



**APPROVAL**

This dissertation of Wazilinda Elizabeth Mtonga has been approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in Gender Studies of the University of Zambia.

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## DECLARATION

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

Signature of Researcher ..... Ewmtonga .  
Date ..... 6th June, 2007 .

## ABSTRACT

Violence against women is widespread and global but is hidden as most of it goes on unreported. Violence is tolerated and accepted by most societies and cultures world wide and Zambia is no exception. In Zambia, violence has been exacerbated by some aspects of the customs and traditions, socio economic difficulties and to some degree, by law.

This study was undertaken to analyse, describe, and establish the effects and patterns of gender based violence experienced by married women, and given these patterns and effects, explains its existence and suggest ways of mitigating it.

This study was undertaken in May and June, 2006. Data was collected qualitatively using interview guides. A sample of women was drawn from three centres; YWCA, WLSA and National Legal Aid Clinic for Women. A sample of 40, consisting of 32 women and 8 key informants was used for this study.

The study identified common forms of violence as wife battery, abandonment, infidelity and tolerance of gender violence by the law. Other specific forms that emerged during the interviews were forced sex, forced child bearing, mental torture and rape.

The reasons for this violence were due to a number of factors. Husbands were obsessed with jealousy and suspected that their wives were committing adultery. There was also lack of communication between couples. Some aspects of cultural and traditional practices like paying bride price also led to abuse. There also was poor enforcement of the law as the law enforcers are biased and reluctant to prosecute perpetrators. Other reasons were the husbands' need to control their wives and difficult economic and social conditions.

The impact of this violence caused emotional, psychological and mental damage to all involved, scarring and shattering the lives of the victims. These women experienced low self esteem, depression, abuse of children and risk of HIV/AIDS. These effects led to suicide attempts, miscarriages, disfigurements, insanity and compromised the women's health as they could not negotiate for safe sex.

The interviewed women, women's NGOs, government and international community have recognized mitigation of violence as one of their obligations. The women felt they need to be empowered with skills and funds to reduce their vulnerability. The NGO women's organizations help by offering counseling, advocacy, lobbying, legal advice, litigation, shelter for battered women and gender sensitive training to schools, communities, police and judiciary. The government has created the VSU to apprehend and prosecute offenders without bias. It has also a gender policy which is under GIDD. GIDD formulates and implements projects and programmes aimed at reducing and eventually eradicating gender violence.

The international community under the auspices of the UN is funding programmes and projects. UNAIDS and UNIFEM are funding gender violence and HIV/AIDS programmes. The European Union and CARE are funding YWCA in most of its operations including a 'one stop shop' for gender violence victims.

Though a lot has been done in raising public consciousness about the significance and severity of violence, its magnitude is not yet known as most of it remains unreported. The government needs to be more committed in the implementation of policies that will help in the mitigation of this violence. Government must take a leading role by coordinating the efforts of these NGO's and the international community. It should

increase funding especially to the YWCA that is doing a tremendous job but is being hampered by non availability of funds. Government should also strengthen the VSU and commit to gender violence mitigation by changing laws and enforcing existing laws. It should also commit to change aspects of traditional and cultural beliefs that cause gender violence. This will make progress possible even for a problem as entrenched as gender violence.

## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is in memory of my daughter Chingandu, my most precious jewel taken by the Lord on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November, 2002 and to my father Richman Raymond Ntheye Mtonga, taken on 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1995. I pray thee Lord, their souls you keep.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<b>Page</b>
Declaration .....	iii
Abstract .....	iv
Dedication .....	vii
Acknowledgments .....	viii
List of Tables .....	xii
Appendices .....	xii
Acronyms .....	xiii

### CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction .....	1
1.1 Statement of the problem .....	4
1.2 Significance of the study .....	6
1.3 Objectives of the study .....	6
1.4 Research questions .....	7
1.5 Structure of dissertation .....	7

### CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction.....	8
2.1 What is gender violence? .....	8
2.2 Gender violence worldwide .....	9
2.2.1 Extent and severity of gender violence .....	9
2.2.2 Forms of gender violence.....	10
2.2.3 Causes of gender violence .....	12
2.2.4 Effects of gender violence .....	15
2.3 Gender violence in Zambia.....	16

**CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY**

3.0 Study design ..... 23

    3.1 Study site and population ..... 23

    3.2 Sampling techniques ..... 23

    3.3 Data collection ..... 24

    3.4 Data analysis ..... 24

**CHAPTER FOUR: MARRIAGE LAWS**

4.0 Introduction..... 25

    4.1 Statutory marriage law..... 25

    4.2 Customary law..... 28

    4.3 Rights within marriage..... 29

    4.4 Laws of maintenance..... 30

**CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS: FORMS, PATTERNS, CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF GENDER VIOLENCE**

5.0 Introduction ..... 31

    5.1 Historical background of women under study ..... 31

        5.1.1 Age..... 31

        5.1.2 Educational background ..... 32

        5.1.3 Occupational background ..... 33

    5.2 Forms and pattern of marital violence ..... 34

        5.2.1 Wife battery ..... 34

        5.2.2 Abandonment ..... 36

        5.2.3 Infidelity ..... 39

        5.2.4 Other forms of violence..... 40

    5.3 Causes of marital violence ..... 41

        5.3.1 Jealousy and suspicion..... 42

        5.3.2 Lack of communication and drunkenness..... 42

        5.3.3 Cultural and traditional beliefs..... 43

        5.3.4 Economic and social stress..... 44

5.3.5	The need to control .....	44
5.4	Effects of gender violence .....	45
5.4.1	Physical injury .....	45
5.4.2	Low self esteem .....	45
5.4.3	Depression .....	45
5.4.4	Abuse of children .....	47
5.4.5	Lack of decision making power .....	47
5.4.6	Gender violence and HIV/AIDS .....	47

## CHAPTER SIX: GENDER VIOLENCE AND THE LAW

6.0	Introduction.....	50
6.1	Gender violence and the law .....	50
6.1.1	Poor enforcement of the law .....	51

## CHAPTER SEVEN: EFFORTS OF MITIGATING GENDER VIOLENCE

7.0	Introduction.....	52
7.1	Mitigation of marital violence .....	52
7.1.1	Women's response .....	52
7.1.2	NGO women's organizations response .....	53
7.1.3	Government's response .....	57
7.1.4	International community response .....	60

## CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

6.0	Conclusion .....	62
	Recommendations .....	67
	Recommendations to women's NGOs .....	67
	Recommendations to government .....	68
	Bibliography.....	69

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Age of respondents	.....	32
Table 2	Educational background of respondents	.....	33
Table 3	Occupational background of respondents	.....	33

## APPENDICES

Appendix A	:	An Interview guide for women respondents	.....	72
Appendix B	:	Interview guide for focus group discussions	.....	74
Appendix C	:	An Interview guide for key informants	.....	75

## ACRONYMS

AIDS	-	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome-This is the disease caused by the HIV virus.
ARV	-	Antiretroviral- This is the drug that controls HIV infection.
ART	-	Antiretroviral Therapy
BBC	-	British Broadcasting Corporation
CSO	-	Central Statistical Office
DIC	-	Drop in Centre
GIDD	-	Gender in Development Division
HIV	-	Human Immune Deficiency Virus-This is the virus that attacks the immune system
NGO	-	Non Governmental Organization
UN	-	United Nations
UNIFEM	-	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNAIDS	-	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
VSU	-	Victim Support Unit
WHO	-	World Health Organization
WILDAF	-	Women in Law and Development in Africa
WLSA	-	Women and Law in Southern Africa
YWCA	-	Young Women's Christian Association
ZDHS	-	Zambia Demographic Health Survey
ZNBC	-	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation
ZWRCN	-	Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network

# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.0 Introduction

Of late, violence against women has become a highly visible social issue around the world. This is due to the increased focus on women's issues by the UN and women's organisations. For a long time, violence against women was ignored and unacknowledged as a violation of human rights and was tolerated as the rightful consequences of being female.

Gender based violence is wide spread and all evidence suggests that it is universal occurring in all cultures and nations in the world. A study of 90 cultures around the world found gender based violence in almost all of them (Levinson, 1989). Such violence takes many forms, reflecting cultural and social differences. The following, which includes some (but by no means all) forms of violence is an indication of the variety and severity of abuse: physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family including battering, defilement, female genital mutilation, dowry related violence, marital rape; physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere; trafficking in women and forced prostitution; and physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetuated or condoned by the state wherever it occurs (WILDAF 2005).

The issue of rape in marriage is controversial. It is generally believed that a man cannot rape his wife. Marriage creates the right of a husband to demand sex from his wife and that by agreeing to be married, a wife consents to sex for as long as the marriage continues. However, this hardly seems correct. No one can give 'perpetual consent' to sex and any forced sex is unacceptable.

Though gender based violence remains largely unreported or under reported, the limited coverage suggests that the number of such cases is considerable. The rising pressure from women's organizations has resulted in the recognition of the need for action both by the government and the public. However, policy formulation and programmes to reduce or eradicate gender violence remain ineffective due to lack of perfect understanding of the problem and factors contributing to it.

To understand the problem and factors contributing to gender violence, this study seeks to analyse, describe and explain forms and patterns of gender violence, its causes and effects as experienced by married women in Lusaka. This violence is also referred to as marital violence in this study. For interviews, a sample of thirty two women was drawn from three centres; Young Women Christian's Association (YWCA), Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) and the National Legal Aid Clinic for Women. YWCA offers counseling and legal advice which is done at the Drop in Centre. It also has a shelter that offers refuge to battered women. WLSA offers legal advisory services that ensure that vulnerable women have access to justice through legal education, training,

advice and assistance. It also lobbies and advocates for policy, legal reform and change to benefit women. The National Legal Aid Clinic for women offers training and education on women's rights as human rights. It advocates, lobbies, counsels and upholds and protects the rights of women by litigation.

