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WOMEN'S HELP-SEEKING BEHAVIOR FOR INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Ahmet Fidan entitled "WOMEN'S HELP-SEEKING BEHAVIOR FOR INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Sociology.

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WOMEN'S HELP-SEEKING BEHAVIOR FOR INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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This dissertation is dedicated to my grandmother Sabiha Bakirtan (Yildirim), my mother Fatma Fidan, and all women.

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ABSTRACT

Intimate partner violence (IPV) against women is a social and public health problem worldwide, particularly in developing countries. However, help-seeking for IPV among women is quite low in Sub-Saharan African countries. The present dissertation examines help-seeking behavior reported by women in five Sub-Saharan African countries: Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, to explore factors associated with the issue. Based on Resources (economic dependence), gender/feminist, and survivor perspectives several hypotheses were developed and tested. Findings from analysis indicate that from resource factors household wealth and educational level were negatively, employment status was partially associated with women's help-seeking behavior. Justification of wife-beating was negatively linked with help-seeking while husband's controlling behaviors increased help-seeking from both formal and informal sources. The accumulation of physical violence was a robust factor that increased women's help-seeking behavior from formal and informal sources. Women who experienced emotional violence had higher while women who were victims of sexual violence had lower odds of help-seeking. Women experienced to intimate partner violence attempt utilize both informal and formal help-seeking. However, among Sub-Saharan African women informal help is more common than formal help. As a result, this dissertation makes several contributions for future studies.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Despite the growing political rights of women, intimate partner violence (IPV) against women remains an important social and public health problem around the world (Hindin & Adair, 2002; Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002; Johnson, Ollus, & Nevala, 2008). The World Health Organization (WHO, 2010) defines IPV as "acts of physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse, and controlling behaviors within an intimate relationship that causes physical, sexual, or psychological harm." This is the most prevalent kind of violence against women in the world and mostly occurs in families (Krug et al., 2002). Recent studies report that more than one in three (35%) women worldwide have experienced either physical or sexual violence by an intimate partner in their lifetime, and the rate of intimate partner violence against women in developing countries can be higher (Fidan & Bui, 2016; Shea, Mahoney, & Lacey, 1997; WHO, 2016). In Sub-Saharan Africa, violence against women has been increasingly recognized as an important human rights, development, and health issue, in part because of efforts by women's organizations (Snowsill, Watts, Nyamandi, & Ndlovu, 1997). Among many types of violence against women, violence by husbands and other intimate partners and family members has been recognized as a severe social and health problem in many African cultures (Mann & Takyi, 2009). For example, studies show that 50% of women in Zambia, 60% of women Tanzania, 42% in Kenya, and 81% in Nigeria (Mann & Takyi, 2009), 47% of women in Zimbabwe (Fidan & Bui, 2016), 54% of women in

Uganda (Karamagi et al, 2006), and 30% of women in Rwanda (Verduin et al, 2013) have experienced some form of IPV in their lifetime. Studies also reveal that IPV is so widespread that it cuts across cultural, ethnic, geographic, religious, social, and economic boundaries in Sub-Saharan countries (Fidan & Bui, 2016; Ogland et al., 2014). The total cost of gender-based violence in these countries is also very high; for example, in Zimbabwe, the cost of gender-based violence was estimated at US$2 billion in 2009. This estimate included the direct expenses incurred by survivors and service providers as well as the indirect costs (UNICEF-Zimbabwe, 2012).

IPV against women is generally referred to as a silent issue because many victims of abuse are not willing to disclose violence because of shame, fear, social norms, socioeconomic status, and religious beliefs (Anderson & Saunders, 2003; 2015; Chang et al, 2005; Fugate et al., 2005; Moe, 2007). Most women are tolerant of IPV because of societal norms and low self-esteem (Abbey et al, 2001). This tolerance may make women more vulnerable to experiencing more violence. Women who suffer violence from intimate partners or husbands are less likely to report compared to women who suffer violence from strangers (Mahoney, 1999). Women who want to seek help may believe that disclosuring violence or seeking help for abuse can lead to more violence and shame willingness to deek help also depends on the sources of potential support and fear of whether people will listen to them or simply being blame them for the violence (Bamiwuye, Owoeye & Oyiboka, 2015).

