

***LOBOLA AND GENDER BASED VIOLENCE: A CASE OF MARRIED WOMEN IN
LUSAKA'S KAMANGA COMPOUND***

BY

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**A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Zambia in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies**

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

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DECLARATION

I, Patience Muumbe Moono, hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that it has not been submitted for award of a degree, diploma or other qualification at this or any other University. I declare that all the sources incorporated and quoted have been highlighted and acknowledged.

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APPROVAL

This dissertation by Patience Muumbe Moono has been approved as a partial fulfillment for the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies by the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the influence of *lobola* on gender based violence among married women in Lusaka's Kamanga compound. Specifically, it sought to examine how the price of *lobola* is determined when negotiating for marriage; to establish how married women and men perceive *lobola* in relation to gender based violence; and determine the types of gender based violence perceived to be mostly associated with the payment of *lobola* in marriage. The study used mixed methods combining quantitative and qualitative methods, though it had more lining on the qualitative. The main interest was to gain deeper insights and explanations based on peoples' lived experiences in their own context. On the quantitative side, a survey questionnaire was administered to 150 people (75 married men and 75 married women). Respondents in the survey were selected using systematic sampling. The qualitative component used 21 participants who were purposively selected. These comprised two focus group discussions; one group with 8 married women and another with 8 married men. In addition, in-depth interviews using a semi-structured interview guide were conducted with 5 key informants. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) computer software was used to analyse quantitative data while qualitative data was analysed thematically.

The findings on the determinants of the pricing of *lobola* payment revealed a number of considerations including the ethnic background of both the bride and the groom, the bride's level of education, the need to meet costs associated to the girl's upbringing, the groom's status, and the virginity of a bride among others. Findings also show the pricing of *lobola* even drifting to involve fundraising for kitchen parties for the bride as well as raising money to pay marriage counsellors. On how married women and men perceive *lobola* in relation to gender based violence, findings suggest that paying *lobola* translates into buying a wife and as such she becomes a husband's property. *Lobola* gives the man powers to treat the wife as he wishes including subjecting her to sexual and other forms of abuse. It seems to take away a wife's rights to make decisions on matters affecting her own life including restricting her movements, what to wear and depriving her a claim over her children among others. The study revealed emotional, economic, sexual and physical violence as the common types of gender based violence that married women are subjected to as a result of *lobola*. The study recommends that the Ministries of Justice, Gender and Local Government should look deeply into the issue of *lobola* to correct practices and reprimand those who do not adhere to its significance. Civil society should also lobby government to enact appropriate laws and policies to deal with patriarchy and help married women to enjoy their rights as human beings.

Key words: Gender, gender based violence and *lobola*

DEDICATION

To my family: my parents, may their souls rest in peace, my loving husband, Moonga, my son Chileleko and my two daughters; Nkombo and Muumbe.

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ABBREVIATIONS

GBV	Gender Based Violence
YWCA	Young Women Christian Association
VSU	Victim Support Unit
WDA	Ward Development Committee
CSO	Central Statistical Office
SEA	Standard Enumeration Areas
WD	Ward Councilor
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In many parts of the world including Zambia, when people marry, a payment is made for marriage (Chuunga, 2012). This payment is known as dowry, bride price or *lobola* in the Southern African context. Paying *lobola* is a customary practice in marriage where a groom's family and kin transfer certain goods to the bride's family. There are various interpretations this exchange is meant for in different ethnic groups, though with intermarriages, it is no longer very clear. Whatever the case, *lobola* still marks the beginning of the process of marriage which is one of the rite of passage, marking entrance or acceptance of the groom and the bride by both families and society at large as a couple. It sets as a basis for adult life by developing a new identity for both a man and a woman as it seals their relationship (Khan and Hyati, 2012). *Lobola* creates a relationship of life-long commitment of mutual support between the families of the bride and groom. The practice stimulates a deep sense of identity and meaning for most people and that it is dominant in day-to-day regulation of life of people (Niner, 2012).

Anderson (2014), explains that, in many societies *lobola* is paid by the groom's family to that of the bride. The payment is done once the bride wealth payment being negotiated is agreed upon by two families. Families with sufficient resources, may make the entire payment at once. Sometimes large sums of money is involved, and families (particularly poor families) may have trouble coming up with the full amount. In such cases, payment may occur over time. However, in some societies, it is the bride's side that pays the bride price and this is broadly termed as dowry. Materials like cattle or other animals or money are paid by the groom to the bride's family in exchange for the bride, her labour and children born to a woman (Ngutor, et al 2013).

Ngutor, et al (2013), emphasise the marriage rights that men benefit upon paying *lobola*. These include having power over the wife's identity, rights to sexuality, access and control of her labour as well as rights over children born to a woman (Ngutor, 2013). While others, see *lobola* as giving dignity to a woman by recognizing her value to her family and that it serves as a symbol of social status and prestige within society (Khan and Hyati, 2012).

Dura (2015) states that, while there are people who see bride price as a valued part of African culture, some see it as financial transaction which has continued to evolve across generations and remain fluid as it continues to be influenced by ever changing situations. With the increased modernisation and commercialisation in many societies, *lobola* seem to have lost its symbol of appreciation (Dura, 2015). *Lobola* has now been transformed to include payment of expensive financial and material resources such as land titles, electronics, cars, furniture, home theatres and other items that accompany the traditional items commonly used (Asiimwa, 2013 citing Hague, 2011:8).

Although paying *lobola* may be viewed as a form of protection for women within marriage by providing them some form of respect, status and acknowledgement within society, the practice may have adverse effects on women (Khan and Hyati, 2012). It may contribute to the perpetration of wife's subordination and abuse by the husband. A study done by Hague and Thiara (2009) in Uganda for instance, identified some adverse effects of *lobola* such as husband abusing their wives through rape, as well as viewing wives as their properties, among other things. Further, a study done in Uganda by Asiimwa (2013) reveals that the payment of bride price reinforces masculinities and femininities that do not only create, but also reinforce male dominance and female subordination thus expanding gender inequality, reduced decision making powers for women in the households and sometimes wife abuse.

In many circles, the association of bride price to the promotion of male dominance has raised a lot of debate by Non-governmental Organisations, media, Civil Society, feminists, politicians and others as it perpetuates gender inequality (Ashraff, 2015; Asiimwa, 2013; Bawa, 2015 and Mubanganzi, 2012). Asiimwa (2013) further notes that the bride price leads to high acceleration of gender based violence, degradation of a woman's dignity and violation of human rights, hindering the realisation and full enjoyment of their rights. Through the commercialisation of *lobola*, the practice has lost much of its traditional value in more recent times as it has assumed some new features (Chabata, 2011; Avais, et al 2015). *Lobola* seem to generate a lot of debate to an extent where some even call for its abolition on account that it reinforces gender inequality and contributes to gender based violence (Dery, 2015; Chireshe and Chireshe, 2010; Mukanangana, 2014). Zambia, like many countries in the sub-Saharan region and elsewhere, have increased the payment of *lobola*. Some tribal groupings where *lobola* was not traditionally paid have now taken up the custom (Sithole, 2005; Martignoni, 2002). Niner (2012) also notes that the payment of *lobola* is becoming prevalent in matrilineal communities that did not charge *lobola*. In the past, the practice is said to have

operated beneficially and gave formal recognition to marriages and protection to wives against abuse. However, some studies show that through payment of *lobola*, a wife now seem to appear as a commodity of the husband and parent in-laws and thus subjected to abuse and ill-treatment (Chabata, 2011; Chireshe and Chireshe, 2010).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite *lobola* playing a vital role in the institution of marriage, in the contemporary era, it has become more commercialised (Martignoni, 2002; Ashraff et al, 2015). A number of studies have been conducted on this subject. However, most studies done on *lobola* mainly focus on how this practice is conducted and the cultural significance attached to it (Chabata, 2011). In some instances, some studies done elsewhere have generalised the escalation of bride price and its effects on marriages. There are also studies done elsewhere which show that making *lobola* expensive has a paradoxical role for women including perpetuating gender inequality between men and women (Chireshe and Chireshe, 2010; Dura, 2015). However, there is little information available on the relationship between *lobola* and gender based violence in Zambia. Therefore, the study sought to generate empirical data on the possible link between *lobola* and gender based violence in marriage in Kamanga. The study comes at the right time when *lobola* has been put at the centre of many international debates to an extent where some even call for its abolition (Dery, 2015) and at the time when Zambia is witnessing a number of gender based violence cases among couples. Carrying out this study in the Zambian context will help provide explanations on the influence *lobola* has on gender based violence thus help cushion the deficiency in literature as society strives to promote the rights of women in marriage.

1.3 Main Objective of the study

The main objective of this study is to explore the influence of *lobola* on gender based violence among married women in Kamanga.

1.3.1 Specific objectives

- 1.3.1.1 To examine how the price of *lobola* is determined among families when negotiating for marriage;
- 1.3.1.2 To establish the perceptions of married women and men towards the payment of *lobola* in relation to gender based violence.
- 1.3.1.3 To determine the types of gender based violence women experience mostly associated with the payment of *lobola*.

1.3.2 Research questions

1.3.1.4 How is the price of *lobola* determined among families when negotiating for marriage?

1.3.1.5 How do married men and women perceive the payment of *lobola* in relation to gender based violence?

1.3.1.6 What types of gender based violence is associated with *lobola* do married women mostly experience in marriage?

1.4 Significance of the study

The subject on *lobola* is very important in Africa as there has been a growing debate and interest on the effects it has on women in marriage as a catalyst of gender based violence. In South Africa, Zimbabwe and Uganda, there has been calls for its abolishment or reform as the practice is believed to have exposed women to violence at the hands of their husbands and their relatives (Dery, 2015; Chireshe and Chireshe, 2010; Mukanangana, 2014; Hague and Thiara, 2009). In as much as *lobola* is perceived to have exposed women to violence as shown in the studies done in other parts of Africa, it is the least studied subject matter in Zambia. Most of the studies done in Zambia are not directly focusing on *lobola* in relation to gender based violence as such, although in passing some do touch on the link between the two elements. It is assumed that the knowledge this study will generate will be of help to researchers, policymakers and other stakeholders interested in reducing gender based violence and in the promotion of gender equality and human rights in general.

1.5 Operational definition of key terms

This study has two main concepts, namely *lobola* and gender based violence. The two concepts shall be defined hereunder to give the realm of their usage in the context of this study.

1.5.1 *Lobola*

Lobola, which is sometimes referred to as bride wealth or bride price, according to Mvududu (2002 in Chabata, 2011), can be referred to as the institution through which a man pays some property (such as goods, money, or livestock) for the right or privilege to marry a woman. This is given by the bridegroom to the bride's kin indemnity or compensation for the 'loss' of their daughter (Chabata, 2011 citing Radcliffe-Brown, 1934). In this study, *lobola* is used to refer to payment made in kind, cash or material by a groom or his family to the family of the bride in order to make marriage legitimate.

1.5.2 Gender based violence

Gender base violence in this study is define according to the UN Declaration (CEDAW, 1979 cited in CSO, 2013) as any act violence that result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.

1.6 Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized in six chapters. Chapter one is the introduction to the study. The second chapter reviews studies that have conducted on *lobola* and gender based violence in Africa and Zambia. The third chapter presents the methodology that was used in the study. It consists the research design, methods of research, study area, study population, sampling techniques, data collection tools, data analysis instruments and ethical considerations. The fourth chapter gives empirical findings based on the study objectives. The fifth chapter presents a discussion and interpretation of the major findings while the sixth chapter provides conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews studies that have explored the ‘state of the art’ in knowledge on the subject matter of *lobola* and gender based violence in Africa and Zambia. Towards the end of the review, a conclusion of the literature reviewed and a summary contribution of reviewed studies to the present study is given and the conceptual framework follows.

2.2 *Lobola* and Gender Based Violence in Africa

Lobola as a traditional practice, is at least as common in modern as in pre-colonial societies. *Lobola* is a practice that is an intrinsic part of traditional societies (Mangena and Ndlovu, 2013) and it has existed for many centuries and can be traced back to at least 3000 BC (Ngutor, et al, 2013). Mubangizi (2012), in his research confirms that *lobola* is not a unique practice but is an old-age cultural tradition that has been practiced and has been accepted in many parts of Africa and elsewhere (Derry, 2015). Chireshe and Chireshe’s (2010), reveals that *lobola* has been in practice since time immemorial and it now has a legal status, as such worth to be preserved. This is because *Lobola* is our tradition, part of our culture, our cultural heritage and doing away with *Lobola* is like trying to evade one’s identity which would be quite absurd.

According to Mangena and Ndlovu (2013) there has been some changes in the practice of *lobola* due to external influence in the form of colonial encounter. The practice of dowry payment in the pre-colonial societies did not require the payment of money as such, it was in form of cattle or any other animals and a few items such as some jewellerys and cans of local brew and some rare coins when the bride was a virgin (Nguter et al, 2013; Dery 2015). The amount required to be paid has been usually uniform throughout society. It did not vary by familial wealth, as only a few cultural items were given to symbolise a token of appreciation.

However, Mangena and Ndlovu (2013) revealed that among the Shona and Ndebele, the main items used for *lobola* payment were cattle and a few bags of maize. The payment of *lobola* was often considered as a direct payment for a bride’s virginity (Ngutor, et al, 2013). Nguter et al, 2013 and Anderson (2014), observed that the amount of bride wealth was depending on the expected number of children a woman would bear. Divorced women with children did not attract high bride price because they already had children, so they were not expected to have

many children compared to a virgin (Anderson, 2014). He further notes that raising the bride price is often the responsibility of the groom's extended lineage group, with the principle contributions coming from his father, grandfather, and father's brothers, and with mother's brothers making small contributions. Likewise, since in this setting the entire lineage group has rights to a woman. The bride price is distributed among many members of the bride's extended family. In this case, larger bride prices can arise with larger lineage groups (Anderson, 2014).

Ngutor et al (2013), established that in third world countries, socio- economic variables such as level of education of the bride, social status of bride family and many others have become deciding factors in determining bride price. In such cases where the bride attains high education or is a working class, bride price tends to be escalated. The groom or his families are expected to pay heavily in these circumstances. In collaboration, Chuunga (2012) also revealed that payment of *lobola* is determined by how special the daughter was considered to be, how hard working the girl was, their girl's level of education, the girl's position in the family, the girl's virginity, their girl's income, if at all she was working. All these push the dowry either high or bring it low. Muthengheti, (2012) equally revealed that the families' background, its way of behaviour and also the negotiations between the two families and the education and the financial status of the girl appear to be deciding factors in determining bride price.

In recent times there has been a growing debate surrounding the role *lobola* plays in marriage. Studies show that *lobola* payment is one of the most recognized means of legalizing marriage in many societies (Ashraff, 2015). It is the first step in formation of marriage and a cultural requirement of every family as there cannot be any family that would marry their daughters without any payment. It is only when the bride price is paid that the marriage formalities can be said to be concluded. (Erhagbe and Ehiabhi, nd). Mangena and Ndlovu (2013: 473) argue that any marriage that does not involve the payment of *lobola* looks like a casual sex or prostitution while others believes that it makes a woman to be treated as a common maid and a kind of a toy for whiling up time with (Chireshe and Chireshe, 2010). Other findings in Nigeria in the Igbo land by Ugwuegede (2015) indicate that non-payment of *lobola* makes women feel worthless and valueless leading to low sense of self-esteem. Non-payment of bride price makes women lose pride in marriage. The

payment of bride price is a condition precedent for contracting a valid marriage and this has also been given statutory recognition (Ugwuegede, 2015).

Similarly, Matope, et al (2013) note that *lobola* plays a crucial role in society as it represents a form of covenant between the couple and the contracting families and paying *lobola* makes marriage to be morally and socially acceptable and respectable. Simenya's (2014) study among the Basotho in South Africa as well established that marriage can only be recognised and accepted by both immediate family and the community at large after *lobola* has been paid. Pati's (2009) study also established that, the woman whose *lobola* has been paid for is respected greatly by both her family and that of her husband. He further argues that a woman's value is determined by the bride-price charged. The higher the *lobola* charged, the more value is attached to that bride. Mawere and Mawere (2010) also revealed that a woman for whom *bride price* was paid has more self-worth and is more valued and respected by her husband as well as her own parents and the community at large. Such a woman becomes a role model for both younger sisters and young unmarried girls in the community. Similarly, Khan and Hyati's (2012) findings reveal that *lobola* provides a moral and social code encouraging respect and commitment between couples, supported by their respective families. Chuunga (2012) also notes that payment of *lobola* showed commitment on the husband's side and security on the part of the wife in a home.

The practice of paying *lobola* operated beneficially for both groom and bride. It provided formal recognition for marriage relationships including protecting the wives against abuse. It is assumed that when *lobola* is paid, a man would attach value to a woman he pays for and this value is a way of according her a befitting status (Mawere and Mawere, 2010; Chireshe and Chireshe, 2010). Similarly, Dery (2015), observes that *lobola* makes a woman to be an official wife and seals a woman's status as a worthy woman in the eyes of all. It legitimatises marriage by making as it confirms the cultural symbolism of accepting the groom and bride into each other's family. *Lobola* is a unifying factor in binding and cementing the relationship between the couple and the two families joining together (Dery, 2015).

Equally, Chireshe and Chireshe (2010), identified *lobola* as fundamental in validating marriage, in that it shows the seriousness and commitment of a man. Its payment manifests itself as a token of appreciation, or a way of thanking the in-laws for bearing and rearing a wife for man. The study done by Mangena and Ndlovu (2013) among the Ndebele and the

Shona, on the other hand, revealed that *lobola* is done to compensate the loss of the productivity that the bride was providing to her family and that in the present day, it is a compensation for economic costs incurred in bringing up the daughter.

