

CHAPTER 5:

CORRELATES OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

5.1 Introduction

The third objective of this study was to identify the predictors of women's experience of violence, and those for women seeking help. Given the observed relationships at the bivariate level, logistic models were estimated to examine whether they persist when background factors were controlled for. The choice of logistic regression was dictated by the dichotomous nature of the dependent variables.

5.2 Correlates of Gender-Based Violence

Table 4: Odds ratios from Logistic Regressions Models of independent variables on the likelihood of experiencing violence

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variables			
Age group			
15-19	2.86**	2.76**	2.95**
20-24	2.39**	2.32**	2.38**
25-29	2.01**	1.96**	1.88**
30-34	1.83**	1.80**	1.80**
35-39	1.66**	1.67**	1.66**
40-44	1.04	1.03	1.05
45-49 (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Education			
No education	1.47	1.42	1.27
Primary	2.04**	1.96**	1.77**
Secondary	1.67**	1.64**	1.52**
Higher (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Marital status			
Never married (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Married/Living together	1.10	1.02	1.05
Separated	1.66**	1.65**	1.65**
Socio-economic status			
Low		1.13	1.48**
Medium		1.27**	1.38**
High (ref)		1.00	1.00
Household size			
Small		1.16*	1.11
Medium		0.96	0.93
Large (ref)		1.00	1.00
Household head			

Female		0.88*	0.93
Male (ref)		1.00	1.00
Province			
Western Cape			0.75
Eastern Cape			0.61**
Northern Cape			0.82
Free State			0.83
KwaZulu Natal			0.86
North West			0.67*
Limpopo			1.01
Mpumalanga			1.27
Gauteng (ref)			1.00
Residence			
Urban			1.32**
Rural (ref)			1.00
Ethnicity			
African/Black (ref)			1.00
Colored			2.19**
White			0.98
Indian/Asian			0.79
Number of cases	11687	11661	11601.00
-2 log likelihood	7081.257	7051.675	6876.83
R-squared	0.021	0.023	0.048

* Significant at 10 percent

** Significant at 5 percent

*** Significant at 1 percent

The results of the baseline model (Model 1) indicate that age, education level and marital status are predictors of experiencing violence. These findings support the hypothesis that respondent's background characteristics likely affect their experience of violence. The results show that the odds of women experiencing violence are significantly higher for all the age groups when compared to women within the ages of 44 - 49, and that younger women are significantly more likely to experience violence when compared to older women. This confirms the results from the bivariate analysis. For instance women in the age group 25-29 years are twice as likely to experience violence as those in the age group of 44 - 49 years, while young women between the ages 15-19 years are almost three times more likely to experience violence.

A study conducted in an African township in Cape Town among pregnant teenagers

found that all but one of the informants interviewed described assault as a regular feature of their sexual relationships (Wood & Jewkes, 1997). This has ramifications for the spread of HIV as well as other sexually transmitted infections and unplanned pregnancy. Given that the findings in the regression are significant, age is a reliable predictor for women experiencing violence, with younger women being at a higher risk (2.95 times) than those that are older. In contrast a study by Sacco and Johnson (1995) found older women more likely to report victimization to the police than younger ones.

The results show that the odds of experiencing violence for women with no education are higher (1.47) than for those with higher education, although this is not significant. They also show that the odds of experiencing violence for women with primary and secondary education are significantly higher (2.04 & 1.67) when compared to those with higher education. Being married or living with a partner was found to increase the odds of women experiencing violence by 10% when compared to never being married. The odds ratio however is not statistically significant. Also being a separated woman (divorced, widowed, and not living together with a partner) increases the odds significantly of experiencing violence by 66% when compared to never married women.

The results seem to suggest that having higher education is protective against experiencing violence as is having no education, surprisingly, although this is not significant. Women with some education (primary) are at the highest risk of experiencing violence according to the findings. Similar observations are made elsewhere (Jewkes et al. 2002). Koenig et al., (2003) found that increased education was associated with lower risks of violence. These findings may be in line with the notion that education expands the lifetime opportunities of women and affects their choices, and as such increased education attainment broadens the possibility of upward social mobility. This allows women to benefit from wider social networks and to glean and use information and resources from larger sources, hence greater economic and social empowerment, than women with little or no education (Jewkes

et al. 2002). These findings, though, should be interpreted with caution as a lack of education could hinder the respondent's ability to reporting victimization, as opposed to having a protective effect.