Even though IPV is widespread, particularly in developing countries, many women remain silent or do not seek help to deal with violence until many years after an initial violent incident (Meyer et al., 2007). There have been many studies of women's

experience of intimate partner violence in different nations (Ellsberg et al., 2008; Garcia-Moreno, 2006; Hindin, Kishor, Ansara, 2008; Kimuna & Djamba, 2008; Kishor & Johnson, 2006; Koenig et al., 2006; Palitto & O'Campo, 2004), but there is limited research on women's help-seeking behavior. In other words, despite the high prevalence of IPV against women worldwide, any self-reporting of violence by victims is quite low. Even in developed countries, such as in the United States, a study found that, based on U.S National Crime Victimization Survey, 31% victims of stalking sought informal help from friends or family while 29% of victims sought help from formal sources by contacting law enforcement (Reyns & Englebrecht, 2014). Therefore, it is possible to state that women often do not ask for help, but instead tolerate violence reluctantly and demonstrate passive resistance including keeping silent, staying calm, being respectful, and obeying abusive partner.

Additionally, Paul (2016) suggests that many women who are victims of IPV seek help from informal sources such as families to end violence. Women's own families of origin may provide an important social network that can offer psychological and material support for them (Kaukinen, 2004). Women often have more interaction with their own families than men. This interaction may contain face-to-face conversations and contact maintained over geographic distances. Women who have more interaction with their families may rely deeply on informal networks in dealing with the consequences of an abusive relationship. Therefore, many women seek help from their own families when violence by their husband occurs. However, some women may tend to seek help not from their own families, but from their husband's families. Husband's family may sometimes be more helpful to solve problem between men and women. Women may also try to seek

help from formal sources such as the police when their informal networks fail to or are perceived as likely to fail to provide a solution to the issue of intimate partner violence (Baker, 1997).

Help-seeking for IPV among women is quite low in sub-Saharan countries. Even as these countries have made some significant improvements in social and public health obtains in recent decades, violence against women continues to be an important social and health problem in many families, and women are silent about it. My study examines the determinants of informal and formal help-seeking behavior in five sub-Saharan countries. Altough several theoretical perspectives, particularly psychological theories, are available to explain self-reports of help-seeking, my research develops an integrated theoretical framework that stresses some resources-based theories, a gender/feminist perspective, and survivor theory. Before proceeding to a more extended discussion of these theoretical perspectives and the empirical literature on help-seeking behavior, a detailed description of women's status, gender ideology, and prevalence of IPV in sub-Saharan Africa is necessary to gain a better understanding of help-seeking behavior in this region.

Purpose and Importance of the Study

Although the seriousness of the problem of IPV has been well-documented in the literature, knowledge about women's help-seeking behavior in Sub-Saharan Africa is still limited. Most the existing studies investigating the extent and nature of help-seeking behavior is conducted in developed countries. Most of the work also involves examining

small samples (Bui, 2003; Flicker et al, 2011; Kaukinen, 2004; Leung, 2015; Macy et al, 2005; Moe, 2007; West, Kantor, & Jasinski, 1998). Much of the extant research on women's help-seeking behavior tends to be descriptive and it is often atheoretical. Existing theoretical models to explain help-seeking have mostly been developed using data from Western societies, so it is uncertain whether these theories developed in West can be generalized to non-Western, developing societies where women's status is quite low. Moreover, many of these studies have frequently seen help-seeking as a private decision rather than a structural pattern and used psychological theories rather than sociological perspectives. In addition, although recent surveys show that sub-Saharan African countries have the highest prevalence of IPV worldwide, a systematic study of women's help-seeking to cope with IPV do not exist in the current research literature to the best of my knowledge. Therefore, a systematical examination of the determinants of women's help-seeking can serve to help in the development of effective intervention programs or government policies for women that is based on patterns specific to the region.