Chireshe and chireshe (2010) viewed *lobola* as a practice that stabilises marriages between the bride and the groom. He further revealed that if bride price is abolished women would be abused at an alarming rate. The argument is that, “without bride price the man would take it as a simple thing to marry and to divorce, abusing and violating women’s rights, causing gender inequality problems.” Thus, bride price preserves marriages by reducing the divorce rate Chireshe and chireshe (2010).

Although the practice is believed to have benefitted both groom and the bride as earlier alluded to, however, this no longer seems to be the case. With the commercialisation of bride price, its cultural relevance is becoming less clear in present times (Dery, 2015). Chireshe and Chireshe’s 2010 quoting Kambarami, 2006) findings reveal that *lobola* now has a paradoxical role in the lives of women. On the one hand, it places value on women while on the other hand it degrades them by fostering male dominance in the home and relegating them to the position of appendages. *Lobola* gives a man all rights whilst the woman is stripped of all freedom and rights. They further go on to say the woman is even further reduced to the level of acquired property especially in cases where *Lobola* was set at a high price. He argues that *Lobola*, as part of the patriarchal nature of the Shona society, breeds inequality and widens the gap between men and women, thereby placing women in a subordinate position. Chireshe and Chireshe (2010), thus sees *Lobola* as an instrument of patriarchy that perpetuates the subordination of women. (Mawere and Mawere, 2010) equally sees the custom as breeding inequality and widening the social power gap between men and women thereby placing women in a subordinate position.

Dery’s (2015) findings in Ghana on knowledge, practice and attitude of recent commercialization of bride price links *lobola* to domestic violence. He established that the practice prescribes the role of women in marriages and further subordinates them to men. The practice further, takes away their rights and further enslaves them as they (women) have limited choices in decision making within the family. Bride-price renders women to 'commoditized objects' whose value is equated to material items or money. (Dery, 2015). Equally, Mashiri (2013) brings out of the issue of marital rape being common among women,

especially those who experience gender based violence. Many men and women do not believe that there is marital rape as payment of '*lobola*' (the bride prize) entitles men to have sex with their wives whenever they wish. He further reveals that revealed that the payment of *lobola* is often used to justify a man's infidelity as he might claim that since he paid for his wife he can expect her to be faithful without the same applying to him. He also brought out issue of 'chiramu', where young women are suffering at the hand of their brother in laws as these men have the right to fondle the breasts of their wife's young sister's breasts. Many a time this will be forceful and usually ends in rape. These cases are swept under the carpet in order to protect the family.

Further, Khan and Hyati's (2015) findings revealed that, *lobola* enforces rigid gender roles between a man and a woman because of the status of a woman of being a property of a man. It creates rigid gender roles assigned to women within the family and in public. There is a clear division of responsibilities between men and women. The husband is seen as the head of the family, and is responsible for earning money. The wife is expected to take care of the house, look after children, and to help in the fields during the busiest times. They further revealed that the wife may also earn money through work inside or outside the home, but this does not reduce her household duties (Khan and Hyati, 2015). Anderson's (2007) findings revealed that some women get punished if they were not executing their traditional role. Onyango (2016) in his findings also observes that bride price implies that when a woman gets married, she has to add more hours of work to her day, making a woman a beast of burden.

Equally, Bawa (2015) adds that *lobola* assigns men to wealth creating roles that gives them power in all circles of life including power over the women in marriage. Wealth creating roles make men to become economically sound as compared to women whose role is to remain as care givers making them to be dependent on the men. It is this dependence on their husbands that increases their vulnerability (Bawa, 2015).

Muthegheki (2012) in Bundibugyo, western Uganda also links the practice of bride price to gender based violence. He established that due to the payment of bride price, Women lose their dignity, have to do endless hard labour and then failure to produce children becomes a big crime once you have been paid for. A woman also turns to be property of the man after paying bride price and she is exploited to the maximum and this deprives her of her rights.' Muthegheki, 2012). This include women who deliberately want to use family planning to

space the children, especially condoms as men feel that the women are disturbing what is rightfully theirs (Mangena and Ndlovu, 2013).

Findings by Avis et al (2015) also associated violation of women's rights and divorce with high bride price. They established that the practice of *lobola* appears to buy a wife as a product limited control on their bodies either sexually or in shape of labour. They see the practice as not safeguarding women because they lose their sexual rights such as sexual protection and frequency of sexual intercourse. Women do not have control over sexual and reproductive health and rights in terms of sexual preferences and negotiating for safe sex. Some societies in Zimbabwe give exclusive sexual rights to men over his wife through an initial payment known as *Ruts ambo*, leaving a woman with no choice to make over sexual matters in a home (Ngutor et al, 2015).

Bawa (2015) also in his study on bride price in Ghana on assessment of its social representation observed that bride price deprives women's decision making power over accessing health care to do with reproductive life and livelihood choices that increases their vulnerability with negative implications such as child spacing. He further established that a woman is deprived of her personhood in terms of self-determination and status of equality with her husband. A woman cannot leave an abusive marriage in fear of failure by their parents to refund the bride price. In such a situation, a woman remain vulnerable as a man assumes ownership of her which may require her to have a man's consent to exercise any of her rights (Bawa, 2015).

Bride wealth paid in cash instead of livestock makes women to be seen as articles for sale, according to Onyango (2016). Correspondingly, Chabata (2011) revealed that commercialisation of *lobola* transformed it from being a mere cultural practice to commodification of women and that this has far-reaching implications on women and marriage. Mawere, and Mawere's (2010) findings reveal that the hefty bride wealth charges lead to some husbands and in-laws to abuse the married women's rights on grounds that they bought her at a high price. Some men speak harshly every time they have an argument with their wives. Wives are reminded that "your parents overcharged me and they are now rich because of me". This therefore, justifies abuse as women are taken as property having been bought.

In collaboration, Glynis's (2016) study on the Practice of *Lobola* in Contemporary South African Society among the pupils, also revealed that there is a connection between *lobola* and gender based violence. He argues that the change from the use of cattle to the use of money, makes a woman to be treated as a property of the groom which in this case makes a woman to be abused by both the husband and the in-laws. Niner (2012) also in her study on *Barlake*: an exploration of marriage practices and issues of women's status in Timor-Leste revealed that, bride price led to adverse treatment of wives due to expectations linked to the exchange. She has observed that there has been an increase in the payment of *lobola* in monetary form, which has encouraged a sense of purchase and ownership by men. Niner above further observed that *lobola* is changing for the worst as it is no longer representing part of a process of reciprocal exchange between families. Instead, it is now used for greed and status enhancement making it look more like business among families (Niner, 2012).

Correspondingly, Ngutor (2013 citing Platteau and Gaspart, 2007) revealed that high bride-prices in Senegal contributes to alienation of women and transform them into commodities or into their husband's slaves. He associated it with expression that shows a deep-seated frustrations and intense suffering of women in fear that the husband and his family may resent high bride-prices because of the financial stress caused. Ngutor further observes that the husband or his family may regret having agreed to an unbearable burden of paying bride price, especially when it is paid in instalments if they find fault with the wife or daughter-in-law. Such conditions expose a woman to a serious risk of harassment and ill-treatment by the husband and his relatives because she is considered to be the cause of the problems encountered by them.

Ansell's (2001) findings among the Basotho of Lesotho and the Shona of Zimbabwe also establish that *lobola* is being commercialised and that young people are hotly contesting the practice as financial transaction that disadvantages women. It is argued that now people are making *lobola* as a profit making venture to become rich, which is an abuse of the practice that leads to women oppression. It is now a means to access wealth, as one proverb say, 'To bear a daughter is to ensure future wealth' as Dekker and Hoogeveen (2002) put it. Similarly, Gwiza (2015) also observed that society has abused the practice of *lobola* by turning it into an enterprise by capitalising on their daughters demanding huge amount of money and properties. Matope, et al (2013) on their study in Zimbabwe established that commercialised

lobola exacerbates domestic violence that results in men using it as a tool to oppress, exploit and dominate women including perpetrating gender based violence.

According to Fuseini and Dodoo's (2012), findings in Ghana revealed that, *lobola* reinforces the power that men already have on women. They further add that *lobola* gives men authority not only on child birth and labour over women, but also their behaviour on what they can and cannot do. These include their movements, their dressing and who to associate with. This type of restrictions on women is one of the drivers of psychological abuse as women are made captives in their own homes (Fuseini and Dodoo's, 2012). All this is as a result of men's impression that after paying the bride price their wives should remain submissive to them. Similarly, Chireshe and Chireshe (2010), links *lobola* as part of patriarchal nature to have widened the gap between men and women, thereby giving men unfitted control over women. He argues that it hinges on women's freedom, which include women's personal economic activities to the extent of controlling their own funds.

Mangane and Ndlovu (2013) further observes that *lobola* stripes off the economic freedom that a woman might have acquired through her education. The man can personalise the woman's finances that she earns or the businesses which she started with her own funds. Further, Ngutor also states that once the man has paid Bride Price the woman is reduced to the status of property. She does not only become part of the property but even what she works for becomes part of the husband's family property because they paid bride price. This affects women's freedom thereby affecting their marital stability. It forces a woman to live under an intolerable and hostile family environment subjects her to servitude and slave like conditions hence leading to violence against women, when the marriage breaks down. Similarly, Asimwa (2013) established that if the wife is stronger either economically or professionally than the husband, the husband's hegemonic masculinities is threatened. Out of feeling insecure, some husbands resort to force their wives to withdraw from paid work or personal business in order to 'control' them well. The payment of bride price reinforces the husbands' dominance over their wives. Fuseini (2013 citing Chireshe and Chireshe, 2010) in his findings equally indicates that bride wealth influences domestic violence beyond women's personal economic activities which they started with their own funds. This may be due to the fact that men after paying bride wealth feel they have "bought" their partners and for that matter they "own".

Equally, Onyango, (2016) established that the payment of bride price reduced a woman to the status of property. *Lobola* also gives a husband's family authority over what a woman works for because they paid bride price. This has effects on the women's freedom as it forces them to live under an intolerable and hostile family environment subjecting them to captivity and slave conditions. In some communities, even when a woman has the resources to purchase or own a piece of land, she cannot without the husband's consent.

Bawa (2015) also indicates that the man's consent in anything that a woman wants to do is vital upon contracting the marriage. In all her endeavours, she has to be always conscious of the existence of a man and must serve and please the husband. He notes that, the gender roles that a woman is associated to upon the payment of *lobola*, disadvantages her to pursue her individual interests and aspiration in life and this can lead her into poverty. He further argues that, the fact that women are not empowered to decide on their own economically, makes them entirely dependent on their husbands. This makes women more prone to abuse by their husbands as it implies that the man is in charge of her and may demand total obedience from her. All this happens because a man after paying *lobola* demands total obedience from the wife to meet the roles and other social expectations which may result into abuse of a wife if he does not receive it (Bawa, 2015).

Furthermore, Mawere and Mawere, (2010) researching on the modern Shona society found out that the payment of *lobola* among some learned, wealthy and urbanized women is being resented as it leads to the subordination of women to their husbands. The women resent the traditional bride price in marriage because it gives a man authority over them. With bride price, a woman is expected to be obedient to her husband, and a man can make claims on the wife's labour and income. Consequently, some women have even opted to remain single to maintain their liberty, an indication that women are being enslaved by committing themselves into marriage (Mawere and Mawere, 2010).

Similarly, Khan and Hyati, (2012), established that a number of women in patrilineal clans have changed their traditions by rejecting bride price in order to protect their fellow women who marry out from domestic violence. They argue that, by not accepting bride price or by lowering bride price protects women from domestic violence because their families will have a greater voice with the groom's family in cases where they are abused by their husband. The understanding is that when the bride price is too high, the bride's family have difficulties to

have a voice and support to their daughter in marriage in case of marital conflicts including gender based violence (Khan and Hyati, 2012)

Fuseini and Dodoo's (2012) findings revealed that, the payment of *lobola* in full makes a woman not to have autonomy in all aspects of her life including marriage compared to a woman whose *lobola* has been paid partially. It is a hindrance to the full enjoyment of women's rights and gender equality as their decision are influenced by their husbands or marital family. They argue that as marriage moves from no payment, to partial payment to full payment, women lose their autonomy accordingly. The women as well accept that their husband had the right to beat them over taking decision without consulting them compared to the women on whom no bride wealth has not been paid or partially paid. Further, Fuseini (2013) established that with increase in the proportion of *lobola*, norms for restraining women become more limiting. In corroboration, Nasrin and Hyati's (2012) also in their findings revealed that even the partial payment of *lobola* in situations that it is not given in full, makes men think of their wives as property together with their family members.

Mangena and Ndlovu (2013) established that there has been a radical change in terms of the payment of *lobola* in Zimbabwe. Their findings reveal that *lobola* payment in the past was done communally; a situation where the whole family of a man marrying contributed towards *lobola*. As such, the bride groom did not pay *lobola* himself directly. They view that the capitalist communities as having led to an individualistic attitude, a situation where a family group was no longer obliged in any way to pay *lobola* on behalf of a marrying man, which therefore, justifies the man who pays to abuse the wife. Ngema's (2013) study in South Africa established that the tendency of the groom paying from their pockets lessens the groom's family ability and willingness to intervene in the differences and to end any violence that may arise in that marriage.

Ansell's (2001) study in Lesotho and Zimbabwe also established that the commercialisation of *lobola* has made the practice more of an individual man's transaction. Further, his findings in Lesotho revealed that with commercialisation and increased payment of *lobola*, there is an emerging trend to demand for payment of the entire amount agreed at once. Consequently, this may contribute to women's oppression as men expect a lot from them, especially in situations where they get into credit to facilitate payment for the bride due to exorbitant charges of *lobola* (Mangena and Ndlovu, 2013). In collaboration, Muthegheki

(2012) established that when over-charged, contracting a loan to pay for *lobola* can leave a permanent mark on the groom which can lead to women experience abuse in their marriages. He further stated that the perception that the man has been ‘overcharged’ could lead to numerous conflicts with the wife and abandoning the marriage because he feels cheated. Onyanggo (2016) also notes that most dowry marriages are founded on bitterness and suspicion due to the unreasonable demands of parents before the marriage. In some instances, the couple pays the money requested and then breaks any relationship with the bride’s family.

Dura (2015) also acknowledged changes in the payment of *lobola* in terms of the negotiation process. He argues that the commercialisation of *lobola* has made the bargaining process for the *lobola* more involving in the sense that the bride family bargains to get the highest offer while the groom’s bargain is to pay for the possible minimum amount. This complex process of bargaining sometimes results in concerned parties expressing anger on each other before consensus is reached on the amount to be paid. Dura further argues that, the higher the amount demanded, the more pressure it creates on men in terms of completion of payment. This pressure may in turn result into violence against women as their expectations are also determined by the amount they paid.

Sithole (2015) reveals in a traditional set up where payments for marriage involve contributions among members of the groom’s family including uncles, grandparents, aunts, brothers, etc., this also has had its own disadvantages in marriage. While it makes the payments easier to the groom, it makes all those people who played a part in that marriage to have control and say in the marriage. Consequently, it gives the groom’s relatives to have a right to control that marriage. Such relatives, especially the woman expect her to do whatever they want because they contributed to that marriage (Sithole, 2015). Similarly, Chuunga (2012) established that even in situations where a man is able to pay for dowry by himself, parental involvement is still required. In case of marital difficulties (and even death of a spouse), parents who were involved in establishing that marriage come in to help. Erhagbe, and Ehiabhi, (nd) also note that upon death of a husband, a widow is handed over to a member of the family as part of inheritance. It can also imply a passport to family interferences (Erhagbe, and Ehiabhi, nd).

In collaboration, Ugwuegede’s (2015) study in Nigeria revealed that, bride price is the leading contributor to the escalating levels of domestic violence being witnessed in Igbo land.

He notes that, through bride price a woman is regarded as property and an object of inheritance for the husband. She does not have rights of her own as an individual. This in itself exposes women to degradation, dehumanizing and humiliating treatment which affect their self-esteem in society. Equally, Onyango (2016) also contends that, since men pay bride-wealth, there is a notion that the girl has been bought giving a woman an inferior position that they cannot be equal with the buyer. He states that the whole of the man's family has a notion that they are participants in the purchase. The man's sisters have a notion that the bride-wealth was used to purchase the brother's wife, hence they have a stake in controlling her. In fact, in Luo culture the wife always refers to her husband's sister as a husband. Due to this situation, the woman has no voice in the family and the wider community. She is not even consulted on issues which affect her directly. She has low self-esteem, and even the language used of her is demeaning.

Sithole (2015) in his findings emphasized that when *lobola* is overcharged, the man and his relatives in turn have anticipations to get the value of their money. The end result is abuse towards a woman if she does not fulfil her value for the money paid. Equally, Khan and Hyati, (2012) established that in instances where relatives to the bride asked for a high bride price, it puts the bride's relatives in an awkward situation in an event of marital conflicts. The bride's family in such cases would have an economic interest to keep their daughter's marriage because a divorce would require them to return bride price, which often has already been shared among her relatives. Similarly, Anderson (2007) observes that in some cases women's parents refused their daughters to get out of marriage even when it breaks down, since they could not afford to repay bride price. Ngema (2013) in his findings adds that sometimes parents to the woman spend the money for the bride price just after receiving it, thus making a woman vulnerable in an event that her family is unable to return the *lobola*.