This study found that being married women increases the risk of experiencing violence only slightly more (1.05) than that experienced by never married women. One would expect that women that live with their partners would be exposed to an increased risk of spousal violence, which is experience more than violence at societal level. This study finds living with a partner to be a protective factor. However the lower rate of violence experienced could point to violence either being concealed or accepted and as such under-reported.

The study also finds that being separated (widowed, divorced, or not living with a partner) increases the odds significantly of experiencing violence by 65%. In a study by Johnson and Sacco (1995), they found separated women to be at a continued risk of violence (19%) by ex-partners despite a divorce or separation, with increased severity reported in a third of the cases. This result could be anticipated in situations where women, by virtue of them being separated, would not necessarily need permission from a partner to seek help from services. This could be particularly so if they are victimized by their partners. Separated women are also less bound to their former partners and therefore find it easier to seek help when attacked by them. On the other hand, separated women may lack a partner's protection and as a result experience higher level of violence for which they seek help.

Never married women have been found to seek help the least. This can probably be explained by the fact that most young women are unmarried and are engaged in relations that could be characterized by violence. For example reporting partner violence by a young woman could result in losing the relationship. This also points to a certain level of acceptance of violence in relationships as Jewkes observed

Even though women often tolerate intimate partner violence, something which is notable is the reluctance of teenage girls to leave violent boyfriends even when they have no children or financial dependence on the relationship, and in the way in which being known to be violent seems to carry little stigma and interfere little in man's ability to get another partner (Wood & Jewkes as cited by Jewkes et al., 2002:1605).

In Model 2 a set of covariates that address the respondents household characteristics was added to the baseline model to determine if the associations found in Model 1 might be explained by differences in household level attributes such as household size, household headship and household wealth, indicated by socio-economic status. The results continued to show statistically strong associations between age, education level, marital status and women's experience of violence, reducing the effects only slightly. The odds of experiencing violence for women with a middle SES are significantly higher by 27% when compared to those that have a high SES, while women with a low SES have increased odds of 13% which are not significant. Having a small household increases a woman's odds of experiencing violence by 16%, while those with a medium size household have lower odds (.96) when compared to women that have large households. The results indicate that having a female headed household reduces the odds of experiencing violence by 11.5% when compared to male headed households.

In the full model (Model 3) SES gained prominence after adding province, residence and ethnicity to Model 2. It is noted that in South Africa socio-economic status, race, and residence are correlated because of the historical policy of separate development (Sibanda and Zuberi, 2005), which in many cases led to extreme poverty particularly among the blacks who were denied economic opportunities. Different levels of development also characterized the ten African homelands (ethnic specific) with marked inter-homeland inequalities in the distribution of goods and services (*ibid*). Results show that the odds ratio of experiencing violence increases with reducing SES

levels, implying that poor women are more prone to experience violence than are women with higher SES. This could be attributed to where and how women with low SES live, as well as how poverty influences their relationships, and whether violence is domestic and on-going.

The results from this model continued to show statistically strong associations between age, education level, marital status, SES and a woman's experience of violence, while the effects of household size and sex of household head was reduced with the inclusion of this set of covariates. These observations were made against small R-squared values.

The effect of household size was reduced in the full model and remained insignificant. Contrary to expectation, women from small households had higher odds (1.11) of experiencing violence when compared to those from large households, while this likelihood was reduced in medium households by 7%. Similar observations were made for women residing with extended families (Koenig et al., 2003). In contrast observations were made in a study where there was a significantly higher risk of violence for women residing in crowded homes (Jewkes et al., 2002). In this study household size is not a predictor of violence, which is rather unexpected as one would think that larger household would have problems in sharing limited resources, hence increase the risk of women experiencing violence. This doesn't seem to be the case in this study. Having a female household head was found to be protective against violence, although not significant. The study found the odds of experiencing violence in female headed households to be lower (.93) than that of male headed households. This could be attributed in part to the absence of partner violence in female headed households. Sex of household head is hence not a predictor of violence in this study.

The importance of SES was highlighted by the significantly higher odds of experiencing violence by women with both low and middle SES (1.48 & 1.38) when compared to those that have a high socioeconomic status. The odds of experiencing violence increased from 27% to 38% for women with a middle SES, and for those with

a lower SES increasing from 13% to 48% becoming significant in Model 3. Household wealth is therefore a predictor for women's experience of violence in this study.