Both YWCA and WLSA refer all litigation cases to the National Legal Aid Clinic for women. To consolidate the operations of the three centres and other organisations that deal with gender violence, the Zambian government created the Victim Support Unit (VSU) in 1994 to prosecute cases of violence that are of a criminal nature to help victims.

While this research is focused on married women, it is important to remember that men too can be victims of gender violence. Men have been known in some cases to be assaulted by their wives or partners and have been denied maintenance by their economically stronger partners. Some men have been known to be raped but like in the case of marital rape, many legal systems do not recognize the fact that men can be raped. However, if one accepts the definition of rape as 'sex without consent', then both men and women can be raped. Zambia has no specific laws on marital rape and rape of men. However, it is possible for an offender to be charged with indecent assault. Where a man has raped another man, the offender is charged with sodomy.

## **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

Women make up over half the world's population, perform two-thirds of its work, but receive one-tenth of its income and own less than one percent of its property (Seager and Olsen, 1986). This gender inequality leads to gender violence as women become vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Women's human rights are affected as this violence denies women personal dignity as a result of violations of their physical and mental well being. According to WHO (2005), women are still earning one tenth of the world's income.

Women are more vulnerable to violence than men for a lot of reasons and this has impacted negatively on them physically, psychologically, emotionally, sociologically and economically. The lack of access to economic resources renders women unable to make decisions affecting them. Some of them become dependent on men who are the economic providers. These men mistreat their wives who stay in abusive marriages for mainly economic and emotional reasons. Economic reasons include inability of some women to survive on their own due to lack of support from family members and lack of own resources. Emotional reasons include fear of being alone; lack of inner strength to leave as some women have lost their self esteem; threats of serious harm to the women and their children if they decide to leave; some hope that their husbands will change; some women think they still love their husbands; others stay for the sake of the children and other women believe that they are to blame for the abuser's behaviour.

Physically most men are stronger than women and men use this to dominate women. Most important of all, is the social construction that society has ascribed to women. The Do's and Don'ts. This is deeply rooted and embedded in all cultures of the world. These cultures and beliefs impact negatively on women and are a major source of increasing gender violence worldwide. In Zambian culture, it is taboo for a woman to deny sex to the husband even if she knows he has just had sex with another woman. Women are not to speak when the husband is speaking. Examples are many.

The legal system is biased and hesitates to prosecute assailants. The law enforcement and judicial systems do not adequately protect female victims. Violence against women has just been considered as a criminal offence in the recent past thus the reluctance of the legal system. A woman battered by her husband was considered to be involved in a domestic dispute. This was not the responsibility of the legal system (Chapman, 1990). The legal system has been slow in recognizing the fact that regardless of the relationship between victim and perpetrator, violence against women is a criminal offence. Most women are also unaware of their legal rights. Even where these rights are known, few, if any, are ready to take their husbands to court for various reasons. One reason is that women feel they will lose financial support if their spouses are jailed. Another reason is that women feel that they cannot take the father of their children to court while others are scared of the wrath of their husbands' relatives.

Response by society at large is a major concern for women's rights. To a large extent violence against women is invisible, unrecognized and trivialized. There is need to take more comprehensive steps to raise awareness of the magnitude of the problem and effect policies that can lead to its eradication. Gender violence affects the autonomy and status of women. Women's health is so greatly affected that an increase in HIV/AIDS, depression, suicide tendencies, miscarriages, femicides, women killing their husbands etc. are noted

([http://www/un.org/women.wter/daw/Beijing/platform/violence-htm](http://www.un.org/women.wter/daw/Beijing/platform/violence-htm)).

## **1.2 Significance of the Study**

This study seeks to provide a better understanding of factors that contribute to the problem of gender violence. These factors are socio-economic, socio-cultural and failure and/or poor enforcement of the law by the legal systems. This will add basic knowledge in the field of gender and can be used for future studies. The study will assist organisations that help abused women to effectively reduce violence and will be able to help the new Ministry of Gender and Development to formulate policies and programmes. The Ministry will monitor and evaluate policies and programmes to ensure implementation.

## **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The general objective of the study is to find out the patterns of marital violence and its effects. The specific objectives are:

- i) to describe effects of marital violence;
- ii) to understand reasons behind marital violence from a social perspective;
- iii) to explain perceptions of violence from the women's point of view;
- iv) to advance probable solutions to marital violence;

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

The research tries to answer the following questions;

- i) What are the patterns of gender violence in marriage?
- ii) What are the effects of this marital violence?
- iii) Why is there marital violence?
- iv) How can this marital violence be mitigated given the patterns and effects?

#### **1.5 Structure of Dissertation**

This dissertation is divided into eight chapters. Chapter one introduces the subject under study. Chapter two discusses the literature available on the subject of gender violence. Chapter three presents the methodology used for the research. Chapter four looks at the statutory and the customary marriage laws. This is pertinent as this research focuses on married women. Chapters five, six, and seven presents the research findings and the discussion of these findings by analyzing, describing and explaining the patterns, forms, causes and effects of violence on married women. Chapter eight concludes the study and the last part of the dissertation offers recommendations.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.0 Introduction**

Violence against women was only seriously addressed in 1980 internationally at the United Nations mid Decade Conference on Women in Copenhagen. In 1985 the report of the UN conference on women in Nairobi read in part “Violence against women exists in various forms in everyday life of all societies. Women are beaten, mutilated, burned, sexually abused and raped. Such violence is a major obstacle to the achievement of peace and other objectives of the Decade and should be given special attention. Women victims of violence should be given particular attention and comprehensive assistances...” (Report of the World Conference 1985 paragraph 258).

### **2.1 What is Gender Violence?**

Article 1 of the UN ‘Declaration of all forms of violence against women’ (1994) defines gender violence as “any act of gender based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty whether occurring in public or private life.’ (<http://www.undporg/rblack/gender/legislation/violence.htm>).

Physical abuse includes being kicked, slapped, stabbed, pushed, burned etc. and even threats to do so. Common causes of physical violence are: lack of communication between partners, poverty due to difficult economic conditions, drunkenness, and the

need for control by husbands, jealousy and insecurity. Sexual abuse includes rape, indecent assault, defilement and treating women as sex objects. Rape is defined as sex without consent. Indecent assault involves a sexual assault with no penetration of the vagina by the penis. Indecent assault includes forcing someone to have oral sex and touching someone's private parts without consent. In Zambia, the law does not recognise that women can be raped by their husbands or that men can be raped. Offenders are charged under indecent assault even if there is penetration. WILDAF has proposed a new bill for onward submission to parliament so that there can be specific provisions within the Zambian penal jurisdiction. Psychological abuse is aimed at eroding a woman's self esteem by destroying their self worth and confidence. This includes insults, threats of death or injury.

## **2.2 Gender Violence Worldwide**

### **2.2.1 Extent and Severity of Gender Violence**

Data on the extent and severity of gender violence indicates that it is widespread and universal occurring in all cultures of the world. According to a United Nations study "women are murdered, sexually abused, threatened and humiliated within their own homes and that this behaviour does not seem to be considered unusual or uncommon" (Conners, 1989:20).

Surveys on the incidence of gender violence have been undertaken. In the USA, a study by Gelles and Straus (1985) revealed that one out of six women experienced physical assault. The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (1988) reported that 62% of all murder cases were of women killed by their husbands. In France, 95% of victims of gender based violence are women (Oyekanmi, 1997). Walby (1999) reports that a national survey carried out in the United Kingdom in 1993 revealed that one in four women had been a victim of gender based violence.

Cox and Santiago (1992) report that interviews with 342 women revealed that one third lived in violent relationships in Mexico. 6 % had experienced marital rape. In Colombia, PROFAMILIA (1990) reported that the 1990 demographic and health survey revealed that 20% of the women had been physically abused, 33% psychologically abused and 10 % raped by their husbands. According to Chapman (1990) the Papua New Guinea law reform commission in 1986 found that up to 67% of married women suffered gender violence. Other countries in the world recognise marital rape as an offence. The availability of data on marital rape might well mean that these countries recognise marital rape as an offence.

### **2.2.2 Forms of Gender Violence**

There are different forms of violence reflecting cultural and social differences around the world. This violence takes many forms, some common worldwide, others specific to communities, countries or geographical regions.

Common forms of violence worldwide include physical and sexual violence. The most common form of physical violence is wife battering. A study in Peru found that 70% of all crimes reported to the police were women beaten by their partners (Connors, 1989). Sexual violence includes rape and sexual mutilation. Sexual mutilation is mainly found in some parts of Africa and is done for social rather than medical reasons. 70 million women in Africa alone are affected (Seager and Olson, 1986). This sexual mutilation refers to female genital mutilation that is practiced mainly in Ethiopia, Somalia, some parts of Kenya, Uganda and West Africa.

In Asia, particularly in India and Bangladesh, dowry abuse is common. In India, it is estimated that a dowry death occurs every 12 hours. Indian authorities have outlawed the custom of dowry but the practice has continued. Apprehension and prosecution of perpetrators has proved difficult (Connors, 1989). According to a WHO (1985) report, 50% of all murders in Bangladesh account for dowry deaths. Dowry is paid by the brides' families to the grooms' families. This has led to the grooms and their families to injure or kill the brides so that they can receive other dowry payments from new wives.

Other forms of violence include emotional abuse, human trafficking, female infanticide and female sex selective abortion.

### **2.2.3 Causes of Gender Violence**

Causes of gender violence are complex and multifaced. These causes have socio-cultural, socio-economic and legal dimensions.

Socialisation plays an important role on how men and women treat each other. In parts of Africa and Asia, entire aspects of women's lives are governed by customary and religious laws which are blatantly discriminatory against women in nature and purpose. These laws subject women to discrimination and help support perpetration of gender violence in the region (WILDAF 1993). According to WILDAF News (1993) women in Lesotho and Swaziland are considered as legal minors from birth to death. To control and correct a woman is a man's duty and any abuse is considered to be a family matter. WILDAF goes on to report that in Botswana, Swaziland and Zimbabwe the right to chastise the wife is a correctional measure and is actually enshrined in both the common and customary law.