Asiimwa (2013) further reveals that there are cases where the marriage becomes unpleasant to a point of divorce and parents to the woman are capable of refunding the bride price, but the process of refunding itself creates an embarrassment to them. In such situations, women are forced to remain in a violent marriage, thereby making the husband believing that he is entitled to do whatever he wished with her. This combination of circumstances would push a wife into an impossible situation of abuse and neglect, to the extent of being a destitute in her own home (Asiimwa, 2013).

Similarly, Chuunga (2012) observes that, once *lobola* payment was done, it caused an embarrassment to the whole family of the bride in an event that the wife is sent back her family. This is because breaking such a relationship involves the entire family negotiating on how much *lobola* should be returned. For this reason, a wife would be encouraged to persevere in marital hardships especially where her parents would have already used the dowry. In some situations, wives are forced to remain in abused relationships for fear of bringing shame to their own families. Asiiimwa (2013) adds on that some parents for fear of bringing shame upon themselves even threaten to disown their daughters if they walked out of marriage. She also asserts that the process of refunding *lobola* in cases where marriage becomes unpleasant compels women to stay in abusive marriages because it creates embarrassment and stigma to both the wife and her family. Anderson (2007) also notes that some women have ended up being forced to stay with their unfaithful husbands, who in some instances eventually end up infecting them with diseases like HIV. Some women are forced to marry again within their husband's family when the husband dies against their wish simply because their parents could not repay the bride price.

Hague, et al (2011) also observed that payment of *lobola* ties a woman to stay in an abusive marriage. The fear of stigmatisation as a failure in marriage coupled with their vulnerability resulting from lack of financial independence forces them to remain in their relationships. In addition, Glynis (2015) links *lobola* to the spread of HIV/AIDS as it permits men to marry as many wives as one wishes. This may result into the spread of diseases among different wives that the man has.

Asiiimwa (2013) observes that *lobola* disadvantages mothers as parents in sharing their daughter's bride price. The father usually gets a bigger share while a mother remains with less or nothing. Asiiimwa (2013) further notes that, even when the actual father dies, due to the *lobola* which would have been paid, male relatives to the father are the ones who receive the bride price, even when the bride would have been raised by her mother. Dura (2015) and Asiiimwa (2013) attribute the payment of *lobola* to giving rights to fathers over children born of that marriage. In this case, women are not viewed as equal parents to their own children. Dura (2015) further argues that *lobola* paid gives the father's side ownership to the children. He sees this as sometimes being unfair especially in the context of growing trends of women raising children as single parents. The women do not benefit because children are said to belong to the father.

In Uganda, Hague and Thiara (2009) reveal that when a husband dies, due to the payment of bride price, the widow still belongs to her late husband's family. Therefore, she is told to remarry within the husband's family. In an event that the widow refuses such, she can be driven out of her late husband's land by her in-laws and she would not receive any support towards the children. Without a husband, she loses her rights in that family. The situation leads women into homelessness and destitution (Hague and Thiara, 2009). Similarly, Mashiri (2013) also identifies wife's inheritance as one of the forms of gender based violence in Zimbabwe. According to him, when a husband dies, it is common practice for his brother to marry his widow who may have no choice in the matter as a result of economic reasons. If the wife refuses to be married then the husband's relatives would not allow the surviving spouse and children access to the deceased estate as that inheritance is traced through the male line so as to ensure that property remains within the family (Mashiri, 2013).

2.3 *Lobola* and gender based violence in Zambia

Just like in many other African societies, *lobola* is still a common feature of many marriages in Zambia. Chilufya (2008) did a study on consent and bride price as two elements that help in determining the validity of a customary marriage and custodian of children among the Bemba people of Northern Zambia. He established that *lobola* is helpful in uniting the two parties and their extended families. He points out that without any payment to the bride's family, customary marriage is not valid or considered legitimate.

Mtonga's (2007) study also brings out some negative aspects of *lobola*. He established that traditional practices like bride price lead to men mistreating their wives because they feel they own them. He attaches maltreatment issues such as wives being beaten for not being submissive. Equally, Martignoni (2002) established that, the fact that many women in Zambia are married under customary law, marriages are not valid unless *lobola* is paid to the wife's family. His study further acknowledges increase in the payment of *lobola* in recent years in Zambia and that the custom has been taken up in some tribal groups where *lobola* was not traditionally a custom. He however, established that, bride price leads to women being treated as commodities and exposed them to psychological and physical violence by both the husband and in-laws (Martignoni, 2002).

Kamuwanga (2000) whose main focus was on learning how cultural practices and beliefs influence the spread of HIV and AIDS established *lobola* as a value for a female among tribal grouping such as the Bemba, Lozi, Luvale, and Tonga so they emphasised more on the bride not having children at the time of marriage. The Kaonde, Luvale and Ngoni view it as a legal right over a man. Every parent looks forward to earning something from their daughter when she grows up and marries. If *lobola* is not paid, the marriage is not recognised by parents. *Lobola* also brings respect and makes the woman to be free as she feels accepted by the groom's side. Every woman, whatever the age ought to be paid for when one gets married, though the price varies according to age and if one has had sex before. *Lobola* tends to be high for a virgin. All cultural practices including sexual cleansing can only be performed if *lobola* was paid (Kamuwanga, 2000). However, his study also shows that due to *lobola*, many women in the country are subjected to violence by members of their husband's family. This is as the result of the communal participation in the payment of *lobola* which makes them feel a woman is their property.

Ashraff (2015) did a comparative study on bride price and female education in Zambia and Indonesia and findings show *lobola* as potentially leading to ill-treatment of women. He found out that men use the commodification of *lobola* as justification for the abuse of women which has its effects of lowering the status of women within marriage. Ashraff's findings further show that where bride price was practiced, increased investments in education by parents on their girl child led to an increase in the amount of bride price received by parents at the time of marriage. Kamuwanga's (2000) study similarly revealed that *lobola* gives the male figure an upper hand over a woman's life to an extent that she has very little control over her sexuality and reproductive rights. The study further revealed that *lobola* tends to place a woman in a position of property not a partner to her husband. A woman has limited power to decide when to have sex or whether to have safe or unsafe sex.

Mulenga et al (2007) in their study on human rights violations in Zambia part II on women's rights show *lobola* as being pervasive and enduring feature, which has been universalized by society and local courts. They found that customary marriages are not valid unless *lobola* payment is made to the wife's family. Mulenga, et al, above also show that where the bride price was paid, women were being treated as commodities being purchased. This perception, according to them, frequently exposed women to an increased risk of physical and psychological violence at the hands of their husbands and their family. They further observe

that the practice transfers a woman's productive labour or protective capacity to her husband and his family, the reason why *lobola* has to be returned in the event of a divorce. Their study further revealed that the issue of refunding the bride price causes difficulties to the woman as she is often forced to stay in marriage just because her family is unable to return the *lobola*, or for fear of being castigated by her own family. In other instances, the payment of *lobola* ties the woman to her husband's family even after the husband's death. The fact that the man or his family has parted with resources in order to acquire a wife, a woman has no power even beyond her husband's death (Mulenga et al, 2007).

Among the seventy-three ethnic groups in Zambia according to Chuunga's (2015) study on African marriage revealed that each tribe has got its own way of determining dowry charges. He cited the Lamba of just asking for *insalamu*¹ from the groom to show commitment. However, he was required to assist in any activity that helped to generate income like farming. Tonga people only demanded a minimum number of six cows which were distributed to the mother, the father, the uncle and her counsellor at puberty or marriage. The remaining was shared to the wife's family. The sharing of *lobola* was done to make it easy to refund *lobola* to the groom's family in case of a problem or divorce. In this way, it was easy for the woman to leave an abusive marriage because money could be easily refunded. However, this is now getting diluted with the commercialisation of *lobola* concept and intermarriages across different ethnic groups.

2.4 Conclusions and summary contribution of literature to the current study

Studies reviewed have been very helpful in understanding different aspects of the subject matter of *lobola*. Through the literature, the significance of *lobola* as a traditional practice for validating marriage came out. The literature also showed how it has evolved over time thus leading to loss of its traditional value. Studies also exposed possible influence of *lobola* on gender based violence as well as types of associated gender based violence with *lobola*.

Notwithstanding the insights drawn from the reviewed literature, it is important to make general remarks covering the overall picture portrayed by the reviewed studies. Most studies in Africa on *lobola* in relation to gender based violence comes from other countries, more so from Ghana, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Lesotho. These studies bring out a lot of issues on the role of bride price. From various studies *lobola* is perceived to legalize and validate

¹ Explain *insalamu*

marriage in many societies (Dery2015; Dura, 2015and Chireshe and Chireshe, 2015). Authors like Mangena and Ndlovu, (2013); Chireshe and Chireshe (2010) and Mawere and Mawere, 2010; contend that, payment of *lobola* is an indication that a man values his wife and attaching a value was way of according her status and respect by both her family and the husband's family. The higher *lobola* charged, the more value is attached to that bride (Matope, et al 2013; Pati, 2009).

Other authors like, Khan and Hyati's (2012:30; Chuunga (2012) have presented different arguments in support of the significance of the payment of *lobola*. Among other findings as mentioned was the perception that payment of *lobola* is important because it provides a strong moral and social code encouraging respect and commitment between both couples, supported by their respective families. *Lobola* shows commitment on the husband's side and security on the part of the wife in a home. While authors like Avis (2015) show that *lobola* stabilises marriages between the bride and the groom as it reduces the abuse of women. He observes that "without *lobola* the man would take it a simple thing to marry and to divorce, abusing and violating women's rights, causing gender inequality problems."

On the other hand, some scholars have presented a negative perception linking the practice of *lobola* to gender based violence. For instance, Dura (2015), Onyango (2016) and Ngutor (2013) observed that *lobola* makes a woman to be regarded as property by the husband's family to an extent where she is striped of her economic freedom. They argue that *lobola* promotes gender inequalities forcing women to live under an intolerable and hostile family environment subjecting her to slavery like condition, hence leading to gender based violence. Khan and Hyati (2012) are also against the payment of *lobola*. They contend that *lobola* reinforces division of labour between men and women. The only roles available to women are those of being wives and mothers. Women are thus, seen as nurturers and mainly as providers of support to men, putting men in superior position even in situations where a woman may also earn money through formal or informal employment.

In another dimension, Avis, et al (2015); Khan and Hyati (2012) and Mawere and Mawere (2010) argue that the payment of *lobola* contribute to unequal power relations between men and women and thus reduces women's ability to make independent decisions. The unequal power relation between men and women that is created does not just occur at household level alone but also spreads to wider society. Similarly, Fuseini and Dodoo's (2012) see the practice of *lobola* as reinforcing the power that men already have on women. They argue that

apart from the authority that men have on child birth and labour over women, they also have control over women's behaviour in dressing, who to associate with and their movements. Furthermore, some studies such as Asiimwa (2013) and Hague and Thiara, (2009) have shown direct connection between *lobola* and gender based violence while others do not directly link *lobola* to gender based violence.

However, some authors have also tended to generalise their findings on Africa without appreciating that their cultural diversity as the African continent is very wide. Unfortunately, some of these generalisations have ended up characterising what now is seen as dominating knowledge on the African continent. Some studies such as Avis et al (2015) do not even provide clear methodological approaches used in their investigations. Most studies done on Zambia are not directly focusing on *lobola* in relation to gender based violence as such, although some such as Ashraff (2005) and Chilufya (2008) in passing do touch on how *lobola* affects women. Therefore, the motivation for this study is to provide a deeper understanding on how the payment of *lobola* influences gender based violence in the Zambian context.

2.5 Conceptual framework

Having reviewed the literature, this section introduces the conceptual framework which will guide the study. The study is guided by the concept of patriarchy in understanding the possible link between *lobola* and gender based violence. Of all the concepts generated by contemporary feminist theory, patriarchy is probably the most overused and, in some respects, the most undertheorized. This state of affairs is not due to neglect, since there is a substantial volume of writing on the question, but rather to the specific conditions of development of contemporary feminist usages of the term (Kandiyoti, 1988).

However, the term in everyday usage implies "male domination", or more simply "male power". Patriarchy applies to virtually any form or instance of male domination. Johnson (2005) defines patriarchy as systemic societal structures that institutionalise male physical, social and economic power over women. It refers to a social system of masculine domination over women. It reveals the intimate inner workings of culturally and historically distinct arrangements between the genders (Kandiyoti, 1988). Patriarchal structures work to the benefit of men by constraining women's life choices and chances. Patriarchy privileges men over women in such a way that women have little or no claims to material, sexual and intellectual resources of society. A society is patriarchal to the degree that it promotes male

privilege; by being male dominated, male identified, and male centred. In a patriarchal society women have to struggle in different aspects of life. Different areas of women's lives are under patriarchal control including women's productive or labour power, women's reproduction, women's mobility, access to property and other economic resources as well as control over women's sexuality (including marriage) (Johnson, 2005).

Different forms of patriarchy present women with distinct "rules of the game" and call for different strategies to maximize security and optimize life options with varying potential for active or passive resistance in the face of oppression. Patriarchy has been viewed as more than just the subordination of women. It has been pointed out that not all men are powerful in a patriarchal system. For example, younger men in the family have less authority and power than older men. Such men who are oppressed and exploited by powerful men are denied access to resources of the society as well as their own masculine identity. In spite of this, the fact remains that all men can claim resources and power more easily than women in their families or communities (Kandiyoti, 1988).

The roots of patriarchy are often located in women's reproductive role and sexual violence, interwoven with processes of capitalist exploitation. The main 'sites' of patriarchal oppression have been identified as housework, paid work, the state, culture, sexuality, and violence. Behaviours that discriminate against women because of their gender are seen as patriarchal 'practices'. In a patriarchal society, men view women as fundamentally different from themselves and women are reduced to the status of the second sex and hence subordinate. Women are perceived as a dependent sex class under patriarchal domination (Johnson, 2005). Patriarchy influences how society is organized and what perpetrates certain activities and practices in different societies (Connell, 1999). Feminist writers use patriarchy not only as a descriptive term that explains how different societies construct male authority and power, but also as an analytical category used critically to explain male authority and power in any social system. Some feminists use the concept of patriarchy to explain the systemic subordination of women by both overarching and localised structures (Sultana, 2011).

In contemporary gender discourses, patriarchy helps to explain differential positions of men and women in society. It is also organized around an obsession with control and involves the oppression of women as one of its key aspects (Johnson, 2005). The patriarchal nature of African society breeds inequality and widens the gap between men and women, thereby placing women in subordinate positions. It gives a husband rights whilst the

wife is stripped of most of her freedom and rights. A wife to some extent even gets reduced to the level of acquired property by the husband's family. This, thus breeds inequality and widens the gap between men and women, thereby placing women in a disadvantaged position (Kambarimi, 2006). Having given the conceptual framework that will guide the topic under study, we now turn to the research design and methodology that was employed in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that was used in the study. It consists the research design, methods of research, study area, study population, sampling techniques, data collection tools, data analysis instruments and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research design

A research design refers to the structure of an inquiry that enables the researcher to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible. It includes a planned sequence of the entire research process (Yin, 2009:29). Since the study aimed at establishing clear picture on the influence of lobola on gender based violence among married women and men, it adopted a descriptive research design approach. A descriptive research design provides a detailed description of the phenomenon, group or community by discovering facts and describing reality. It was useful in acquiring information in areas where knowledge has not yet been properly developed like is the case is with the relationship between *lobola* and gender based violence in Zambia.

3.2.1 Methods of research

This study used a mixed methods approaches combining qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative component aimed at gaining deeper understanding and explanations based on lived experiences of the people in their own given context. The aim is to provide a detailed description of men and women's perception and experiences on *lobola* and its influence on gender based violence. To achieve this, focus groups and in-depth interviews were conducted. On the quantitative side, the interest was to assess the degree to which gender based violence related to *lobola* occurs, if at all it does. Creswell and Clark (2007) argue that combining quantitative and qualitative components in a single study helps to overcome deficiencies associated with one method when used alone and thus helps to provide more complete data as methods tend to complement each other. Further, the use of both qualitative and quantitative data is seen important and useful in answering certain complex research questions. It helped to answer a combination of explorative and confirmatory questions simultaneously (Thorleif, 2012: 157). Mixed method also provided a more comprehensive view of the phenomena being studied in this case, *lobola* and gender based violence related issues. The researcher first started by administering the survey questionnaire

and then the focus groups and in-depth interviews followed. This was the case because the research was more inclined to a qualitative side which will bring out a detailed description of men and women's perception and experiences on *lobola* and its influence if any on gender based violence on women.

3.2.2 Study area

This study was conducted in Lusaka city's Kamanga Township. Kamanga area was chosen on account of being one of the high density residential area with people of different social economic background and different ethnic groups. This enhanced the equal participation of the different classes of people especially that *lobola* is said to be commercialised depending on the level of the education of a girl.

3.2.3 Study population

The study population included married men and women living in Kamanga compound. The idea was to get multiple views of both men and women on the possible influence the payment of *lobola* has on gender based violence. It was important to get views of men as well as they are the ones from whom *lobola* is demanded to legalise their marriage in the Zambian context. The study also sought views of key informants. These were identified as people who in one way or another have more knowledge and deal with cases marriage and *lobola*. Among them included one official from the victim support unit, one from a local court, one from a women's organisation and two marriage counsellors from within the local community.

3.2.4 Sample size

This study altogether had a total number of 171 participants. Out of this number, 150 were part of the quantitative survey. This represented by 75 married men and 75 women. The remaining twenty-one (21) participants were part of the qualitative component of the study.