Regional variation also exists for women's experience of violence, with Mpumalanga and Limpopo provinces having increased odds for women's experience of violence (1.27 & 1.01). Similar observations were made with regard to Mpumalanga in a study on risk factors for domestic violence (Jewkes et al., 2002), while the women from the Eastern Cape and the North West had significantly lower odds of experiencing violence. As expected a woman's odds of experiencing violence in the urban areas is higher than it is in the rural areas. This difference can be attributed to the increased risk that women in the urban areas are exposed to by the types of job that they engage in, the distances they travel to and from work, their working conditions, their living arrangements - particularly if they are migrants, urban crowding, and the growing phenomenon of poverty in the urban area that is exacerbated by declining employment opportunities.

On examination of the racial differential in a woman's experience of violence Colored women notably have higher odds (2.19) of experiencing violence, as well as the highest percentage of experiencing violence. Both White and Asian women have lower odds of experiencing violence than African women. This may be linked to the different living arrangements and working conditions of women that are rooted in the legacy of apartheid. A more credible explanation would be that this may indicate the under-reporting of victimization by the other races, given that they have high rates for seeking help.

5.3 Correlates of Seeking Help

A regression was run to estimate the likelihood of women seeking help against the independent variables in the full model (3). A summary of the results are found in Table 5.

Table 5: Odds ratios from Logistic Regressions Models of independent variables on the likelihood of seeking help after experiencing violence

Variables	Odds Ratio
Age group	
15-19	0.48*
20-24	0.72
25-29	0.52*
30-34	0.86
35-39	0.78
40-44	1.28
45-49 (ref)	1.00
Education	
No education	0.52
Primary	0.69
Secondary	0.85
Higher (ref)	1.00
Marital status	
Never married (ref)	1.00
Married/Living together	1.30
Separated	2.40***
Socio-economic status	
Low	0.99
Medium	0.92
High (ref)	1.00
Household size	
Small	1.07
Medium	0.92
Large (ref)	1.00
Household head	
Female	0.65**
Male (ref)	1.00
Province	0.75
Western Cape	1.10
Eastern Cape	0.32**
Northern Cape	0.93
Free State	1.36
KwaZulu Natal	1.43
North West	4.53***
Limpopo	1.94**
Mpumalanga	1.15
Gauteng (ref)	1.00
Residence	

Urban	1.15
Rural (ref)	1.00
Ethnicity	
African/Black (ref)	1.00
Colored	2.29***
White	2.31**
Indian/Asian	1.41
Number of cases	1069.00
-2 log likelihood	1072.03
R-squared	0.129

* Significant at 10 percent

** Significant at 5 percent

*** Significant at 1 percent

The overall percentage of women seeking help after victimization is 23.2%. This means that more than three quarters (76.8%) of the victims of violence do not seek help. Although it is not well understood from the data why seeking help after victimization is generally so low, one is inclined to think that the mentioned services are not all/always present in any one location and as such cannot be accessed by victims, or that victims do not necessarily benefit from those services even if they are present. This could also be reflective of a general lack of public education and awareness of the available services. For example in the North West, women do not seek help from counseling services. Other factors may also come into play such as the proximity of the available facilities, and whether or not the cost of transport to these facilities inhibits the victim from accessing services, particularly in the rural areas.

The results identify age, marital status, household headship, province, and ethnicity as predictors for seeking help after victimization. These findings support the hypothesis that respondent's background characteristics likely affect whether or not they seek help after experiencing violence. The odds of a victim seeking help are significantly lower for women between the ages of 15-19 (.48) and 25-29 (.52) when compared to those in the age group 45-49. The odds of seeking help after victimization are significantly higher (2.4) for separated women than are those for never married women, while victims from female headed households have

significantly lower odds (.65) of seeking help than those from male headed households.

Although young women have a higher likelihood of experiencing violence than older women, they have lower odds of seeking help after victimization. This is despite the numerous interventions that exist for such purposes. The higher odds of separated women seeking help is not surprising, and can be explained in part by their higher likelihood of experiencing violence as compared to those that are not married. The lower likelihood of victims from female headed households seeking help can, in a similar vein, be explained by their lower likelihood of experiencing violence.