When abuse is considered a family matter, it means both men and women in the family tolerate and accept this abuse by legitimising it in certain prescribed forms and given context. In this case if a wife is beaten, it is not abuse but a correctional measure. This tolerance and acceptance exists because traditional hierarchical values give men proprietary rights over women. The pattern of abuse runs as follows: the husband abuses the wife and the wife abuses the children, with each socially dominant group abusing the next weakest group in the hierarchy. However, this model is too easy and

has in some instances proved not to be true. Most children who grow up experiencing and witnessing such violence accept it not only as normal but 'proper and right'. In Bangladesh, which is predominately patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal, socio-cultural values sanction segregation of the sexes. Chastity and modesty in women is guarded by marriage from an early age. Women, who are the bearers of heirs, need to be guarded and their presence in public spaces is believed to provoke sexual violence against them. This actually means that blame is shifted to women if they are attacked. Their presence in public places certainly makes access to them easier than if they were enclosed within their homes (Jahan, 1983). This assumes that men cannot control themselves and women have no right over their own bodies. A woman is therefore reduced to a sex object to be used for male gratification. The socially legitimised way of acquiring the sex object and keeping it in possession is through marriage. Through elaborated socialisation, families ensure that children, both male and female, carry on this patriarchal order.

Socio-economic status of women and men also perpetuate gender violence. Women in majority in relation to men are poor making them unable to access economic resources. This exposes them to exploitation and abuse and increases their dependency on men who are usually the economic providers. In other situations where men, who are socially expected to support their families as heads of households and primary earners, find themselves unable to provide, women become vulnerable. This inability which may be due to unemployment, results in tensions, frustrations and the feeling of

inadequacies that are often vented on wives (Jahan, 1983). These difficult economic conditions lead to lack of proper communication of partners. Some men are jealous and insecure and take to drinking. This desperation perpetuates gender violence.

Legal systems around the world are themselves a source of mistreatment of women, ranging from biased treatment to outright abuse. According to Seager and Olson (1986) no where in the world do women enjoy the same legal and constitutional rights. In most countries, legal avenues are theoretically available for women who experience gender violence. However, having 'good' laws does not, in itself, guarantee solutions. Laws must be enforced and research has shown that there is gender bias in the courts for female victims. A study done in Pakistan by Mumtaz and Shakeed (1989) confirmed that there is reluctance to prosecute assailants of women especially in rape and wife battery abuse cases. The legal systems are reluctant to 'interfere' in the family and the tradition of dominance of male authority in the family. According to WILDAF News (1993) Amnesty International Staff Report of 1989 reported that women have been abused while in official custody. Cases of sexual abuse and physical abuse were reported.

In most cases of rape and molestation, technicalities deprive women of justice, while women who are accused of having hurt or killed their assaulters are promptly apprehended. The legal requirements of proving rape or molestation by physical examination puts women under intolerable burden and any delays provide perpetrators

with loopholes to evade prosecution. This indicates that there is sex bias in law enforcement. Jahan (1983) gives an example of a young Indian Hindu woman who killed her neighbour (also Hindu) when he tried to rape her. Her prompt arrest by the police stood in glaring contrast to their failure to arrest the male suspect who had tried to rape her on different occasions. The young woman had reported all the attempts to the police in vain.

#### **2.2.4 Effects of Gender Violence**

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of November, 2005 the BBC World News on Cable Network carried out a report by WHO on the increased hidden gender based violence against women. The report stated that women all over the world have been affected badly by violence. Due to the violence married women suffered at the hands of their husbands, an increase of depression, suicide tendencies and miscarriages had been noted. Most women, it was reported, were suffering silently in their homes. A study undertaken by WHO (2005) revealed that violence was on the increase. One of the reasons for this violence was the harsh economic conditions. Many men could not provide for their families. It was reported that Japan had a 13% increment, New Zealand 30% and Ethiopia as much as 50%.

Research done in different parts of the world has shown a high incidence of women murdered by their partners. Connors (1989) states that violence against women represents a high incidence of crime all over the world and that 70% of murder victims

are women killed by their husbands. Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network (1995) reported that 60% of all murder cases in Zimbabwe are femicide. Cape Town has 50% of these femicide cases. In Bangladesh, femicide is common place with 50% of all murders accounting for dowry deaths. Husbands, often abetted by either their male or female relatives, kill their wives so that they can receive dowry from new wives.

In some of these cases, men were reported to have said they were provoked and momentarily lost control in a fit of anger or passion. The responsibility of blame is almost always transferred to the victim. Looking at the causes of gender violence it can be assumed that this has little to do with the man being aggravated or what the victim has done but a desire to exert control and power and would occur no matter what the women did or did not do (ZWRCN 1995).

### **2.3 Gender Violence in Zambia**

In Zambia, the legal system has not specifically defined gender violence but has adopted the United Nations definition. Gender violence is any act of gender based violence that is physical, sexual, or psychological. This includes threats to cause such acts occurring in public or private life. Zambia is a signatory to the UN Declaration on Violence against Women (1993), the Beijing Declaration (1995) and the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development and its Addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children of 1997 (WILDAF 2005).

Despite being a signatory to these Declarations, Zambia has not domesticated laws that would address the challenges of gender violence. Gender based violence has no specific provisions within the Zambian penal Jurisdiction.

Manifestation of gender violence in Zambia that affect married women include wife battery, rape including marital rape, sexual abuse, forced marriage, forced child-bearing, polygamy, infidelity, confinement, verbal abuse, denial of conjugal rights, forced prostitution, torture, assault by state agents, abandonment, sexual harassment at places of work, tolerating gender violence by state agents and other parties among others (WILDAF 2005). As discussed in the introduction, marital rape is a controversial issue. The UN Declaration, to which Zambia is a signatory, recognises marital rape. However, though the Zambian law does not recognise that men can rape their wives, offenders can be charged for indecent assault.

According to WILDAF (2005) Zambia has experienced a sharp increase in reported cases of gender violence. This has led to women's organisations, church organisations, the labour movement and the public to call for the urgent need to strengthen laws and ensure law enforcement in dealing with the problem. The causes of violence in Zambia are the same as those found world wide. Phiri (1992) undertook a study for the YWCA on gender violence affecting married women. He found that 40% of the women were mentally abused while 17% had been physically abused. The causes of this violence were found to be based in a cultural context, and are economic and legal.

Zambia, like most countries of the world is patriarchal. Many ethnic groups in Zambia are matrilineally organised. The patriarchal social order segregates the sexes and fosters a bias of male supremacy. Both women and men socially accept that the man is the head of the house and is the provider. It is also socially believed that a man has a duty to control and correct his wife. This was evidenced by the Zambia Demographic Health Survey (ZDHS) of 2001-2002 carried out by Central Statistical Office (CSO). The respondents, both male and female stated that it was correct and proper for a husband to beat his wife if she refused him sex, argued with him, cooked bad food, etc. This legitimises gender violence. There should be no excuse for gender violence as it can be solved through dialogue. This also supports Jahan (1983) who reported that the Bangladeshi society, like all societies, not only accepts and tolerates gender violence but legitimises it in prescribed forms and given contexts. Girls from an early age are taught to endure violence as part of their role in marriage. The women victims interviewed by Phiri (1992) stated that they had been through initiation at puberty and had been told by older women (traditional counsellors) that problems were a part of marriage. They were told that some men beat their wives; other men had extra marital affairs etc. Women, they were told had to be strong, because these problems happened to every woman as men were all the same. These teachings were re-emphasized to them at marriage. However, these teachings do not mean women have to accept being beaten.

• Another study undertaken on causes of gender violence was by Musukuma in 2005. This study was an analysis on battered women who sought refuge at the YWCA shelter for abused women. Musukuma's research revealed that male suspicion and jealousy, alcohol and women questioning their husbands' extra marital affairs were the leading causes of wife battery. Other causes identified were minor arguments, wives going to church and coming home late by either party. The research also revealed that most of the women interviewed chose to remain in their abusive marriages. The women stated that they would go back to their abusive marriages because they were committed to looking after their children. They argued that their children would not be brought up properly if they left. Other women said that they were economically dependent on their husbands and would not survive economically on their own. Musukuma observed that the 40 women she interviewed were faced with a lot of constraints due to low levels of education. Most of the women were housewives while the others were engaged in petty businesses. Some women interviewed made excuses for their husbands citing alcohol as a cause of their husbands' lack of judgement. Musukuma concluded that socialisation which women go through before and after marriage perpetuates this violence. Women, she argued were socialised not to talk publicly about their marital problems and were advised to endure as much as possible. Of the 40 women interviewed, 60% had customary marriages which she argued continues to recognise traditional rights of a man to chastise his wife.

Zambia is one of the most urbanised countries in Africa and this has led to intermarriages. Most men and women in the urban areas have never been to the villages their parents came from and have lost touch with their traditions. In rural areas, both men and women grow up knowing how to treat each other. This is re-emphasized at marriage. In urban areas on the other hand, men and women are only told at marriage on how to treat each other and this leads to problems that perpetuate abuse. A research done by YWCA (1995) on gender violence in Zambia reveals that gender violence is on the increase in the urban areas as compared to the rural areas. This is due to the falling apart of social control and extended families in the urban areas. In the rural areas, a man who mistreats his wife is rebuked by the extended family. Any other problems the couple is facing are solved by the extended family. However, though gender violence is low in rural areas, the falling apart of the matrilineal societies continues to perpetuate the violence there.

In the colonial times, most men had jobs in towns while women remained in the villages. This made men important as they were the primary economic providers. However, the changing socio-economic process has made men unable to be the sole economic providers. The increasing unemployment and illiteracy levels have disrupted the social order which accepts a man as the head of the house and a primary earner. The tension, frustration and feeling of inadequacy by these men who are supposed to be economic providers is vented on their wives. In times of economic stress, men who have jobs but can not make ends meet, see their wives as a great liability. This despair

makes some men start to drink beer which, coupled with lack of communication results in violence. Some women, who are the bread winners, are also abused by their husbands. Men feel weak when women provide. The only way to express themselves is through violence (YWCA 1995).