3.2.5 Sampling procedures and techniques

In identifying households where survey respondents were drawn from, Central Statistical Office (CSO) provided a map and some data that was used to identify streets and households in Kamanga for the purpose of assisting in drawing a sample for the survey. Systematic sampling was used where every third household was selected for inclusion in the survey following Standard Enumeration Areas (SEA). Kamanga is divided into 12 SEAs for census purposes with the smallest SEA having 121 households and the largest with 175 households. The study required 20 respondents per SEA and therefore 7 SEAs were used to draw 20

respondents from each and then in the eighth SEA only 10 respondents were sampled to make it 150 respondents.

However, on the ground it was not easy to trace some houses due to the unplanned nature of construction of some housing units; some were too squeezed with no proper demarcations. In addition, roads in the area were not as indicated on the map provided by CSO. But through the assistance of the local community members and the Ward Development Committee member who was assigned by the Ward Councilor to help the researcher, we managed to navigate our way into area. However, there was another challenge where some targeted people were not initially found at their respective homes, especially the men. This required going back to the same households more than once. These unforeseen challenges made the fieldwork exercise relatively longer than planned.

On the qualitative component of this study, all the 21 participants were purposively selected. Five participants were selected as key informants while 16 participants comprising eight married women and eight married men were part of the focus group discussions and these were interviewed in two separate groups.

3.2.6 Data collection tools and techniques

The quantitative component of this study used a questionnaire. A questionnaire is a number of questions that are arranged in a defined order. A questionnaire is a widely used and useful instrument for collecting survey information, providing structured, often numerical data. In this study, the questionnaire used had a range of multiple choice questions², rating scales and open-ended questions. A flow chart technique was used to plan the sequencing of the questions. The questionnaire was administered to married men and women in the survey. Among respondents, some could read and write while others could not. For those who could read and write, they filled the questionnaire on their own, while those who could not, they were assisted by the researcher in recording their responses.

On the qualitative side, an interview guide was one of the data collection instruments used. An interview is a specific form of human interaction in which knowledge evolves through a dialogue between an interviewer (person asking questions) and an interviewee (respondent). The aim of an interview is to understand the world from the interviewee's point of view. In-depth interview involve a limited number of broad and flexible questions on a topic but

² A provision other responses in order to capture possible responses that were not thought of or not provided

covered in great detail. In this study, the researcher conducted all the in-depth interviews with the key informants. These included marriage counsellors from the community, an official from Zambia Police's Victim Support Unit (VSU), one official from a women's organisation and one official from the local courts. These were people in key and strategic institutions that are somewhat involved in handling marriage related issues and challenges including gender based violence in the community. Questions were asked by the researcher and an opportunity was given for individual key informants to respond in more details on how they perceived different issues related to the study. Subsequent questions were asked depending on how individual informants were responding to questions. A checklist was used to ensure that important aspects were adequately covered. The researcher also probed the informants to elaborate and seek more clarity on some responses.

On the qualitative side, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were also conducted with the use of a guide. An FGD is a carefully planned group interview designed to obtain in-depth information on a particular topic with approximately 6–12 persons. In FGDs, the researcher seeks a collective rather than individual view. With assistance of a Ward Development Official, two FGDs; one with eight (8) married men and another one with eight (8) married women were organised. The FGDs were conducted at the Council office in Kamanga and each lasted for about an hour. The researcher used a list of broad questions to direct the discussion. As participants in each group had common characteristics and belonged to the same community, they were able to spur one another's thinking about their lived realities and experiences regarding the influence of *lobola* and gender based violence. They collectively brought out ideas which could not have been produced in one-to-one interviews. FGDs were captured using a digital voice recorder and later transcribed. Notes were also taken by the researcher which were used to aid probing, seek more clarification and secure group consensus on different issues raised. Permission was sought from participants in both the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews to record the conversation for easy transcription.

3.2.7 Data analysis

Qualitative data was analysed thematically which involved a systematic process of identifying, selecting, categorising, comparing and interpreting data to provide explanations linking *lobola* and gender based violence. The analysis was an iterative process that is going back and forth. Before the actual analysis, the researcher had to listen to individual recordings of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions twice, to get more familiar with the data.

This was followed by transcribing the data; where everything that was said the way it was said was written down in text form. Using the typed text, the researcher later had to search for commonalities in the data and created themes and categories following certain patterns and relationships that emerged from the notes. These were later used as a basis for interpreting and making meaning of the data in the context of the study objectives. In order to substantiate certain views, some extracts were also used to enhance understanding.

Data analysis on the quantitative side was done using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 16 computer software. Preliminary analysis of quantitative data began with a creation of database for capturing data in SPSS. A statistician was engaged to help with post-coding open-ended questions as well as cleaning the data before analysis. As the study was more inclined to the qualitative side, only descriptive statistics which included generating percentages, frequencies and cross tabulations were used to quantify the relationship between gender based violence and *lobola*. The two sets of data, that is, the qualitative and quantitative data were combined at the stage of writing.

3.2.8 Ethical considerations

In executing this study, the following ethical considerations were taken into account. First and foremost, all participants were informed about what the study was all about and they were told from the very outset that their participation in the study was voluntary and that they were free to answer or not to answer any question. Further, they were told that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time they wished like doing so. Participants were also assured of confidentiality of the information that they were providing. In this study, no name of participant has been disclosed in this study.

3.2.9 Limitation of the study

This study was not without limitations. Among limitations include limited time in which the collection of data was undertaken. Spending less time in the field usually presents challenges in establishing a good rapport with research participants. Some participants were not willing to respond due to the sensitive nature of the study. However, with assuring them confidentiality of the information, some were able to open up. In additionally, being introduced in the area by a Ward Development Official helped the researcher to gain acceptance in the community. Results of this study should also be treated with caution on account that only Kamanga compound in Lusaka was used for this study. The aim in this

study was not about understanding the wide spread of the problem, but to yield deeper insights on the influence of *lobola* on gender based violence in a given context.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives empirical findings based on the study objectives namely; to examine how the price of *lobola* is determined among families (ii) to establish the perceptions of married women and men towards *lobola* in relation to gender based violence; and (iii) to determine the types of gender based violence women in marriage mostly experience associated with the payment of *lobola*. Thereafter, a conclusion to the chapter will be provided. However, before presenting findings on the study objectives as presented above, the chapter begins by giving demographic characteristics of survey respondents that provided data that informed this study.

4.2 Demographic characteristics of survey respondents

In this section, a summary showing various demographic characteristics of women and men who participated in the household survey is provided. The survey had a total number of 150 respondents of which 75 were married women and the other 75 were married men.

4.2.1 Age distribution among survey respondents

The survey respondents had a mix of age groups ranging between 20 years and 79 years. The majority of respondents 58 (38.7%) were in the age group of 30 to 39 years followed by the age range of 40 to 49 years who were 33 (22%) of the sample, then those between 50 and 59 years of age were 26 representing 17.3%. These were closely followed by those aged between 20 and 29 years who were 24 (16%) of the sample. The last two categories were those between the age of 60 and 69 years who constituted 6 (4%) of the sample, and the smallest category 3 (2%) were those in the age range between 70 and 79 years. Table 1 below shows summary of respondents in various age groups.

Table 1: Age distribution

Age group (years)	Frequency	Percent (%)
20-29 years	24	16
30-39 years	58	38.7
40-49 years	33	22
50-59 years	26	17.3
60-69 years	6	4
70-79 years	3	2
Total	150	100

Source: survey data

4.2.2 Education attainment

In terms of level of education, those who had attained secondary level of education were in the majority 61 (40.7%) closely followed by those with primary level of education 56 (37.3%). This was followed by those who did not have any formal schooling who constituted 23 (15.3%) of the sample. Those who attained tertiary level of education were in the minority with only 10 (6.7%). Table 2, below gives a summary on education level.

Table 2: Level of education attained

Level	Frequency	Percent (%)
No School	23	15.3
Primary	56	37.3
Secondary	61	40.7
Tertiary	10	6.7
Total	150	100

Source: survey data

4.2.3 Employment status

In the case of employment, 77 (51.3%) were in employment whereas 73 (48.7%) were not employed. A further disaggregation in the distribution revealed that there were more men 43 (57.3%) who were employed than women 34 (45.3%). Similarly, the level of unemployment among women 41 (54.7%) was higher than that of men 32 (42.7%) (Table3).

Table 3: Employment status

Sex	Employed	Unemployed	Total
Female	34 (45.3%)	41 (54.7%)	75 (100%)
Male	43 (57.3%)	32 (42.7%)	75 (100%)
Total	77 (51.3%)	73 (48.7%)	150 (100%)

Source: survey data

4.2.4 Years spent in marriage

Survey respondents were asked how many years they had been married. Table 4 below provides a summary distribution.

Table 4: Period in marriage

Period	Frequency	Percent (%)
1-10 years	82	54.7
11-20 years	40	26.7
21-30 years	11	7.3
31 years and above	17	11.3
Total	150	100

Source

e: Survey data

Having provided relevant demographic characteristics of respondents in the survey, the remaining part of this chapter addresses the objectives of the study; beginning with determinants of payment of *lobola* among families. In presenting findings, data from the survey, in-depth interviews as well as focus group discussions will be combined where necessary.

4.3 Factors considered in determining the pricing of *lobola*

The first objective of this study was to establish factors that families considered in determining how they arrived at charges for *lobola* in marriage. In the quantitative survey, respondents were asked multiple yes and no questions on factors that families considered in determining the pricing of *lobola*. Responses showed several factors as provided in Table 5 below following the order of preference.

Table 5: Main factors determining the pricing of *lobola*

Factor	Yes	No	Total
Bride & groom's ethnic background	143 (95%)	7 (5%)	150 (100%)
Bride's level of education	134 (89%)	16 (11%)	150 (100%)
Virginity of the bride	134 (89%)	16 (11%)	150 (100%)
Groom's economic status	125 (83%)	25 (17%)	150 (100%)
Number of expected beneficiaries	81 (54%)	69 (46%)	150 (100%)

Source: survey data

On the qualitative side, Participants in the focus group discussions as well as key informants were asked about factors in determining the pricing of *lobola* in marriage. A number of issues emerged among factors. For instance, different participants spoke about the bride's education, as one of the main factors the woman's family considered to determining the pricing of *lobola*. According to one marriage counsellor:

'From my interactions with different families, some people charge a commercial rate for lobola to compensate for losing a daughter. It is like the woman's family is losing a daughter when she gets married. This is because some women get detached from their own relatives when they marry. So this coupled with the feeling of how much they may have invested in their daughter's education and upbringing they would want to charge something like 30 thousand. This is not a secret, sometimes such factors are mentioned during marriage negotiations' (Interview with a Marriage Counsellor).

Similarly, participants, mostly in the focus group discussion with women, seemed to agree that the education of the woman was one of the key aspects used to determine how much to charge for *lobola*. Like one participant in an FGD with women indicated:

‘Those who would have educated their children usually charge more lobola. Such parents would claim [that] we have spent a lot money on our daughter. So they see it as a loss when she goes into marriage, joining another family (the groom’s) where she will end up surrendering to the authority of her husband. So the only way out to compensate for the loss is to charge following that amount you used to educate her. But this is again what brings problems in homes among couples as some men would feel they have bought you’ (FGD Participant).

It was further revealed by another participant that ‘some parents demand a lot of money on *lobola* following what they perceive to be the value of their daughter. According to her:

‘there is this perception among some parents that when their daughter gets married, they feel it is a loss on their part as their daughter is going to contribute to the husband’s family ... so as parents the only way to benefit especially if their daughter is educated is through the money that they charge for lobola, which they make expensive’ (FGD Participant).

In agreement, another participant added that: ‘*lobola is like parents are selling their daughters. We have parents who would say I invested a lot on my daughter, she is going to wash for him [meaning the husband], she is educated and this man is going to benefit a lot from her.*

Furthermore, another participant added that:

‘Yes, they would say we cannot just let her go. Some people say that my daughter is worthy a [Mercedes] Benz. They look at the money they spent for her upbringing up to the time she gets out of their home. They feel that expenses they made on her upbringing, her education and taking care of her up to the stage of getting married must somehow be met’ (FGD Participant).

Another participant added that charging *lobola* goes beyond education and the general upbringing of a daughter by saying:

‘Some people overcharge lobola because they want to use part of the money to sponsor things like kitchen parties for the same lady intending to get married. It is something that has become like a fashion. Some even use the money they charge for

paying bana chimbusa (traditional marriage counsellors) for educate her about marriage. If they charge less, they may not realise enough to sponsor such activities. As you know, ideally kitchen parties are supposed to be financed by the woman's side' (FGD Participant).

A participant in the focus group with men also revealed that:

'Now lobola is business, people want to make money. Some families follow the ability of a man to pay. They would fix a price and demand that a man pays it all at once on a cash and carry basis. They will say if you are a real man, you will pay so much at once and you take her. But it is not all families who demand for such. Some families are very understanding, depending on how you negotiate as two families. If a man's family is unable to pay, you agree how much to pay to start with and the rest is agreed to be settled later. Usually an initial deposit is demanded for and the rest is paid slowly in instalments' (FGD Participant).

This view also came out from a key informant who said that: *some would say I want ten cows and they peg one cow around 10, 000 Kwacha [US \$1000]³. This is why some marriages among young couples these days do not last long...the mind is to make business out of it. No wonder some people advocate for its abolishment' (Interview with a marriage counsellor).*

Interviews with a marriage counsellor also revealed that *lobola* is charged according to different traditions of the tribes involved. An example was given about the Tonga who were said to have a long tradition of paying *lobola*, it did not matter whether a girl was educated or not, the price was the same. In her own words, the Marriage Counsellor said:

'Among Tonga people, it does not matter whether a child is educated or not, the charge is the same. They charge cattle and each animal paid has a particular significance and interpretation. There will be one animal which is meant for the father, another for the mother, and the rest for children' (Interview with a Marriage Counsellor)

Findings from the focus group discussion with women also revealed that for the Bemba, a man traditionally was just given an axe and shown a field to work on as a way to pay for his bride. However, it was further revealed that things were changing among the Bemba, especially those living in urban areas, according to one participant, who claimed that the Bemba seem to have learnt the practice of charging *lobola* from the Tonga, Ngoni and

³ The exchange rate for 1 US Dollar was 12.50 Zambian kwacha in 2017

Tumbuka' This view was generally supported by other women in the group. Similarly, another participant who claimed to have originated from some part of Eastern Zambia where traditionally they never used charge a lot of money had this to say:

'We used to give small things not like selling the daughter. We just used to present beads to the woman's parents as a token of appreciation. But this time we have also learnt from our friends from other ethnic groups who are making money through lobola. Why should we remain behind?' (FGD Participant).

In the FGDs with men, one participant also indicated that in the past *lobola* charges were minimal in some ethnic groups especially in some part of Eastern Zambia. He further noted that things are just changing now. He said that:

'In paying lobola, people just used to give small gifts to the bride's parents. For her mother, she would just be bought beads to wear. In addition, she would be given a hoe while her father would be given an axe. But nowadays charges go even up to 20,000 Kwacha⁴. It has become like a business' (FGD Participant).

Men in the focus group discussion also indicated that charges in the past were minimal and that now things have changed and that this time around women's parents are finding ways of benefiting when they marry off their daughters.

One participant in the focus group discussion emphasised that parents these days look at various things including recovering money they spent on their daughter in different aspects. He said that:

'In charging lobola, expenses on her upbringing; educating her and taking care of her up to when she is getting married are considered. If she is educated, her education is also a factor to consider in the negotiation, parents feel that they cannot just let their daughter go in marriage without recovering such expenses' (FGD Participant).

Findings also showed that if a girl has never had sex with any man, then her virginity will also be considered in charging *lobola*. According to focus group discussions with women, it was also revealed that in some traditions the virginity of a bride was considered as an important factor in fixing the price for *lobola* though it was also mentioned that nowadays it

⁴ 20 000 Kwacha was about US \$ 1, 600 in 2017.

is rare to find virgins among girls getting married. Girls start engaging in sex early and by the time they get married they would have slept with other men.

From what has been shown above, there are many and varied reasons influencing the pricing of *lobola* among families. Some opinions from the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews seem to confirm findings from the survey. Among factors considered include the ethnic background of both bride and groom, the bride’s level of education, the need to meet costs associated to the girl’s upbringing, the groom’s status, and the virginity of a bride among others as some of the factors used to determine the pricing of *lobola*.

Qualitative interviews revealed much more on what informs certain decisions that families make to determine the pricing of *lobola*. Beyond the traditional significance of *lobola*, it seems bargaining the pricing of *lobola* now even involve fundraising for things like kitchen parties for the would be bride. The next section presents findings on how married women and men perceive *lobola* in relation to gender based violence.

4.4 Perceptions on how *lobola* influences gender based violence

The second objective of this study was to establish how married women and men perceive *lobola* in relation to gender based violence women experience in marriage. In the survey, respondents were asked a number of yes and no questions on how they perceived the payment of *lobola* in relation to gender based violence experienced by women in marriage. Given in Table 6 below is a summary of responses on different questions on how the payment of *lobola* affects women in marriage.

