guardian of the royal hearth. Among the Proto-Bembas, the married woman was believed to be the link of fecundity with the forbears located in the neutral zone of the forest and as such she had a firm grip on the sexual behaviour of her husband. However, with the coming of the Lubaparamountcy, it was them who claimed to have immediate access to divinity through their noble ancestors of the past. They acquired a certain sexual dominance over the whole society.

The frantic quest for ivory, intertribal warfare and the slave trade were the three great scourges of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries in Africa. They also caused havoc among the peoples of the Central plateau, not least among the women. In the time of the Portuguese traders, women were regarded as sturdy and docile porters and often better than men. Burdened by heavy loads and often with babies at the breast or trailing children, they could not escape so easily. In the intertribal conquest, they had become the spoils of war and were symbols of wealth to the warlords. They young women were kept as concubines and their elder sisters or mothers were often called *ifimbala* (left overs). They could be exchanged as gifts, sold, maimed or murdered at the whim of their masters (Swann, 1910). In the old myths, suffering had been attributed to disrespect by humans for God's gift of sexuality but during such turbulent times, the blame was increasingly put on women. In the body of narratives as told at the chief's court, there are stories like that of a woman lifting her pounding stick too high out of pride and so hitting God thereby causing separation between heaven and earth; between the divine and human reality.

The Bemba families had been traditionally monogamous but with the coming of the Luba overlords, their continuous raiding provided them with many concubines. The

legal wives pointed out to their husbands that increased mortality among mothers and babies was most probably due to their adulterous behaviour. Eventually a compromise was reached. The concubines were taken as secondary wives and incorporated into the village community. After relations with the junior wives, the husband could only renew conjugal love with the legal wife after the purification ceremony by her. This kind of polygamy rendered the first wife (*kapundu*) powerful as enabler of the domestic cult. The secondary wives lost a great deal of their religious and social status. This caused a kind of stratification among the Bemba women.

The role of women as initiators of public worship became dependent on the veneration of relics at the chief's court. Before, the housewife made sure that first fruits were offered to the spirits at the beginning of the harvest season (*ukuposela*). With the ascendancy of the paramountcy, commoners were forbidden to perform this ceremony before it had taken place at the court. Consequently, the veneration of territorial divinities went underground and became a remarkable source of opposition against the paramount's tendencies to dictatorship. The public role of women in religious worship became severely diminished (Hinfelaar, 1994:31).

There is remarkable disparity between the clan-narratives and the myths of creation of the Proto-Bantu groups, and the royal charter of the BenaNgandu Dynasty. The clan charters stress the equality between woman and man. The royal charter starts with the divine origin of the three noble sons from a heavenly mother, MumbiMukasaLiulu. It mentions women only after the nobles had settled among a matrilineal people. The main purpose of the royal charter seems to establish heavenly ancestry for the paramount chiefs while the clan stories describe totemic identity and mutual relationships.

There are noticeable differences between royal initiation ceremonies and those performed in the villages away from the chief's palace. The Proto-Bemba ceremonies have a greater involvement of the young man and omit dances that concern the paramountcy. The imposition of Royal ceremonial on village religion, therefore, underlines the remark of Roberts (1973) that "the growth of Bemba kingship led to an unusual elaboration of the girls' puberty rites." The meaning and aim of the initiation also changed with the coming of the Luba overlords. The ceremonies were initially called *ukwingishaicisungu*, that is, "to bring the wondrous

event of the young woman's maturity from the hands of the cold forbears into the warmth of the village community". Later it came to be known as *ukucindilaicisungu*, that is, "to celebrate the entrance of the girl into womanhood and teach her appropriate behaviour".

While the ancient rites were mainly concerned with the religious and cosmological education of the novice, the court ceremonial aimed more at *umucinshi* (reverence) for and submission of the young woman to her future husband. Soon the Luba overlords saw to it that the main Nacimbusa belonged to the ruling family of the BenaNgandu. Often these princesses (banacimbusa) delegated all other power to their husbands in order to oversee the initiation ceremonial of a certain region. The original nacimbusa became second in command and was given the title Nakalamba (the elder). As representative of the original inhabitants, she reminded the initiate of local custom (Hinfelaar, 1994:33).

The royal initiation ritual prepared the initiates for marital service to the nobles and possible incorporation into the household of the chief when the young woman happened to be exceptionally beautiful.

The first Christian missionaries arrived towards the end of the 19th century. How did the coming of Christianity impact on the status of women in Bemba society? The common people regarded the European missionaries as liberators who by their medical and social work seemed to have preferential regard for the poor (mostly women and children) and those who suffered at the hands of cruel traditional leaders. Women had intuitively accepted them as allies in their struggle to restore the house-cult, the family spirits and the guardians of the land. They incorporated the message of missionaries into the already existing world view of theirs.

The coming of protestant missionaries from Malawi, the East (where LuceleNganga – a light envoy and healer - was believed would come from) might have facilitated the acceptance of the rather patriarchal ideology of European Protestantism among the people of Chinsali. The Presbyterian missionaries laid great stress on education of young men. They saw economic progress as a priority. Roman Catholicism was introduced into the heart of Bemba-land where the cruelty of the paramountcy and the natural calamities had made the original inhabitants to turn to their religion for solutions. The catholic dogma on Mary sunk well among the oppressed women and the rosary (a string of beads) was incorporated in traditional religion. The missionaries' insistence on monogamy strengthened the hand of women. Women

hailed missionaries who would rebuke adulterers and refuse Holy Communion to polygamists; who freed slave girls and sent them to school. Though they could not understand their celibate lifestyle, they began to realize that a new era of sexual behaviour had dawned (Garvey, 1974).

However, from the 1920s to the 1950s, the sacred position of women came under severe attack. Women experienced increasing difficulties with the further demands of Christianity. Hinfelaar (1994: 63, 65-66) observes:

In the missionary premarital instructions, the husband was the *mutwewanganda* (head of the family), *mukalambawamucupo* (the one in charge of the marital act)... Women lost status as initiators of public worship because this got transferred to missionaries. Moreover, their filial duty to venerate their forbears was misunderstood as idolatry by missionaries. The *cisungu* ceremony was called pagan and evil and therefore to be discouraged.

This is what triggered the religious protests of the 1950s. Because of her bitter family background, Alice Lenshina, of Chinsali, discarded the belief in the ancestors and accepted Jesus as her brother and spouse. She taught that access to the Christian transcendent was possible for a lawfully married woman through proper marital relations with her husband. She and her followers broke away from the protestant mission at Lubwa and became known as Lumpa Church. A certain Emilio Mulolani, of Luwingu, a former Catholic seminarian and a fervent lay preacher, started propagating teachings on family life that attracted many women. This was the beginning of another independent church called MutimawaYesu (Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus).

The response of the mainline churches to the establishment of independent churches was the encouragement of more formation and participation of the laity especially women. From the first arrival of the missionaries, the transmission of the Christian message had been firmly kept in the hands of the male church leaders. With the enormous growth of urbanization, women increasingly offered services for the task. The chance of women accessing western education also increased. In any case, many women considered the religious and moral instructions of the churches and schools as inadequate and continued sending their children back to their villages unobtrusively in order to be initiated. However, this was not any longer done to teach girls to become initiators of domestic and public worship but rather to ground them in obedient reverence to future husbands, parents and in-laws (Ibid.).

The British South Africa Company (BSA) reached the Central plateau from the south at the close of the 19th century. For economic interests, the BSA Company had Northern Rhodesia declared a British Protectorate in 1924. After the discovery of lucrative minerals, the international focus moved from the ancient trade route in the north to the central part of the Protectorate called the Copper belt. One result of the discovery was the tightening of colonial control. The years of Indirect Rule (1925-1950) were a period of rapid social change which marked a slow decline in the religious status of Bemba speaking women. Coming from a class-conscious society like the Britain of the 1920s, the Englishmen of middle class background easily saw parallels in the chief-commoner structure of tribal society that they found among the Bemba.

Migrant labour to the copper mines took away many of the able-bodied men, leaving their wives at home in the villages. It was difficult for the women to join their husbands in the work camps without a marriage certificate (*umucato*) from the Native Authority and even with that they could only stay with them for a limited period. This increased the workload of rural women considerably (Richards, 1939: 104). What struck the women was the cultural-religious decline of the home-shrine. They saw modern developments as giving the husbands the position of wage earners, and according to the Bible the position of the heads of the household (Eph.5:22), while causing them to be absent from home most of the time. This paved way for unattached women to drift illegally into the towns. They became known as *bakapenta* because they were painting their lips or *bacilende* (those who wonder around).

After the abolition of the unpopular marriage certificate law, many families settled permanently in mining compounds in box-like houses. In the villages, colonial authorities insisted on the construction of square houses. This architectural change robbed the home-shrine some of its significance as the symbol of the womb. In the pluriform society, there was temptation of forgetting the sanctions of the village community against mixing parental fluids especially on the part of men-workers. The kitchen was increasingly regarded as the domain of the women rather than the main house and all domestic ritual seemed to have lost its religious flair. Some customs had to compete with the rules of science and hygiene as taught at school while others were shrugged off as irrelevant taboos (Hinfelaar, 1994: 57 and 64).

Failure to carry out traditional cleansing rituals caused considerable mental anguish among the married women that sometimes led to insanity and even suicide (Brelsford, 1950:46). The immediate consequence of overturning the moral dogma of not mixing parental fluids was that married women were deprived of an important sanction that held the matrilineal village community reasonably united. Women thus increasingly resorted to magic (*ifishimba*) and amulets to protect themselves against rivals and against fatal consequences of illicit love affairs of their husbands. Many fell victim to *ingulu* (spirit possession) and saw the flourishing of metropolitan *ngangas* (witch doctors).

How have women fared in nation-building since Zambia's independence in 1964? The researcher first looked at the place of Zambian women in the first two republics under the presidency of Kaunda. As in many parts of Africa, Zambia's struggle for independence was a task undertaken by the young men as they were the ones with the education needed for the work. In their struggle they bypassed the chiefs who were the traditional authority in the domestic area. Ideologically, to Bemba understanding, this gave the ascendancy to the self-made freedom loving young men over the traditional bearers of this matrilineal culture.

The philosophy of humanism which the new nation and the ruling party adopted had many tenets which appeared to rest on the bedrock of Traditional Religion. However, certain statements sounded strange to the people, especially to women. In his speech to introduce humanism, Kaunda (1967) said: "...the sacredness of the land could only be preserved if it was held by the state for the good of all". Before, the legitimacy of access to the land was always connected with the sacred care of women and children. It was felt that through the ideology of humanism, the new nation, as successor of the colonial administration had now appropriated total ownership of the land within the mind-set of western concepts. Land was now seen as property and a possible source of investment and not as a sacred trust that presupposed the parental care of its inhabitants. Whatever the merits of the ideology of the new government, it was imposed on the women by a group of young men. By assuming the task of teaching humanism to the masses, the young men now seemed to take precedence over chiefs and religious leaders and acted as the mediators between the present and the future as expressed in the slogan: *kumuluniLesa, panshiniUNIP* (God rules heaven while UNIPrules Zambia) (Hinfelaar, 1994: 152-153).

To render the social services of the new government more effective, village regrouping was introduced which took little account of the traditional cosmology so necessary for the feeling of security especially among the women. The little square houses had to be built neatly in line along a public road and so near to each other that there was little privacy left. Within months of their formation, witchcraft accusations were rife and some of the households disappeared to the *mitanda* (the grass shelters in the fields). The contributions made by the women during the independence struggle were duly recognized as significant (Kaunda, 1975). However, humanism was devised by a group of European and African young men and the women were never fully integrated into its vision of the nation.

Rapid economic growth caused by the high demand for copper, on the world market, had an adverse effect on the position of the women in society. The demand for labour in the mines and the sheer attraction of Western modernity caused the men to flock to the urban areas. The big number of women who remained in the villages was burdened with the task of food production and caring single-handedly for the children and elderly and so had neither the time nor the means to contribute to the young nation's culture. Dumont (1980:87) writes:

The poorest person in Zambia is the peasant woman. She is the true proletariat. She is the most forgotten person in a society which is supposed to be a man centred society.

The plight of urban women, whether married or not was no less unenviable. Cut off from the emotional support afforded by the extended family, their anxieties were to be mostly of a psychological nature. Urbanization led to an increase in the number of unwed mothers with single-headed households which were a new phenomenon in African society. Such independent women were regarded with suspicion and occupied only an ambiguous position in a society that tended to blame them for its failings and ills (Schuster, 1979:50).

Urbanization also led to overcrowding with often two or three families in one small house. Under such conditions domestic ritual became almost impossible. The menfolk often came home late, sometimes when the women and children were already asleep. Insufficient blessings and rituals before and after giving birth which had been so customary led to insecurity of many women in their marriage and to the consequent resorting to love potions and charms to ensure on-going fertility and

loving attention from their husbands. The husband as the new *umutwenacibindawanganda* (head and master of the household), had somehow acquired the right to initiate and regulate the marriage act. The woman's consent to the act was now seen as her debt to be given to her husband. Nevertheless, women held tenaciously to the traditional ideal of *icumfwano* (mutual consent) as the main condition of a perfect and sacred union. They argued that, with the help of the differently coloured beads of the nuptial girdle (*cisaasa*), the calculation of the fertile period was a private and wholly feminine matter.