The objective of this dissertation is to examine self-reported help-seeking behavior in five Sub-Saharan countries and identify factors associated with this action. Thr goal of my study is to improve understanding of the patterns of women's help-seeking behavior in this region. It is my hope that findings from this thesis will contribute to the knowledge about women's diverse help-seeking strategies for IPV, and at the same time provide inputs for intervention programs or government policies for women aimed at combating IPV against women in this region. In other words, this thesis builds on the limited research on help-seeking behavior in developing countries, where IPV is

widespread, to fill this knowledge gap and inform the design of future interventions. The most important contribution of this study is that it allows us to examine the transferability or not of research results from one population to another. It allows the reader to consider whether or not what we know about IPV from a Western perspective translates well into societies where there are real legal limits on women's rights and where women have generally low status. Overall, this dissertation is apaproached from the family family violence perspective (Straus, 1971; Gelles, 1974) which focuses on large scale studies that demosntrate commonalities across families where IPV occurs, but it is informed by the feminist perspective (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Martin, 1981; Roy, 1976) which acknowledges the role of patriarchy and constructs of masculinity.

CHAPTER TWO

WOMEN'S STATUS, GENDER RELATIONS, IPV, AND IPV POLICIES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Connell (1987) proposed a gender model that is comprised of three important components: the division of labor, the system of power of the state and its institutions, and the ideology of heterosexuality. This model of gender structure can provide a general understanding of gender relations; however, it cannot assist scholars in grasping women's different experiences of gender relations across societies. Feminist researchers have asserted that women's experiences of male domination are not universal (Bui, 2003). Women's life experiences are shaped not only by gender but also by their culture and different locations in the hierarchies of class (Harding, 1991). The data for my dissertation comes from Demographic and Health Survey (DHS). DHS Survey carried out five different countries in Sub-Saharan Africa: Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, which provides information on women's reported help-seeking behavior. By studying these five countries, we can obtain a better snapshot of how experiences may be different.

There are a number of remarkable characteristics of developing Sub-Saharan countries that may make them different from Western countries (Bowman, 2003). First, despite crucial underreporting and a visible absence of domestic murder, Sub-Saharan African countries have a large amount of intimate partner violence. Second, there is a persistence of patriarchal norms, which see women as property and which is represented in marital norms in these societies. Third, there are differing concepts of the public and

the private and a more relational sense of the self. Finally, there are background circumstances of poverty, economic demolition, social transition, and state incapacity to deal with the problem (Bowman, 2003). Thus, this section of my dissertation explains poverty, socioeconomic status of women related to their dependence on men, gender ideologies in the families and society, and the prevalence of intimate partner violence against women across five countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Rwanda

Rwanda is a densely populated country, which experienced a rapid demographic, social, and economic transition in the last two decades since the Tutsi Genocide that killed an estimated 800,000-1,000,000 people (Human Rights Watch, 1996; Thomson et al, 2015). The current population of Rwanda is 12.1 million (Countrymeters, 2017). The population is mostly rural and young with around 43% under the age of 15 and an estimated 90% subsistence farmers (UNICEF Rwanda, 2017). In the last decade, total fertility rates fell from 6.1 to 4.6 children per woman, and child mortality was decreased from 152 to 76 deaths per 1000 live births (ESTA & RWFO, 2014; NISR, 2010). In other words, Rwanda has been hailed as one of the few nations on a rapid track to reduce child and maternal mortality which is often seen as a sign of the rising the status of women (Worley, 2015). There are several factors that created this success in Rwanda; for example, the increase in skilled providers during childbirth over a decade has been especially important for women, and, for children, improvements in immunization coverage and breastfeeding have played a role in redusing child mortality (Worley,

2015). Representations of women in parliament has increased dramatically from 18% before the Genocide, to 26% during the post-genocidal transitional government between 1994-2003, to 56% in the 2008 elections when Rwanda became the first country in the world with a majority women parliament (Thomson et al., 2015). According to Oxford Human Rights Hub (2015), in 2014, women accounted for 38% of Rwanda's Senators, 64% of the members of Parliament, 40% of Ministers, and 41% of the Supreme Court Justices in Rwanda. This success can be explained by the fact that after genocide Rwanda prioritized women by introducing structures and processes designed to advance them all levels of leadership (Wilber, 2011).