Table 6: Views on how *lobola* affects women in marriage

View	Yes	No	Total (%)
Restricts women’s rights over their children	120 (80%)	30 (20%)	150 (100%)
Makes women property of her husband	117 (78%)	33 (22%)	150 (100%)
Limits women’s decision-making power	116 (77%)	34 (23%)	150 (100%)
Limits women lose control of her sexuality	108 (72%)	42 (28%)	150 (100%)
Compels women to do more housework	107 (71%)	43 (29%)	150 (100%)
Empowers women’s in-laws over wife	91 (61%)	58 (39%)	150 (100%)

Source: survey data

From the findings, out of 150 respondents, (80%) respondents 120 saw *lobola* as restricting women on the rights to their children. Only (20%) respondents 30 disagreed. Similarly, out of the total of 150 respondents, (78%) respondents 117 were of the view that *lobola* makes women a husband’s property and it was only (22%) respondents 33 who saw no connection

between *lobola* and viewing women as husband's property. Those that viewed the payment of *lobola* as limiting women's decision-making power represented (77%) respondents 116 and only (23%) respondents 34 did not view *lobola* as such.

Connecting *lobola* to limiting women's control over sexual matter was represented by 108 respondents (72%) and only 42 respondents (28%) did not connect the two. The survey results also showed that out of 150 respondents, 107 respondents (71%) were of the view that the payment of *lobola* compels women to do more housework while 43 respondents (29%) saw no link between the payment of *lobola* and doing more house chores among married women. The score for those who perceived *lobola* as empowering in-laws in marriage was represented by 92 respondents (61%) while the score for those who did not associate *lobola* to the empowering of in-laws in marriage was 58 representing 39 percent.

Participants in a qualitative interview were equally asked how they viewed the payment of *lobola* in relation to gender based violence. Findings corroborated the survey findings pointing to *lobola* having an influence in a number of ways including limiting women's rights to children, women being viewed as husband's property, limiting women's decision making power, limiting women's control on sexual matters, compelling women to do more housework chores and enabling husband's relatives to have power on women in marriage, among others. However, findings from the qualitative side revealed more complex ways *lobola* can be linked to gender based violence. The following subsections will give a more systematic account on each of these separately.

4.4.1 Limiting a mother's rights over children

Focus group discussions with both men and women as well as interviews with key informants revealed that paying *lobola* gave men (fathers) ownership to children. In a focus group discussion, men argued that once *lobola* is paid, a father has sole ownership of the children born from that marriage. It was said that '*a man cannot easily get the children in case of divorce, if he has not paid lobola. But once lobola has been settled, it guarantees a father power over the children.*' Similarly, in a focus group discussion with women, it was revealed that '*when a man marries, what he pays for in essence are the children.*' It came out that among the Tonga and Ngoni people, paying *lobola* gives fathers power over children in an event that the couple decides to divorce. If the children have not been paid for, they remain

with their mother. It was also revealed by one woman in the focus group discussion even the naming of children is a responsibility of the husband once *lobola* is paid. She said:

'I had a quarrel with my husband over naming our children. I did not like the name he gave our daughter. I felt I had a right as a mother who carried this child for nine months to reject it. But my husband told me that the children were his and that because he paid lobola he had the right over naming them as he wished' (FGD Participant).

However, one participant in the focus group discussion argued that different cultures perceive *lobola* in connection with child custody differently. That participant indicated that *'whether [lobola] payment is done or not, children belong to the mother's family among some ethnic groups, like the Bemba culture.'*

4.4.2 Women being viewed as husband's property

The findings revealed that women take subordination positions to their husband when *lobola* is paid. A man has power to treat his wife the way he wants when *lobola* is paid but this may not be the case where the payment is not done. For instance, one male participant said:

'Sometimes it is not easy to have full control over your wife, if you have not paid lobola. But when lobola is paid, you expect a wife to be submissive to you. As a husband you are entitled to total obedience from your wife. If you do not receive it, you can use force to get what you want. When you use force on your wife, this put her on the right track as she is under your authority. Why should someone misbehave, after all you paid [lobola] for her' (FGD Participant).

Another participant supported this idea by saying that: *'submissiveness and respect from a woman is the biggest thing as men we expect when we pay lobola'*. Another participant in a focus group discussion with men added that:

'I expect my wife to leave whatever she is doing to attend to me when I come from work. If she is at a neighbour's house and she sees me, she has to come home. If she does not, it means she does not respect me. I even have the right to complain to her relatives for such a bad behaviour. I have the power to demand for anything and it has to be done by her as I wish. I can say I want water for drinking, she has to give me, now I want to bath, now I want food, now I want to sleep. I expect her to do what

I want and she should do it when I want. If she does that then it means she respects me' (FGD Participant).

Another participant added that:

'A wife has to do what her husband tells her especially if the man paid [lobola] for her. When you marry your wife, she should know what you want and do not want and she should obey you. I used to fight a lot with my first wife because I would tell her do this or that but she could not, meaning she did not respect me. This forced me to divorce her and married someone else who follows what I want' (FGD Participant).

Interestingly, the focus group discussion with women also yielded similar findings. Women attributed the payment of *lobola* to the abuses that they were subjected to by their husbands. For instance, one woman had this to say:

'This lobola thing is not really helping us as women. Some men say, you need to follow my rules because I paid for you. Everything, whatever I say you have to follow because your parents sold you to me. If you cannot follow my instructions, you are free to go but you have to return what I paid' (FGD Participant).

Another woman in a focus group revealed how her sister who lived in a village was forced by her own husband to commit adultery in order to generate wealth. She said the husband coerced his wife to start seeing other men who were relatively rich and that he would set a trap so that she is caught in the act with such men. Once 'caught' the husband would demand to be paid cattle for committing adultery with his wife. According to that woman's narration, before her sister agreed to doing what her husband wanted her to do, there used to be no peace in their home. She used to be beaten up a lot by her husband. Another participant in the focus group discussion with women revealed that sometimes a man would start practicing witchcraft and may want to involve his wife by force to join him in the practice.

'Some men want to involve their wives in witchcraft. Simply because you are his wife and you were paid for, you are expected to follow. As a wife you will be tattooed all over your body with a razor blade with the understanding that it will bring wealth to the family and you will be one of the direct beneficiaries. This lobola brings a lot of problems to married women in homes. He forces you to do things you do not believe

in because he paid lobola. Sometimes things do not work at all but your body will be physically damaged' (FGD Participant).

Similarly, a court official spoke of having heard cases where some men using traditional medicine engage in sex with their own biological daughters and the mother to the victim (wife) would be threatened not to report such to anyone. Sometimes a wife would get fed up and want to walk out of that marriage, but the husband because of *lobola* may insist on remaining with his children upon divorce including the one he abuses. According to the court official, a wife has to put up a strong fight to win such a case against a husband. Some men have even got away with it.

One participant in a focus group discussion with women similarly revealed that:

'Some men go to extremes taking advantage of the lobola they pay to make unreasonable demands upon their wives. For instance, I heard about a man who tells his wife to sleep naked while he is eating and he demands his wife to open her legs so that he dips a lump of nshima on her private parts. These are some of the bedroom matters that an affected wife is not supposed to reveal as doing so can be interpreted as not having been taught properly as a wife' (FGD Participant).

4.4.3 Limiting women's decision making power

The issue of *lobola* limiting women's decision making powers came out strongly from the findings in the qualitative study. Women in particular felt that due to *lobola* husbands pay, in many instances women had limited say or no say at all on major decisions in their homes. It was reported by women that failure to comply with wishes of their husbands stood among major causes of conflict and misunderstanding among couples. A marriage counsellor also acknowledged that traditionally a husband has the right to make decisions in a home. The counsellor further indicated that this did not mean that a husband could do so without consulting his wife. But she indicated that there were husbands who were very authoritative who did not have time to consult their wives at all even on matters that directly concern them.

'A woman should lower herself on issues of making decision in the home...when lobola is paid. Her rights to make decisions in a home ceases or reduces. She cannot argue against a decision of her husband. There are some husbands who are very authoritative, who cannot allow their wives to bring divergent views to what they say simply because they have paid lobola' (Interview with a Marriage Counsellor).

In corroboration, further findings from a focus group discussion revealed that some men when *lobola* is paid just make rules that their wives should follow in marriage without questioning. One participant in a focus group discussion with men also revealed that men make decisions and rules in homes and women simply follow. He said:

'As a husband, I tell my wife what I want and she has no right to go against my decision. I paid for her and that is how it should be. She should support my decisions and not going against them' (FGD Participant).

This view also came out in a focus group discussion with women. One participant in line with the above had this to say:

'Lobola is not really helping us women. Some men tell their wives, you have to follow my rules. Whatever I say you just have to follow because I paid for you' (FGD Participant).

In collaboration a key informant also revealed that:

'There are men who strictly follow traditions, even some educated ones. They don't allow their wives to make decisions even on matters of family planning. This is why some women hide their husbands that they take family planning so as to limit the number of children' (Interview with a key informant).

In focus group discussion with women, one participant lamented that when a man pays *lobola*, he treats a woman different from the way he may have been relating with her before marriage. She revealed her own experience before and after marriage and she claims things have changed. This is what she said:

'I used to relate very well with my husband before we got married. Before marriage, he would consult me take my advice. Now I cannot advise him on anything. He doesn't consult me at all. He just makes decisions on his own; even making decisions on my behalf. Imagine, I ask for permission from him even to attend a funeral for my own relative and if he says no, then I just have to follow that. If I insist and go against his decision, then trouble follows. We fight and sometimes he even chases me from home. If something happens and he is not home, I have to wait for him to come and make a decision. Lobola ties us to a point where we have no freedom to make our own decisions' (FGD Participant).

From the findings, it emerged that when *lobola* is paid, a woman's rights to make decisions reduces. A marriage counsellor revealed that some women have no say on important decisions made in their homes. She said that *'women's role in decision making is largely confined to household chores like cooking, and their care of children'*. She further argued that women are considered to be subordinate to men and their participation in decision making is built within this perception that they are mere helpers and men are the ones who should make decisions. The marriage counsellor emphasised that it takes women who are more assertive to fight and claim their space in a marriage relationship. She further noted that such women sometimes are labelled as arrogant and disrespectful of their husbands. She spoke of having counselled a number of women, some of whom are educated and occupy key positions in society, who she said they confessed that they were having challenges with their husbands with regards to making decisions in their homes. According to her, it is like some husbands see their wives as taking over their place as household head when they make decisions. She further indicated that some married women holding positions at work are told off by their husbands that:

'You are a boss at your [place] work only not here. Here at home, I am the one to decide how my home should be run. If a wife doesn't adhere to that, it creates problems for her' (Interview with a Marriage Counsellor).

Further a focus group discussion with men also indicted that *lobola* ties a woman to a man in marriage. He mentioned that, *lobola* ties a woman in marriage because whether there is a problem or not, a woman cannot decide to leave marriage anyhow. In his own words he had this to say:

'When lobola is paid, the woman is under me (husband). The one who has paid for her. Just that ownership of payment of lobola ties her up in marriage and fails to make a decision on her own to move out anyhow even when she is abused unless I reclaim my money.'

Another participant in a focus group with men supported that when *lobola* is paid, a woman cannot easily leave the husband. He said that,

'When lobola is paid, a woman cannot decide on her own to move out of marriage. If she does she is wasting her time because she is still being considered to be my wife as long as I have not reclaimed the money, I paid.'

4.4.4 Limiting women's control on sexual matters

From the findings, limiting women's control on sexual matters also came out as one of the challenges women face in marriage associated with *lobola*. It was revealed that as a result of *lobola*, some men view their wives as their personal property and that they are entitled to having sex any time they felt like. One female participant in a focus group discussion said that denying a husband sex was one of the reasons why some men beat their wives. She said that:

'Some men get offended when a wife for whatever reason denies the husband sex. The husband would force himself on you. If she refuses, she can end up being beaten. It is like lobola gives men power and control over wives on sexual matter' (FGD Participant).

This view of wives being beaten by their husbands when they refuse sex was supported by all women in the focus group discussion. There was consensus that it was *lobola* that tied them to sexual violence by their husbands. According to one woman, she said:

'The moment he says I paid a lot [lobola] for you, you have no choice but to give in. Sometimes when you deny him sex, he would threaten to look for other women. For the sake of peace, you just allow him to do what he wants even when you are not ready or even sick sometimes' (FGD Participant).

From the findings, most women felt powerless on sexual matters when a husband has paid *lobola*. It was revealed that when a man pays *lobola*, sex is not at all supposed to be denied. This view was re-echoed by almost all women. For illustrating, this is what one female participant had this to say in emphasizing her point:

'It is like when a man pays lobola, he feels he has bought everything including this (the woman touches her private part). Some men would even look for medicine (mutototo) to enjoy sex with his wife and would say I want the money that I paid to work' (FGD Participant).

Another participant added that cases of sexual abuse perpetrated by husbands in a home are rarely reported as revealing such was considered to be a taboo. In her own words, she said:

'...Women who are sexually abused by their husband sometimes opt to remain silent as they are taught not to reveal bedroom secrets. Doing so is considered taboo and

for fear of being reprimanded by their own relatives, they would rather suffer silently and not tell anybody' (FGD Participant).

In line with women's silence in sexual abuse in marriage, Dery (2015) holds that the reason why many men and women do not believe that there is marital rape is because the payment of *lobola* entitles men to have sex with their wives whenever they wished

In separate interviews, marriage counsellors also indicated that what women learn through counselling as they prepare for marriage sometimes contribute to the sexual abuse they are subjected to by their husbands. One counsellor said that '*during counselling we tell women that even when you are not in the mood for sex as a wife you have to help your husband if he demands for sex*'. Another marriage counsellor seemingly in agreement also said that:

'If a wife is able to satisfy her husband sexually, it is for her own good. It means that even if the man [husband] gets exposed to other women, he will not easily get attracted. A wife has an obligation to [sexually] help her husband all the time the husband wants it' (Interview with a Marriage Counsellor).

A court official also revealed that some men even admit in the court that they beat their wives when they refuse to have sex with them. According to her, '*some men insist that they see no reason why a wife should deny a husband conjugal rights when they are paid for*'. She further revealed that she had a case where a wife sued a husband for divorce on account of sexual abuse and being beaten when she refused sex. That woman, according to the court official, filed for divorce as she was tired of her husband's demands for sex every day to a point where she used to get bruised and experience pain during and after the sexual intercourse.

Interestingly, in a focus group discussion with men, it also came out that there were men who felt that because they paid *lobola* they were entitled to having sex with their wives anytime they wished. One participant went on to say that some men even beat up their wives when they refuse to give sex to them. In his own words, he said:

'[Paying] lobola to some men is a passport to have sex any time they want with their wives. A man would say, because I have paid lobola, anytime I want sex I should have it. Even when a woman is not ready, they force them to do it. Even when a woman has a period, some men still demand to have sex' If the wife refused, the husband feels he has the right to beat (FGD Participant).

Further, findings revealed that some men take advantage to abuse their wives sexually because they know what women are taught during marriage counselling sessions. One man in focus group discussion disclosed that:

‘We know that a wife is taught to give sex to her husband any time he wants. A woman is counselled for marriage only when formalities for paying lobola are agreed between the two families and it is a responsibility of her own relatives to engage a marriage counsellor for her to teach such things’ (FGD Participant).

In a focus group discussion with women, it was also revealed that due to *lobola*, some wives have ended up contracting sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS from their husbands who refuse to use condoms or any other forms of protection. She emphasised that:

‘There are instances where one couple usually a husband would test HIV positive and a wife negative and they may be advised to use condoms to control the spread to the partner, but simply because lobola, gives a husband authority over a wife, some husbands refuse. When a wife reports such, she may be scolded at. It becomes an issue that we already talked about of revealing bedroom secrets’ (FGD Participant).

A court official also spoke of some men who use herbal medicine to strengthen their manhood and end up sexually abusing their wives because they feel they own the wife, so they can do anything to her. A marriage counsellor also reported of attending to a case where a wife reported her husband taking herbs and demanding too much sex from her, claiming that he had the right to have sex with her anytime he wanted. According to that woman, her husband would demand for sex at lunch time, when he knocks off from work and at night; sometimes making this woman’s private part swollen. Even when she cried in pain, the husband would still force himself on her. When it became unbearable for her she reported the matter for help.

Findings from women also revealed that some men use tactics such as taking herbs to remain sexually active all the time and when the wife complains, it becomes a justification for engaging in extra marital affairs. It is like the husband is helping a wife when he spares her and goes out with other women for sex. Interestingly, men in this study argued that a man engages in sex to relieve himself. A man only asks for sex when he feel like having it. When a woman is not ready or not interested, women put it as sexual abuse.

4.4.5 Compelling women to do more housework chores compared to men

Findings revealed that due to *lobola* husbands expects their wives to do more housework. One female participant in a focus group discussion that:

‘When a man pays lobola he expects his wife to do most household chores regardless of the wife’s status or nature of job she has society. He expects things like cooking, washing and so on to be done by a wife. Some men would say I paid for everything, why should I look for another person to do housework....’

Another woman added that:

‘When a man has not paid anything, a wife can openly refuse to do what the husband wants and sometimes she may even have protection from her own family if it ends up in conflict. This is not the case when lobola is settled. If paid, even your own relatives take sides against you when you refuse to do certain things as demanded for by your husband’.

One other female participant in a focus group discussion supported this saying that:

‘the benefits of a man paying [lobola] to my parents is to find food ready when he knocks off from work, washing, and taking care of him when he is sick, sometimes even feeding him like a baby. Anything he wants it is me as a wife to do it for him.’