The Bemba practice of *ubupyani* (inheritance and succession) has caused untold misery to many women. The custom is based on the belief that the spirit of the deceased person had been so united with its marriage partner that it lingered on after death and would cause harm to whoever touched the surviving spouse. The way to cleanse or free the surviving spouse was for him or her to have sexual intercourse with a near relative of the deceased. The ritual intercourse had been condemned by all mainline churches as adultery. So alternative rituals were devised among which was the return of the deceased's personal belongings to the family of origin. The issue became more complicated with the coming of private property and transfer of centralized power. Originally the term "*ubupyani*" might have had the positive meaning of succession with certain ritual and moral obligations but later it came to also signify the inheritance of material goods and a privileged status. Of late, it has referred to the way the deceased's family arrogates to itself all the rights to the deceased person's property, savings and pension. They invoke *ulutambi* (tradition) to strip the home of the widow and her children from all possessions. If the widow refuses to hand them over or involves the lawyer or the will, they refuse to perform the cleansing rituals on her and even accuse her of having killed their relative. The eventual, not after a big battle of lobbying by women movements, protection of the widow and her orphaned children in form of legislation in parliament has not been enough to change the attitude of many men chauvinists but has been a big step in the right direction. One consequence of the controversial law is that many men fear to be poisoned by their wives because of their property while many young women refrain from marriage and prefer to head single-parent households which seem to give them more rights and freedom (Njeleka, 1983).

The title “*nacimbusa*” has gradually lost its religious significance and has come to be translated as traditional midwife or birth attendant. Tutorship towards the transcendence is now firmly in the hands of male church leaders, be they bishops, priests, reverends, pastors or evangelists. The traditional instructions to prepare young people for the sacred task of parenthood are, in urban areas, now known as “kitchen parties”. They are directed at girls and are at best limited to emblems that explain the woman’s domestic, wifely, maternal and material duties with little stress on privileges, status or rights. The modern puberty ceremony is no longer valued by many young women who wonder why they and not also young men should be taught and initiated. On the other hand, it is widely held by men that it is the duty of the women and not men to keep themselves undefiled and blameless (Moyo, 1979).

The onset of the Third Republic in 1991 brought a lot of hope to many Zambians. The then new government of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) set off to open up the Zambian society, to liberalize not only the politics of the country but the economic and social aspects of the nation. Although the MMD did not honour all their promises, their philosophy and approach to public life inspired many nationals to become masters of their destiny.

In order to acquire a voice so as to promote their economic, social and spiritual roles in the new society, women all over the country have come together, mostly in NGOs. This has been an agonizingly slow process, often hampered by internal strife, illiteracy, misunderstandings, scarcity of funds and an apparent lack of support from stakeholders like churches and the government. Moreover, illegitimate pregnancies and prostitution, often caused by married “sugar daddies” have become the order of the day. Abortion, seen as a solution to hide one’s immoral behaviour, has been on the rise. Sexually transmitted diseases with their culmination in the arrival of HIV and AIDS on the Zambian scene have had a telling toll on the life and status of women. It is imaginable how depressing these social ills of modern society are to married women, who have always feared and regarded extramarital affairs as the possible cause of death and misery in society.

Notwithstanding the rising sexual immorality, catholic and protestant women alike have continued to take part in the day to day affairs of their church communities. On occasions they don the colourful uniforms of their different organizations, they care for the sick and the aged. Whenever allowed, they take responsibility for transmitting

sacred tradition. Their status has been rising steadily and through their movements they have continued to be more articulate (Gerovac, 1995:50).

Although gender based violence against women today seems to be the greatest threat to the welfare of women in the Zambian society, it is more of a reaction to the emancipation of women rather than an independent factor. Man's ego has increasingly come under intense attack at the steady strides women are making in the Zambian society economically, socially and politically. Moreover, there is more consciousness and reporting of injustices perpetrated against women than before. If the overtures of the Patriotic Front government to women are anything to go by, the women are regaining their rightful position in the Zambian society.

4.2 BEMBA COMMUNICATION CULTURE

4.2.1 Bemba Communication Media

The methods of communication among the Bemba people include speaking, drumming, singing, dancing, proverbs and riddles. Maxwell (1983:1) has done a very deep research on this asserting that the Bemba culture is an oral one whereby memory plays an important aspect. The spoken word is of its nature more dynamic, emotional and personal than the written word. On sending messages to people at a distance through drumming, Maxwell (1983:3) writes:

The fact that Bemba specialists make use of certain drums like *umondo* and *ulunkumbias* acoustic speech surrogates underscores the tonal quality of their language. The drummers don't use a signal code but actually produce the sound of the language in a stylized form. They imitate words by reproducing tones and distinguish them by varying the pitch of the drums.

Besides transmitting signals, the drum is used by the Bemba at ceremonies and celebrations to entertain and educate. This is what Ong (1977:92) means when he says that the talking drum resonating and echoing through the Bemba area is a model of their noetic and oral life-word, drawing everything and everyone into an acoustic form for communication.

As regards the transmission of information and knowledge through singing, Maxwell (1983:3) hits the nail on the head when he says that a great deal of tribal communication is committed to the sung word. Music is a constitutive factor of all Bemba religious celebration and is at once a particular instance of intensified sound

and an almost irresistible invitation to communal involvement. Because of its power to inject the community into physical harmony with the rest of reality, music has become the primary and almost infallible medium of truth. In his phenomenology of sound, Ihde (1976: 158-159) argues:

Music has animmediacy for the listener who is dramatically engaged and participates bodily in its movement. It has a “demonic” quality and enchantment which calls upon one to dance. Music delivers its meaning more forcefully than the spoken word. Like language, music has its own grammar and logic and shares intentionality with human voices ...

Havelock (1982:202-203) makes an important addition on music when he writes that in the world of the Bemba, music in all of its vocal, instrumental and choreographic rhythms clearly meets the demands of acoustic memory and validation. According to Maxwell (1983:4) singing, drumming and dancing are musically reverberating devices employed by oral society to set knowledge to meter and enshrine wisdom in dramatic ritual representation. The Bemba use these devices as quasi-linguistic signifiers which are capable of communication at the highest level, with nuances, subtleties and refinement of thought. Through music Bemba moral codes are transmitted, history is remembered and tribal interaction is stimulated, women are rallied, personal grievances are publicized, social cohesion is promoted, laws are promulgated, political procedures are influenced, spiritual realities are conjured up, religious duties are discharged. Mapoma (1980:36) observes that music, the sound *par excellence*, ensures the continuity of Bemba tradition.

The other method of communication the Bemba language is known for is rhetoric. The Bemba have a conscious pride and love for their language and delight in mastering its poetic craft and verbal play. Lengthy oral verbalization is performed not analytically as done in literate cultures but with a formulaic flair and arabesque flamboyance. The Bemba have dialogical conventions, which ensure the interchange between speaker and listener, leaving no chance for a monologue or a “lecture.” Wherever a number features in a discussion, a speaker will not, for instance, say directly “five people were present” but will pose a question, “*abantubanga?* (indicating five with a closed fist) *fivebaliko!*” meaning, “how many people? Five were present!” (Maxwell, 1983:4). The Bemba language rebounds with idiophones, contributing to the dramatic rhythm which punctuates the relationship between the word and its referent. Nkandu (1981:18) gives an example of the

passive verb, *ukwisula*, “to be filled” that it is followed by *paa*, an idiophone intensifier which means “to the brim.” The speaker usually gestures with a flat palm covering the fist to complete the communication.

Maxwell (1983:5) makes an overstatement that Bembas are oral masters of “indirection and innuendo” whereby, in certain circumstances, speech is richer in hidden meanings and serves as a camouflage behind which thought hides; the interlocutor must be adept enough to detect its true face beneath expressions. They justify this in a saying: *icishumfwanshintutacikalakumubame* meaning “the person who is not clever enough to understand allusive speech should not sit at a meeting of elders.”

Labreque (1931) states that from their early days, Bemba children are schooled in the skills of orality. In the evening, around the fire, children play games with riddles and proverbs. One child would announce the first part of the riddle: *Co! Akapekashisula*, meaning, “what is a little basket that is never filled?” And the second child would acclaim: *Cise! Kutwi*, meaning “it is the ear.” The deep meaning of this riddle is that a person’s life is contained in the ear, the organ of truth and memory. Proverbs, *amapinda*, are also called *amanshoko*, meaning “circuitous speech“. The rhetorical purpose of a proverb is generally to supply comfortably traditional answers to recurrent ethical problems. It prescribes in clear and simple terms a course of action which conforms to the community’s values. Maxwell (1983:7) observes that in a culture that otherwise prizes publicity and sociality, the rhetorical art of concealing speech in proverbs and riddles has several purposes, one of which is to engage the interlocutors in active dialogue. According to Richards (1971:105), another purpose for concealing speech in proverbs and riddles is that it

...serves as a safeguard against publicizing information whose significance is privileged for a specialist elite. Royal councillors (*bakabilo*) are especially versed in allusive language. They sometimes use a remnant dialect of Luba so that passers-by may not overhear the affairs of state under discussion.

Milimo (1978:67) is equally right by asserting that circuitous speech may also underscore the grave importance of a message. It must be ruminated over before it can be assimilated. Because of the effort expended, the message will be retained more readily. Maxwell (1983:7) provides a deep insight regarding the fourth purpose of proverbs and riddles:

In religious matters, dissimulation is even more pronounced. The exposure of religious things somehow profanes and violates their sanctity. Modesty shrouds the sacred as it surrounds sex... For this reason, the Bemba in some ways prefer their religion uncontaminated by public explanation and kept a mystery, even to themselves... Symbols and rituals obviate literal meanings but at the same time they encourage and suggest meanings for the initiated, they withhold and forfeit interpretation from an outsider.

Bemba knowledge reverberates in its oral communication as a sort of echo system. Sound always socializes (Ong, 1971:284).

Having reviewed the literature that exposes the strengths of the Bemba traditional media of communication, let us now consider the weaknesses of these media. Ong (1967:22) makes a valid argument that besides being powerfully and personally dynamic; sound is also by nature evanescent. The tribal store of knowledge embodied in sound needs constant repetition for its survival. Information tends to be limited and scarce, sharing in the precariousness of its medium. Ong (1967: 24-25) continues:

Oral society becomes conservative as it jealously guards its traditions. It preserves them in formulaic patterns and suspiciously resists any originality which might interrupt continuous themes and burden the social memory... Oral knowledge then is relatively rigid, typical and concrete, both in its expression and conceptualization.

The Bemba device and constantly repeat fixed, often rhythmic sayings, proverbs, songs, riddles and fabulous narratives of concrete actions and persons. They don't choose to be imaginative in their concept and expression. Havelock (1978: 43, 113) contributes to the discussion on Bemba communication by claiming that ethical norms and cognitional principles are taught indirectly through the memorable examples of specific agents, acting in concrete times and places. Cultural ideals have to be expressed in symbols.

Maxwell (1983:9) sounds controversial by saying that answers to questions seem almost prefabricated. When the Bemba respond to cultural questions, they tend to speak for everyone to everyone about perspectives which every adult already knows and scarcely dares to question. When someone enquires about the reason behind this or that action, the shorthand response is *nintambi*, meaning, "it is our custom." In other words, "I am doing it because our ancestors did it."

4.2.2 Bemba Sources and Receivers of Communication

By the power of oral communication, authoritative speakers, the community of listeners and the traditional subject matter are all united in the event of sound. Knowledge becomes a social possession and the knower holds it in communal trust. Anyone with special knowledge in the community wields special power.

Boys and men acquire knowledge mostly in the village hut for men called *insaka* while girls and women acquire it at the informal female assembly for women called *icibwanse*. At these fora everyone speaks with the active participation of all others present, rejecting or corroborating what is said (Maxwell, 1983:11). Moreover, ceremonies, *insaka* and *icibwanse* were real schools where skills and information were transmitted to different age groups.

Bemba Communication Messages

The Bemba are a mythical people and their greatest myth (the Charter myth) is the story of their origins in present day Congo (Luba land), their great trek into present day Zambia and their eventual miraculous conquest of their current territory under Chitimukulu. Maxwell (1983:57) writes:

Myth narrates the actions of the heroic founders of the cosmos (the Whole) who in the very beginning established its principles and dynamics. Contemporary people, thus, can participate in those archetypal events at the cosmic foundations by a dramatic repetition of the myth...

It is this dramatic re-enactment of the myth that is called ritual and for the Bemba, the initiation ceremony (*icisungu*) is a series of rituals. *Icisungu* effectively incorporates the whole of Bemba belief, to which their notions of sexuality, authority and spirituality are cognate. It shares in and celebrates the Bemba ultimate religious concern – the continuation of human existence in communion with all else. As a rite of passage, *icisungu* initiates the young girls through the archetypal symbols of life and death, established in the myth charter, in order to give social form and meaning to their sexuality. The transformations induced in the candidates follow the classic pattern. They consist of rites of separation, transition and reincorporation.

The *cisungurite* draws on the episodes of the Charter myth whose themes relate to the dignity and duty of women in Bemba society. As Richards (1956: 164-65) rightly puts it,

...the special themes ritually enacted in *cisungu* are those reconciled in the charter myth: the sacredness of feminine sexuality, the centrality of matrilineal descent, the honour owed to seniority, the wisdom of listening to tradition, the fidelity in marriage, the purity of family life, the duty of wife and mother, the womanly responsibility for agriculture and the veneration due to chiefly spirits.

The contents of *cisungu* teachings recapitulate the ethical lessons already learnt by the girls while growing up in the village. The numerical chart of the specific morals ratified during the ceremony are: ten pure fire taboos, 19 social obligations for the husband and wife, three obligations to in-laws, ten domestic duties, seven Agricultural duties, seven maternal duties, three mother-daughter obligations, 12 sex and fertility rules, seven affirmations of royal power and nine general ethical principles.