Victims from Limpopo Province and Mpumalanga are found to have significantly higher odds (4.53 & 1.94) of seeking help after victimization when compared to those from Gauteng, while those from the Northern Cape have significantly lower odds (.32). Colored women and White women have significantly higher odds (2.29 & 2.31) of seeking help after victimization than do African women. The higher odds of seeking help by women in the two provinces can be reflective of the higher likelihood of their experiencing violence, although the odds of experiencing violence could have been affected by none reporting in the Northern Province.

A major hurdle to seeking help after victimization that should be considered is who the perpetrator of the abuse is. Studies show that non-stranger abuse occurs on a larger scale than stranger abuse, and most often by intimate partners. So because of proximity, and particularly where there is a close relationship, victims do not necessarily intend to end their relationships, and usually choose more informal means to resolve problems and/or to deal with violent behavior particularly from partners (Gartner & Macmillan, 1995). Other issues that maybe considered in such a decision is the cost of having the offence reported which may result in the offenders imprisonment, the loss of livelihood and serious economic hardship, disruption of relationships, and the bringing of private troubles into the public sphere which may

even go against custom and culture and may place the victim at a further risk of violence (Jewkes, 2001; Johnson & Sacco, 1995; & Vetten, 2000).

5.4 Correlates of Services to Victims

Table 6: Odds ratios from Logistic Regression Models of independent variables on the likelihood of where a victim seeks help after experiencing violence

Variables	Counseling	Social worker	Police	Clinic/ Hospital	Other
Education					
No education	0.60	0.00	3.04	1.67	3.22
Primary	0.24	0.80	2.94	0.86	4.81
Secondary	0.23	1.01	3.44*	1.32	0.28
Higher (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Age group					
15-19	8172.46	1.65	0.64	0.23	0.86
20-24	2097.75	2.55	1.22	0.34	0.37
25-29	4127.28	1.96	0.78	0.60	0.35
30-34	612.43	2.30	0.85	0.33	0.51
35-39	3586.97	1.10	2.36	0.12	0.39
40-44	7611.47	5.35	1.12	0.38	0.10
45-49 (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Marital status					
Never married (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Married/Living together	4.02*	2.76**	0.71	0.59	0.74
Separated	1.44	0.55	0.97***	3.56	1.06
Ethnicity					
African/Black (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Colored	5.68	0.31	0.71	0.53	0.89
White	3.52	0.17**	1.04	0.66	5.70
Indian/Asian	2.46	0.97	1.04	1.45	24.57
Residence					
Urban	0.83	1.77*	1.13**	0.80	0.84
Rural (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Province					
Western Cape	0.23	6.98	3.05	0.66	0.73
Eastern Cape	0.49	3.39	0.66	2.81	0.36
Northern Cape	0.11	1.77	1.50***	4.70	0.93
Free State	0.22	2.89	0.90	0.37	1.08
KwaZulu Natal	0.30	3.84	0.61***	4.05	0.51
North West	0.00	2.66	0.82	0.42	2.52
Limpopo	0.54	0.47	0.96	1.27	1.58
Mpumalanga	0.57	1.90	2.87*	0.89	0.38
Gauteng (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Socio-economic status					
Low	0.83	0.45	1.06	1.49	1.00
Medium	0.46	0.70	0.66	1.88	1.69
High (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Number of cases	250.00	250.00	250.00	250.00	250.00

-2 log likelihood	102.35	151.15	317.12	185.21	248.28
R-squared	0.290	0.277	0.146	0.238	0.244

* Significant at 10 percent

** Significant at 5 percent

*** Significant at 1 percent

The last aim of the study was to identify predictors for the use of services available to victims in the study population. The results are presented in a Table 6 above.

The table shows that the likelihood of seeking help from counseling decreases with the increase of education; women's level of education does not have a significant impact on seeking help from social workers after victimization; and that women with no education do not seek help from social workers. Also women with primary education are 20% less likely to seek help from a social worker than those with higher education, while women with secondary education are as likely as those with higher education to seek help from a social worker.