A focus group discussion with men yielded similar findings. It came out that some men pay *lobola* for a woman to do house chores in a home. *‘My wife has to cook for me, washing under wears because I paid for her not maid. If she is a boss, she is a boss where she works, but at home she has to do her work’.* Men interpreted this as one way wives show their submission to their husbands. *‘If she does what I want, then she is submitting to me. If she does not do all that she does not, then there is no submission’* as one male participant put it. Other male participants in a focus group discussion concurred by saying, *‘a maid is just supposed to cook for children, washing plates and other things not spreading the bed and washing for me, no’.* There was insistence by men that even when both the husband and wife are working, when a wife knocks off from her work she attend to household chores unless she is sick.

One key informant also indicated that:

‘A woman must know that even when she is employed, she is supposed to do house chores and not leaving everything for maids. As a woman one should know how to balance up between work and house chores’.

Similarly, one participant in a focus group with men revealed that a wife’s failure to perform the expected duties in the home such as preparing meals make some men beat up their wives. In his own words he said,

‘Like me, I married her to cook for me. What do you expect me to do to her if I find that she has not done that, of course beat her’?

There was general consensus among men in the focus group discussion that some fights among couples are influenced by the payment of *lobola*. It was revealed that some men beat up their wives when they do not do as expected. Men want their wives to do anything they want in the home because they are paid for. Findings further revealed that failure to do certain house chores like cooking by women leads to divorce because it is interpreted as a sign of not having respect to a husband. One male participant in the focus group discussion categorically said:

‘I divorced my first wife because she never used to do what I want. I have married another one who respects me and follows what I want’ (FGD Participant).

A court official equally spoke of women’s heavy involvement in household chores being attribute to *lobola*. In her own words she said that:

‘Some men would tell their wives that I bought you and I want you to work for that money. This is real. We learn of women experiencing such things when they come to court. Some women even show marks left on the body and face resulting from being beaten by their husbands for not doing certain things as expected by their husbands’ (Interview with a Court Official).

4.4.6 Empowering relatives to husbands over their wives

A focus group discussion with men revealed the payment of *lobola* ties a woman to the relatives of man. Once you pay *lobola*, the relatives have power over the daughter in- law. The husband’s relatives are traditionally given powers over the daughter in-law. They have authority to send her to do work for them like attending to their fields and other domestic works. A key informant also revealed that:

'In the Tonga culture, a newly married daughter in-law, especially in villages, is required to live in the same house with her in-laws for a while. In that period, she is expected to do most of the household chores for the bigger family. Among things she should do include pounding food, collecting fire wood, drawing water, warming water for everyone in the family to bath regardless of their age. She should also look for relish to cook for the family. She has to do all these [things] to show that she has been well raised and trained by her parents. It is also a way to prove that she is the right person for their son. If her husband is weak and not able to initiate that they move out of her in-laws' home, she can go on working for the bigger family for a long time' (Key Informant Interview).

A focus group discussion with women further revealed that married women experience a lot of interference from parents to husbands and other relatives, especially sisters' in-law when *lobola* is paid. One woman emphasised that a wife is expected by in-laws to do everything for the relatives when they are around. This is besides attending to her husband's needs. Findings further indicated that the interference from the in-laws is as a result of the payment of *lobola*. One woman in a focus group discussion indicated that:

'What makes relatives to control the daughter in-law is because they feel they own her. This is so common especially where relatives would have contributed towards paying lobola. They feel she is theirs. That is why if they find a wife misbehaving they would easily report her to their relative (husband) because it also pains them being their own. Even when a wife does not keep a relative of the husband well they can easily intervene and control her in her own home' (FGD Participant).

However, this was quite interesting when it came to men. While men also shared a view that *lobola* played a role in giving powers to in-laws to interfere their wives. The men categorically argued that it was not only where other relatives would have contributed something towards the payment of *lobola*. Relatives to the husband had powers over their daughters' in-laws regardless of who paid *lobola*. The men were of the view that their relatives were simply their own eyes. Therefore, they had the right to control her if she was misbehaving. Men in focus group discussion complained that what is usually misunderstood to mean mistreating a wife is when a wife is using double standards that is, treating her own relatives differently to the way she treats her husband's relatives.

Men in a focus group discussion explained that their relatives were 'their' eyes and that they had the right to control her and that this had nothing to do with whether they contributed

something to that marriage or not. Findings further revealed that failure by the wife to respect her in-laws often resulted in resentment by her in-laws to a point where the husband's relatives can cause conflicts in that marriage. According to one key informant, men usually complained that their wives do not treat husband's relatives the same way they treat their own relatives. One participant also re-echoed this sentiment saying:

'When I am not home, my wife does not care for my relatives. But the story is different when it comes to her own relatives. For my relatives, she only cooks for them when I am around. This has affected our relationship. Now my relatives are even advising me to marry another woman. I also see sense in this because there is no way she can only love her own relatives and not my relatives' (FGD Participant).

Interestingly, interviews with women also revealed that they had challenges with their in-laws, especially those relatives coming from villages. A focus group discussion with women revealed that their in-laws wanted to be treated the same way they treated their husbands. One participant indicated that some in-laws would want their daughters' in-laws to feel their importance as relatives to the husband. Women complained more against their mothers' in-laws and sisters' in-law as the ones who were making too many demands and wanted special attention just like husbands. *'Simply because of lobola, the whole [husband's] clan wants to enslave you in your own home, this is not fair'* (FGD Participant).

The next section addresses the third and last objective of the study which was to determine the types of gender based violence women experience mostly associated with the payment of *lobola*.

4.5 Forms of gender based violence married women experience linked to *lobola*

Findings revealed that there were many different ways women experience gender based violence associated with the payment of *lobola*. These include depriving women their economic independence.

4.5.1 Depriving a wife economic independence

The study revealed that the payment of *lobola* tends to deprive a wife's economic independence. From the survey, economic violence was seen in the context of restricting women to control their own income as well as restricting them to own property. Out of 149 respondents who answered a question on whether *lobola* restricted wives to own income or

not, results indicated that 91 respondents (60.7%) agreed that *lobola* restricted women from owning income while 58 respondents (38.7%) showed that it did not (see Table 7, below).

Table 7: Whether or not *lobola* restricts women to control their own income

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative %
No	58	38.7	38.9	38.9
Yes	91	60.7	61.1	100.0
Total	149	99.3	100.0	

Source: Own survey data

Qualitative interviews also revealed that once married, some men put restrictions to their wives to engage in income generating activities. For instance, a focus group with women indicated that some men do not want their wives to have their own independent source of income even when they are not capable of meeting family requirements.

‘Some husbands may be working, but the money they bring home may not be enough for the family. When you suggest that you find a job to supplement, a man would stop you and say, you just take up a job at your mother’s place not in my home. I did not marry you so that you start working here. If anything, when you start working you will start boasting with your own income’ (FGD Participant).

Another woman concurred by saying,

‘As married women, we are not free to do business. When you suggest that you want to do business to contribute to the family, your husband stops you. You simply have to have to follow what he wants even if it means just staying at home, because that is what he wants. Because of lobola men pay, we are not free in our marriages’ (FGD Participant).

It was further revealed by participants that some husbands even when they are struggling to provide for the home do not feel comfortable when their wives’ suggest helping out by way of engaging in any income generating activity. Women spoke of being restricted by their husbands to engage in business or looking for employment. Findings further revealed that even getting help from another person without the husband’s approval was a source of conflict and mistrust. One woman in the focus group said that

'Some men are jealous, there is nothing like someone else helping you. Some men want to suspect their wives to use dubious means to get money such as getting involved in prostitution' (FGD Participant).

Interestingly, in a focus group discussion with men, it came out that some men do not want their wives to work because when they become independent have a tendency of stopping giving their husbands respect. One participant said that:

'A woman feels she can do anything because she has money. That is why we do not want to support them. You will find that all of a sudden someone starts disregarding you as a head of the house. It pains, so it is better not to help her [meaning wife] to be independent' (FGD Participant).

Another man concurred by saying that *'when a woman has money, respect to the husband reduces. She will think, I have money, why should I suffer in marriage. Even if we divorce, I can go because I have money. This makes men not to support women.'*

It was further revealed by another participant in the focus group discussion with men that some men fear that allowing a wife to do business or work will give her an opportunity to start interacting with other men and eventually the husband can be ditched. He said:

'We have heard stories where a man gives his wife money to start up something and when she has money she leaves him [husband] for other men' (FGD Participant).

One other participant in focus group discussion with men also revealed that:

'For some women, you find a husband allows his wife to go school, and at school you hear scandals that she is seeing other men. In extreme cases she might even want to find fault with the husband in order to ditch him for another man. These are some of the things which sometimes force us men not to support our wives' (FGD Participant).

This view also came out in an interview with one key informant. A marriage counsellor also spoke of some husbands who resist supporting their wives to go to school. In her own words she had an encounter with a husband who said,

'I cannot take my wife to school. If her [own] parents could not take her to school, why I? If I take her to school she may leave me for another man. She should just stay after all I already accepted her with her low level of education' (Key Informant).

She further revealed having handled a case of one husband who could not allow his wife to go to college arguing that he was overcharged [for *lobola*]. According to the key informant, the husband said

'...you cannot go to college now; I will tell you when to go. According to the marriage counsellor, that woman waited for some time; she had her first child, then the second and a third child and a man continued promising her that she will go to college when the husband wants. And when the wife suggested that her family will pay for her, the man said, I paid everything for you [meaning lobola], and I have the right to control you' (Key Informant).

Findings further indicated that some men stop their wives to progress because of lack of trust. According to one woman in the focus group discussion,

'When there is trust a husband will not stop his wife to do any business or even going to school. If your husband knows you are a prostitute, he cannot allow you to be out of his sight doing business or at school because he knows you will double cross him'. 'But sometimes it is out of jealous' revealed another woman in the focus group discussion. 'Men fear that, if a woman becomes prosperous in business, or get education or a good job she can be pompous and change her mind on him. She is not going to respect him. By paying lobola men have power over their wives' (FGD Participant).

This view also came out in an interview with one key informant who had this to say:

'Some men stop their wives from doing business or working yet they don't want to buy them clothes in fear that they will meet other men. According to her, when a woman starts work or gets involved in business, she will look different and beautiful and that becomes a threat to some husbands. She narrated having handled a number of cases of men who stop their wives from work. She argued that most men still are very traditional and cannot allow their wives to be independent just because they have paid lobola' (FGD Participant).

One other key informants in an in-depth interview further revealed that, some women are abused by their husbands because they were charged too much *lobola*. She said that

'Paying of lobola contributes to some extent, though what I have handled (cases) in court it is quiet. I have heard of it out there, and out there it is more pronounced (in society) may be in court they fear to mention it. Where both a wife and husband are working but a woman gets a bigger salary, men take advantage of their wives to be

the main providers of the home and will spend their money carelessly. The women whose husbands were charged too much lobola find it difficult to report their husbands to their relatives and would pretend things are okay compared to their counterparts. (Key Informant).

Another key informant supported that, there are some women who are abused because their husbands were charged too much money. These women will be the providers of these homes. The man in this situation takes advantage to do anything to the wife because he knows he paid too much lobola

In the survey, respondents were also asked as whether lobola restricted married women from owning property or not. Interestingly, 77 respondents (51.3%) did not see lobola as restricting women from acquiring and owning property while 70 respondents (47.6%) saw it as restricting wives from owning property. It seems what men fear is for women to have money and not property as such (see Table 8, below).

Table 8: Whether or not lobola restricts married women from owning property

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative %
No	77	51.3	52.4	52.4
Yes	70	47.6	47.6	100.0
Total	147	98.0	100.0	
Missing	3	2.0		
Total	150	100.0		

Source: Own survey

4.5.2 Emotional violence

The findings also identified lobola as affecting married women emotionally. The survey, in-depth with key informants as well as focus group discussion all identified the payment of lobola as contributing to emotional violence among married women. From the survey, 84 (56%) of the respondents felt that lobola resulted in husbands restricting their wives from talking to other men, where as 70 (47.3%) of the respondents were of the view that lobola limits who wife associates with while 78 (52.7) indicated that it did not. It was further established by 80 (53.3%) respondents that lobola had an influence on limiting the wife's

contact with her family, while 89 (60.1%) were of the view that it restricted the wife's movements.

Similarly, a focus group discussion with women, revealed that some women are abused emotionally. It came out that due to *lobola*, some women are restricted to do certain things in marriage and that affects women a lot emotionally. One woman categorically said:

'It pains us as women when men control us in marriage just because they paid lobola.

Another participant from women's focus group discussion supported and said that:

'When a man pays too much lobola in marriage, it becomes a problem. When you ask for help, sometimes responses are not good, though someone may even put it as a joke like your parents got a lot of money, I paid it all. What more do you still want? You find it does not just end there; he will not give you anything. That is stressful to us women because this is the only person you depend upon for all your own needs' (FGD Participant).

A similar view came out with another woman in a focus group discussion who reported that:

'I have also noticed that my husband seems to harbour a grudge against my family over the lobola he paid. This happens especially when I ask for support from him to help my family. For example, one time when I asked him for money to help my sick mother, his answer to me was: what were your parents thinking of when they were charging a lot of money [for lobola]? Didn't they know that one day they would still need my help? He told me to go and ask for help from my relatives who could have benefitted as well from what he paid. Getting such a response from my husband has been painful to me and I cannot easily get over it' (FGD Participant).

Findings with some key informants also indicated that women lose certain freedoms when they are paid for in marriage. According to one key informant,

'Some women lose certain freedoms because some men will dictate on what you should wear and how to do your hair. A woman will not be allowed to pray or to go to church if it is not a church where the husband belongs. Sometimes you stay longer at church, maybe there was a women's meeting, and you will be reprimanded at home. Because of that, the next meeting you will not be allowed. When you go for a kitchen party, you have to come back early because your husband will be fuming by the gate if you are late. These could be even the reasons for divorce' (Key Informant).

It was further noted by another key informant that some women are abused emotionally because their husbands will be referring to that money that they were charged and especially when they paid in full. In her own words she said:

'When some men are charged a lot of money and pay it in full, they will always be referring to a lot of money they have been charged. They feel they have the right to control their wives by selecting who they should associate with, restricting their movements like stopping them going to church and kitchen parties. Some men would say I bought you by paying lobola, especially in the village it is worse' (Key Informant).

Another issue from an interview with one key informant about some men going out with their own daughters. Some women are aware that their husbands abuse their own daughters and cannot say anything because of the payment of *lobola*. Furthermore, another key informant indicated that women are emotionally affected when a couple fails to bear children when *lobola* is paid. Relatives to the husband would mount pressure demanding for children. She further revealed that arrangements are even made in some ethnic groups, where a young sister or another relative to the wife would be given to the man to sleep with to bear children on her behalf if she is barren. She described this as a mental torture on the part of the wife.

Interestingly, in a focus group discussion with men, it also came out that *lobola* gives men an upper hand over women to a point where women get affected emotionally. One man indicated that once *lobola* is paid, some men relax doing certain things for their wives and while others even stop completely to support their wives. One man from a focus group discussion even confessed saying this:

'When we were still in a girlfriend and boyfriend relationship, I bought anything she requested for because I was scared of losing her [for other men] if I did not do so. But when I married her, I stopped. I know now that even if I don't provide for her, she is legally mine and she cannot go anywhere because I paid [lobola] for her' (FGD Participant).

Another man in a focus group discussion brought an issue of some men not even spending time with their wives as they did before marriage. According to this man, the *lobola* makes men to behave in any way they like towards their wives. Some do not even want to spend time with their wives as they did before marriage because a woman is now under their control, something he described as giving women a lot of worries (FGD Participant).

In the quantitative survey, multiple questions were also asked on how the payment of *lobola* affects women emotionally. Out of the 150 respondents, 84 respondents representing 56% agreed that *lobola* resulted in husbands restricting their wives from talking to other men while 66 respondents (44%) said no. Results also showed that 70 respondents (47.3%) were of the view that *lobola* limits who wife associates with while 78 (52.7) indicated that it did not. It was further established from the survey that 80 representing 53.3% viewed *lobola* as having an influence on limiting the wife’s contact with her family while 70 (46.7%) were of the view that it did not. Results also revealed that 89 respondents representing 60.1% were of the view that *lobola* restricts the wife’s movements.

4.5.3 Sexual violence

From the survey, sexual violence came out as one the most dominant forms of gender based violence associated with the payment of *lobola*. Out of a total of 142 respondents who answered a question on whether there was a connection or not between husbands forcing their wives to have sex and the payment of *lobola*, 123 respondents (82%) said yes while only 22 respondents (14.7) said no. The survey findings also showed that wives were being beaten if denies the husband sex as given in the Table 9, below.

Table 9: Wife being beaten if she denies her husband sex

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative %
No	21	14.0	14.4	14.4
Yes	125	83.3	85.6	100.0
Total	146	97.3	100.0	

Source: Own survey

It was further revealed by 125 respondents (85.6%) that wives would even be subjected to beating by their husband if they denied them sex. Only 21 respondents (14 %) held views to the contrary. It was further revealed by 117 respondents (78.0%) that men could demand for sex without protection from their wives as a result of *lobola*.

4.5.4 Physical violence

Besides sexual violence, which is also physical in nature, findings in this study also revealed that *lobola* leads to women being subjected other different forms of physical violence including being beaten by their husbands. Findings showed that husbands feel that they have the right to discipline their wives to put them in the right truck. The results from the survey,

in-depth interview with key informants and focus group discussions all showed that the payment of *lobola* does contribute to physical violence that women go through in marriage. Table 10 below shows survey results on wife battering for other reasons.