Commenting on the transmission of ethics, Havelock (1978) overemphasizes the point by stating that the highly socialized and dramatized *cisungu* lessons inculcate a sense of propriety (*umucinshi*) what the Bemba society deems fitting as the oral ethical goal. According to him, there is no question of personal morality. The cultivation of personal moral virtue and performance of good deeds are not as desirable as adherence to public norms. According to Richards (1956:156), Bemba culture is a shame (*nsoni*) rather than a guilty society. “*Nsoni* is what the Bemba feel for misdeeds... Bemba behaviour is determined by taboo where the outer constraints of command are imposed by feelings of affection and fear.”

In the old days, *cisungu* lasted from six months to a year. However, the ceremony continues to wane because of the growth of literacy and industrialization. Ong (1967: 251) does not mince his words:

School learning for girls has become their new rite of passage where they are isolated from their families, achieve a new identity in a new group, learn an insiders' body of knowledge and assume new responsibilities in extra familiar society.

By reading and writing, the girls develop a deeper sense of selfhood and worth as persons which leaves little room for much of the male attitudes perpetuated by *cisungu*'s teaching on accepted sex roles.

As the researcher wraps up the review of the various writings on Bemba culture, he notices that there are many strengths in the Bemba communication system that have

been documented but equally there are some eye-brow raising limitations that have been brought to the fore, especially with regard to gender balance. He has discovered that there is very little literature on domestic violence among the Bemba people, a fact which could mean that this domestic violence has not been an issue in traditional society, whether rightly or wrongly.

CHAPTER FIVE:

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The study to establish whether communication is a factor in the perpetration and prevention of domestic violence against women among the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village culminated in a field research conducted from ninth to 27th October 2013. In this chapter the researcher presents the findings of the study which are divided into quantitative and qualitative data.

5.1 QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

From the mapping of the community under study the researcher got helpful statistics. The distribution of population in Mwamba's Village in terms of locality, age and sex was as indicated in the table below.

Fig. 1: Population Distribution of Mwamba's Village

Name of Sub-village	Below 18 years	18 years & above, not yet married		Currently or once married		No. of house-holds	Population
		Boys	Girls	Men	Women		
Chisutula	152	30	50	50	54	58	336
Kalonde	130	38	52	40	48	43	308
Mucilingwa	180	31	77	64	75	69	427
Mukabala	271	47	52	70	80	84	520
Mwamba I	200	70	80	61	67	65	478
Mwamba II	92	25	28	15	18	21	178
Tobo	110	34	48	33	41	40	266
Total	1,135	275	387	333	383	380	2,513

As pointed out in Chapter Two, the population under study was 2513 spread in seven sections (sub-villages). The researcher was interested in hearing from family men and women who either are currently married or have been married before. This category of 716 people (333 men and 383 women) was represented by a sample of 119 people of whom 90 participated in a questionnaire, 24 participated in the focus group discussions and five participated in in-depth interviews. The distribution of the respondents in the questionnaire in terms of residence, sex and age was as follows:

Fig. 2: Respondents' Distribution according to Residence, Sex and Age.

Name of Sub village	Sex	No. of Respondents per Age group				Sub total	Total
		20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	Above 49		
Chisutula	M	1	3	4	1	9	

	F	1	3	4	4	12	21
Kalonde	M		1	2	1	4	9
	F	1	2		2	5	
Mucilingwa	M		1	1	3	5	10
	F	2		2	1	5	
Mukabala	M	1	2	1	3	7	22
	F	2	4	2	7	15	
Mwamba I	M		1	3	2	6	8
	F			1	1	2	
Mwamba II	M			2	2	4	7
	F			2	1	3	
Tobo	M	1	2			3	13
	F		3	3	4	10	
Total		9	22	27	32	90	90

36 out of the 38 male respondents were currently married while only 37 out of the 52 female participants were in marriage. The 90 questionnaire respondents were distributed in terms of residence, sex and maximum education attained as illustrated in the table below.

Fig. 3: Respondents' Distribution according to Residence, Sex and Education background.

Name of Sub village	Sex	No. of Respondents per Education Level (Grade)				Sub total	Total
		Below 5	5 - 7	8 - 9	Above 9		
Chisutula	M	4	3	1	1	9	21
	F	7	5			12	
Kalonde	M	2	2			4	

	F	2	1	1	1	5	9
Mucilingwa	M	1	2		2	5	10
	F	3	1	1		5	
Mukabala	M	3	2	1	1	7	22
	F	5	6	1	3	15	
Mwamba I	M	1	3		2	6	8
	F	1	1			2	
Mwamba II	M	3			1	4	7
	F	2	1			3	
Tobo	M	1	2			3	13
	F	5	4		1	10	
Total		40	33	5	12	90	90

One out of the 38 male Questionnaire respondents was in formal employment (Agricultural Extension Officer) while the rest were peasant farmers and one of the 52 female respondents was in formal employment (teacher) while the other 51 were simple peasant farmers.

Having presented the demographic results of the quantitative aspect of the research, it is now opportune to look at the psychographic side of it. The questionnaire revealed a lot about the attitudes of the people of Mwamba's Village to domestic violence against women in Bemba society. The table below indicates the frequency of the three answers the respondents gave to the four questions concerning domestic injustice against women.

Fig.4: Perceptions of Domestic Injustice against Women

Statement	Perception Frequency			Total
	Men	Women	Both	
Between male and female members of a Bemba household, who work for more hours?	0 (0%)	90 (100%)	0 (0%)	90 (100%)
Between husband and wife, who has more powers over the use and	48 (53.3%)	12 (13.3%)	30 (33.3%)	90 (100%)

alienation of household goods?				
Between the man and the woman, who is more oppressed in marriage?	5 (5.56%)	76 (84.4%)	9 (10.0%)	90 (100%)
Between the man and the woman, who suffers more brutality at the hands of the spouse?	4 (4.44%)	81 (90.0%)	5 (5.56%)	90 (100%)

The messages that are communicated in Bemba culture reveal the relationship of the man to the woman at the domestic level. The table below shows the number of questionnaire respondents who agreed to the messages and those who did not.

Fig.5: Position of Respondents on Messages regarding Husband–Wife Status

Bemba Cultural Message on Husband-Wife Status	Number of Respondents		
	Agree	Disagree	Total
The man is the head of the household	89 (98.9%)	1 (1.11%)	90 (100%)
The man proposes marriage to the woman and divorces the woman	90 (100%)	0 (0%)	90 (100%)
The husband initiates the conjugal act rather than the wife	54 (63.5%)	31 (36.5%)	85 (100%)
The husband's adultery is more tolerable than the wife's	70 (77.8%)	20 (22.2%)	90 (100%)
When your wife makes a mistake, it's okay to discipline her by beating her	5 (5.74%)	82 (94.3%)	87 (100%)
The father has more authority over the children than the mother	67 (74.4%)	23 (25.6%)	90 (100%)

The questionnaire also brought to the surface the perceptions of the people regarding the correlation between Bemba communication culture and domestic violence against women. The table below illustrates this factor.

Fig. 6: Link between Bemba Culture and Domestic Violence against Women

Statement	Frequency	Percentage
Bemba communication culture contributes to domestic violence against women	35	38.9

Bemba communication culture fights against domestic violence against women	44	48.9
Some aspects of Bemba culture contribute to domestic violence while other aspects fight it	11	12.2
Total	90	100.0

The questionnaire respondents recommended the solutions to domestic violence against women as follows:

Fig. 7: Recommended Solutions to Domestic Violence against Women

Solutions	Frequency	Percentage
Spouses improving communication between themselves	29	32.20
Aggrieved spouse soliciting mediation of relatives or in-laws	7	7.78
Aggrieved spouse soliciting mediation of church authorities	3	3.33
Aggrieved spouse soliciting intervention of <i>ifimbusa</i>	18	20.00
Enlightening spouses on gender and human rights	26	28.90
Women engaging in income-generating activities	2	2.22
Victim having recourse to the police or to the courts of law	5	5.56
Total	90	100.00

5.2 QUALITATIVE RESULTS

Having brought to the fore the numerical findings of the study, the researcher now presents the qualitative aspects of it. He presents the results collected from the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews.

5.2.1 Data from Focus Group Discussions

The four discussions that the researcher organised and moderated revealed a lot of public perceptions, beliefs, feelings and attitudes of the study population with regard to Bemba communication culture vis-à-vis domestic violence against women.

The researcher heard from the first discussion that there is division of labour between men and women. The women with babies carry them on their backs to and from the fields while their husbands carry the tools. When cultivating, men go ahead to clear the bush and make tracks for the ridges (*ukusapika*) while women follow behind to finalise the ridging (*ukushikila*) and do the sowing and thereafter the weeding and harvesting. When doing the *chitemene*, men climb up and cut the tree branches while women follow behind gathering the branches in one place for onward burning. Two of the women discussants were quick to add that nowadays it is becoming a common phenomenon to see unmarried women cut trees, especially those trees that are small and low, for *chitemene* farming (Chimfwembe and Musonda, 23/10/2013). On their way back from the fields, the women carry on their heads big bunches of firewood or some agricultural produce while men carry the tools or big logs of firewood. Nguluta (23/10/2013) caused laughter when he intimated that if a man happened to carry a bunch of firewood or a sack of cassava, he would leave it at the outskirts of the village for fear of being laughed at. The wife would then go and collect it thereafter.

When they come back from the fields, the husband will retire to the *nsaka* (rest shelter) to wait for food and for bathing water thereafter or would decide to visit around the village to relax and drink some beer as the wife and the daughters sweep the house and the surroundings, go to the stream to draw water, wash the dishes and pound the cassava into flour for the meal. “*Namayoabombakawilamofyekabiliumwaumetabanakupitakukitchen*” (the woman’s work is from sunrise to sunset and the kitchen is out of bounds for men), the second discussion revealed. Asked as to what happens when the wife is sick and there are no children who are old enough to do domestic chores and to cook, the discussants were unanimous to say that the husband can cook as well as do all the needful at home in extraordinary circumstances.

Asked as to whether men and women in Bemba society enjoy the same status, the second focus group discussants observed that women are oppressed. At the domestic level, very few women can oppress their husbands because men are naturally physically stronger than women and so have the capacity to fight back.

Consequently, men take advantage of their physical strength to provoke women and to want to be treated as kings. They have even twisted the Bemba culture to suit their whims as evidenced by the saying: “*Ubucendebwamwaumetabutobang’anda*” (a man’s adulterous behaviour does not break marriage). Chisanga (23/10/2013) argued that this saying is not part of official Bemba instructions to the marrying couple. He cited the ritual of *akalongo* (the marriage vessel) as a traditional practice that acted as a check against the infidelity of both the husband and the wife and thus ensured marriage stability. The majority of the discussants were of the opinion that Bemba communication culture aims to bring harmony between the spouses and not to fuel oppression and so it is those men who are not properly initiated that turn out to be violent to their wives or indeed those couples that have thrown the instructions they were given to the wind: “*AmafundeyaCibembatayatitikisha, nicifyeifintuinonshitafyalipasauka. Takubakutinaumubiyo; nicilamuntunokoele*”. Agnes Chishimba (23/10/2013), on the other hand, felt that some aspects of culture are helpful while others contribute to the oppression of the woman in the home, an example of which is the wedding song to the bride: “*Samba umulumeobe we cinangwa*”; meaning “an uninitiated woman makes a useless wife, who does not wash her husband’s hands before a meal”. The discussion concluded that Bemba communication culture can, in fact, be used to fight domestic violence against women because most of the bad customs have given way to Christianity. The sifting of the traditional practices has resulted into the purification of the Bemba communication culture.

The third discussion pointed out infidelity and selfishness on the part of husbands as the main reasons for marital differences and violence: “*Iciletaicongomyendeleibikubaumeelyo no kusendaulupiyalonse, elyongaabwela mu kunwaasangaumunaniuubikabilialakalipa.*

Umukashingaayasukaifibininshibalatutana” (Bwalya, 25/10/2013). This is translated as: “the causes of problems are infidelity and abuse of family financial resources on the part of men such that when a man comes from a drinking spree, he expects to find a good meal at home. If he does not, he starts harassing the wife and when she hits back, a fight ensues.” For reconciliation to occur, the aggrieved spouse can seek the intervention of the marriage tutors (*ifimbusa*) to come and subject the offending

spouse to a refresher course or can seek the mediation of family elders, especially a grandparent, to come and talk to the offending spouse.

The discussants settled for dialogue as the best antidote for marriage differences and condemned wife beating as a way for a man to show his love for the wife as it was believed before: “*Namayoalingaukumuminakwishwi; ukulanshanyaekusumanokuwamyaapacibaubwafya.*

‘*Uushumaumwinamwakweninshitamutemwa*’ *ninsoseloya kale.*” Today many men are enlightened and are realising that wife battering is up to no good. Mwamba’s Village, the researcher learnt, has enjoyed an influx of organizations such as DAPP, World Vision and Caritas Kasama that are sensitizing both men and women on matters of gender and women empowerment. Kasonde (25/10/2013) observed that most of the men that are still perpetrating violence against their wives are those that shy away from such fora. In conclusion, the third focus group discussants were of the opinion that domestic violence against women was on the decrease in the village and partly attributed this to the efforts of the government that has stiffened the penalties in this regard.

5.2.2 Data from In-depth Interviews

The five interviewees gave an insider’s view of Mwamba’s Village: its social organization, its communication aspects and the status of the man and the woman. There are three levels of social organization. The chief and his court officials (who are mostly men) operate at the chiefdom level while the headman and his village committee (most of whom are men) operate at the village level and at the base of the pyramid is found the family with the father and mother as head and vice-head respectively.