The odds of seeking help from the police by women with no education, primary, and secondary education is about three time or more as high as those with higher education (3.04, 2.94, and 3.44). For instance the odds of seeking help from the police by women with secondary education are 3.44 times significantly higher, when compared with those that have higher education. While the odds of women with no education and secondary education are higher (67% & 32%) to seek help from the clinic/hospital than those with higher education, women with primary education have lower odds by 14% when compared to women that have higher education. The odds are varied for women that seek help from other services than the ones offered in the study. For instance women with secondary education are 72.3% times less likely than those with higher education to seek help from other services, while those with no education are 3.22 times more likely to do so. The odds of women with primary education are 4.81 times significantly higher to seek help from other services than those with higher education.

When we examine the age differences on the use of services available to victims of violence, table 6 shows varied results of the different age groups. The odds of seeking help from counseling by women of the different age groups are unusually high and may be attributed to problems with the data, and thus cannot be interpreted. The odds of women in the ages 40-44 years are 5.35 times more likely to seek help from a social worker than those in the age group 45-49 years, while those between the ages of 15-39 years have increased odds of between 1.1 to 2.6 times.

Women in the age groups of 15-19, 25-29 and 30-34 years are less likely than those in age group 45-49 years to seek help from the police, while those in the age groups 20-24, 35-39, and 40-44 years are more likely. For instance young women between the ages of 15-19 years are the least likely (36%) to seek help from the police after victimization, while those between the ages of 35-39 years are most likely (2.36 times) to do so, than are those between the ages of 44-49 years, though not significantly. The results show that women in all the age groups between 15-44 years are less likely to seek help from the clinic or hospital after victimization when compared with those in the age group 45-49 years. For instance women in the age groups 15-19 and 35-39 years have significantly lower odds (.12 & .23) of seeking help from the clinic or hospital than those in the age group 45-49 years. It is also observed that the odds of women between the ages 40-44 years to seek help from other services are significantly lower (.10) than those of women between the ages 45-49 years, while young women between ages 15-19 years have the odds of .86.

It difficult to understand why young women have such low odds of seeking help from the clinic/hospital when they are engaged in relationships that are characterized by unacceptable high levels of abuse (Jewkes et al., 2001). Wood and Jewkes (1998) observed that 'Violence was not limited to the first sexual act or to the first relationship, but was also reported to be a feature of all subsequent sexual relationships ... therefore not describing isolated episodes of "date rape", but coercion occurring within regular, on-going partnerships' (pp: 236). Older women not seeking help from the clinic/hospital may be part of the abuse that they experience

in their relationships or indirectly as a result of poverty. 'Economic dependence upon a man may also limit the options available to abused women. Laying criminal charges which lead to the man's imprisonment may result in the loss of earnings, imposing serious economic hardships' (Vetten, 2000).

A woman's marital status is a significant factor for where she seeks help after victimization. The odds of married women, or those living with a partner, of seeking help from counselling are significantly higher (4.02) than those for women that have never been married, while the odds of women that are separated are 1.44 times more likely. Married women and those living with partners have significantly higher odds (2.76) of seeking help from a social worker than are never married women, while those who are separated are 45% less likely. The results also show that married women, those living with partners, and separated women are less likely to seek help from the police than are never married women. This can be explained by married women or those living with partners not wanting to take legal action against their partners for abuse, and may even signal acceptance to some extent. They may also not see themselves as being abused. Therefore having higher odds for seeking help from a counsellor or social worker appears to be in line with this argument. The lower odds for separated women going to the police can be explained in part by who the abuser is. The police may tend not to believe the separated woman when she complains about her ex-partner. Their life circumstances may also dictate which services women use, as going to the police could create hardship for them particularly if the abuser is convicted, and they left to fend for themselves.

For instance the study found the odds of women that are separated to be slightly lower, though significant (.97), than those of never married women. It is observed that being a separated woman increases the odds significantly (3.56) of seeking help from the clinic/hospital when compared to never married women, while those that are married and living together are 41% less likely. In the case of seeking help from other services, separated women are almost as likely as never married women to do so, while married women and those living together are 26% less likely than are never

married women to seek help from other services. The low status of women in society overall is compounded by being single (Jewkes et al. 2003) and this is reflected in the manner in which service providers relate to some victims, making them take part of the blame of what has happened to them. In other instances, trivialize what has happened to them. Married women for example have difficulties in securing convictions for their abusive partners.