Women's Status and Gender Relations

During the last ten years, Rwanda has been among the fastest growing economies in the world. Between 2000 and 2010, in Rwanda, poverty decreased from 59% to 45% (ESTA & RWFO, 2014) although according to UNICEF Rwanda (2017), as of 2015, 39% of the population still live below the poverty line. In the context of employment status, women account for more than half of Rwanda's workers; however, men are more likely to possess wage employment, because most of the women work in unpaid jobs. Men are more likely than women to be employed in the formal sector where earnings are comparatively high. In addition, among the young population, men and women have nearly similar farm wage earnings, but men do better in every other sector. In urban areas of Rwanda, around 25 percent of the women are classified as unemployed, and, as a result, they are financially dependent on their husbands or partners.

Gender is still a key factor shaping access to financial services. Research conducted in Rwanda shows that women are less likely to have an account with a

financial institution compared to men (FAO, 2016). There are many factors that explain gender differences in access to financial resources. In Rwanda, these factors may be specified as women's unequal bargaining power; men's greater control over owning land, houses, and livestock; and men's greater control over household cash. Furthermore, women's low literacy skills are also an important factor that limits women's attempts in seeking loans from formal institutions (FAO, 2016). Also, in Rwanda, until Inheritance Law was enacted in 1998, Rwandan land ownership and inheritance law treated women like minors and a spouse or father could appropriate a woman-owned business (Thomson et al., 2015).

Throughout the last decade, the Government of Rwanda and its partners have made marvelous progress in achieving gender parity in educational attainment and empowering women throughout the country (UNICEF Rwanda, 2017). The country is one of the top-performing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa in education. According to the World Bank (2010), in 2009, Rwanda was among a few developing countries with a hundred percent gender equality in primary and secondary enrollment. Currently, the country has 96.6% net primary school enrollment and the primary school completion rate is 60.4% (UNICEF Rwanda, 2017). The female literacy rate for women age 15-24 is 78%. However, women's attendance at secondary schools is still low (Rurangirwa et al., 2017). The majority of the low-educated and illiterate women live in rural areas of Rwanda. According to United Nations (2017), secondary education enrollment was 16% among girls in rural areas. Overall, Rwanda has made tremendous steps in reducing the percent of uneducated women, particularly among young girls. However, these changes are new, and there is a persistent need to fund education because of the link between

higher education level and better job opportunities (African Development Bank, 2014). Women need to receive higher education to obtain high-paying nonfarm salary employment. Moreover, they need to develop their skills to compete in the labor market and to decrease the gender salary gap (African Development Bank, 2014).

Despite the progress in women's education, Rwandan culture includes oppressive and patriarchal gender relations. In Rwanda, systematic gender inequality is frequently strengthened by cultural traditions that recognize men as the head of the household (Thomson et al., 2015). Patrilineal inheritance is still a norm in Rwanda. When a man dies, his sons share his land and his property, and the oldest son is required to care for his mother and his unmarried sisters (Oppong, 2008). In traditional Rwandan society, women are treated and considered as dependent upon their male relatives. Their husbands, fathers, and brothers have responsibilities and are expected to manage and protect them (Oppong, 2008). Therefore, Rwandan women's lives are centered on their positions as wives and mothers.

In Rwanda, cultural understandings of gender parity have historically centered on the division of labor. Rwandan men and women are responsible for fulfilling their gendered roles and obligations in the family and the society (Uwineza & Pearson, 2009). Men clear the land, but women do the day-to-day farm work such as planting, weeding, and harvesting (Oppong, 2008). Men take care of livestock and do heavy jobs around the house including construction whereas women run the household, care for children, and prepare food (Oppong, 2008). Men dominate formal economic activities, while women dominate the informal economic production of the household. In other words, in traditional Rwanda, gender roles are constructed around a household division labor which

allows women considerable freedom in their duties as child bearers, but men retain authority over family matters (Uwineza & Pearson, 2009).