The researcher heard that communication from the chief’s court to the villages in the chiefdom is mostly done through the messengers called *bakabilo* and *bakapaso* who are always men because they have to travel through the bush from one village to the other. Sometimes, the chief calls the village headmen to the palace to make some important communication to his chiefdom through them. In like manner, the passing on of information from the village to the palace is done by the headmen, by village committee members or by young energetic men trusted by the headman (Mulilo, 15/10/2013). News and announcements from the headman to the villagers and to the

nearby villages are conveyed by the Village Publicity Secretary who calls for a meeting, beats a drum called *imangu* or makes a loud and public announcement from a hill in the cool of the evening. The happenings in the village will come to the ears of the headman through the village committee members or through the visit of the concerned villager made to the headman. When it comes to marriage preparations and negotiations, the bridegroom's family will select a trustworthy man or woman (*shibukombe*) to be relaying information to the bride's family.

The messages communicated from the palace to the villages range from promulgation of laws to the chief's call for tribute or labour. The communication from the villages to the palace is mostly about the reports on the happenings in the villages such as announcement of funeral. The messages from the headman to the villagers are mostly development news and tasks such as the call for clearing of the road or for the making of bricks for a school project. The villagers engage the village authorities to inform them on some impending celebration like a wedding or to acquire a piece of land or for the settlement of a dispute (Michael Chishimba, 22/10/2013).

When it comes to the transmission of knowledge at family level, the parents feel it incumbent upon themselves to raise their children in keeping with the expectations of Bemba society. This they do by direct word of mouth, by telling fables and by their actions; by approving their behaviour and scolding. The mother is with the young children for a greater part of the day than the father. In the morning she goes with them to the fields or she leaves them at home with the older siblings only to re-join them in the afternoon as she performs household chores and prepares food for them. The father is more into adventurous work and away from home for a good part of the day. Thus the mother is more involved in the early education of the children but she will refer to her husband the difficult cases regarding the children's discipline.

When the children get into their teens, before and after puberty, separate education sets in. There are two main fora for instructions: the *insaka* for males and the kitchen for females. In the past, these two traditional institutions of learning used to be at the village level but today they have broken down to extended family or family level. In the *nsaka*, the father and other adult male relatives teach male children moral behaviour, culture and the skills proper to men. Equally in the kitchen, the mother and other adult female relatives teach female children. The father will usually leave

the task of educating his sons in matters of sex and any communication thereof to their grandfather and the mother will leave that to the grandmother of her daughters. If the father observed some strange behaviour in his daughter, he would tell the mother to follow it up and the mother would do the same in regard to her sons. “*Cilaletainsoniukufundaumukashana; tetiumwebeifingi,kwebanyina*” meaning “the father would feel shy to say much when correcting his daughter’s sexual behaviour; it would be better to do it through her mother” (Ibid.). The main mode of teaching at this level is the direct word of mouth, relating proverbs, stories, singing, dancing and practical demonstrations. While the girl child gets subjected to a few days’ intensive lessons led by a skilled woman called the *nacimbusa*, when she comes off age (*ukucindilwaicisungu*), the boy child does not undergo any official initiation. The climax of the Bemba traditional school comes at marriage when the young man and young woman who are marrying each other are first taught separately for a night and then taught together on the second night.

As regards communication and sharing of power between husband and wife, Mary Chishimba (22/10/2013) intimated: “*Umwaume e mutwewangandapantueuupa*” meaning “the husband is the head of the household; he has more authority than his wife by virtue of the fact that he initiates marriage”. Consequently, he is the one to initiate the sexual act, he has a final say over the number of children the couple should have and has powers to discipline an erring wife. The discipline can take the form of beating, temporary separation or even divorce. Illustrating the subservient role of a woman, Mary Chishimba brought in another Bemba saying: “*Umwanakashitalukacisumbe*” literally translated as “a woman cannot make the roof of the house” and figuratively rendered as “a woman cannot overrule a man. A woman cannot overlook her husband when deciding about children and about the goods of the household. A man has the final say over his children’s marriages and over acquisition, use and alienation of family property. While neither the man nor the woman is tolerated to insult the spouse, the man’s infidelity is more tolerated and is justified by the saying: “*Ubucendebwamwaumetabutobang’anda*” translated as “a man’s adulterous behaviour does not break marriage”.

Mulutula (23/10/2013) narrates that she differs with her husband on a weekly basis. She continues:

...whenever he comes back drunk, he demands good food, which he does not buy, failure to which he quarrels with me and often beats me. Whenever we sell our farm produce, he gets the money and spends it on beer. If I complain, he threatens me with violence. He has left to me the responsibility of providing for the needs of the children.

She says she has three children with him and has put up with such a situation for eight years. The situation only gets temporarily better when she reports him to church. Mwila (15/10/2013) cites her husband's infidelity and her denying him sex as the reasons for their marital quarrels and fights. She says she has reported the problem to her husband's elder brothers and mother but they have failed to prevail over him.

Michael Chishimba (22/10/2013) affirms that domestic violence is there in Mwamba's Village but attributes it to the break down in traditional norms. He is of the opinion that Bemba communication culture fights rather than fuels domestic violence against women and so does Mary Chishimba and Mulilo. Mwila and Mulutula, both of them women, hold that there are some aspects of Bemba culture that contribute to domestic violence against women.

CHAPTER SIX:

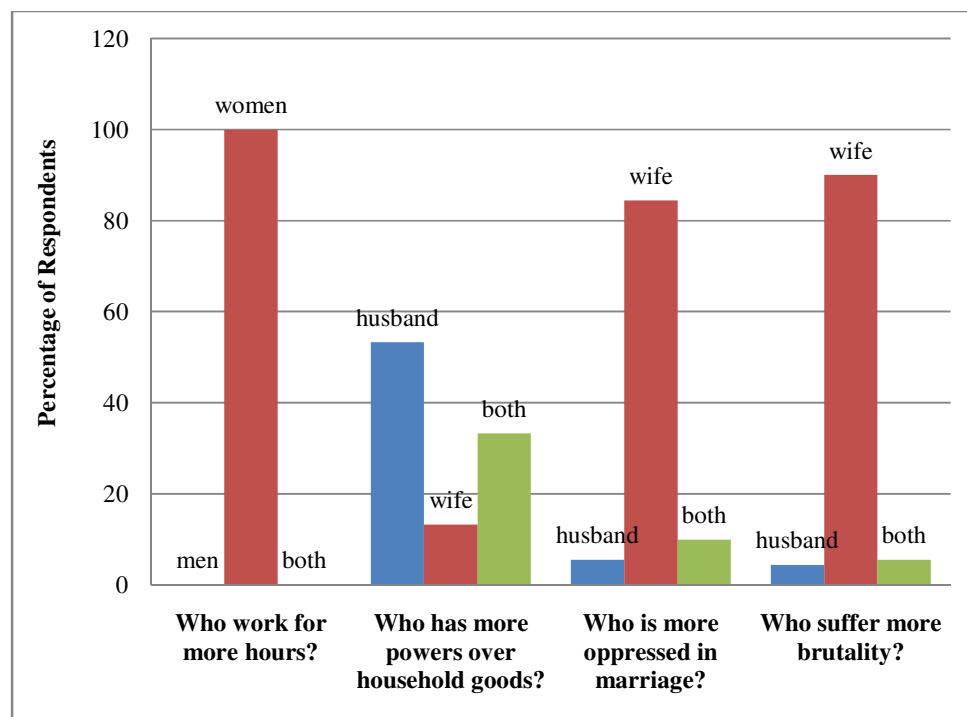
DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Having presented both the quantitative and qualitative results of the study, the researcher now takes a critical look at these results by analysing, interpreting and comparing them with the findings of other writers.

6.1 ANALYSIS OF QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Figure 4 in the previous chapter showed the perceptions of the questionnaire respondents concerning domestic injustice against women. The same information is illustrated in the bar chart below in form of percentages.

Fig. 8: Bar Graph on Perceptions of Domestic Injustice against Women

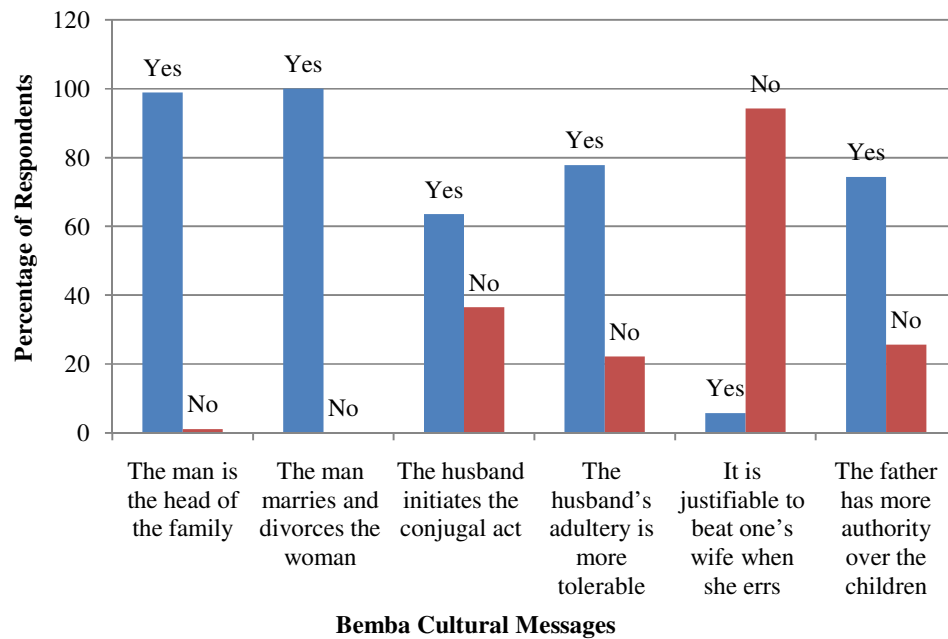


All the questionnaire respondents agreed that the female members of a Bemba family work for more hours than their male counterparts. 53.3 percent of the respondents said that men have more powers over the use and alienation of household goods while 33.3 percent felt that both have powers and only 13.3 percent were of the opinion that women have more power than men over family goods. From this study, it is clear that although women in a Bemba household work for more hours than the men folk, they are alienated from the fruits of their labour. The graph also shows that women are more oppressed than men in a Bemba marriage. 84.4 percent of the

respondents affirmed this position while 90percent indicated that women suffer brutality at the hands of their spouses.

With regard to the status of women in marriage, the graph below presents the information shown in figure 5 in a more picturesque way.

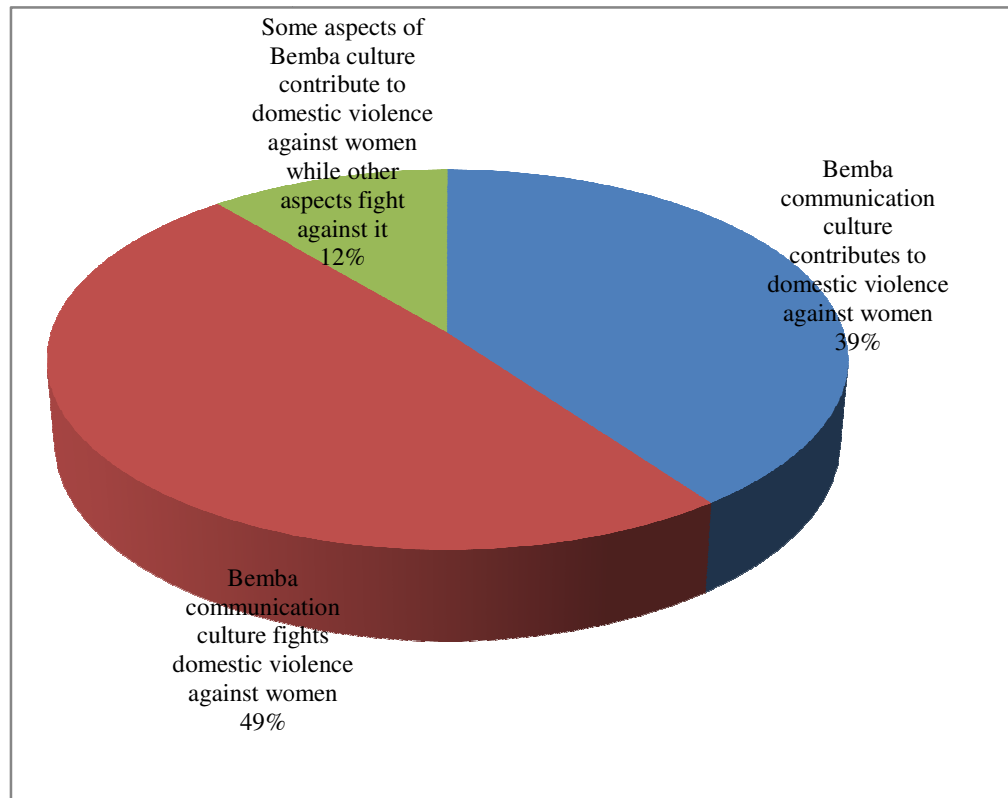
Fig. 9: Bar Graph on Husband-Wife Status



Almost all the respondents were happy with the Bemba communication message that the man is the head of the family. The wife/mother is the second in command and thus is not expected to overrule her spouse. In fact, all respondents were of one mind that in Bemba society, it is the man who takes the initiative of proposing marriage to the woman and as such he reserves the right to divorce her. By the same logic, 63.5percent of the respondents agreed that it is the “boss” to initiate the marital act when he wants it while 36.5percent said it is the wife because she is the one who knows the right time for her body and for the baby, if any. 77.8percent of the respondents, some women included, thought it is right to condone the husband’s adulterous behaviour rather than the wife’s. Only 22.2percent disagreed and called for fair play. Surprisingly, 94.3 percent of the respondents were against the Bemba message which encourages the husband to beat the wife as a means of disciplining her and of showing her love. Only 5.74percent approved of this tradition.