Poor enforcement of the law is another cause of violence. The legal system is biased and hesitates to prosecute assailants. The 1995 study done by YWCA in Lusaka revealed that some law enforcement officers usually told women to go and sort out their problems at home when they reported being abused by their husbands. When some women insisted that they wanted their husbands to be apprehended, the police asked them to provide transport to go and arrest the assailants. Most women could not afford to pay for transport and that would be the end of the complaint. However, when a woman was the offender, police would be quick to arrest her. The study revealed that a woman from a certain township had burnt her husband with cooking oil during a domestic dispute. She was arrested the same night after her husbands' relatives reported her to the police. The same woman had reported being assaulted by her husband to the police on several occasions and the police had done nothing. The study also revealed that 33% of murder victims in Zambia, in 1995, were women killed by their husbands. Less than 10% of the murder victims were husbands killed by their wives. Wives who killed their husbands were jailed for long sentences while husbands who killed their wives were given suspended or short sentences. In most of these cases men were reported to have said they were provoked and momentarily lost control in a fit of anger

or passion. The responsibility of blame is always transferred to the woman. In most of the cases studied, wives had been accused of infidelity. The courts of law were reported to have accepted that murder was committed in a moment of 'temporary insanity' as adultery on the part of women, can cause any man to lose control. However, the courts did not exercise the same leniency when a woman killed her husband. Most of such deaths occurred when a woman was trying to defend herself from her abusive husband. For example, in the study, one woman pushed her drunken husband who had been beating her. The man hit his head on a stone and died instantly. Another woman hit her husband with a stick on the head when they were fighting and he died. The women were jailed for seven years and fifteen years respectively (YWCA 1995).

Some researchers have argued that poor enforcement of the law is not a cause of violence but rather a reason why gender violence is prevalent and is on the increase. \*Munalula (2005) undertook a study on how women were treated by the law in Zambia. The study revealed that courts were sex biased and hesitated to prosecute abusers. According to the study women felt it was a waste of time reporting abuse and taking their abusive husbands to courts which were biased towards men. Munalula argued that women had lost confidence in the legal system and chose to remain silent and not report the abuse. Those women who had taken their husbands to court withdrew the cases from the courts when they felt they were not being fairly treated. This lack of confidence in the courts makes women continue to endure abuse and to restore this confidence the legal system must treat women and men equally.

## **CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0 Study Design**

This research was undertaken in May and June 2006. Data was collected by using qualitative methods. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions were carried out. The study was undertaken to analyse, describe and establish the effects and patterns of gender violence experienced by married women. In addition, given these patterns and effects, the study tries to explain the existence of gender violence and to suggest ways of mitigating it.

### **3.1 Study Site and Population**

The study targeted three centres in Lusaka: The YWCA, WLSA and National Legal Aid Clinic for Women. These centres are non governmental women's organisations that address forms of discrimination against women (women's rights). Women who feel, or are victimised, seek assistance from these centres. The key informants from these centres and their clients were the study population.

### **3.2 Sampling Techniques**

There were a total of forty respondents consisting of thirty two women and eight key informants used for the study. Convenience sampling, a non probability sampling technique was used. Key informants consisted of two men and six women. Of the two men, one is the co-ordinator of the Victim Support Unit at police headquarters and the

other the Drop in Centre Manager at YWCA. The six women comprised; a lawyer from WLSA, the executive director of National Legal Aid Clinic for women, the shelter manager and counsellors from YWCA.

### **3.3 Data Collection**

Data was collected by using interview guides. Interview guide A (see appendix A) was used to collect data from twenty in-depth interviews with the women who were clients of the three centres. Interview guide B (see appendix B) was used to collect data from two focus group discussion consisting of six women in each group who were victims of violence and were clients of the centres. Interview guide C (see appendix C) was used to collect data from the eight key informants. Data was also collected by reviewing research documents done by the three centres to get a social actors perspective.

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

Data was analysed by working with themes, for example; forms of gender violence, causes, effects etc. as presented in chapters five, six and seven.

f) registered for a notice of marriage at the registrar of marriages 21 days before intended date of marriage.

A copy of the marriage certificate is given to parties upon marriage and another is kept by the registrar as proof of marriage. The marriage is not valid if conducted at an unauthorised place. It is not valid if the parties are under false names or below 16 years old except with the consent of a High Court Judge. It is not valid if they are too closely related to each other or if either is already married to someone else under the statutory or customary law.

The marriage may be solemnised at the council or any licensed place of worship such as the church. The rites of the church will apply but the ceremony should take place with open doors between 6 am and 6 pm. There must be two or more witnesses to sign the certificate and marriage register, together with the Minister and the parties to the marriage. If the marriage takes place in a church, a copy of the marriage certificate must be sent to the Registrar of marriages in the district. If the marriage takes place at the Registrar of marriages, it should be between 8 am and 6 pm with two witnesses. If the parties wish to celebrate their marriage in an unlicensed place, a special license should be obtained. A church marriage is not a statutory marriage unless it is conducted under the marriage Act.

Common offences under the statutory law are bigamy and acceptance. Bigamy is when one contracts another marriage under the Act when already married to someone under

the Act or under customary law. This can result in five years imprisonment. Acceptance is marrying someone who knows they are already married. This carries a five year imprisonment sentence. Other offences are; making false declarations, falsely withholding required consent is two years imprisonment, unqualified person conducting marriage carries five years, and failure to remit certificate of marriage to registrar is two years while impersonating someone else or using a false name to deceive the other party carries five years.

Only the High Court of Zambia has the jurisdiction to deal with any issue related to the marriage or to end the marriage and grant a divorce. There is only one ground for seeking divorce under the statutory law and that is the marriage has broken down irretrievably. To prove this break down the petitioner or the party asking for the divorce must provide the following facts:

- a) that the other party (the respondent) has committed adultery.
- b) that the respondent behaved unreasonably i.e. violence, cruelty etc. and the petitioner can no longer live with them.
- c) that the respondent has deserted the petitioner for at least two years continuously and the respondent consents to the divorce.
- d) that the parties have lived apart for a continuous period of five years.

A statement as to the arrangements for the children should be presented to the court and the lawyer handling the case should confirm he/she has tried to reconcile the parties.

The court after satisfying itself that the marriage is broken down and can not be saved,

issues a temporary order (decree nisi) which is finalised (decree absolute) after six weeks. Matters of property sharing are then dealt with by a deputy registrar's court. The one third rule applies, meaning the petitioner usually gets a third of the property.

## **4.2 Customary Law**

This type of marriage differs from ethnic group to ethnic group depending on the lineage. There are however, common distinctions from a statutory one. In Zambia, parties who go through statutory marriage also go through customary requirements. They do so because they want their marriage to be recognised by the community and extended family systems. Minimum requirements for a customary marriage are:

- a) There should be consent or agreement of parents or guardians especially on the part of the woman. While a man normally finds a partner, it's not unusual for a wife to be found for him.
- b) There is some form of payment to validate the marriage, whether a token or a large sum. The payment legitimates the children and signifies approval by concerned parties. The payment is done by the male and his relatives to the female's family.
- c) Spouses should be male and female. The female should be single while the male could have other wives. Customary marriages are potentially polygamous.
- d) Parties should not be closely related though in some ethnic groups, cousins are encouraged to marry.

The wedding comprises a series of ceremonies after which the couple can live together. Parties to the marriage can also register under the Local Court Act by the Local Court

Registrar and be issued with a marriage certificate. The marriage can also be contracted at a church which is registered under the Local Courts Act and be treated as a customary marriage.

The family and the Local Court have jurisdiction on issues related to customary marriage law. Customary law divorce is simpler. This can be done at a family gathering or in a local court. There are no specific grounds for divorce. Grounds for divorce includes laziness, infertility, infidelity, lack of maintenance, etc. Custody of children follows the parties' ethnic requirements. Among patrilineal groups children over 7 years and are school going will live with their father.

#### **4.3 Rights within Marriage**

Some of the rights within marriage for both Statutory and Customary Law are:-

- a) the right to consortium that excludes all others (only for a statutory marriage)
- b) the right to maintenance;
- c) the right to procreate;
- d) the right to sexual intercourse;
- e) the right to inherit from each other;
- f) the right to joint ownership of chattels and personal property;
- g) the right to the matrimonial chain.

#### **4.4 Laws of Maintenance**

Maintenance is the provision of basic necessities to a spouse or dependents. It is an offence for a head of the family not to maintain the spouse and or dependents. Under statutory law it is an obligation to maintain the partner. Under customary law failure to maintain can also be a ground for divorce as a man has a duty to maintain his wife. The Local Court can enforce an order for maintenance and order a fine or imprisonment in lieu thereof. Children are entitled to be maintained by their parents by virtue of the Affiliation and Maintenance Provisions Act, cap.64 of the revised Laws of Zambia.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS: FORMS, PATTERNS, CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF GENDER VIOLENCE**

### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the research findings. The names of the women interviewed in the study have been changed for purpose of anonymity. Chapter five discusses the historical background, forms and patterns of marital violence, causes of marital violence and effects of marital violence experienced by the respondents in this study.

### **5.1 Historical Background of Women under Study**

To get a better understanding of the women under study the researcher thought it necessary to state their age, occupation and level of education.

#### **5.1.1 Age**

The age of the women respondents was between twenty four and forty years. An interview with the Drop in Centre (DIC) manager at YWCA revealed that women who were below this age rarely reported violence. Most had just got married and probably violence had not yet started. Those that experienced violence believed that they had to endure violence as part of their role in marriage and believed it would stop. Most of the respondents said that they had been taught at marriage that violence was to be expected in marriage. They were also told neighbours should not know what happened in their homes and any grievances should be referred to the family. The interview further

revealed that women above this age group had lived longer in marriages and were experiencing less violence or they had probably left their spouses

**Table 1: Age**

Age	No. of women
24 – 29	12
30 – 34	5
35 – 40	3
Total	20

Source: Data from in-depth interviews 2006.