Table 10: Subjecting wife to battering for other reasons

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No	34	22.7	23.9	23.9
Yes	108	72.0	76.1	100.0
Total	142	94.7	100.0	

Source: Own survey

As seen in the table 10 above, it came out from the survey that the most common form of physical violence was wife battering. A focus group discussion with women also revealed that some women are physically beaten up by the husband for whatever reasons including when husband is denied sex. One female participant in a focus group discussion said:

‘Some husbands use physical violence on their wives. When a wife offends him for whatever reason he would beat you. Even when a wife refuses him sex. It is like lobola gives men power and total control over us women. Simply because you are his wife and you were paid for, you are expected to do whatever he wants, failure to which you get beaten on the pretext of not respecting him.

The issue of beating a wife when she denies the husband sex was also emphasized by one key informant. She revealed that some men admit in the courts of law that they beat their wives when a wife refuses to have sex. According to her, *‘some men insist that they see no reason why a wife should deny a husband conjugal rights when they are paid for.’* She further revealed that she had a case where a wife sued a husband for divorce on account of sexual abuse. That woman, according to the court official, filed for divorce as she was tired of her husband’s demands for sex every day to a point where she used to get bruised and experience pain during and after the sexual intercourse. Similarly, one participant in a focus group with men revealed that a wife’s failure to perform the expected duties in the home such as preparing meals make some men beat up their wives. In his own words he said:

‘Like me, I married her to cook for me. What do you expect me to do to her if I find that she has not done that? Of course beat her’ (FGD Participant).

Another participant in the focus group discussion with women spoke of some wives being tattooed all over their bodies with a razor blade by their husbands. She said that:

'there are husbands who believe in traditional medicine to bring wealth to the family and the wife as a direct beneficiary would be subjected to the rituals such as being tattooed all over her body. He forces you to do things you don't even believe in because he is your husband and you were paid for. Sometimes things do not work at all but your body will be left with permanent marks. You can lose market in an event that you want to divorce and get married to someone else' (FGD Participant).

Another woman in the focus group discussion revealed that:

'Some men go to extremes taking advantage of the lobola they pay to make unreasonable demands upon their wives. For instance, I heard about a husband who tells his wife to sleep naked while he is eating and he demands his wife to open her legs so that he dips a lump of nshima on her private parts. These are some of the bedroom matters that an affected wife is not supposed to reveal as doing so can be interpreted as not having been taught properly as a wife' (FGD Participant).

4.6 Chapter conclusion

This chapter provided empirical findings on the determinants of the pricing of *lobola* payment and it revealed a number of factors considered including the ethnic background of both the bride and the groom, the bride's level of education, the need to meet costs associated to the girl's upbringing, the groom's status, and the virginity of a bride among others. Findings also show the pricing of *lobola* has even moved away from the traditional practice of mere appreciation to include fundraising for kitchen parties as well as raising money to pay marriage counsellors being factored in. On how married women and men perceive *lobola* in relation to gender based violence, findings suggest that paying *lobola* is like buying a wife and thus making her property of the husband. It therefore gives the man powers to treat the wife as he wishes including subjecting her to sexual and other forms of abuse including taking away her rights to make decisions on matters affecting her life, restricting her movements, what to wear, depriving her a claim over her children among others. The study revealed emotional, economic, sexual and physical violence as the types of gender based violence that married women are subjected to as a result of *lobola*.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the major findings on the given specific objectives of the study. As earlier on indicated, the study uses the concept of patriarchy in analysing the possible link between *lobola* and gender based violence. In the discussion, the study will also try to engage available literature to relate findings.

5.2 Factors considered in determining the pricing of *lobola*

The first objective of this study was to establish factors that families considered in determining how they arrived at charges for *lobola* in marriage. The results revealed different reasons that families use in pricing *lobola* including the ethnic background of both the bride and the groom, the bride's level of education, the economic status of the groom, as well as the number of people expected to benefit from the *lobola* as some of the key determinants in the pricing of *lobola*. Findings from this study are consistent with Asimwa (2013)'s finding who equally revealed multiple considerations. Her study revealed factors such as the potential of the groom's family to pay highest price, the economic status of the bride, the bride's level of education, how hard working she is and her virginity⁵ among others as influencing the charge of *lobola*.

Similarly, there is consistence with findings by Dekker and Hoogeveen (2002) who argue that now people are making *lobola* as a profit making venture to become rich and that this can lead to women's oppression. Likewise, Matope, et al (2013) also alluded to the commercialisation of *lobola* as leading to the exacerbation of domestic violence as men are said to use the high bride price as a justification to oppress, exploit and dominate women. From what emerges from the findings, it also justifies Dura (2015)'s observations that *lobola* seem to have lost its original meaning. For instance, findings on using *lobola* payment to fundraise for kitchen parties and to raise money for paying marriage counsellors for the bride, among other factors just show how the original essence of *lobola* is being altered.

Perhaps some of these changes associated with commercialisation of *lobola* and modernisation could provide a possible explanation as to why some men see it as buying a

⁵ The virginity of the bride also came out as an important factor influencing the charge of *lobola* in the present study. However, the way it was interpreted was that in recent times, emphasis in justifying charging a higher amount was more on the bride not having a child and being a first marriage. This perhaps could be as a result of girls nowadays engaging in sexual relationships early even before they are ready to get into marriage.

wife like a commodity, and have too many expectations from her. Thus, when some expectations are not met, a husband subjects her to abuse as he pleases.

5.3 Perceptions on *how lobola* influences gender based violence

The second objective of this study was to establish how married women and men perceive *lobola* in relation to gender based violence women experience in marriage.

The study revealed different ways through which respondents felt *lobola* influences gender based violence in marriage. The findings show *lobola* has influence on restricting women on the rights to their children, makes women being viewed as a husband's property, limits women's decision-making power and women's control over sexual matters in a marriage, compels women to do more housework and empowers in-laws to have influence on the daughter in-law among others.

5.3.1 Limiting a mother's rights over children

The survey collaborated with the qualitative study that established that *lobola* limits women's rights to children. It was revealed that women failed to have rights to their children because of *lobola* that their husbands pay. A focus groups and in-depth interviews with marriage counsellors revealed that women faced a lot of challenges to have ownership to their children especially when they divorce as *lobola* gave men sole ownership to children born from that marriage. It was further revealed that the naming of children in marriage was a responsibility of the father once the payment of *lobola* was done. These findings are close to the findings by Ngutor, et al (2013) on Nigeria, indicating that bride price is paid by the groom to the bride's family in exchange for the bride and the children born to be born of that woman (Ngutor, et al 2013).

The findings are also similar to the Zimbabwean case, where Dura's (2015) equally acknowledges that in cases where *lobola* payment is associated with the father having rights over children born to the woman, women are not viewed as equal parents of children. However, one participant in the focus group discussion argued that different cultures perceive *lobola* in connection with child custody differently. That participant indicated that '*whether [lobola] payment is done or not, children belong to the mother's family among some ethnic groups, like the Bemba culture.*' It must be understood that even when the custody of children in matrilineal societies belong to the mother side, still it's the uncles in charge of those children. They are the ones marrying off the children which brings back patriarchy at play where men dominate in different aspects of life.

5.3.2 Women being viewed as husband's property

The study revealed that the payment of *lobola* makes men to view their wives as their property making them take a subordination position in marriage. According to the findings, the payment of *lobola* compels some women to follow husband's orders in a home. Some men find it easy to dictate what their wives should do when they will have paid *lobola*. In some cases, disappointed husbands even end up sending their wives back to their relatives to be taught more if they do not follow their orders. It was further established that the payment of *lobola* makes some men to go to the extremes to make unreasonable demands such as dipping a lump of nshima on a woman's private party, engaging in sex with a biological daughter to the knowledge of their mother who is threatened not to report and being involved in witchcraft just because she was paid for. Findings of this study are quite close to Chireshe and Chireshe's (2010) findings which showed the payment of *lobola* as making some husbands to see wives as their property to be used as they pleased, especially where *lobola* was highly charged. Findings are also similar to those of Khan and Hyati (2012) who showed that *lobola* creates unequal power relations between men and women thus placing women in a subordinate position.

One possible explanation behind the local custom of *lobola* may be the patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women. The custom of *lobola* is more than making women as objects and seeing them as tradable goods but as an instrument for male showing their dominance over females. Bride price in this case reinforces the believed and the traditional arrangement of men's superiority to women since they can be purchased by another. In patriarchal society, most people are socialised to believe that women are inferior to men, meaning that women should do everything possible to make men happy even at the expense of their own happiness.

5.3.3 Limiting women's decision making power

The study revealed that 77% of respondents felt that the payment of *lobola* had an effect on decision making of women in marriage. This showed that both men and women believed that the payment of *lobola* did affect women negatively in terms of decision making in marriage. It was widely held that when some men pay *lobola*, a woman have limited say or no say at all on the major decisions in their homes. The payment of *lobola* exhibited negative attributes such as Women not being able to argue with the husband and not having any divergent views to the husband. Even where the husband is not home, and something happens, the wife had to wait for their husband to make a ruling. Some women felt that *lobola* did not help them but

disadvantages them in so many ways even in things to do with their healthy like family planning. If a women went against a husband's decision, then the husband had the right to put her in the right track by beating her since she is under his authority. These findings support the findings of Bawa (2015) and Onyango (2016) who reported that the man's consent in anything that a woman wants to do is vital upon contracting the marriage. In all her endeavours, she has to be always conscious of the existence of a man and must serve and please the husband. This deprives her personhood in terms of self-determination and status of equality with her husband and be able to exercise any of her rights (Bawa, 2015). This was supported by Fuseini and Dodoo (2012) whose findings also revealed that, the payment of *lobola* deprives a woman autonomy in all aspects of her life, prevention her from full enjoyment of her rights and gender equality as their decision are influenced by their husbands. Fuseini and Dodoo's (2012) further contends that *lobola* reinforces the power that men already have over women.

In this case it can be possibly interpreted that some men would violate women's rights in decision making because they feel they are the heads of the family. When a woman starts challenging a man in decision making in a home, some men feel a woman is violating the patriarchal norms and hence, some men response to that violation of patriarchal norms in a way that affect women negatively.

5.3.4 Limiting women's control on sexual matters

Findings revealed that *lobola* limits women's decision power in terms of sex preference in marriage. Some women are powerless on sexual matters when a husband has paid *lobola* because sex is not all supposed to be denied. The study further revealed that as a result of *lobola*, some men feel they have bought everything including the private part and that they are entitled to having sex in marriage any time they felt like. The fact that women are told not to reveal bedroom issues compounds the problem of sexual violence in marriages which in itself is a beginning of health problems within a home making women to be more vulnerable to infection. This is because even in situations where a wife knows she is at risk of contracting a disease from her spouse, it is unlikely she could persuade him to use a condom or unprotected sex. This is in accordance with what Avis eta al, (2015); Ngutor, et al, (2015) highlighted that the practice [of *lobola*] appears to buy a wife as a product leaving women with limited control over their sexuality. Women do not have control over sexual and reproductive health and rights in terms of sexual preferences and negotiating for safe sex. The findings were further supported by a study conducted by Muthegheki (2012) who established that women lose dignity by being controlled by their husbands and being used as sexual

objects by their husbands. *Similarly*, Ngutor, et al (2013), who gives different marriage rights that men benefit upon paying *lobola*. These include having power over the wife's identity, rights to sexuality, access and control of her labour as well as rights over children born to a woman.

Findings by Mangena and Ndlovu (2013) seem to have the same sentiments and contend that women do not have control over sexual and reproductive health and rights in terms of sexual preferences and negotiating for safe sex. Use of any form of protection including condom use for safety or to control reproductive health is also an issue where some men have paid *lobola*. Men feel that the women are disturbing what is rightfully theirs (Mangena and Ndlovu, 2013).

5.3.5 Compelling women to do more house chores than men

As regards to *lobola* influencing women to do more house chores in a home, the study showed 71% of the total respondents viewed *lobola* having influence on women doing more house chores in a home compared to men. Both men and women held the same view that when a man pays *lobola* in marriage, a woman is expected to take care of house chores. It was felt that, the benefits of a man for paying *lobola* is to find a woman has cooked and washed for him. Further, a woman was supposed to take care of the children. All these chores had to be done regardless of a wife's status or job she has in society. Further, it was felt that if a woman was a boss at work, that status ended at work or she was expected to balance up between her duties at home even when she had a maid. These findings seem to confirm Khan and Hyati's (2015) findings who established that in situations where a wife may also be working and earning income inside or outside the home, she does not reduce her household duties. Failure to perform those house chores by some women would make some men beat up their wives.

The findings are also similar to the Kenyan case, where Onyango (2016) equally observed that bride price implies that when a woman gets married, she has to add more hours of work to her day, making a woman a beast of burden. These results mirror the studies done by Khan and Hyati's (2015) whose findings revealed that, *lobola* creates clear division of labour between a man and a woman because of the status of a woman of being a property of a man. It creates rigid gender roles assigned to women within the family and this promotes inequalities in as far as gender roles and responsibilities are concerned. Women are seen as nurturers and mainly as providers of support to men. Anderson's (2007) findings further

revealed that women could be punished if they were seen as not being of value in exchange for what has been given or as not executing their traditional role.

5.3.6 Empowering relatives to husbands over their wives

The findings of this study established that the payment of *lobola* ties a woman to the relatives of a man, especially where they have also contributed to the payment. The findings of the study in a survey showed that 61% of the respondents agreed that *lobola* empowers the relatives to the husbands over their wives. Some respondents perceive the payment of *lobola* as empowering the in-law to have control in their marriages especially where a woman misbehaves and does not care a relative of a husband well they would interfere by controlling her in her own home. Some relatives would want the in-law they have paid for to show them respect by doing what they want like sending her to do work such as house chores for the family especially during her early marriages. An example of the Tonga culture was cited as one such where the in-laws would have authority to send her to do different work in the home and in the field to prove if their relative has married a right person.

This finding is consistent with studies done by Sithole's (2015) that revealed that the payment of *lobola* empowers the groom's family who played a part in that marriage to have control and say in the marriage. Consequently, it gives the groom's relatives to have a right to control that marriage. Such relatives, especially the woman expect her to do whatever they want because they contributed to that marriage (Sithole, 2015). This was further supported by Niner (2012) who also revealed that, bride price led to hostile treatment of wives due to expectations linked to the exchange.

However, some men felt that their relatives had powers to interfere in their marriages. Some men firmly argued that relatives would not only *interfere in a marriage where they have contributed something towards lobola, but* had powers over their daughters' in-laws regardless of who paid *lobola*. They viewed their relatives as simply being their own eyes. Therefore, they had the right to control her if she was misbehaving. Men in focus group discussion complained that what is usually misunderstood to mean mistreating a wife is when a wife is using double standards that is, treating her own relatives differently to the way she treats her husband's relatives. In support of this view, Chuunga's (2012) states that in situations where a man is able to pay for dowry by himself, parental involvement is still required. In case of marital difficulties (and even death of a spouse), parents who were involved in establishing that marriage come in to help.

Contrary to Sithole's (2015) and Niner's (2012) findings which revealed that the payment of *lobola* gives powers over the wife to the husband's relatives who contributed something towards payment to that marriage, findings in this study revealed that relatives to the husband had powers over the wife regardless of whether they helped in paying *lobola* or not.

5.4 Forms of gender based violence married women experience linked to *lobola*

5.4.1 Deprivation of economic independence

Findings of this study indicated that the payment of *lobola* results in having women deprived of their economic independence. From the survey, 91% the respondents viewed *lobola* as restricting wives to own their own income. Women spoke of being restricted by their husbands to engage in income generating activities or looking for employment opportunities even in situations where a husband was not able to fend for the family. The study further revealed that even where a wife would want to seek for financial assistance from another person was a source of conflict and mistrust in a home.

On the other hand, men felt empowering a woman would make a woman pompous. It was further stated by men that helping a woman to be financially independence makes a woman to disrespect a husband as a head of the house. The men argued that some women would easily leave their marriage when they have money because they felt even when they divorce they will not suffer. Men also cited situations where some men would take their wives to school but the wife would end up either getting involved with another man or would ditch the husband for another man as some of the reasons they use their powers of paying *lobola* not to support their wives to be financially independent.

Findings on violating women's economic freedom seem to be consistent with findings from a number of other studies. For instance, Mangane and Ndlovu (2013) also observed that *lobola* stripes off women's economic freedom. Ngutor, et al (2013) also established that *lobola* compounded the belief that a man is the head of the house and the bread winner who must provide for the family. He found out that where a woman is economically and professionally stronger than a husband, the husband may feel insecure and would force a wife to withdraw from paid work or personal business in order to have control over her (Asiimwa, 2013). The man stripes his wife economic autonomy especially in an event that the father of the bride demanded for compensation for educating the bride. She concluded that such a situation

defeats efforts to emancipate women economically. All this may be due to the fact that a man after paying *lobola* feels he has bought the partner and for that matter he owns her (Fuseini, 2013).

5.4.2 Physical Violence

Physical violence was reported to manifest in two different ways. Sexual violence was the most dominant form of physical violence which was associated with *lobola*. The husbands feel that *lobola* gives men an entitlement to engage in sex anytime they feel like. And when wife denies the husband sex, this would result in beating the wife. Avis et al, (2015); Ngutor, et al, (2015) also linked *lobola* as limiting control over their sexuality. They found out that women do not have control over sexuality. Women cannot even negotiate for safe sex. Similarly, Muthegeki (2012) established that women are being used as sexual objects by their husbands. Use of any form of protection including condom use for safety or to control reproductive health is also an issue where some men have paid *lobola*. Men feel that the women are disturbing what is rightfully theirs (Mangena and Ndlovu, 2013).