In Rwandan culture, marriage has been seen as an important institution, and married men and women are given special respect and recognition in society. For women, marriage has described and respected women's right to autonomy and supported women in a patriarchal system of authority (Uwineza & Pearson, 2009). In Rwandan culture, in the beginning of marriage, women are advised by older women about the duties of marriage; this advice mostly focuses on the woman's responsibilities to respect her husband and her husband's family and stresses her duty to be obedient to her husband. The husband provides livestock and money to the wives' family to legalize his marriage, a practice referred to as *bride price*. By getting married, a wife contractually belongs not only to her husband, but also to his extended family. Therefore, patriarchal practices determine the new wife's subordinate status. In addition, whereas present Rwandan law does not allow polygamy, it is still tolerated in some regions of Rwanda and is still common (Uwineza & Pearson, 2009). In traditional Rwandan culture, only relatively rich men can marry a second wife, but it is not easy to provide for both wives to stay in the same household (Tuyishime, 2015). However, women can sometimes benefit from polygamous marriages depending on whether resources are limited or unequally shared between co-wives, whether they have restricted access to alternative sources of subsistence, or limited opportunities for co-wife cooperation (Blanc & Gage, 2000). In other words, women, particularly older and first wife, can get benefit from co-operation with their co-wives and from sharing domestic duties, agricultural work, and the care of children. Moreover, the second marriage may be supported by the first wife because it

may relieve her from some of the work of caring for her children and maintaining the farm (Blanc & Gage, 2000). Polygamy may provide more economic power for first women who do not stay with their husband, because the head of household is a woman who may have more freedom in economic and decision-making power. In addition, due to having sons, women were given a higher level of respect in the family.

Overall, while things changed dramatically in the last decade, Rwandan society is still characterized by a patriarchal social structure that underlies the unequal power relations between men and women in a patriarchal society (Izabiliza, 2003). These unequal power relations are translated in to dominance of men and subordination of women. Men still dominate both formal and informal institutions, particularly work; for instance, according to a Rwandan law, a woman cannot be involved in commercial activity or employment without the permission of her husband (Oppong, 2008). Women are also frequently required to gain their husband's authorization to qualify for credit. Furthermore, the law prohibits employing women in any work that requires them to work at night (Oppong, 2008). Overall, in Rwandan culture, due to historical features of unequal social power relations between men and women, boys and girls still learn and accept men's authority and women's obedience in the family (Tuyishime, 2015).

Intimate Partner Violence in Rwanda

Although two-thirds of the Parliament is comprised of women, and gender-based violence is a punishable offense in the Rwandan penal code, intimate partner violence against women remains widespread (GMO, 2013). As stated above, Rwanda is a patriarchal society, where intimate partner violence may be thought of as an intimate family issue, and it is tolerated in order to keep the family together (Rurangirwa et al.,

2017). Like other Sub-Saharan countries, Rwanda has some of the highest levels of IPV worldwide. The rate of women experiencing IPV is very high: around 56 percent of the women have reported physical violence, and approximately 18 percent of the women have reported sexual violence within the past 12 months from their husbands (Mannell & Jackson, 2014; Tuyishime, 2015). In addition, according to a study, the rate of emotional violence among pregnant women was 17 percent in Rwanda (Rurangriwa et al., 2017). Almost all cases of gender-based violence and injustice are reported by women (GMO, 2013). Additionally, the cases of IPV against women is higher than other forms of gender-based violence in Rwanda (Tuyishime, 2015).

IPV Policies

In 2008, the Law on Prevention and Punishment of Gender-Based Violence was enacted in Rwanda. The law deals with domestic violence, marital rape, sexual harassment, sexual abuse, and trafficking. The law criminalizes marital rape, stating that "it is forbidden to have sex with one's spouse without their consent" (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, n.d.) The law proposes a punishment of ten years to life in prison for rape, and six months to two years for spousal rape (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2013). Rwanda possesses many government departments which play important roles in the fight against intimate partner violence. For example, Rwanda's Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion controls, applies, monitors, and assesses the National Policy Against Gender-Based Violence. The Ministry has a national strategic plan to end gender-based violence with cooperation from the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, local governments, Rwanda National Police, and some other departments and nongovernmental organizations (IRB, 2013).

Additionally, the Gender Monitoring Office (GMO, 2017) has a mission for monitoring gender mainstreaming and the struggle against gender-based violence in public, private, non-governmental, and religious institutions to attain gender parity in Rwanda. GMO also provides legal and psychosocial support to victims of intimate partner violence. According to the GMO Annual Report, which provides monitoring information on districts of Rwanda, the Office received 99 cases from women in 2011-12, 86 cases from women in 2012-2013, and 20 cases from women in 2013-14 (GMO, 2012, 2013, and 2014).