The respondents' views on the correlation between Bemba communication culture and domestic violence against women that were presented in fig. 6 are depicted in a pie chart as follows:

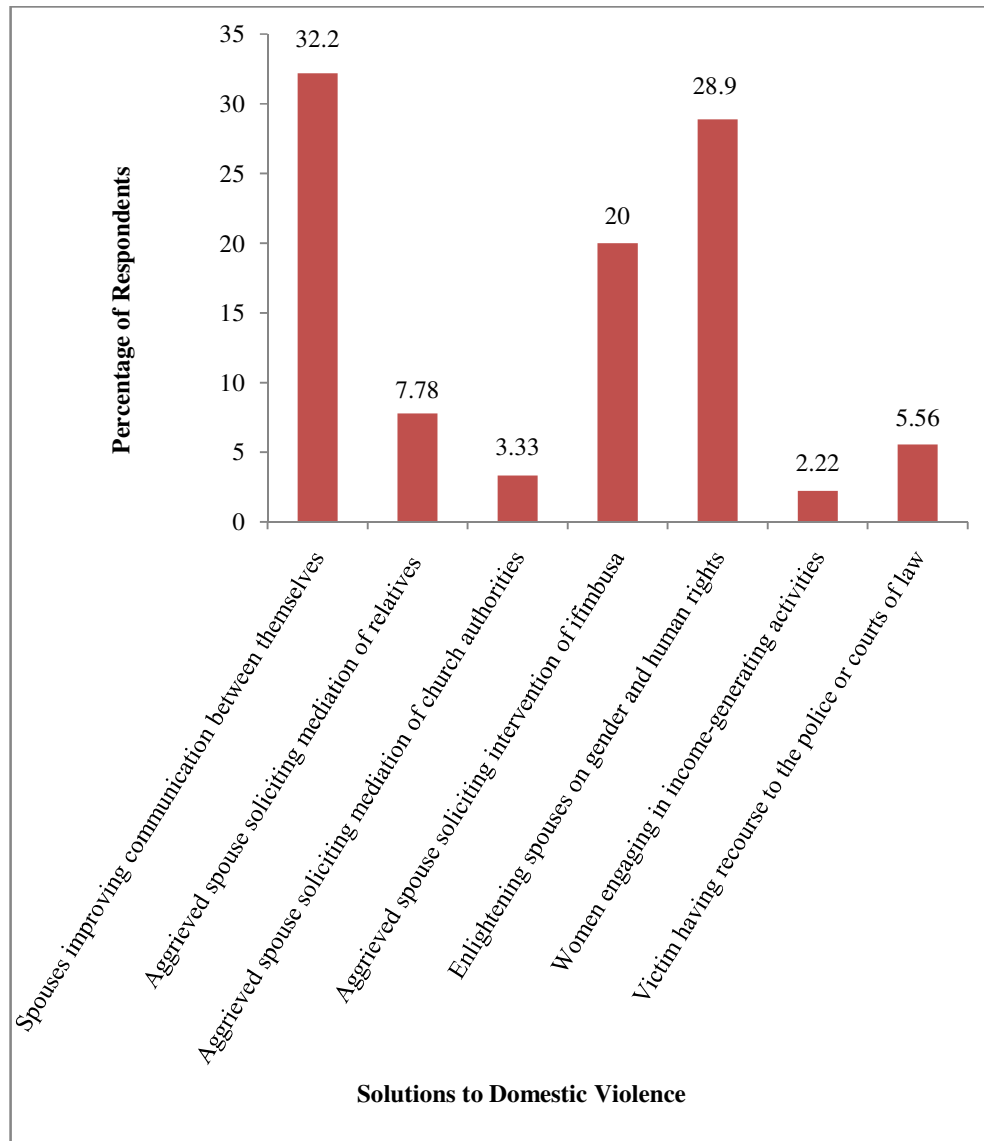
Fig. 10: Pie Chart on the link between Bemba Culture and Domestic Violence



39percent of the respondents were convinced that Bemba communication culture contributes to domestic violence against women while 49percent were opposed to this position and 12percent said that there are some aspects in Bemba culture that fuel domestic violence against women and other aspects that fight against it. Although most of the participants (90percent) in this study acknowledged the high incidence of domestic violence against women and connected it to many Bemba sayings, practices and way of life, they stopped short of saying that Bemba communication culture contributes to domestic violence against women. This could be attributed to the fact that most of the people in Chief Mwamba's Village are deeply immersed in their culture and extol it to the extent that they cannot make a very objective evaluation of it.

As presented in the last chapter, the respondents proposed various solutions to the issue of domestic violence against women. The graph below illustrates the percentages of respondents that advanced each of the indicated solutions.

Fig. 11: Bar Graph on Solutions to Domestic Violence



The biggest number of respondents (32.2percent) recommended the improvement of communication between the spouses as the best solution to domestic violence. They gave examples like learning to reason with one another, apologizing when one makes a mistake, talking issues over and planning together. 28.9percent felt very much indebted to the gender campaigns taking place in Mwamba's Village at the hands of nongovernmental organizations and churches and to the sensitization programmes on

radio and television. They testified that incidents of domestic violence against women in the Village have reduced thanks to these efforts. 20percent of the respondents went the traditional way of having the aggrieved spouse soliciting the help of traditional marriage tutors (*ifimbusa*) and a paltry 7.78percent talked of the mediation of relatives or in-laws. The traditional approaches to marriage conflicts (the last two mentioned above) have been overtaken by the modern approaches (the first two mentioned above). This could mean that because of the changing circumstances, the traditional solutions are becoming irrelevant. One female respondent lamented that she had reported her husband's irresponsible behaviour to the family of his relatives but they have not shown any interest to help.

After converting the quantitative data that was captured in the study from tables into charts and explaining it, the researcher now considers the factors that influenced the perceptions of the respondents by doing cross tabulations. The first task is to establish whether there is a link between the mass media accessibility of the respondents and their perception of the correlation between domestic violence against women and Bemba communication culture.

Fig. 12: Media accessibility x Domestic Violence Perception Cross Tabulation

Mass Media Accessibility of Respondents	Does Bemba Communication Culture contribute to Domestic Violence against Women?			Total
	Yes	To some extent	No	
Have neither a radio nor a Television set	7	2	21	30
Have a television set but no radio		1	1	2
Have a radio and mostly listen to Radio Mano	5	1	8	14
Have a radio and listen to Radio Mano and other stations	10	2	13	25
Have both a radio and a Television set and use them	13	5	1	19
Total	35	11	44	90

The table above shows that there is direct proportionality between mass media accessibility and the perception of the contribution of Bemba communication culture to domestic violence. As one moves down the table (as the respondents' usage of the

radio and television increases), one notices that the number of respondents who see Bemba culture as a driver of domestic violence (even to some extent) also increases. On the other hand, the number of respondents who feel Bemba culture fights rather than contributes to domestic violence reduces as the usage of mass media increases.

Using the communication theory, the explanation for the direct proportionality between mass media accessibility and the perception of the contribution of Bemba communication culture to domestic violence is that exposure to media programmes opens one's horizons and helps one to have a critical approach to one's culture. The theory talks of the informative, instructive, persuasive and integrative functions of any communication enterprise (Griffin, 1994). The study finding underscores the importance of the mass media in creating awareness and changing perceptions of the people concerning a certain issue (Rogers, 2003: 205-6). To solve the scourge of domestic violence against women in Bemba society, one gets from this research the clue that gender enlightenment and sensitization of both men and women is important. This is because information about something creates opinions which in turn influence one's actions for or against that something.

The table also reveals that 30 out of 90 respondents have neither a radio nor a television set. This means that the people of Mwamba's Village have limited accessibility to mass media (given the absence of electricity and the unaffordable cost of radio and television sets for the local people). Thus mass media communication has to be combined with interpersonal communication. Some focus group discussants attest to this when they confess: "Married women suffer all kinds of brutality and abuse at the hands of their spouses but the situation is now changing since the coming of NGOs to the village who conduct workshops on gender" (Chishimba and Chimfwembe, 23/10/2013).

Looking at the overall numbers of the respondents in the three perception categories of the table, the respondents who said that Bemba communication culture fights rather than fuels domestic violence are in the highest number (44) but they get slightly surpassed by those who feel Bemba culture contributes to domestic violence (35) and those who say it does to some extent (11), put together (46).

To draw more lessons from the study, the researcher also analysed the distribution of the men and women respondents in the three perception categories for each mass media accessibility level.

Fig. 13: Men – Women Distribution of the above Cross Tabulation

Mass Media Accessibility of Respondents	Does Bemba Communication Culture contribute to Domestic Violence against Women?						Total	
	Yes		To some extent		No			
	m	w	m	w	m	w	m	w
Have neither a radio nor a Television set	1	6	0	2	3	18	4 13%	26 87%
Have a television set but no radio	0	0	0	1	0	1	0 0%	2 100%
Have a radio & mostly listen to Radio Mano	1	4	0	1	3	5	4 29%	10 71%
Have a radio & listen to several stations	7	3	1	1	9	4	17 68%	8 32%
Have both a radio & a TV set and use them	10	3	2	3	1	0	13 68%	6 32%
Total	19 54%	16 46%	3 27%	8 73%	16 36%	28 64%	38	52

From the above table it is clear that there are more women than men at the lowest level of mass media accessibility. Of the 30 respondents who reported that they have neither a radio nor a television set, 87percent are women while only 13percent are men. At the bottom of the table is situated the highest level of mass media accessibility and it is now men who are in the majority (68percent) and women in the minority (32percent). This explains why more men (54percent) than women (46percent) felt that Bemba communication culture fuels domestic violence against women. Moreover, of the 44 respondents who felt otherwise, 64percent were women while only 36percent were men. This study finding raises the concern that since women are the victims of domestic violence, they are the ones to be in the forefront

of finding the underlying causes of their plight and proposing sustainable solutions to the problem. Nevertheless, the relative low economic base, low education and the consequent low mass media accessibility of women in Bemba society undermine their capacity to do this thereby condemning them to a vicious circle.

6.2 ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE RESULTS

After discussing the quantitative results of the study, the researcher now analyses the qualitative results that were presented in the last chapter. The data is arranged into several themes.

6.2.1 Dominance of Men in Bemba Traditional Leadership

As presented in the previous chapter, Bemba society is organized at chiefdom, village and family levels and at all these levels men have a very big role in leadership as compared to women. The reasons for the preponderance of men in Bemba society are mostly historical. The literature revealed the fact that in Proto-Bemba society women had high status especially as regards the socio-political and religious spheres of life. The slave trade and the tribal warfare of the 18th and 19th centuries undermined the dignity of women and promoted the physically strong, the men. Furthermore, the advent of the Lubapeople and the Christian missionaries who were patriarchal pushed the woman further to the margins of society (Hinfelaar, 1994: 31). In keeping with the social learning theory (Bandura, 1971), it could be said that the dominance of men in traditional leadership produces a socialization chain such that to date there are many people in Zambia who entertain beliefs and perceptions that public leadership is for men and not for women. Thus, the fact of having more men in leadership than women is a recipe for oppression of women because they are not well represented in decision making.

6.2.2 Communication Culture in Mwamba's Chiefdom

Communication sources are mostly leaders and professionals like the chief, the palace officials, the headmen, village committee members, *ifimbusa*, witchdoctors, clan elders and parents. What these people say is taken seriously. Among the channels of communication are *bakapaso*, *bakabilo*, village messengers and the village publicity secretary (Mulilo, 15/10/2013). According to the literature reviewed, the media of communication in Bemba society include drumming, singing, dancing,

storytelling, riddles, drama, meetings and direct interpersonal speech. As regards the messages, it is worthwhile noting that they are mostly about governance information and requests from the palace, the happenings in the villages and the settlement of disputes among subjects. The verbal and non-verbal instructions that take place at the *insaka* and in the kitchen touch on culture, moral conduct, men's and women's roles and skills. The education messages are well tailored to the age and type of the target audience. For the children, there is more of storytelling, riddles and direct speech while for the adults; there is more of singing and dancing. For the children, there is co-education while young men are taught separately from young women. Much as audience segmentation is significant from the point of view of the communication theory, educating boys and girls separately creates what Tannen (1990) calls two sub cultures such that during marriage, there is likely to be miscommunication and conflict between the husband and the wife owing to the different subcultural backgrounds they come from.

In keeping with the communication theory (Griffin, 1994), communication among the Bemba people is thus done to share ideas and to pass on information, knowledge and skills. The other function of communication in Bemba society is that of ensuring integration and harmony through commands and instructions. The advantages of a powerful communication culture to the Bemba society notwithstanding, the strong emphasis on cultural consensus has resulted in social conformism and in weakened individual freedoms. According to Maxwell (1983:9), "When the Bemba respond to cultural questions, they tend to speak for everyone to everyone about perspectives which every adult already knows and scarcely dares to question." This could be what has provided fertile ground for institutionalizing domestic violence against women. Moreover, what is striking about Bemba communication culture is that most of the sources and channels of communication are men. Women only take the centre stage when it comes to family and marriage communication. In fact, a good number of the cultural messages are biased towards men.