### **5.1.2 Educational Background**

The majority of the women interviewed had had some form of education. However, most of them had not finished secondary school. Educated women do not usually seek assistance from the three centres for different reasons. An interview with the Executive Director at National Legal Aid Clinic for Women revealed that most educated women have good jobs and can afford private lawyers. The DIC manager revealed that other educated women shun the centre and do not report abuse because of the stigma attached to the violence. From experience, the DIC manager said women who were not highly educated accepted their situations more readily than the educated ones.

**Table 2: Educational Background**

<b>Education level</b>	<b>No. of women</b>
No Education	-
Primary	9
Secondary	7
College	3
University	1
Total	20

Source: Data from in-depth interviews 2006.

### 5.1.3 Occupation Background

The majority of the women were housewives, followed by those in the informal sector and then the formal sector. Research carried out by the centres revealed that women in well to do positions avoided these centres and were more likely not to report abuse.

**Table 3: Occupation Background**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>No. of women</b>
Formal Sector	4
Informal Sector	6
House wife	10
Total	20

Source: Data from in-depth interviews 2006.

## **5.2 Forms and Patterns of Martial Violence**

Research findings indicate that women who visit the three centres experience more or less the same forms of violence. The research revealed common forms of violence among the respondents with other specific forms emerging during the interviews.

### **5.2.1 Wife Battery**

Wife battery is physical abuse that includes being kicked, slapped, stabbed, pushed or burned, and any threats to cause physical harm. The DIC manager at the YWCA revealed that statistics show that there are more cases of physical violence reported to the centre than any other. This he said, compelled YWCA to create a separate drop in centre just for battered women. The centre also offers refuge to women who can not go back to their homes after being beaten. Women are battered for a lot of reasons.

Melissa, a forty year old housewife who went up to grade seven, has been at the YWCA shelter for almost a year. Her husband, a policeman, suspected her of having an extra marital affair and severely brutalised her resulting in the loss of her left eye. When she sought refuge from her relatives he went with a gun and shot through the door demanding she returns home. Melissa escaped using the back door and went to seek refuge at the YWCA. This was not the first time her husband had been violent. The husband first threatened the shelter manger demanding to see her but eventually pleaded for his wife to go back home. YWCA, however, has refused to release her as it is felt that the husband might kill her. Jealousy and suspicion in this case play a major

role in wife battery. Melissa is scared for her life and vows never to go back to her husband. The violence started within five years of the marriage. It all started with Melissa's husband's controlling behaviour. She could not go anywhere, not even to visit her relatives. The husband used to do all the shopping. She said she did not have friends because her husband chased them away.

Brenda, a thirty six year old, who had gone up to grade four in the village was also found at the shelter with her five children. Brenda had been at the shelter for five months at the time of this interview and is waiting to be repatriated to her home village. Her husband frequently beat her and her five children and used them as farm labour at the farm he was caretaking for his brother. The husband made Brenda and the children work without food and rest for long hours everyday. He would sit and supervise his family and when hungry he would go and buy himself 'maheu' (a local drink) and biscuits and eat by the road side. When confronted by his wife, he beat her in front of the children. Once he beat his daughter so severely that she had to be hospitalised and that is when his wife decided she had had enough. Brenda's husband first threatened to sue YWCA because they were keeping his wife without his consent. He argued that he had paid 'bride price' and no one, not even her relatives, had the right to keep his wife as her place was with him. Brenda said the violence started just after she got married. At first her husband would just threaten to beat her and would use abusive language.

This shows that wrong interpretation of traditional beliefs play a big role in physical violence. The custom of paying bride price makes some men think they own their wives.

Both the DIC manager and the shelter manager revealed that only in severe cases is refuge offered at the shelter. In less severe cases, husbands are called for counselling. The women who are offered refuge are kept until things quietened down at home. This is usually about a month unless YWCA feels the women are still in danger. Most women return to their husbands for a number of reasons. The DIC manager said some women believe that it was their duty to keep their marriages together at all costs. When asked why they go back to their abusive husbands, some women said they fear for their children and for the people who help them. Other women said they are financially dependent on their husbands and cannot live on their own. Some said they have to go back for the sake of the children. Others said their husbands show remorse at their violent behaviour and promise to change. Some women said they would not go back to their abusive husbands. These have supportive relatives that can help look after them. These findings on why women go back to their abusive husbands are also supported by Musukuma, who undertook a study on battered women at the YWCA in 2005.

### **5.2.2 Abandonment**

Abandonment was the second common form of violence. Abandonment is psychological abuse that destroys the self confidence of most women and leads to low

self esteem. Women came to the Drop in Centre to complain that their husbands had abandoned them and the children and had gone to cohabit with other women. These women were left without any food or money. This resulted in rent defaults and children stopping school as school requirements could not be provided. The respondents wanted to compel their husbands to maintain their homes.

Emelda, a twenty seven year old house wife, who had gone up to grade nine had no support from her husband. Her husband cohabits with his work mate and claims that Emelda is not 'half the woman' his girlfriend is. However, he goes once in a while to check on Emelda and has threatened to kill her if she even thought of finding herself another man. The times he has visited, he has forced himself on her and this has resulted in an unwanted pregnancy. The man has denied responsibility and has not been home since. At the time of the research the husband was called to the YWCA and ordered to be giving his wife K100, 000 per month for food and pay rentals and buy requirements for the baby once it was born. Emelda said her self confidence had been destroyed especially when her husband put her down by saying his girlfriend was more woman than her.

Emelda's story was similar to that of four other respondents. Their husbands were cohabiting with other women but threatened them with violence if they found other men. These husbands would come in when they felt like it and force themselves on the women without the women's consent. The men claimed the women were still their

wives and the other women were just girl friends even though they did not support their homes.

An interview with a counsellor at the YWCA revealed that this was common. The respondents were asked by the researcher why they allowed their husbands to force themselves on them after being away from home. The respondents said there was nothing they could do. These men, they claimed, were their husbands. All these women claimed their husbands belittled them in front of their children and neighbours by using abusive language. When told that forced sex was marital rape, Emelda was shocked and said she had not heard of such a thing.

One of the other respondents, Mary, is a twenty eight year old woman, who went up to grade nine. She sells vegetables and gets no support from her husband, a security guard. The husband, who spends weeks out of the home, comes once in a while to inspect her private parts to check if she has had sexual intimacy with other men. This, he does by sticking his fingers into the wife's private parts. When satisfied he would then force himself on her. Once she sent her sons, a fourteen year old and her six year old to go and get money to buy school requirements for the six year old who was starting grade one. When the sons reached where the father was cohabiting, he told the little boy to go and ask his mother why she "does it" for free. He told the little boy to tell the mother to start charging 'for it' so that she could buy the school requirements. The fourteen year knew what the father had been referring to and just told his mother

that he said he had no money. However, the little boy told his mother that the father had said if she charged 'for it' she could buy the school requirements and would stop bothering him.

### **5.2.3 Infidelity**

There is controversy on whether or not infidelity is a form of gender violence. When a spouse is having an extra marital affair, the partner goes through so much emotional stress. Women have been known to kill their husbands and husbands' their wives. Under customary law, infidelity is a ground for divorce without providing any hard evidence. It leads to abandonment resulting in great suffering to those involved. Women lose their self esteem and some have committed suicide. It is also a cause of physical violence. Most battered women have been beaten after asking about their husbands', extra marital affairs. Musukuma (2005) identified questioning of extra marital affairs as one of the leading causes of wife battering. In a lot of gender violence cases, infidelity has played a major role. Infidelity is psychological abuse and so is gender violence.

Jocelyn is a thirty one year old bank manager in Lusaka. She has a university education. Jocelyn is usually battered by her husband who has an extra marital affair. The husband does not work and uses her car to take his girlfriend to and from work and uses her money to buy gifts for the girlfriend. The husband beats Jocelyn claiming she disrespects him. The man beats Jocelyn probably to reassert his role as man of the

house, even though the wife is the economic provider. The man (who is socially considered to be the economical provider) can not provide in this case and the only way to vent out his frustrations is to beat his wife. Jocelyn wanted YWCA to call her husband to attend marriage counselling with her.

The YWCA told the researcher that women from middle and upper class came for marriage counselling when all else had failed. Previously, women whose husbands had extra marital affairs would sue the girlfriends for marriage interference and these girlfriends would be warned in court and told to pay the wives. Now the law has changed. Women have to sue their husbands for reconciliation so that the husbands can be rebuked in court. This however, does not stop them from continuing their illicit affairs. Jocelyn's case shows that it is not only women who are economically dependent on their husbands that experience violence.

#### **5.2.4 Other Forms of Violence**

There were other forms of violence that emerged during the interviews with the respondents. These were forced sex and forced child bearing, like in Emelda's case, where her husband forced himself on her on several occasions resulting in an unwanted pregnancy. Though marital rape is not considered as an offence in Zambia, it is certainly offensive to the victim. Forced child bearing is when a woman is made to have a child when she doesn't want any more children.

Mental torture emerged, like in Mary's case in which she was subjected to genital inspection. Another serious form that was brought out was that of rape:

Brenda, a twenty six year old, housewife who had reached grade seven, had been abandoned by her husband. The man usually came home drunk in the night and would force himself on her. Once or twice he came with a friend and held his wife down while the friend had sex with her. The woman said she was so embarrassed she could not dream of telling anyone about this. She said she was confiding in the researcher because the interview was anonymous. She said she could not even discuss this with the counsellors at the YWCA. The woman was concerned with what people would say about her. The researcher got the idea she thought it was her fault, like she had asked for it and anyway who would believe her, she asked.

These offences are punishable but the respondents said that all they wanted was for their men to look after them and nothing else despite the trauma they went through.