In Rwanda, authorities have officially created "One-Stop Centres," which supply integrated services to victims of intimate partner violence such as medical care, psycho-social support, legal support, access to legal aid, emergency accommodation, and support for reporting incidents to police (IRB, 2013). These centers also provide reintegration support to women who have experienced violence when they returned to their communities (UNICEF, 2010).

According to the United Nations (2007), there are "Gender Desks" in the Rwanda National Police and that there is a Gender Desk in the Rwanda Defense Force/Military of Defense. These offices were established to coordinate responses to the problems of IPV. In many cases, the gender desks are the first point of contact at police stations that supply quick and victim-oriented services to respond to violence, promoting understanding of laws, and maintaining statistics on reported cases (IRB, 2013). The offices at the desks have obtained special training on intimate partner violence and run public support programs. Also, most of the police officers at the desks are trained women officers who help women who have experienced sexual or other forms of violence, and those officers

are available at each of police stations nationwide (Kimani, 2012). These agents explore cases and confirm that evidence is available for the court process. The gender desks also facilitate work to design programs and collect information related to violence against women. According to information from gender desks, between 2007 and 2009, 259 women were killed by their husbands, and over 2,000 cases of rape were reported to the police (AllAfrica, 2009). Also, in that period, approximately 600 cases of women seeking divorce indicated that the main reason for divorce-seeking was related to violence against them.

Overall, Rwanda is one of the Sub-Saharan countries that has enacted gender-based violence laws and policies. Under law, the role of police in incidents of intimate partner violence is, first, to receive training about gender violence. Second, to investigate the cases and collect statistics about gender-based violence, and finally, to make these cases acceptable to courts of law. However, many victims of intimate partner violence are not fully aware of the services of One-Stop Centres. While services to prevent and respond to intimate partner violence increasingly are becoming available throughout Rwanda they are not well coordinated and infrequently provide extensive high-quality care (IRB, 2013). Many women victims of intimate partner violence may not report their cases due to a lack of resources and facilities.

Tanzania

Tanzanian society is marked by gender disparities in productive resources, income generating, employment opportunities, and educational possibilities (FAO, 2014).

The current population of Tanzania is 56.9 million (Countrymeters, 2017). Tanzania is a mainly rural country with an agriculture-based economy and important rural-urban and regional socio-economic inequalities. Approximately 60 percent of women live in poverty in Tanzania (MoHCDGEC, 2017). Around 43 percent of the rural population and 19 percent of the urban population live below the poverty line in Tanzania (Evans, 2002). This is an outcome of the rising level of poverty among both the rural and urban, the increasing gap between the rich and poor, and inequality between men and women in this country. In Tanzania, richer households tend to engage in non-agriculture activities.

Women's Status and Gender Relations

Despite changes in the economic structure over the last decades, agriculture continues to be the primary sector of employment in Tanzania and the clear majority of women work in agriculture mainly as self-employed on their families' farms and lands (MAFC, 2008). Tanzanian women play an important role in farming but face many limitations in regard to access to productive resources (Osorio, Percic, & Di Battista, 2014). In other words, in spite of the important role women play in agriculture, their access to productive sources is more limited than that of their male correspondents. Access to land and productive resources is crucial to unlocking the economic growth potential of women, but land tenure in Tanzania continues to discriminate against women due to traditional practices and customary laws (Ellis et al., 2007). Around 75 percent of owners of the lands are men and women may possess only small plots (Osorio, Percic, & Di Battista, 2014). At present in Tanzania, women own fewer domestic animals than men and possess more limited access to new technologies, extension advice, education, training, and credit as financial resources. Moreover, even though there are significant

regional variations, self-employed women on farms earn less than men. Furthermore, whereas more women than men are working as casual laborers, the average wage for women is around three times less than those paid to men and most of the women in Tanzania are employed in low paid jobs. Overall, in the rural sector and the poor urban suburbs, women have heavy responsibilities because of tradition. They also have lack property rights and they lack adequate knowledge on available credit opportunities (MoHCDGEC, 2017).