6.2.3 Man is the Head of the Family

It is evident from both the quantitative and qualitative results of the study that man is considered to be the head of the family among the Bemba people. Only one out of the 90 questionnaire respondents said that it is the man and the woman rather than the man alone who is the head (Fig. 5). There are several reasons advanced for this

by the research participants. Some said it is the man who pays the bridal price and looks for the place to settle his family. Others quoted the Bible saying that man was created first and it is from him that the woman's rib was taken. Still others talked of the man being older (*e mukalamba*) and hence he is the one to rule and make crucial decisions for the household. Most of the women said that the man talks sense; he is strong enough to defend, correct and provide for the family (Shula, 14/10/2013 and Mulenga, 17/10/2013).

This cultural teaching has far reaching consequences for the male-female relationships in Bemba society. From early days, the male child and the female child are socialized verbally and non verbally that it is the man to propose marriage to a woman; it is him to pay the bridal price, to build the house for the family and it is him to initiate the conjugal act, to decide the number of children to have and to discipline family members, the wife included. Just as the man has powers to initiate marriage, so has he powers to terminate it or even to have more than one wife. He can also engage himself in extramarital affairs with impunity. The man also has the final say over the acquisition, use and alienation of household goods. The combination of such huge powers with physical strength makes some men behave as kings in their homes; caring less about the welfare of their spouses and their children.

The Bemba belief that the man is the head of the family and the reasons given for it by the research participants clearly show the shift that has taken place over time as regards the position of the man vis-à-vis that of the woman. The literature brought to the surface the fact that among the matrilineal Proto-Bembas; the man did not count much. When he married, he settled in the village of his wife, he had no land of his own, the children and family goods passed on to the wife's family, the father did not have as much say as the maternal uncles over the children and their education (Geisler et al., 1985: 4). The woman's religious powers in the family (as *cibindawanga'nda* and *kabumbawamapepo*) had a lot of influence over her husband's behaviour; the *akalongo* ritual is a case in point. When the Luba people conquered the Bemba land, they suppressed the religion of the earlier inhabitants as a way of consolidating their power (Hinfelaar (1994: X, 21). The patrifocal Christian missionaries are the ones who coined the term "*umwaume e mutwewanganda*" (the man is the head of the family) for purposes of marriage catechesis.

6.2.4 The Woman puts in more hours of Work than the Man

The literature brought out the fact that there is a rigid division of labour between men and women in Bemba society and, in consonance with the field research, revealed that women, on average, work for longer hours than men throughout the year. Women are charged with the responsibilities of sowing, weeding, harvesting and transporting farm produce and with domestic chores. The men's work is intensive but seasonal (Richards 1939). The questionnaire respondents advanced several reasons for this lopsided scenario as illustrated in the table below.

Fig. 14: Why do Women have a longer day of work than Men?

Male Research Participants' Views	Female Research Participants' Views
<i>E butantikobwaMwine</i> (God decreed it so)	<i>Yalitushingama</i> (we have no choice but to do what is expected of us)
<i>Na mayo alilekeleshiwepoukupangwa</i> (the woman was created after the man)	<i>E upekanyaifyakulya</i> (she has the duty to prepare food for her family)
<i>Na mayo nimpokeleshi</i> (the woman is an assistant)	<i>Na mayo alalangulukilaabana</i> (she is sensitive to the needs of the children)
<i>E ncitoyabo</i> (that is the nature of their work)	<i>Abaumetabomfwamafunde</i> (men don't live by marriage instructions)
<i>Abaumebalataukwingililwa</i> (men fear to be under petticoat government)	<i>Abaumetasuminakwafwa</i> (men don't want to assist their wives)
<i>Bana mayo tabafwayaukubafwa</i> (women don't entertain being helped)	
<i>Efyocabafye</i> (it is just like that)	
<i>E lutambi</i> (it is tradition)	

The table above portrays men as having the "I don't care attitude" about the women's burden of work. The men feel that since the situation has been like that from time immemorial, there is nothing they can do about it. They stop short of saying: "Thank God it is not us who have this burden". Few men talk about lending a helping hand to the wife who is under pressure of work. One focus group discussant talked of assisting the wife discreetly to avoid being laughed at by society (Nguluta, 23/10/2013). The women seem to be resigned to their fate. The researcher sees the social learning theory as the best explanation for this gender based injustice

against women. The rigid division of labour between men and women in Bemba society, the reluctance of the male family members to help their female counterparts and the female family members' inability to do anything about their plight is a product of depersonalized socialization and social conformism.

6.2.5 The Woman suffers Abuse and Violence at the hands of her Husband

Under quantitative analysis, it was pointed out that the woman's work hours are not commensurate with the powers she wields over the use and alienation of family goods. The man has more powers than her as head of the household. This injustice is one source of conflict and violence in a good number of families in Mwamba's Village, as the questionnaire and in-depth interviews revealed. "Some family men are so irresponsible that after harvest, they sale the maize and use the money on beer leaving the wife and the children in misery. When the wife confronts the man, she is either insulted or beaten"(Bwalya, 25/10/2013). When the woman insults back, she is told: "*inenalicindamasanatetiulentuka* or *ulicitongotawafundwa*" (A Bemba man thinks highly of himself and calls a wife, who insults him very mal-educated).

The other source of conflict and violence against the woman that the field research brought to the surface is the man's infidelity. Some men think as head of the family, the man has a right to engage in extramarital affairs or even to go polygamous. Bemba culture fuels this mentality by condoning men's infidelity more than women's infidelity. JosephMulenga(23/10/2013) intimates:

"Na mayo ngawamusanga mu
bucendekumutamfyapantuninshialesebanyaumwaume no
kukoweshaumusengele. Na mayo eusunga inganda. Nomba
ubucende bwa mwaume tabutoba nganda."

This is translated as:

"If you catch your wife committing adultery, it is better to divorce her because a woman is supposed to be a custodian of purity. Such an act of mixing reproductive fluids on her part not only contaminates the matrimonial bed but also gives the impression that her husband is not man enough. On the other hand, the man's adulterous behaviour does not break marriage.

The woman's discovery of her husband's infidelity drives her crazy and makes her worry about her future and that of her children. She may resort to denying her husband sex, which measure annoys many men who think they have the right to

demand sex from the wife at any time. Infidelity on the part of the husband would not only lead to incessant fights with the wife but also to more abuse of family resources, neglect of children and polygamy if not divorce. The ill feeling of the woman in the face of her husband's unfaithfulness is understandable given the status that a woman had in the past as main celebrant of the conjugal act and priestess of the house cult. By means of the *akalongo* ritual, she led the man into mutual confession before the act. She took very seriously the taboo of "not mixing blood" because this was a matter of life and death for herself and for her babies (Hinfelaar, 1994:14).

Today's Bemba social set up whereby the man is considered the head of the family and whereby the *cisungu* marriage instructions extol the husband and portray the wife as a servant to the husband, create in family men the mentality that they can do whatever they want with family resources and can have as many girl friends or wives as they want. This mentality which is passed down by Bemba culture leads to domestic abuse and violence against women. Here, one sees the informative and formative effects of communication as espoused in the communication theory (Laswell, 1948).

6.2.6 Link between Domestic Violence and Bemba Communication Culture

As discussed under quantitative analysis, the majority of the respondents (49 percent) indicated that Bemba communication culture fights rather than contributes to domestic violence against women. Furthermore, one of the focus group discussions attributed domestic violence to disregard for the Bemba culture that is being championed by gender activists whereby women are being told to compete with men for rights, for money and for jobs. Nevertheless, by and large, the field research brought to the fore the fact that many women in marriage suffer injustice and brutality perpetrated by their husbands and they pointed to many beliefs, sayings and practices of Bemba culture which contribute to this.

To start with, the men's grip on power at the chiefdom, village and family levels creates the impression that a woman cannot make a good leader, she has to be ruled. In fact a woman is not expected to talk a lot in public because she cannot say anything sensible among men. At a funeral, for instance, one sees many women wailing and a few of them cooking while men are busy discussing, in a calm

manner, as to who to inform about the funeral, who to convey the message, where to get this required material and that and when to bury. Thus, as already mentioned, the official communication sources and messengers in Bemba society are mostly men. Going by the communication theory, while men are more into the information and command functions of communication, women are more into the formation and entertainment functions. Women take charge of initiation ceremonies, marriage instructions and the overall transmission of culture.

A lot of the cultural messages that make rounds among the Bemba people at the forum of instruction, initiation, family education and village information extol the figure of a man and downplay the woman. A mother would threaten a stubborn child with the words: “I will report your unbecoming behaviour to your father”. Messages like: the man is the head of the family, the wife should not expose her husband’s abusive behaviour, a wife who does not wash her husband’s hands before a meal is useless, undermine the dignity and personal worth of a woman. The table below gives a sample of Bemba sayings that denigrate a woman.

Fig. 15: Bemba Sayings that undermine the Status of the Woman

Bemba Sayings	English Translation
<i>Ubucende bwa mwaume, tabutoba ng’anda</i>	The man’s adulterous behaviour cannot break marriage
<i>Umwanakashitalukaicisumbe</i>	There are certain jobs a woman cannot do
<i>Umwametacepa</i>	The presence of a male child in a home makes a difference
<i>Abanakashi mafi ya mpombo, tabaabula</i>	A man cannot run short of women to marry
<i>Imisu ya mwanakashi taiciluka luputa</i>	A woman is not as powerful as a man

<i>Ifilandaabanakashifyabuwelewenombauushumfwakocipuba</i>	Women's talk though nonsensical, is worth listening to
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The Bemba cultural practices that drive the domestic subjugation of women by men include polygamy, inheritance, initiation ceremony and wife battering. The status that a man in Bemba society has acquired over time as head of the family entitles him not only to enjoy extramarital affairs with impunity but also to establish legitimate marital unions with several wives. A woman does not have these rights. Moreover, her limited physical strength makes her vulnerable to the whims of her in-laws when her husband passes away. As alluded to in the literature review, she can either be forcibly taken on as a wife by a relative of the late husband or can have the property of her family grabbed. While the initiation ceremony for boys is extinct, the one for girls lingers on but has been corrupted from being a deeply religious event when girls are immersed into the life of the transcendent to being a social event when girls are taught to be subservient to their future spouses. As such, the *cisungu* ceremony has increasingly attracted negative feelings from girls themselves and from feminist movements who wonder why boys are not subjected to a similar ritual (Hinfelaar, 1994:163-5).

Among the Bemba people of today, the man does not only have powers to discipline his children but also to beat his wife when she does something wrong. The sad reality is that 85 percent of Zambian women believe that a husband is justified in beating his wife for at least one reason as a form of chastisement. According to the Zambia Demographic Health Survey (Central Statistics Office, 2003), out of 5029 women interviewed countrywide, 79 percent said they should be beaten if they went out without their husband's permission. 61 percent said a beating was acceptable if they denied their husbands sex, while 45 percent said a beating was in order if they cooked "bad" food. In fact the belief is: "*uushumaumwinamwakweninshialimusula*" (a man who does not beat his wife in times of her wrongdoing does not love her). During marriage instructions, the woman is taught to occasionally and intentionally provoke the husband to test his love for her (Second Focus Group Discussion, 23/10/2013).

The problem with these cultural practices is that they act as instruments of socialization for the children. The male children, taking the father as their model, grow up with a superiority complex thinking that it is alright to abuse or batter a woman while the female children, learning from the behaviour of their mother, grow up with a low self image and a masochistic character, thinking that they are worthless as compared to their male counterparts. It is in this respect that the researcher contends that Bemba communication culture fuels domestic violence against women more than it fights against it.

6.2.7 Solutions to Domestic Violence against Women

Out of the seven solutions to domestic violence that were recommended by the respondents (fig.11), the improving of communication between the husband and the wife was the solution that polled highest (32.2percent). The second popular solution was that of enlightening spouses on gender and human rights (28.9 percent). The two proposals are touching on the importance of communication between the two spouses and the significance of understanding their sexual differences.

One of the theories proposed by the researcher to solve the scourge of domestic violence against women is that of intercultural communication. For Tannen(1990), the two persons who get married, although they may be of the same ethnic group and coming from the same place, have two sub cultural backgrounds by the mere fact that one is a man and the other is a woman. The husband and the wife engage in intercultural communication by the mere fact that there are language and cultural differences between men and women. In Bemba society, from childhood, boys are told that they are supposed to conduct themselves as such and girls in like manner. The in-depth interviews, alluded to the fact that when the children enter their teens, separate education for boys and girls set in. Boys, from that time onwards, are expected to and, in fact; do socialize more with their fellow boys and the menfolk and girls, in like manner, with their fellow girls and with the women folk.

Men and women are raised differently and society expects different types of behaviour from them and so communication mishaps can occur between a man and a woman living together as husband and wife. Women seek intimacy, friendships and the true solidarity of their spouses while men are more concerned with status, independence, competition and achievement. Women talk more in private, especially

when they are on their own, to disclose details of life while men talk more in public to command attention and to convey information. As earlier discussed, women act as communication sources at the family, initiation and marriage instruction levels while men act as communication sources at the chiefdom and village levels.

The communication differences between genders often lead to miscommunication and conflict between the two spouses. Miscommunication is even trickier when the spouses don't realize that they are in a cross-cultural encounter. Both men and women need to learn how to speak in the other's voice. Mutual understanding will bridge the cultural gap between sexes. To improve on communication and reduce on misunderstandings women need assertiveness training and men need sensitivity training (Ibid).

The traditional solutions to domestic violence against women, that of the woman seeking the intervention of *ifimbusa* and that of the woman soliciting the mediation of her relatives or in-laws, which came out third and fourth respectively in terms of the respondents frequency(fig.11), are still relevant although the communication content has to be reconsidered. As already discussed, most of the Bemba cultural messages glorify the man and undermine the image of the woman. The *ifimbusa* and relatives would appeal to the man to be moderate in his beating and would tell the woman to persevere and be respectful and subservient to her spouse.