### **5.3 Causes of Marital Violence**

Causes of violence are complex and multifaced. These causes are complex because sometimes researchers find it difficult to draw a line between what actually causes the abuse and why abuse is prevalent and is on the increase. One example is economic dependence of women on their husbands. This is rather a reason why women will not

leave their abusive husbands. Another example is the poor enforcement of the law. This is rather the reason why abuse can not be stopped and is on the increase.

Causes of violence have cultural, economic and legal dimensions. The two focus group discussions came up with a number of reasons why marital violence exists. The causes identified were; jealousy and suspicion, lack of communication and drunkenness, cultural and traditional beliefs, economic and social stress, and the need to control

### **5.3.1 Jealousy and Suspicion**

Women in the focus group discussion said that most husbands were obsessed with jealousy and suspected that their wives were committing adultery. Research findings revealed that this was the major cause of physical violence, like in Melissa's case. Musukuma (2005) identified jealousy and suspicion as another leading cause of wife battery in a research she undertook on battered women.

### **5.3.2 Lack of Communication and Drunkenness**

The respondents said that there was lack of communication between couples. Women were usually battered over petty issues. This happens when partners do not properly talk or do not communicate with each other. Talking to each other properly would resolve the petty issues that the partners may have without the use of violence. Women were also battered over petty issues when their husbands had taken alcohol. Alcohol made men irritable and aggressive.

### **5.3.3 Cultural and Traditional Beliefs**

Women in the focus group discussions said that some women were beaten or abandoned if they denied their husbands sex. Others claimed they were battered because they argued with their husbands. The women also claimed that at puberty and when getting married, women were taught by traditional counsellors that it was against tradition to deny a man sex or argue with him. This, they claimed resulted in beatings and abandonment. These cultural and traditional beliefs recognise traditional rights of a man to chastise his wife. The custom of paying bride price also makes some men feel they own their wives resulting in maltreatment. This is a misinterpretation of the tradition of paying bride price, like in Brenda's case. However, submissiveness does not mean that women should allow their husbands to beat them.

Another aspect is the culture of silence. This is the major reason why most violence remains unreported. Women are usually afraid or intimidated, but nevertheless silent in the face of this abuse. Women said they were taught not to speak about what happens in their homes. With violence comes shame and fear as most of it is sensitive and very personal. However the respondents said they had come to the centres because their situations had reached intolerable levels. Tradition also tolerates the infidelity of men and the women acknowledged that the phrase "that is how men are" is what is used to explain away the infidelity in the communities.

#### **5.3.4 Economic and Social Stress**

Another cause of marital violence is poverty, lack of money and difficult economic conditions. The respondents said that men who could not make ends meet were usually frustrated and short tempered. Men would then take it out on their wives. Some respondents said that they had been beaten by their husbands, who were experiencing problems at work. Men are socially considered to be economic providers and in cases where they can not provide, some resort to violence. This study revealed that Jocelyn whose husband was unemployed, battered her and claimed she was disrespectful because she was the economic provider.

#### **5.3.5 The Need to Control**

Another cause of violence identified by the respondents was their husbands' need to control them. The women said their husbands' controlling behaviour of how they dressed, where they went, who they associated with led to physical violence. Musukuma (2005) revealed that some of women interviewed were beaten for going to church. Their husbands wanted them to stay at home. Some women claimed that their husbands would not let them visit their relatives or have friends visiting.

## **5.4 Effects of Gender Violence**

Gender violence impacts negatively on married women. It threatens family structures causing emotional, psychological and mental damage to all involved and often leads to families breaking up. Victims are scarred for life and their lives shattered, usually destroying the trust they have in men. The effects identified in this study were; physical injury, low self esteem, depression, abuse of children, lack of decision making power and gender violence and HIV/AIDS.

### **5.4.1 Physical Injury**

Gender violence leads to physical injuries. This study revealed that one respondent, Melissa, was brutally beaten by her husband resulting in the loss of an eye. Another woman had had a miscarriage due to the psychological abuse suffered.

### **5.4.2 Low Self Esteem**

Psychological abuse destroys the self confidence and self esteem of women. The research findings revealed that women usually blamed themselves for the violence. Some respondents said they felt worthless and had developed eating disorders, and others said they had attempted suicide.

### **5.4.3 Depression**

Some women victims have been known to suffer from depression and stress. Wilma, a thirty four year old housewife who has finished secondary school went to WLSA to

seek legal advice. Wilma was thrown out of the house and divorced without being given anything. During their 15 years of marriage, the husband had acquired a lot of minibuses and had bought three houses. The husband refused to give Wilma anything and said he was going to keep the five children. Wilma wanted to be given one house and at least one minibus. She claimed she had suffered severely during her marriage. Her husband used to sleep with most of her maids and her female relatives. She said he had also impregnated her young sister. She claimed his girlfriends would come home and insult her telling her to leave the home as the husband did not want her. Wilma suffered severe depression and had to be taken to Chainama hospital for three months. There she tried to commit suicide twice. Wilma now has to take anti depressants to keep her depression in check. WLSA referred Wilma to the National Legal Aid clinic for women for litigation.

Depression, according to the VSU co-ordinator was a major cause of wives killing their husbands. In a split second of insanity some women snap and kill their husbands especially in infidelity and battery cases.

Lillian, a thirty two year old teacher was so traumatised by her husband's infidelity that she had a miscarriage. She also experienced massive weight loss because of the stress. Lillian claimed her husband would bring his girlfriends to the matrimonial house and would ask her to leave the matrimonial bed as he had brought a guest. Lillian had had enough and wanted the National Legal Aid Clinic for women to assist her get a divorce.

#### **5.4.4 Abuse of Children**

Gender violence is a vicious circle. Some women said they were so stressed that sometimes they abused their children. This they said, made them even more stressed because they knew they were just venting their anger on the defenceless children. In this vicious circle, the men abuse the wives and the wives abuse the children. These children are caught up in the crossfire and are more likely to become physically violent themselves. The YWCA offers a safe house for traumatised children including the sexually abused ones. On the other hand, some women interviewed said they tried to protect their children by remaining in abusive marriages. This was also the reason given by women who returned to their abusive husbands.

#### **5.4.5 Lack of Decision Making Power**

Violence renders some women unable to make choices that affect their lives. They cannot make decisions on their fertility or family planning. This is worse if they are being abused by their husbands, like in the case of Emelda and others who were forced to have sex. These women cannot negotiate for safe sex and cannot ask their husbands to use condoms even if they know their husbands have been sleeping with other women. This takes us to the next effect which greatly affects the health of women.

#### **5.4.6 Gender Violence and HIV/AIDS**

Violence against women is both a cause and consequence of HIV/AIDS. This is a fact for a lot of women. If their HIV-positive status is known, women are beaten,

abandoned or thrown out of their homes. Women (who experience violence) are afraid to ask their husbands to change their risky sexual behaviour or use protection. While violence makes women fear to access prevention, treatment and care, the fact that they are living with this violence increases the susceptibility to HIV/AIDS. (UNAIDS 2004).

Maureen, a twenty-seven-year-old who stopped school in grade eleven after falling pregnant at seventeen said that her husband has abandoned her after she told him she was found to be HIV positive at the antenatal clinic. This was her fourth pregnancy. Maureen claimed that her husband had a lot of extra marital affairs and once when she insisted he use protection, he threatened to go and look 'for it' elsewhere where he could get 'it live'. When she discovered her positive status she told the husband and he called her a prostitute. He told her he had disowned her and her sick children and did not want to have anything to do with them. He said he did not want to be infected and is now living with another woman.

The HIV counsellor at YWCA revealed that response to VCT by women was overwhelming. However, she said women who decided to go for VCT had great fear of abandonment. Those found to be HIV positive would start taking ARVs without the knowledge of their husbands. The women, however, still could not negotiate for safe sex as they continue to sleep with their husbands without protection. This makes women more at risk as they can be re-infected and face the risk of ARV drug resistance.

The counsellor mentioned a case of a man who has been taking ARV treatment and has refused to tell his wives. The man's fourth wife had died. He went for VCT at the YWCA and when found to be HIV positive, he started the ART treatment. However, his remaining three wives are unaware of this. When told that he had to tell his wives he refused saying it was not necessary.

According to USAID (2004) it is of paramount importance to halt gender violence as it undermines progress in stopping transmission of HIV/AIDS. It directly affects women's access to services like treatment and care including the methods of protection. It jeopardizes informed choice by posing serious challenges to sexual negotiations including the use of condoms. Gender violence is a factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS and burdens the already overwhelmed health care systems.

## **CHAPTER SIX: GENDER VIOLENCE AND THE LAW**

### **6.0 Introduction**

This chapter continues to discuss the research findings of this study. The chapter specifically discusses gender violence and the law and the poor enforcement of the law. Legal systems themselves can be a source of mistreatment of women.

### **6.1 Gender Violence and the Law**

There is tolerance of gender violence by state agents. The research revealed that there is tolerating of gender violence by the courts. Respondents who came to YWCA and National Legal Aid Clinic for women had court orders ordering their husbands to be paying maintenance to the wives and children especially in cases where wives had been abandoned. The women complained that despite these court orders, maintenance was not being paid. According to the Marriage Act and Customary Law, maintenance is a 'right' in marriage.

Anna, twenty nine years old, a housewife who went up to grade nine had taken her husband to local court for maintenance. The court ordered the husband to be paying K150, 000.00 per month. She took her husband back to the court after he failed to pay and the magistrate told the husband to pay without giving him an ultimatum. The husband still did not pay and told Anna that she was wasting transport money going to the court because no one would make him pay. Under the local Courts Act, the court

can convict and order a fine or imprisonment in lieu thereof. The court in this case and others the researcher came across, did not exercise this jurisdiction.

The lawyer (also the executive director) at the National Legal Clinic for Women revealed that in most other cases they dealt with, the local court had disadvantaged women. The courts did not do anything to compel offenders to pay and in cases of divorce, property was usually given to the husband. The women were ignorant of the law and usually went with relatives who were equally ignorant. However, the attitude of the local court magistrate changed when the same women appealed and appeared with a lawyer at their side.