5.4.3 Psychological and emotional violence

The study further found out that married women suffered psychological and emotional violence. This came in form of restricting the wife's movements, who she associates with, what to wear, among others. Married women also suffer from emotional stress in instances where a wife may not bear a child. In cases of impotence, more often men would want to give an impression that it is the wife who has problem. Part of these findings are similar to Mtonga's (2007) who established that traditional practices like bride price lead to men mistreating their wives because they feel they own them. He attaches maltreatment issues such as wives being beaten for not being submissive. Similarly, Bawa (2015) indicated that the payment of *lobola* makes women more prone to abuse by their husbands as it implies that the man is in charge of her and may demand total obedience from the wife to meet the roles and other social expectations which may result into abuse of a wife if he does not receive it.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

Chapter six provides conclusions and recommendations of the study. It first presents a summary of the findings in line with the objectives of the study. The main objective of this study was to explore the influence of *lobola* on gender based violence among married women in Kamanga. The study was guided by the following specific objectives: to examine how the price of *lobola* is determined among families when negotiating for marriage; to establish the perceptions of married women and men towards the payment of *lobola* in relation to gender based violence; and to determine the types of gender based violence women experience mostly associated with the payment of *lobola*. The study used patriarchy in understanding the possible link between *lobola* and gender based violence. After presenting the summary of findings on specific objectives, an attempt is being made to relate findings to patriarchy which the study used as a framework to understand the link between *lobola* and gender based violence.

6.2 Summary of findings in relation to research objectives

Individual objectives of the study will be looked at for the sake of clarity in summarising the findings.

6.2.1 Determinants of price of *lobola* among families

Among major findings on how the price of *lobola* is determined among families include parents using the education of their daughters to determine the pricing of *lobola*. Parents to the woman use her education in calling for a higher price as a way to possibly gain from what they would have spent on her. Some parents feel that when their daughter gets into marriage, she will no longer be available to help her own family as she will belong to the husband's family. Another important finding was that the capacity of the groom and his relatives determined the price. The study established that some families charge more for *lobola* on the basis of how much a groom is able to pay. This was viewed as paradoxically putting a wife in an awkward situation later in her marriage. This is because some husbands use the high price charged as a justification to exploit their wives. This may include subjecting the wife to gender based violence. This is premised on the feeling that man bought his wife and at a higher price for that matter.

Findings also revealed that some parents include what parents would have spent on her upbringing in the pricing of *lobola*. Even if the woman getting married is not educated, her parents would have spent on her upbringing, which should be compensated when she gets married as she no longer belongs to her family. Another determinant from the findings was that when a woman is marrying for the first time and had no children from elsewhere prior to her marriage, the pricing for *lobola* is usually higher than when a woman marrying already had a child. The issue of the virginity of a woman marrying was also established among determinants for the pricing of *lobola*. However, it came out from the study that nowadays it is not so common to find women who are virgins, as women start engaging in sex at a tender age, way before they think of getting married.

One unique finding among determinants of payment of *lobola* was the issue of fundraising for kitchen parties. *Lobola* seem to have lost the original tradition of appreciation to include such things charging more to fundraise for a would be bride's kitchen party. It was revealed that since a kitchen party is usually financed by the bride's relatives, some parents have found an indirect way of passing on the cost to the groom's side by inflating the charge for *lobola*. The study also established that some parents also use payment for *lobola* to pay marriage counsellors (*alangizi*). These are people who provide counselling to the woman on marriage issues.

6.2.2 Perceptions towards the payment of *lobola* in relation to gender based violence

The study established a wide range of views linking the payment of *lobola* to gender based violence. Among major findings is that the payment of *lobola* to some men is perceived as buying a wife and thus she becomes a husband's property. Findings revealed that once a man pays *lobola*, he feels the woman becomes his personal property and he can do anything to her. The wife is at the mercy of her husband and has to do as the husband pleases. The study also showed that *lobola* gives an upper hand to some men in decision making in the home. The husband dictates what the wife should do in a home. The wife assumes a subordinate position to her husband. From the findings, it doesn't matter whether the wife is more educated or is a bread winner. She still has to fall under the authority of her husband.

Another finding related to the influence of *lobola* on gender based violence was the issue of sexual abuse that women are subjected to. The payment of *lobola* makes women to be turned into sexual objects by their husbands. Men feel they have the right to have sex with their

wives anytime they want because they paid *lobola*. Some men go to an extent of demanding for sex even when wife may be having her menstrual. Findings also revealed that some men even beat their wives when they are denied sex. Further, it came out that due to *lobola*, some men claim rights over children born in that marriage. In some instances, it also came out that some men as fathers want to monopolise the naming of children due to *lobola* that they pay.

The study also found that men have powers to determine the number of children a woman should have. When a woman decides to take family planning to space children, it becomes a serious issue that can even lead to a wife being beaten by the husband. Another issue that came out on how *lobola* influences gender based violence is that it gives power to the relatives of the husband over the wife. Mothers' in-law and sisters' in-law were particularly singled out as being the most dominating on wives. They want to be treated like the husband. Surprisingly, men also supported this view saying that their relatives had rights over their wives. Husbands' relatives were said to be 'their eyes' and had responsibility to report them when they were not doing the right thing.

One unique finding in this study was that the control over the wife among the husband's relatives was not only left to the relatives who contributed in paying *lobola*. This contradicts findings of other studies (see Sithole, 2015) which showed that the payment of *lobola* gives powers over the wife to the husband's relatives who contributed payment to that marriage.

6.2.3 Common types of gender based violence women experience associated with *lobola*

Among the major findings on the types of gender based violence women experience mostly associated with the payment of *lobola* include women being deprived of economic independence. As a result of *lobola*, some women are denied opportunities to get employed or to do business. They have to ask for permission from their husbands and whatever the husband says they have to follow. It was established that some women have to depend on their husbands for income and for their wellbeing.

Sexual violence also came out as one of the main forms of gender based violence that married women experience as a result of *lobola*. Some men abuse their wives sexually through marital rape. Some men even go to an extent of physically inspecting their wives' private parts when they suspect that they have other affairs and are cheating on them. Women felt that *lobola* leads to men to abuse their wives emotionally also. Findings revealed that some women are subjected to a lot of pressure from husbands and their relatives especially where a

wife may fail to bear children in that marriage. Sometimes, it goes to an extent where a wife's relative such as a young sister is given to the husband to bear children for her. This was reported to give women in marriage a lot of mental torture. Other forms of emotional violence women are subjected to as a result of *lobola* include taking away their freedom to decide what to wear and restricting their movements like going to church, visiting friends and relatives, among others.

6.3 Reflections on the concept of patriarchy

Patriarchy is systemic societal structures that institutionalise male dominance over women in different spheres of life. In this study, we see patriarchal structures working to the benefit of men by promoting male dominance in marriage. Women as a result of patriarch are constrained in their life choices and chances when they get married. The payment of *lobola* worsen their situation to an extent that they end up being perceived as their husband's property. *Lobola* as an element of patriarch privileges men over women in such a way that women have limited control even on their sexuality. In this study, it was established that women have to struggle in different aspects of life. *Lobola* gives privileges to men over women in marriage to a great extent. *Lobola* thus reinforces the power that men already have over women.

6.4 Overall conclusions

From the findings of the study, *lobola* seems to influence gender based violence among married women. However, the connection between the two is more complex and not direct. More often, in cases of gender based violence where *lobola* is mentioned, something else should have gone wrong on perceived expectations of the roles of the wife resulting in conflict. At the back of it, is still stands that the wife was paid for, and hence ought to conform to the expectations of the husband within the institution of marriage. From the findings, it seems the more the charge for *lobola*, the higher the chances for that woman being subjected to gender based violence, perpetrated by her husband and in-laws, in an event of misunderstandings in that marriage. *Lobola* thus disadvantages women in marriage to an extent that it worsens their already disadvantaged position in relation to men.

6.5 Recommendations of the study

Based on the findings, this study makes the following recommendations:

- i. The Ministries of Justice, Gender and Local Government should look deeply into the issue of *lobola* to correct practices and reprimand those who don't adhere to its significance.
- ii. Civil society to lobby government to enact appropriate laws and policies to deal with patriarchy and help married women to enjoy their rights as human beings.

6.6 Suggested areas for further research

This study has brought a lot of insights that prompts questions that require further research on the possible link between *lobola* to gender based violence in Zambia. To begin with, it is proposed that similar studies with a wider coverage in Zambia should be conducted in order to make generalization of findings.

Further research should also be undertaken to compare dynamics on the commercialization of *lobola* among different ethnic groups in the country. Lastly, but not the least, it would also be interesting to compare views of married people in urban areas with those in rural areas on the possible connection between *lobola* and gender based violence.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondent,

My name is Patience Muumbe Moono. I am a postgraduate student at the University of Zambia carrying out a research on the *Influence of lobola on gender based violence in Lusaka's Kamanga Compound*. For the purpose of this study you have been systematically selected as one of the respondents to participate in the research. The information you will provide will remain strictly confidential. You are requested to be as open and sincere as possible in answering the questions. Your participation in the research is voluntary.

SECTION A

Let me begin by asking you about your personal details			
Q 01	Sex of the Respondent	Male	1
		Female	2
Q 02	How old are you?	Age	
Q 03	What is the highest level of education?	Never been to school	1
		Lower primary	2
		Upper primary	3
		Junior Secondary	4
		Senior Secondary	5
		Higher Education	6
Q 04	What is your occupation?	Currently working	1
		Not working	2
		Others (Specify) _____	3
Q 05	Which church do you belong to?	Anglican	1
		Catholic	2
		Pentecostal	3
		SDA	4
		Muslim	5
		Other (Specify) _____	6
Q 06	Which ethnic group do you mostly identify yourself with?	Bemba	1
		Kaonde	2
		Lozi	3
		Lunda	4
		Luvale	5
		Ngoni	6
		Tonga	7
		Others (Specify) _____	8
Q 07	Is this your first marriage?	Yes	1

		No	0	
Q 08	How long have you been married?	0-10 years	1	
		11-20 years	2	
		21-30 years	3	
		Over 31 Years	4	
Q 09	How many children do you have?			

SECTION B

I would now like to find out how the price of <i>lobola</i> is determined in your community.				
10	Has <i>lobola</i> been paid in your marriage? (If answer is no, skip question 12 and 13)	Yes	1	
		No	0	
11	If it was paid, who paid it?	Groom's extended family	0	1
		Groom's father and mother	0	1
		Groom	0	1
		Others (specify) _____		
Q 12	What mode of payment was used in paying <i>lobola</i> towards your marriage?	Cattle	0	1
		Money	0	1
		Others (Specify) _____		
Q 13	What factors determine the payment of <i>lobola</i> in your community? (Multiple answers possible)	Virginity of a bride	0	1
		Economic status of a groom	0	1
		Bride's education level	0	1
		Ethnic group of bride and groom	0	1
		Number beneficiaries on bride's side	0	1
		Others (specify) _____		

SECTION C

Let us now address how you perceive <i>lobola</i> in relation to gender based violence				
Q 14	How do you perceive the role of <i>lobola</i> in marriage? (Multiple answers possible)	Shows the groom's commitment to marriage	0	1
		Shows the groom's family value the bride	0	1
		Shows appreciation to the wife's family	0	1
		Legalizes marriage between the two families	0	1
		Others (Specify) _____		
Q 15	What are some of the challenges women face in	Limited control on sexual matters	0	1
		Doing more house work	0	1

	marriage that are associated with the payment of <i>lobola</i> ? (Multiple answers possible)	Empowering in-laws to mistreat the woman 0 1 Limited decision making powers in a home 0 1 Being property of husbands 0 1 No rights to children upon divorce 0 1 Others (Specify) _____	
Q 16	What makes some women remain in an abusive marriage?	Fear of stigma as a having failed in marriage 0 1 Fear to repay <i>lobola</i> 0 1 Pressure from the family to persevere 0 1 Fear of rejection by own family 0 1 Others (Specify) _____	
Q 17	How does the payment of <i>lobola</i> put a woman at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS in marriage?	Wife is Forced to have sex without protection 0 1 Influences sexual cleansing when widowed 0 1 Others (Specify) _____	
Q 18	Has the payment of <i>lobola</i> increased compared to the past?	Yes 1 No 0	
Q 19	If yes to question 1? do you think the increase in the payment of <i>lobola</i> will increase the abuse of women by men	Yes 1 No 0	
Q 20	Should <i>lobola</i> be continued?	Yes 1 No 0	
SECTION D			
I would like to find out about the common types of gender based violence that women experience in marriage due to the payment of <i>lobola</i> .			
Q21	What economic violence do some women experience in marriage due to payment of <i>lobola</i> ?	Stopping wife from earning own income 0 1 Stopping wife from owning property 0 1 Others (Specify) _____	
Q22	What sexual violence do some women experience in marriage due to the of payment <i>lobola</i> ?	Forcing wife to have sex against her wish 0 1 Refusing wife to have safe sex 0 1 Others (Specify) _____	

Q23	What physical violence do some women experience in marriage due to the payment of <i>lobola</i> ?	Wife being beaten when refuse to have sex 0 1 Forced to have sexual intercourse 0 1 Wife Beaten when refuse to do house chores 0 1 Others (specify)_____	
Q 24	What emotional violence do some women experience in marriage due to the payment of <i>lobola</i> ?	Jealous if a wife talks to other men 0 1 Not permitting wife to meet friends 0 1 Limiting wife's contact with her family 0 1 Limiting wife's movements 0 1 Humiliating wife in front of others 0 1 Others (specify)_____	

Thank you

Good morning/Afternoon,

My name is Patience Muumbe Moono. I am a postgraduate student at the University of Zambia carrying out a research on the *Influence of lobola on gender based violence in Lusaka's Kamanga Compound*. For this purpose, you have all been selected as married men/women to help me discuss this subject matter. The information you will provide will be strictly confidential and it will be used for academic purposes only. There are no wrong or right answers in this exercise. Therefore, you have to be as open and sincere as possible in the discussion. Your participation in the research is also voluntary.

SECTION A		
FACTORS DETERMINING THE PRICE OF <i>LOBOLA</i> IN MARRIAGE		
	Questions	Probes
Q 1	What is <i>lobola</i> ?	
Q 2	How is <i>lobola</i> determined among the families in this community	What do negotiators consider in deciding the price to charge <i>lobola</i> ? How are payments of <i>lobola</i> made in your community?
Q 3	What mode of payment is used for <i>lobola</i> in marriage?	
SECTION B		
PERCEPTIONS OF <i>LOBOLA</i> IN RELATION TO GENDER BASED VIOLENCE		
Q 4	What is the role of <i>lobola</i> in Marriage in your community?	What is the cultural significance associated to <i>lobola</i> ? What is the role of <i>lobola</i> to a woman's family when she is paid for? What is the role of <i>lobola</i> to men/women in marriage?
Q 5	What do you think are the attitudes of men towards the payment of <i>lobola</i> ?	Why do men pay <i>lobola</i> ? What do men expect from their wives when they pay <i>lobola</i> ? What happens if their expectations are not met?
Q 6	What is the expectation of the in- laws when <i>lobola</i> is paid?	How are the husband relatives expect to be treated by their in-laws when <i>lobola</i> has been paid? What is their reaction when their expectations are not met?

Q 7	What is the attitude of women towards the payment of lobola?	How does lobola benefit women in marriage? What freedom do women have in marriage when lobola is paid?
Q 8	What challenges do women face in marriage due to the payment of lobola?	How does lobola disadvantage women? What freedom do women lose when lobola is paid?
SECTION C: MOST COMMON TYPES OF VIOLENCE WOMEN EXPERIENCE IN MARRIAGE ASSOCIATED TO <i>LOBOLA</i>		
Q 9	What Physical violence do some women experience in marriage due to payment of <i>lobola</i> ?	
Q 10	What Sexual violence do some women experience in marriage due to payment of <i>lobola</i> ?	
Q 11	What economic violence do some women experience in marriage due to payment of <i>lobola</i> ?	
Q 12	What Emotional violence do some women experience in marriage due to payment of <i>lobola</i> ?	

Thank you

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE – KEY INFORMANTS

INTERVIEWER.....

DATE.....TIME.....PLACE.....

Introduction

Good morning/Afternoon,

My name is Patience Muumbe Moono. I am a postgraduate student at the University of Zambia carrying out a research on the *Influence of lobola on gender based violence in Lusaka's Kamanga Compound*. For this purpose, you have been selected as one of my key informants to help me with information on this subject matter. The information you will provide will be strictly confidential and it will be used for academic purposes only. You are being requested to be as open and sincere as possible in the answering the questions. Your participation in the research is also voluntary.

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1 How long have you been serving in this position?

SECTION B: How the payment of lobola is determined

2 What factors are considered in deciding the payment of lobola among families?

3 What mode of payment of lobola is used in marriage among couples?

SECTION C: Perceptions on the payment of lobola in relation to gender based violence

4 What is the nature of issues do you handle related to lobola and gender based violence?

5 Tell me your experiences of handling marital cases related to lobola and gender based violence?

6 Tell me some of the challenges women face in marriage that are associated with lobola?

7 What does lobola make some women remain in an abused marriage?

8 What are your views on the payment of lobola?

SECTION C: Most common types of violence women experience in marriage associated with lobola

9 What types of economic violence do woman experience in marriage due to the payment of lobola?

10 What types of physical violence do woman experience in marriage due to the payment of lobola?

11 What types of emotional violence do woman experience in marriage due to the payment of lobola?