In relation to ethnicity results show that Colored, White and Asian women have higher odds (5.68, 3.52, and 2.46) of seeking help from counseling than African women although this is not significant. The table shows that Colored, White and Asian women are less likely to seek help from a social worker than are African woman. For instance the odds of a White woman are significantly lower (.17) than those of an African woman when seeking help from a social worker. It is observed that White and Asian women are almost as likely as African women to seek help from the police, while the odds of Colored women are 29% lower. The study found that Asian women are 45% more likely to seek help from the clinic/hospital than African women, while Colored women and White women are 47% and 34% less likely to do so. Results also show that while Coloreds are 11% less likely to seek help from other services, Whites and Indians have higher odds (5.7 & 24.57) to do so than African women. The odds of Indian women are unusually high and need to be investigated further. Arguably these systematic differences could be explained by the options that were made available to them by the apartheid system, that women of other races were denied. 'The life experiences of different racial group... have been characterized by different patterns of place of residence, economic success, education, civil liberties and access to services' (Chimere-Dan, as cited by Sibanda & Zuberi, 2005).

This study shows that women who seek help from services such as counseling, social workers and the police are associated with rural residence, while those who seek help from the clinic/hospital and other services are associated with urban residence. For instance the odds of women that seek help from a social worker and the police in the urban area are significantly higher (.77 & .13) than those in the rural areas. The

table shows that women in the urban area are .2 times and .16 times less likely to seek help from the clinic/hospital and from other services than those from the rural area, though this is not significant.

The odds of women seeking help from services are varied by province. For instance women in all the other provinces are less likely to seek help from counseling than women in Gauteng; also women in the North-West do not seek help from counseling. Women in the Western Cape and Eastern Cape are 6.98 times and 3.39 times more likely to seek help from a social worker than are women from Gauteng, while those in Limpopo Province are 53% less likely to do so. Women from Western Cape, Northern Cape and Mpumalanga, are more likely (3.05, 1.50, & 2.87) to seek help from the police than women in Gauteng and those from the Eastern Cape, Free State, KwaZulu Natal, North West and Limpopo, less likely (.66, .90, .61, .82 & .96). The women in Mpumalanga and Northern Cape that seek help from the police are significantly more likely (2.87 & 1.50) to do so when compared to those from Gauteng, while women from KwaZulu Natal are significantly less likely (.61). The women from the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape KwaZulu Natal and Limpopo Province are more likely (2.81, 4.70, 4.05, & 1.27) to seek help from the clinic/hospital than those from Gauteng, while women from the Western Cape, Free State, North West and Mpumalanga are less likely (.66, .37, .42, & .89) to do so , although this is not significant. Women from the Free State, North West and Limpopo Province are more likely (1.08, 2.52, & 1.58) to seek help from other services compared to those from Gauteng, while the women from the remaining provinces were less likely to do so, although not significantly.

Women's odds of seeking help from the police are significantly higher (1.13) in urban areas when compared to the rural areas. Women in the Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga have significantly higher odds (1.50 & 2.87) of seeking help from the police while those in KwaZulu Natal are significantly lower (.61) when compared to the women in Gauteng. This may be a reflection in part of the extent of abuse that women experience. It may also reveal who the perpetrators are. Studies show that partner

violence is less likely reported to the police while the very same act committed by a stranger is most likely brought to their attention (Sacco and Johnson, 1990).

The results reveal that women of a lower and medium SES are less likely to seek help from counseling and social worker than those with a high SES. It was found that women with a low SES are 6% more likely to seek help from the police than those with a high SES, while those with a medium SES 34% less likely to do so. The odds of women with a low and medium SES to seek help from the clinic/hospital are 1.49 and 1.88 times more likely than those with a high SES. Results from the study show that women with a low SES are as likely as those with a high SES to seek help from other services, while those with a medium SES 69% higher to do so. These observations are not significant.

Household size and sex of household head were not found to be significantly associated with women's experience of violence, while SES was found not to be significantly associated with where a woman seeks help from after victimization, despite it being significantly associated with a woman's experience of violence. These findings support the hypothesis that respondent's background characteristics likely affect where they seek help from after experiencing violence.

5.5 Summary

This study found age, education, marital status, socio-economic status, province, residence and ethnicity to be predictors of a woman's experience of violence. It also found age, marital status, household head, province, and ethnicity to be predictors of victims seeking help from services after victimization, while education, marital status, ethnicity, residence and province were found to be predictors of where victims seek help after experiencing violence.