### **6.1.1 Poor Enforcement of the Law**

To guarantee solutions, laws must be enforced. Having ‘good’ laws is not enough if the laws can not be enforced. This study revealed that there is gender bias in the courts for female victims. Where brave women have taken their husbands to court, the courts have failed to punish husbands that do not follow the court orders. The courts are mostly biased and are reluctant to prosecute perpetrators. The local courts have jurisdiction to convict and impose a fine. Failure to pay this fine warrants a prison sentence. Research findings revealed that not one of the husbands had been fined or imprisoned for failure to maintain their wives. The women believed that their husbands bribed the magistrates and did not expect fair judgment. This poor enforcement makes women loss confidence in the law and also frustrates the efforts of the VSU.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: EFFORTS OF MITIGATING GENDER VIOLENCE**

### **7.0 Introduction**

Chapter seven discusses the last part of the research findings. This chapter discusses the mitigation of gender violence.

### **7.1 Mitigation of Marital Violence**

To promote gender equality, gender based violence must be stopped. This will improve the participation of women in all aspects of development that affect their lives. Mitigating marital violence will greatly impact positively on the health of women and will be a direct contribution to the mitigation of the dreaded HIV/AIDS.

The women respondents, women's NGOs, government and international community have recognised the elimination of violence as one of their obligations among others.

#### **7.1.1 Women's Response**

Respondents argued that to mitigate violence, women need to be empowered. The focus group discussion revealed that women felt that if they could be assisted with business skills and funds, they would reduce their dependency on men. This, they argued, would give them status and autonomy and husbands would not maltreat them. The women said this would also give them decision making power in the home and that

they would have a say in socio economic decisions, fertility, family planning and all other choices that affected them in relation to men and in relation to society. Some women said they wish they had finished school so that they could access economic resources. The research findings however, revealed that economic independence does not prevent gender violence. This is evidenced by Jocelyn who had a university degree and a good job but was nevertheless battered by her unemployed husband.

One respondent in the group said she wished there were stiffer laws to punish men, especially those who abandoned their families. She said it would be better for the man to just lose everything to the woman. This, she said, should include all the property, and the man to pay maintenance until the children finished school. This, she believed, would deter men from abandoning their homes. Research findings revealed that there were laws to punish men especially those who did not maintain their families. The problem was that the law was sex biased and hesitated to prosecute offenders. The right to maintenance and the right to property are provided for in the Marriage Act and Local Courts Act.

### **7.1.2 Women's NGOs Response**

The Executive director of WLSA said socialisation played an important role on how men and women treated each other. She said to mitigate marital violence the whole socialisation process has to be critically examined. It should be emphasized to boys, like it is done with girls, to respect the opposite sex and treat them as equals. Beliefs



and customs that stated that men were superior were to be discouraged. This was also echoed by the DIC manager at the YWCA who said socialisation leads to physical violence. However, this author feels that men feeling superior should not lead to beatings. When getting married both partners are taught on how to live with each other in marriage. Men who beat their wives are just bullies and use this superiority complex as excuse.

However, changing the socialization process is a long term process. WLSA, with other organisations like National Legal Aid Clinic for Women are lobbying and advocating for stiffer punishment for offender by petitioning government. Due to this petitioning, punishment for men who defile young girls has been increased to not less than 15 years. The NGOs are also involved in gender sensitive training in schools, communities and work places and frequently hold workshops. These workshops are held for the police, judicial employees, counsellors and the general public. The gender sensitive training is done to promote gender equality that would lead to the mitigation of gender violence among others.

The YWCA is doing a tremendous job and trying hard to mitigate this gender violence. Despite lack of funds, success has been achieved especially in cases where the courts have let down the victims. Perpetrators know that they cannot influence their wives to withdraw court action if it has been done through YWCA and other organisations so

they rarely default on payments. The husband gives the agreed monthly payment to the wife at YWCA at an agreed date every month.

The YWCA has partnered with the Zambia Society for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect, the Zambia Police, WLSA, the Judiciary and Care Zambia to form a one stop shop on Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) project that is being funded by the European Union. This Coordinated Resource Centre (CRC) will be situated at the YWCA. There, a psycho-social counsellor, a police officer, a health provider and a paralegal officer will be at one place to receive and assist victims of gender violence.

WILDAF, together with WLSA and YWCA were appointed by the government to serve on a technical committee to study gender based violence and make recommendations for law and administrative reforms in 2000. After making these recommendations, nothing has materialised despite several attempts to persuade government to take action. This seems to be due to lack of commitment on the part of the government.

Zambia has experienced a sharp increase in reported cases of gender violence and this has led to calling for urgent measures to strengthen laws and law enforcement by NGOs, women's organisations, church organisations, labour movements, communities and others from all walks of life. Thus the need for legislation cannot be overemphasised. Zambia has no specific provisions within the penal jurisdiction that are specific to gender based violence. When making a ruling judges refer to different

acts in the constitution. WILD AF is proposing a new law or bill that it wants to be included in the new constitution. This new bill has specific punishment for different types of gender based violence. This has been passed to Gender in Development Department (GIDD) so that it can be presented to parliament. WILD AF also wants the new constitution to recognise a clause prohibiting all forms of violence against women as provided for in international human rights instruments and by the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). There are rights that only apply to women and are not recognised. These are; the right to decide whether or not to have an abortion, the right to anti- HIV drugs after rape and the right not to be discriminated against on the basis of pregnancy.

Zambia has signed a lot of international human rights instruments but these cannot be used because they are not part of the domestic laws. WILD AF is also proposing that all laws should be written in gender neutral words and there should be a clause prohibiting discriminatory customary practices such as those relating to marriage, divorce, burial and devolution of property. Other clauses to be included should be the equality clause and a clause protecting human rights that should not only be restricted to the public but should include the private sphere as well. WILD AF is also proposing for affirmative action for women in decision making and access to resources at a deliberate minimum of 50%.



Despite these efforts by the NGOs, gender violence is on the increase. These NGOs lack funds to help a lot of victims of gender violence. The NGOs have to raise their own funds as government does not provide for them in its budget. This funding is mostly lobbied from donors from the international community. The other reason for the increased violence is that most women, who experience violence, do not know of the existence of these NGOs. These NGOs confessed to the researcher that they did not do enough to advertise themselves. Another reason for the increase in violence is that most women do not report the violence and lastly the law lets down these NGOs by not enforcing or by treating the women unfairly thus making them lose confidence in themselves and in the law.

### **7.1.3 Government Response**

At the time of the research, a new Ministry, the Ministry of Gender and Development was created by the president to deal with gender issues and women affairs. This Ministry is to develop and implement policy that would redress gender violence by passing and enforcing appropriate legislation. GIDD, a government department dealing with gender issues, has been moved to the new Ministry.

Attempts to interview the new minister or the permanent secretary failed as the two were always out of their offices. However, an officer at GIDD was interviewed. It was revealed that one of the measures government has come up with to redress gender

violence was the establishment of the Victim Support Unit in 1994. The government has pledged among other things to:

- Promote awareness and change harmful cultural beliefs;
- Encourage victims to report cases;
- Strengthen the Victim Support Unit: to be able to address victimisation, especially of women who experience gender violence;
- Promote awareness of legal rights, especially for women;
- Promote gender sensitive training in schools, communities and work place;
- Increase budgets to deal with empowering women to reduce their vulnerability. More money should be set aside for projects and programmes that will help women to be self sustaining.

An interview with the head and co-ordinator of VSU in Zambia at police headquarters revealed that the VSU had a lot of problems in the mitigation of gender violence. He said the VSU could not compel men to pay maintenance as their role was to apprehend and prosecute offenders. The VSU referred maintenance cases to the courts to decide the fate of the perpetrators. Despite this, the VSU offered counselling services and carried out workshops for awareness campaigns in the field.

VSU is tasked to deal with all crimes related to family/domestic violence e.g. assault, attempted murder, etc. The VSU also deals with all sexual offences like rape, incest,

indecent assault etc. It also deals with child protection issues like defilement, rape, incest, etc.

The co-ordinator revealed that most women do not want to take their husbands to court and if they do, they usually change their minds and withdraw the cases. If police refuse to withdraw the cases, the women simply do not appear before the courts. Without witnesses, the cases would be closed by the courts. He said the law should change so that as long as one reported a case to the police and court proceedings had started, the case would still continue. Women withdraw cases for different reasons. Some women reconcile with their partners. Others take their partners to court at the spur of the moment but after cooling down, decide otherwise. Others are threatened by in-laws.

The headquarters of the VSU for the whole Zambia, in Lusaka, is a small cell like office with two desks and one computer. There is no more space for anything else. There are only two people who co-ordinate the functions of the VSU in the whole country. The co-ordinator revealed that the VSU lack skilled man power and lack specialised training, are under funded and require mobility for sensitisation.

There is need for the VSU to be strengthened to have effective reduction of gender based violence. It needs capacity building to improve training, have more office space and latest office equipment. There is need to increase the budget for the VSU from the government. The coordinator also claimed that in some instances, their efforts were

frustrated because of poor enforcement of the law. The coordinator revealed that their role was to apprehend the abusers and left the prosecution to the courts. This, he claimed, also led to women withdrawing cases of abuse.

Despite these constraints, the VSU has made some progress towards the reduction of gender violence. Domestic violence which was usually treated as a family matter by police is taken seriously and offenders are prosecuted. Previously, police perceived most cases of gender violence against women as domestic issues of no concern to them. Today such acts are seen as violation of personal liberties and human rights. The VSU is instrumental in training law enforcement officers to treat all reported cases as criminal offences irrespective of the relationship of the perpetrator to the victim.

The respondents in this study acknowledged that the VSU had helped them. Some respondents had been referred to the centres by the VSU from their respective townships. Some respondents said the VSU no longer told them to go and resolve their marital disputes at home but dealt with the victims and the perpetrators either by counselling or apprehending the abusers.