The solutions to the problem of domestic violence against women that came out lowest in frequency were: the wife-victim having recourse to the police or court of law (5.56 percent), the wife-victim reporting the aggressive husband to church authorities for pastoral counselling (3.33 percent) and empowering the woman economically (2.22 percent). As already mentioned, in Bemba culture, a man reserves the right to beat his wife as a way of disciplining her or even showing his love for her. As such a wife who runs to the police or to the court of law after a beating by the spouse would be laughed at and called *citongo* (a woman who is not well instructed). Even reporting the husband's violent behaviour to church would be frowned upon because traditionally, a woman is socialized to keep that to herself (*afwileukusungainkamashamung'anda*). The problem with the culture of silence is that it may take too long to establish whether the husbands' violent behaviour is something mental, psychological or justifiable. Thanks to the gender campaigns conducted in Mwamba's Village and on mass media, the women nowadays feel

liberated enough to share their marriage difficulties and to seek redress. The second in-depth interview revealed that the establishment of the One-stop Centre in Kasama two years ago is facilitating fast justice for many women and most of the men are now more careful in the way they handle their wives (Mwila, 15//10/2013).

Engaging women in income generating activities as a way of empowering them economically is a powerful tool of women's emancipation but it should be coupled with their reclaiming of the political voice in domestic as well as in public affairs. The reason for this solution to domestic violence garnering the smallest number of votes among the respondents could be that many did not want to upset the balance of power that currently obtains in the Bemba family whereby the father is the head followed by the mother and then children. Many men would not like to have their wives economically well off because they fear to lose their control over them. Most women in Mwamba's Village are socialized to the extent that they look at the whole arrangement whereby the man is considered as head of the family as divinely ordained and so feel they cannot do anything about it. The in-depth interviews brought to the fore the fact that some men have a habit of pocketing the money realised from the sale of the family's farm produce and of using it the way they want. This scenario perpetuates most Bemba and Zambian women's abuse by their husbands.

From the foregoing discussion of the findings in this sub section, the researcher gets the conviction that communication is at the heart of the problem of domestic violence against women much as it is at the heart of the solution to the problem. The communication theory talks of the significance of communication in providing information to people, in creating awareness around a certain issue, in forming opinions about an issue and influencing people's actions on an issue. But what is the most effective and sustainable communication approach that should be used to change the Zambian men's oppressive and aggressive behaviour towards their wives and to change the Zambian women's inferiority and masochistic complex towards their husbands?

It is important to realize that you cannot achieve behavioural change without the communication for social change and advocacy communication paradigms. The statement is that behaviour change depends in most cases on social change. Social issues such as sexual relations, power relations, gender roles, domination,

discrimination, prejudices and stereotypes, form, within a specific cultural, political and economic context the magnetic fields that pull people into certain behavioural directions (Servaes 2008:285). Culture operates as a rich source of locally appropriate content for communication programmes and as a method of building dialogue, enabling expression and promoting participation by beneficiaries. It has been discovered that to effect individual changes in attitudes and behaviour, it is important to use local media and local dialogue for local change. It is in this respect that the use of Bemba media - such as storytelling, theatre or music - that incorporate gender themes will not change any individual behaviour directly, but it will address the climate and set a frame for discussion. It is here that social change takes place, not at the individual level, but in circulated culture; in shared beliefs. If it is the social/cultural that is the focus of change, then change intervention programmes must also focus on what is circulating within the social domain; what is shared within the community (Ibid).

It is a well known technique when doing a behaviour change campaign to study the intended audience and use communication activities that are appropriate to the audience so as to trigger interpersonal network communication among members of the target audience (Rogers 2003:378). The Bemba communication culture is a great resource which can be used to the maximum in the prevention of domestic violence against women just as it is used as a driver of the problem. It is participatory, interactive and interpersonal. The Bemba use singing, drumming and dancing as quasi-linguistic signifiers which are capable of communication at the highest level, with nuances, subtleties and refinement of thought. These devices are musically reverberating devices employed by oral society to set knowledge to meter and enshrine wisdom in dramatic ritual representation (Maxwell, 1983:4). While Bemba methods of transmitting information and knowledge are rich, the communication content has to be revisited for the reason that most of the Bemba cultural messages glorify the man and undermine the image of the woman.

To effect social change in society and the consequent behaviour change, there is need to have the support of stakeholders, especially policymakers and decision-makers. Without core actor support and commitment, it will be difficult to achieve change. This calls for the involvement of government, NGOs, the church, the media and cultural groups in creating social dialogue, facilitating women political as well as

economic empowerment, sensitizing people on gender and human rights and counselling women-victims of domestic violence.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

To wrap up the report of this study, the researcher recapitulates the findings of the study, checks if the research questions have been answered by the study and finally proposes the concrete steps that can be taken by specific stakeholders in order to arrest the problem at hand.

7.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

From the literature review, it became clear that the different epochs in the history of Bemba society have affected the Bemba culture and consequently, the position of the woman for better and for worse. The Bemba people are matrilineal and matrifocal. Women are freer in the matrilineal set up than in the patrilineal one. This was especially the case before the opening up of Bemba society to the influence of other peoples which situation has seen a shift from matrilineal to patrilineal tendencies. The role of the father has become stronger over the years. Before, Bemba women had high social status compared to women in a patrilineal society like the neighbouring Mambwe. On the other hand, the sexual division of labour among the Bemba is rigid. Although men work more in the fields during peak agricultural season than women, the total female work-day is longer than that for men and it is also more constant throughout the year.

The researcher also discovered that the woman among the Proto-Bemba (before the coming of the Luba people) had three titles which emphasized her status. The title of *CibindawaNganda* (Enabler of domestic cult) made her in charge of all domestic

ritual and main celebrant of the conjugal act. She shared in the duty of the creator of everything (*Cibindauwapangafyonse*). The title of *KabumbawaMapepo* (Initiator of public Worship) again associated the woman's role with that of God. She was creator of clay pots, clay homes and clay figurines for the initiation rites. She led the veneration of the recently dead clan members and the public remembrance services to the ancient guardians of the land. It was the woman's task to take small offerings to the family shrine called *ulufuba* to obtain health and life from the forbears. The title of *NacimbusawaCisungu* (Tutor of the Transcendent) referred to the arduous responsibility of coaxing the miraculous gift of generating new life (just received by an initiate) out of the peripheral zone of the cold forest into the security and warmth of the village. The knowledge of the community's religious heritage plus the guidelines for worshipping the Transcendent was passed on by the women during the ceremonies of initiation.

The coming of the Luba people and their lordship over the Proto-Bemba terribly undermined the status of Bemba women in that it was no longer the married woman who was believed to be the link of fecundity with the ancestors but the Luba chiefs who claimed to have immediate access to divinity through their noble ancestors of the past. As such the woman lost the firm grip she enjoyed on the sexual behaviour of her husband and polygamy set in. Moreover, the European missionaries condemned most of the cultural practices of the people like the initiation ceremony and crowned the man as the head of the family thereby giving him the right to initiate and regulate the marriage act. Colonialism changed the lifestyle of the people. The migration of many men to the towns for work saw the overloading of many rural women with a lot of work. The attraction of many people to town life led to an increase in unwed mothers and single headed households. Urbanization had an adverse effect on the position of the women in society. The First and Second Zambian Republics witnessed a further diminution of the influence of Bemba women and Zambian women in general through humanism, an ideology imposed by the freedom-loving and learned young men on the masses. The women may have gotten the impression that these young men were now the new mediators between the present and the future. It is only the democratization and economic boom associated with the Third Zambian Republic that has seen an upward graph in the status of Zambian women.

The other important finding from literature review was that Bemba communication culture is anchored on the spoken word which of its nature is more dynamic, emotional and personal than the written word. The other media of communication include drumming, singing, dancing. Through music Bemba moral codes are transmitted, history is remembered and tribal interaction is stimulated, women are rallied, personal grievances are publicized, social cohesion is promoted, laws are promulgated, political procedures are influenced, spiritual realities are conjured up, religious duties are discharged. The Bemba language is known for rhetoric too. The rhetorical art of concealing speech in proverbs and riddles has several purposes: to engage the interlocutors in active dialogue, to safeguard against publicizing classified information, to underscore the grave importance of a message and to communicate religious truths. The Bemba believe that the exposure of religious things somehow profanes and violates their sanctity.

Besides being powerfully and personally dynamic, sound is also by nature evanescent. The tribal store of knowledge embodied in sound needs constant repetition for its survival. Information tends to be limited and scarce, sharing in the precariousness of its medium. Oral society becomes conservative as it jealously guards its traditions. It preserves them in formulaic patterns and suspiciously resists any originality which might interrupt continuous themes and burden the social memory. Answers to questions seem almost prefabricated. When someone enquires about the reason behind this or that action, the shorthand response is *nintambi*, meaning, “it is our custom.”

The *cisungu* ritual is the climax of Bemba communication and knowledge transmission. *Icisungu* is a rite of passage when the young girls experience a dramatic repetition of the greatest myth (the charter myth) of the Bemba people. It effectively incorporates the whole of Bemba belief, to which their notions of sexuality, authority and spirituality are cognate. The special themes ritually enacted in *icisungu* are those reconciled in the charter myth: the sacredness of feminine sexuality, the centrality of matrilineal descent, the honour owed to seniority, the wisdom of listening to tradition, the fidelity in marriage, the purity of family life, the duty of wife and mother, the womanly responsibility for agriculture and the veneration due to chiefly spirits. The highly socialized and dramatized *cisungu* lessons inculcate a sense of propriety (*umucinshi*) what the Bemba society deems

fitting as the oral ethical goal. The cultivation of personal moral virtue and performance of good deeds are not as desirable as adherence to public norms.

As regards the Bemba communication culture, the field research found out that Bemba society is organized at chiefdom, village and family levels and at all these levels men have a very big role in leadership as compared to women. Consequently, communication sources are mostly these male leaders. Women only take the centre stage when it comes to family and marriage communication and instruction. The media of communication in Bemba society include drumming, singing, dancing, storytelling, riddles, drama, meetings and direct interpersonal speech. The information and instructions are well tailored to the age and type of the target audience. The education that takes place at the *insaka* and in the kitchen touches on culture, moral conduct, men's and women's roles and skills respectively. The climax of Bemba education is the *cisungu* and wedding ceremonies whose messages are biased towards men. The reason for this is the shift that has taken place over time from high status to low status of the woman in Bemba society.

The other pertinent discovery of the field research was that although women in a Bemba household work for more hours than the menfolk, it is men who have more power over household resources. Furthermore, women suffer more brutality than men at the hands of their spouses. The researcher established that, for the Bemba people, just as the man takes the initiative of proposing marriage to a woman and pays dowry, so has he the power to divorce her or to go polygamous because he is considered to be the head of the household. By the same logic, he is the one to initiate the conjugal act and to determine the number of children to have even though it is the woman who has a bigger burden in this regard. Moreover, his infidelity would be more tolerated than that of a woman. On the other hand, the study revealed that many people today no longer approve of wife beating as a disciplinary measure or as a way of showing one's love for the wife. This is attributable to current NGO and media campaigns for women's rights.

The study revealed that the high incidence of domestic violence against women is linked to many Bemba sayings, practices and way of life but the research participants could not categorically state that Bemba communication culture contributes to domestic violence against women. The most recommended solution to domestic violence against women was that of improving communication between spouses

by training couples in cross-gender communication and that of continuing sensitization of people on women's rights. The study also established that there is direct proportionality between mass media accessibility and the perception of the contribution of Bemba communication culture to domestic violence. It was discovered that women have very low mass media accessibility as compared to men and thus cannot put a finger on the causes of domestic violence against them. This shocking finding is attributable to their relatively low status, low economic base and low education. These factors undermine their capacity to be in the forefront of finding the underlying causes of their plight and proposing sustainable solutions to domestic violence against them. To solve the scourge of domestic violence against women in Bemba society and in Zambia, one gets from this research the insight that communication is key; behaviour change communication should be well combined with social change communication and advocacy communication.

7.2 CONCLUSION

In this study, the researcher set out to investigate the relationship, if any, between domestic violence against women and the communication culture of the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village. The researcher also wanted to consider how the same communication culture can be used to fight the problem of domestic violence against women. By employing a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis, it has been established that communication culture is a factor in domestic violence against women among the Bemba people of Mwamba's Village.

By Bemba communication culture is meant the sources, media, messages and receivers of communication and the whole enterprise of transmitting information and knowledge among the Bemba people. Both the literature review and the field research revealed that communication sources in Mwamba's Village are, first and foremost, the leaders: the chief and his officials, the headman and his committee members, most of whom are men. The second level of sources is transmitters of knowledge and culture like *banacimbusa* who are mostly women. The Bemba media of communication were explored and it was discovered that they include direct speech, rhetoric, storytelling, drumming, singing and dancing; a combination of which differs from one target audience to another.

After evaluating the Bemba cultural messages and practices found among the people of Mwamba's Village, the researcher found out that a good number of them are biased towards men and hence fuel domestic violence among women. The perceptions of the majority of research participants were that most women in Mwamba's Village suffer violence at the hands of their spouses: most husbands subject their wives to longer hours of work than them, get a bigger share of household revenue than their wives and children, verbally, psychologically and sexually abuse their wives and above all batter them. Despite the fact that 49 percent of the research participants were of the view that Bemba communication culture does not contribute to domestic violence against women, 39 percent of them felt so and 12 percent said some aspects of Bemba communication culture contribute to domestic violence against women while other aspects fight against it. These statistics notwithstanding, the researcher, considering all the foregoing findings, feels he is on firm ground to conclude that Bemba communication culture is indeed a driver of domestic violence against women.