#### **7.1.4 International Community Response**

Gender based violence is worldwide and the international community has pledged to eliminate it by the year 2015 by eliminating gender inequality. Gender inequality is a direct cause of gender based violence.

Zambia is a signatory to international declarations like the United Nations (1979) Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW). Zambia has also signed a declaration under the auspices of the United Nations with other countries to end gender inequality. The UN has also under its auspices formed UNAIDS which funds projects and programmes that help in the reduction of gender based violence and HIV/AIDS mitigation. The European Union and Care International are funding programmes to reduce gender violence from communities. These two organisations are funding the creation of a one stop centre at the YWCA that would assist gender violence victims.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION**

### **8.0 Conclusions**

This study has identified some of the forms and patterns of gender violence experienced by married women in Zambia. The study goes on to examine the causes of marital violence and describes the effects that this violence has had on married women. The impact of this violence has affected women psychologically, economically, physically and socially.

Marital violence takes different forms and patterns, and those identified in this study are; wife battery, abandonment and infidelity. In addition this violence seems to be tolerated by the courts. Other forms of violence emerged during the interviews with the respondents (not reported to the centres) like; forced sex, forced child bearing, mental torture and rape. The respondents did not report these forms to the centres because they were embarrassed. For most of the respondents, the violence started within five years of marriage. In cases of battery, some husbands first started by threats of injury. Other husbands started using abusive language and belittling their wives. Other husbands were obsessed with jealousy and exhibited controlling behaviours, isolating their wives from friends and relatives. Eventually the beatings began, not so much at first, but became more frequent with time.

The women in the study were abused for different reasons. Jealousy and suspicion played a major part in physical violence. Some husbands were so obsessed with jealousy that they controlled what their wives wore and isolated them from friends and family; there was lack of communication between the victims and perpetrators. Partners did not talk to each other properly. Some aspects of traditional and cultural beliefs caused marital violence. There was also the wrong interpretation of these traditional and cultural beliefs by some perpetrators and victims. Socio economic stress was another cause of violence. Poverty, lack of money and difficult economic conditions made perpetrators unable to provide for their households. This tension and frustration would be vented out on their wives. Some men were frustrated at work and they took it out on their women. Other men abused their wives when they were drunk. Alcohol made these men perpetrators irritable. Some perpetrators just had the need to control their wives. Poor enforcement of the law perpetuated the gender violence. There is a gender bias in the judicial system. Most of the respondents had no confidence in the courts. That is why they sought assistance from one of the three centres. Some did not want to go to the court because they feared the wrath of their in-laws lest their husbands be jailed. Lastly the lack of social control, promotion of nuclear families instead of extended families, couples living far away from relatives, modern urban life, and the Marriage Act, which makes it difficult to divorce, contribute to gender violence.

Some of the respondents who had left their husbands vowed never to go back to an abusive marriage. However, some said they could not leave, while others who had left

had gone back because of emotional and economic reasons. Emotional reasons included; lack of inner strength to leave, threats of worse harm to women if they left, women hoped their abusers would change and the violence would stop, they were convinced they still loved their husbands and usually believed it was their fault that they were abused.

The impact of this violence has threatened family structures causing emotional psychological and mental damage to the women involved. Victims are scarred for life and their lives shattered. One victim experienced physical injury when she lost an eye when she was brutally beaten. Victims have experienced lack of self esteem and confidence leading to eating disorders and feeling worthless. Depression has led to suicide attempts, miscarriages and abuse of children. Marital violence also renders victims unable to make decisions that affect their lives like fertility and family planning. Victims of this violence can not negotiate for safe sex. This inability to ask husbands not to engage in risky sexual behaviour exposes women to the risk of HIV/AIDS.

NGO women's organisations have partnered with government and the international community to help mitigate violence in Zambia. These organisations are involved in lobbying, counselling, training, educating, advocating and offering refuge and litigation services to victims of violence. Despite the work of these NGOs gender violence is on the increase. All the respondents in the study had either been told about YWCA, WLSA

or National Legal Aid Clinics for Women by a friend or a relative. This leaves out a lot of women who suffer silently in their homes because they do not know they can be helped.

The government has created VSU to help apprehend and prosecute offenders and through GIDD has formulated policies and programmes aimed at mitigating violence. However, implementation is poor because there seems to be lack of commitment on the part of government. The international community under the auspices of the UN funds programmes and projects that help in reducing violence with the help of donors like the European Union and Care Zambia. One of the most recent initiative by the European Union, Care and YWCA is the 'ONE STOP CENTRE' where a law enforcement officer, a paralegal or lawyer, a health practitioner, and a counsellor will be found, to assist gender based violence victims among others.

Despite a lot of constraints like the lack of funds, NGO women's organisations have succeeded in raising public consciousness about the significance and severity of violence against women. The organisations have changed circumstances and hopes of most women, and are positively impacting on reducing violence against women. These organisations deal mainly with women who cannot afford legal representations. These organisations offer free services to victims. The sensitisation campaigns carried out by these organisations encourage victims to report violence. Government must make more effort in committing to gender violence mitigation by changing laws and making sure

the existing laws are enforced. Some aspects of traditional and cultural beliefs that cause gender based violence should also be changed. This will go a long way in making the progress achievable especially for a problem as deep rooted as gender violence.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **Recommendations to Women's NGOs:**

- They should contribute to training law enforcement and judicial personnel in international legal standards on gender based violence.
- They should partner more with the Zambian government in meeting specific needs of women.
- They should assist government more in the development of programs designed to address gender violence.
- They should persist in promoting awareness of some aspects of cultural practices. They should engage traditional leaders and communities to recognise and address traditional practices that further expose women to violence.
- They should publicise their existence. To achieve this, these organisations should coordinate with government by using existing structures like clinics, churches, police stations, electronic and print media, schools etc. to publicise their activities.

## **Recommendations to the Government**

- It should formulate and implement programs that could increase capacity for reporting and investigating violence. This includes gender sensitive training of police, social workers (counsellors) and legal officers.
- It should ensure law enforcement agencies investigate, apprehend and prosecute offenders and that all cases are treated seriously and receive appropriate punishment.
- It should strengthen the VSU by training necessary police to recognise and combat gender based violence and increase funding.
- It should strengthen support services for victims like counselling, legal and financial services.
- It should implement and enforce laws and adopt WILDAF's new proposed bill which wants, among other things, to remove discriminatory provisions of the customary law and to enact new laws that will deal with specific problems raised by gender violence.
- It should review and reform the legal system by making sure stiffer punishment is given to offenders and cases are treated without discrimination or bias.
- It should ensure all policies and programmes formulated are implemented.

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## APPENDIX A

### INTERVIEW GUIDE – IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Good morning/afternoon, how are you? I am Wazilinda Mtonga, a student from University of Zambia. I am carrying out a study on gender violence experienced by married women. I want to find out the patterns and effects of this violence, its causes and how it can be mitigated by interviewing the women who have been victims. I would be most grateful if you could grant me an interview. This study is purely academic and is confidential. I do not need to know your name and you reserve the right to refuse to be interviewed?

1. How old are you?  
.....
2. What is the level of your education?  
.....
3. What do you do for a living?  
.....
4. What form of violence have you experienced?  
.....
5. How did the violence start?  
.....
6. What did you do the first time it happened?  
.....
7. How long has the violence been going on?  
.....
8. What in your opinion, what caused the violence?  
.....

9. What do you think should be done to mitigate such violence?  
.....
10. Is there history of violence in your family or that of your husband?  
.....
11. How has this violence affected you as a woman, as a mother and a person in society?  
.....
12. What problems have you gone through due to this violence?  
.....  
.....
13. Would you have your husband apprehended and prosecuted?  
.....
14. Do you have children?  
.....
15. How many children do you have?  
.....
16. How do you think they have been affected by this violence?  
.....
17. Given the abuse, would you still continue being married to your husband?  
.....
18. How did you come to know about this centre?  
.....
19. Are you satisfied with the service?  
.....

## APPENDIX B

### INTERVIEW GUIDE – FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Good morning/afternoon, how are you? I am Wazilinda Mtonga, a student from University of Zambia. I am carrying out a study on gender violence experienced by married women. I want to find out the patterns and effects of this violence, its causes and how it can be mitigated.

I would like us to discuss this topic and please be free to share experiences and opinions. This study is purely academic and is confidential. You do not need to tell us your name, or specific problem, this is a general discussion.

1. What are some of the forms of violence do women experience in their marriages?  
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2. What do you think are some of the causes of this violence? Why do men mistreat their wives?  
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3. What should abused women like you and others, do to mitigate this violence?  
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4. What impact has this violence on married women?  
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5. Despite this violence, most women choose to stay in abusive marriages, why do you think this is so?  
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6. Most of this violence is criminal; do you think women should report their husbands to the police for prosecution?  
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7. Do you think this centre is helping women who come for help?  
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8. How is this centre helping?  
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**APPENDIX C**  
**INTERVIEW GUIDE – KEY INFORMANTS**

Good morning/afternoon. My name is Wazilinda Mtonga, a post graduate student at the University of Zambia. I am pursuing a Master of Art Degree in Gender Studies in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences. As partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts, I have to carry out a study or research on any issue related to gender.

I am carrying out a study on gender violence experienced by married women. I want to find out the patterns and effects of this violence, its causes and how it can be mitigated. To assist me in this, I would be grateful if you can share your experiences that women who have been victims go through and talk about the challenges and constraints that you face in the mitigation of this violence. This study is purely academic and is absolutely confidential.

1. What forms of violence do you encounter in this line of work?  
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2. What do you think causes this violence?  
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3. How rampant is marital violence?

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4. How does this violence impact or affect the abused women?

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5. What kind of assistance do you provide?

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6. Do you think this violence can be mitigated?

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7. How can it be mitigated?

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8. What challenges do you face, when dealing with this violence?

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9. Who funds your operations?

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