How can Bemba communication culture which fuels domestic violence against women be used to fight this same problem? Out of the seven solutions to domestic violence that were recommended by the respondents, the improving of communication between the husband and the wife was the solution that polled highest (32.2 percent). The second popular solution was that of enlightening spouses on gender and human rights (28.9 percent). Communication is at the heart of solving the problem of domestic violence against women because it is a behavioural issue. The study has revealed the effectiveness of the mass media in creating awareness and changing perceptions of the people concerning domestic violence but it is also clear that mass media alone is not enough to effect behaviour change. There is need to bring in culturally embedded communication. The traditional solutions to domestic violence against women take the form of interpersonal communication and drama. Out of the seven solutions to domestic violence that were recommended by the respondents, that of the woman seeking the intervention of *ifimbusa* and that of the woman soliciting the mediation of relatives or in-laws, which came out third and fourth respectively, are still relevant as methods because they are culturally biased. Culture operates as a method of building dialogue, enabling expression and promoting participation by beneficiaries. It is the communication content that has to

be revisited for the reason that most of the Bemba cultural messages glorify the man and undermine the image of the woman.

The Bemba communication culture is a great resource which can be used to the maximum in the prevention of domestic violence against women just as it is used as a driver of the problem. It has been discovered that to effect individual changes in attitudes and behaviour, it is important to use local media and local dialogue for local change. Use of Bemba media such as story-telling, theatre or music - that incorporates gender themes, will not change any individual behaviour directly, but it will address the climate; set a frame for discussion. It is here that social change takes place, not at the individual level, but in circulated culture; in shared beliefs. If it is the social/cultural that is the focus of change, then change intervention programmes must also focus on what is circulating within the social domain; what is shared within the community. Social issues such as sexual relations, power relations, gender roles, domination, discrimination, prejudices and stereotypes, form, within a specific cultural, political and economic context the magnetic fields that pull people into certain behavioural directions. Thus, the approach of social change communication is cardinal to solving and preventing domestic violence against women in Zambia.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Having found out that Bemba communication culture contributes to domestic violence against women in Zambia today and having established that the same Bemba communication culture is a great resource as regards the prevention of domestic violence against women, the researcher puts forward several proposals to solve the problem.

The presidency should continue with its policy of affirmative action to realize the SADCC protocol on gender balance. As it has done in the police service, it should champion the adoption of more women for parliamentary elections, the appointing of more women to ministerial positions and to senior positions in the civil service. The presence of many women models in such areas will help correct the negative perception of women by the Zambian society.

Government should commit the required resources, both human and financial, to the operationalization of the Anti Gender Based Violence Act of 2011 so that prosecution of perpetrators as well as the protection and the means of survival for

survivors of GBV are assured. It should also enhance and publicise support mechanisms for victims of domestic violence. Structures like the Victim Support Unit and the courts of law should be given more teeth to handle gender issues more effectively and expeditiously.

The Ministry of Gender should coordinate the efforts of other government organs, women movements, NGOs, the media, the Church and traditional leaders in addressing gender based injustice, gender based violence, and women empowerment. It should also spearhead the mainstreaming of gender matters into every government department, workshop, activity and workplace.

The mass media programs and advertisements show more men in successful and dominant positions while women are seen in subservient roles. The media has a big responsibility to break all these stereotyped portrayals of men and women by establishing alternative progressive programmes. Both the national and community media should engage the public in gender relations debate. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting should come up with culturally embedded communication programmes to bring the fight against gender based violence to a higher level.

Some Nongovernmental organizations have formed cultural groups that through drama, songs and dances, provoke the communities where they operate to discuss domestic violence and domestic injustice and human rights. This should be encouraged.

The Church should use its comparative advantage in the Zambian society to preach gender equality both in word and action. It should train marriage couples in gender communication and horizontal dialogue. It should counsel women to share marriage problems and report abuses to relevant authorities.

The chiefs and village headmen should not be left out in the cultural revolution. They should condemn cultural practices like polygamy, property grabbing and domestic violence. They should not discriminate against women when giving land. The *banachimbus* should revise their syllabus in the light of modern Zambian life and demands so that men and women, boys and girls are treated equally and learn to help one another in household chores.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT

Place of Interview

Interviewer's Name

Introduction:

I am a student at the University of Zambia studying Communications for Development.

I would like to learn from you, the people of Mwamba's village, about the problem of domestic violence against women and to know if it is related with the Bemba communication culture.

You are free to indicate your name on the questionnaire attached or not to. Be assured that what you will say in this interview will be treated with confidentiality. Nevertheless, a report of the findings will be shared with the people and institutions interested in addressing the problem of domestic violence against women.

Before you start answering the questionnaire, I would like to get your permission to do this interview with you by signing below.

Consent of Agreement signed by Participants in the Study:

I have understood the instructions and conditions concerning the study and I agree to participate as asked. I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at

any time and that the records of my answers to the questionnaire will be destroyed at the end of the study.

Signature of interviewee

Date

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND BEMBA COMMUNICATION CULTURE

Fill in the blanks provided or put a tick in the box of your choice wherever there is a list of possibilities to choose from.

A. Personal Particulars

1. Your Name (Optional)
2. Your Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐
3. Your Address (Name of your Sub Village).....
4. Your age range: 20-29 years ☐ 30-39 years ☐
 40-49 years ☐ above 49 years ☐
5. Your Education level: Below Grade 5 ☐ Grade 5-7 ☐
 Grade 8-9 ☐ above Grade 9 ☐
6. Your marriage status: Single ☐ Married ☐
 Divorced ☐ Widowed ☐
7. Your occupation and/or responsibilities in the community

B. MassCommunication

8. Do you have a radio set? Yes ☐ No ☐
9. If yes, how often do you switch it on? Every day ☐
 Every other day ☐ twice a week ☐ rarely ☐

10. If Yes, Which stations do you tune to most?
-
11. How do you like Radio programs about women? Very much ☐
- A bit ☐ I don't like them ☐
12. Do you have a Television set? Yes ☐ No ☐
13. If yes, how often do you switch it on? Everyday ☐ Some days ☐
14. Do the communication media today promote the dignity of the woman?
- Yes ☐ No ☐
15. Explain your answer
-

C. Traditional Communication

16. Mention the various ways in which information is transmitted traditionally among the Bemba people.
-
17. List some contents of traditional communication.....
-
18. Who are the sources of information in traditional Bemba society?
-
19. Who are the teachers?
20. Mention 4 themes of Bemba education
-
21. Who are the targets of information and knowledge in traditional society?
-

D. Traditional Community Organization

22. How does information move from the village headman to the people?
-
23. How does information move from the people to the village headman?
-

E. Traditional Family Communication

24. Is the husband the head of the family among the Bemba people?

Yes ☐

No ☐

25. Give a reason for your answer

26. What is the role of the father and the mother in the education of children?

.....
.....

27. How is work shared between the male and female members of the household?

.....
.....

28. Mention 3 causes of conflict between husband and wife?

.....

29. How are conflicts in marriage resolved traditionally?

.....

F. Perceptions of Domestic Violence against Women

30. Between men and women who are more oppressed today in marriage?

Men ☐

Women ☐

Both ☐

31. Explain your answer

32. Between the male and female members of the household, who do you think put in more hours of work both in the fields and at home throughout the year?

Male members ☐

Female members ☐

33. Why is it like this?

34. Who has more powers over the use and alienation of family resources?

Husband ☐

Wife ☐

Both ☐

35. Who do you think is more tolerated by the Bemba culture to insult a spouse?

Husband ☐

Wife ☐

36. The Bemba culture tolerates more the infidelity of the husband than that of the wife.

Yes ☐

No ☐

37. Explain your answer.....

38. Who do you think has more powers to decide when to make love?

Husband ☐

Wife ☐

Both ☐

39. Why is this so?

40. Who do you think has more powers over the children?

☐

☐

☐

- | Husband | Wife | Both |
|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 41. Is it okay to beat one's wife as a way of correcting her when she makes a mistake? | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 42. Just as the man takes the initiative of proposing marriage to a woman so has he the power to end the marriage. | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 43. Among the Bemba people, who suffer more violence at the hands of their spouses? | Husbands <input type="checkbox"/> | Wives <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 44. Explain your answer | | |
| 45. In your opinion, is domestic violence against women in Zambia today an issue? | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

G. Bemba Culture and Domestic Violence against Women

46. Does Bemba communication culture contribute to or fight against domestic violence against women? contributes ☐ fights ☐ both ☐
47. Explain your answer
-
-
48. Cite 3 Bemba sayings that you think promote domestic violence against women.
-
-
49. Mention 3 Bemba cultural practices that you think promote domestic violence against women.
-
-

H. Extent of Domestic Violence

50. Have you ever fought with your spouse since you were married?
- Yes ☐ No ☐
51. If yes, how many times or how often?.....
52. What were the main reasons for the conflict(s)?.....
-
53. According you what is the best solution to domestic violence against women?
-
-

54. Do you have anything else to say on this topic?.....
.....
.....

APPENDIX C: PROMPT LIST FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

1. Mass Communication
 - a) Are there any programmes on Radio Mano and ZNBC that talk about family life and the situation of women?
 - b) How do such programmes portray the woman in relation to the man?
2. Traditional Communication
 - a) How are information and knowledge transmitted in Bemba society?
 - b) Who are the sources and carriers of information?
 - c) Who are the teachers?
 - d) Discuss the types of messages that are communicated?
 - e) At whom is information and knowledge targeted in Bemba society
3. Community Organization
 - a) How does information move from the village authority to the people?
 - b) How does information move from the people to the village authority?
 - c) What is the communication to and from the village authority mostly about?
4. Family Communication
 - a) How is power shared in a traditional family?
 - b) How is work shared in a family?
 - c) Discuss the education of children at family level.
 - d) Discuss the causes of conflict in marriage.
 - e) How are conflicts between spouses resolved traditionally?
5. Perceptions of Domestic Violence against Women

- a) How do you compare the male members' labour contribution to the household with that of the female members?
 - b) In relation to the husband's powers, explain the powers of the wife with regard to the use and alienation of family resources?
 - c) How does the Bemba culture take the insulting of the husband by the wife and the insulting of the wife by the husband?
 - d) What are powers of the wife as compared to those of the husband when it comes to deciding when to make love?
 - e) Between the husband and the wife who is more tolerated by the Bemba culture to be unfaithful to the spouse?
 - f) Some husbands beat or even divorce their wives when they make mistakes, what is your take on that?
 - g) Are women more oppressed than men in marriage today?
 - h) What is your opinion about the whole discussion on domestic violence against women in Zambia today?
6. Bemba Culture and Domestic Violence against Women
- a) Some people claim that the Bemba culture is a contributing factor to domestic violence against women. What do you think?
 - b) Do you know of any Bemba sayings that promote domestic violence against women?
 - c) Do you know of any Bemba cultural practices that promote domestic violence against women?
 - d) How can we use Bemba culture to prevent or eradicate domestic violence against women?
 - e) What are your last words on this topic?

APPENDIX D: INDEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Mass Communication:

- a) Which are your favourite radio stations?
 - Do you enjoy programs on gender relations and women?
- b) Do the modern communication media promote the dignity of women?
 - Radio Mano
 - Radio 1
 - Radio 2
 - Television Zambia

2. Traditional Communication:

- a) What are the ways in which information and knowledge are transmitted traditionally among the Bemba people?
 - Drumming
 - Songs and dances
 - Speech: proverbs, riddles, announcements
 - gestures
- b) Who are the teachers and informants in traditional Bemba society?
 - Traditional leaders: chiefs, headmen
 - Charismatic figures: prophets, diviners
 - *Banacimbusa*
 - elders
- c) What types of messages are transmitted in traditional communication?
 - News

- development
 - Moral conduct
 - Skills
 - culture
- d) Who are the targets of information and knowledge in traditional society?
3. Traditional Community Organization:
- a) How does information move from the leaders to the subjects and vice versa?
- b) How is knowledge transmitted from one generation to the other?
4. Family Communication:
- a) How is power shared between the husband and the wife in a traditional Bemba family?
- b) What can you say about the division of work in a traditional family?
- c) Between the husband and the wife who has more say over the number of children to have, the education of children and over the marriage of children?
- d) What are the sources of quarrels and fights between the spouses?
- e) How are conflicts between spouses resolved traditionally?
5. Perceptions of Domestic Violence against Women:
- a) According to you, is domestic violence against women in Zambia today an issue?
- b) The woman seems to have more work both in the fields and at home than the man. Why is this so?
- c) The husband seems to have more powers over the use and alienation of family goods. What do you think?
- d) Why is the infidelity of the husband more tolerated than that of the wife in the Bemba culture?
- e) The husband has more powers to decide when to make love. What is your take on this?
- f) Is the beating of one's wife a sign of love for her?
6. Bemba culture and domestic violence against women:

- a) Does Bemba culture fuel the perpetration of domestic violence against women or fight against it?
 - b) What are the Bemba sayings that promote domestic violence against women?
 - c) What are the Bemba practices that promote domestic violence against women?
7. Extent of Domestic Violence against Women:
- a) How many times or how often have you fought with your spouse?
 - b) What were the main reasons for the conflict(s)?
 - c) What is the best way of preventing or eradicating domestic violence against women?
 - d) Do you have anything else to say on this topic?

APPENDIX E: BEMBA COSMOLOGY

(Hinfelaar, 1994: 8)