Due to socialist policies, a higher proportion of women obtains some education in Tanzania than in many other countries of Sub-Saharan Africa (McCloskey, Williams, & Larsen, 2005). However, educational achievement is still low, and few women receive secondary education. Education is an important key component and plays an essential role in establishing a family's capability to access better labor opportunities and end poverty. Educated women may possess more occupational alternatives other than being homemakers, and they have more choice in their partner or whether to stay with him (McCloskey, Williams, & Larsen, 2005). Moreover, when women have higher education level, they also expect to be treated more equally in Tanzania. Overall, Tanzania has successfully increased primary school attainment of girls, and it is close to attaining full gender equality in primary education. Yet, the rates of women who have obtained secondary diplomas are still very low. For women in Tanzania equal enrollment in secondary education can act as a powerful equalizer ensuring that all girls and boys have access to the same activities, subjects, and career choices as men (Human Rights Watch, 2017). Additionally, completing secondary education has been shown to strongly benefit people's health, employment, and earnings throughout their lives in Tanzania. However,

millions of Tanzanian adolescents, particularly girls, do not obtain a secondary education (Human Rights Watch, 2017). For many children, education ends after primary school: only three-fifths of Tanzanian young are enrolled in lower-secondary education and even fewer complete secondary education (Human Rights Watch, 2017).

Rather than enrolling in school, numerous Tanzanian children go to work, frequently in exploitative, violent, or risky circumstances, to provide income for their families. Girls also experience challenges because of their gender (Human Rights Watch, 2017). Around two-fifths of Tanzanian girls marry before age 18; as a result, those girls are often forced to drop out of school because of pregnancy. Additionally, many families do not enroll their children in secondary school because they cannot afford school fees and related expenses. Thus, for Tanzanian girls, gaining secondary education is very important but many barriers exist that makes this difficult to achieve.

Historically, Tanzanian society has been a patriarchal society (Keller & Kitunga, 1999). The patriarchal structure has been a main characteristic of the traditional society. This structure creates a set of social relations that allow men to dominate women in this society (Keller & Kitunga, 1999). In Tanzania, men have power, ownership, and control over resources such as land, and women have few ownership rights. Patriarchal relations between men and women are clarified and justified through an ideology that supports men's dominance and women's subordination. In Tanzania, marriage and sexual unions have long been managed through powerful patriarchal traditions and institutions. The society has practices of bride-price, polygamy, fatherly control of the choice of marital partners, a strong marriage mandate for women, and emphasis on women's role in fertility (McCloskey, Williams, & Larsen, 2005). However, recently, polygamy is

decreasing and women have become more free to choose their husband. Even though they are still expected to marry and have children, women have more rights over birth control options than their ancestors did.

Intimate Partner Violence in Tanzania

In Tanzania, patriarchal institutions and gender inequalities determine the dimension of men's use violence against women. Although there are some challenges to patriarchal ideology and efforts to transform gender relations (Keller & Kitunga, 1999), patriarchy still restricts women's ability to leave a violent husband or partner in Tanzania (McCloskey, Williams, & Larsen, 2005). The prevalence of intimate partner violence against women remains high in Tanzania. A study conducted by the World Health Organization (WHO; 2005), in two districts of Tanzania, namely Dar es Salaam and Mbeya, revealed that 41% of ever-partnered women in Dar es Salaam and 56% of women in Mbeya had ever experienced physical or sexual violence from their partners. According to the study, in Dar es Salaam, 33% of women have reported experiencing physical violence and 23% sexual violence, compared to 47% physical violence and 31% sexual violence in Mbeya. In another study, Kapiga and colleagues (2017), in northwestern Tanzania, found that approximately 61% of women ever-experienced physical and sexual violence while 39% of the women have reported psychological or emotional violence. Women's economic dependence on men may be a factor in women's susceptibility to intimate partner violence as they may not have the financial resources to break up a violent relationship and still provide for their families. In most cases women are ashamed and do not report the violence (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, n.d.)

Women's help-seeking for violence is low in Tanzania. According to a WHO (2005) study 29% of women who had experienced physical violence in Dar es Salaam and 30% in Mbeya, had not reported their violent experiences before the study interview. In both districts, around 60% of all women who experienced physical violence have never sought help from any formal service or person in a position of authority. Of those who did not seek help, 56% in Dar es Salaam and 48% in Mbeya did not seek help from anyone because they thought the violence was normal or not a serious enough issue to seek help. In both districts, the most widespread reasons for seeking help was not being able to endure more violence and being badly injured. Therefore, it may be expected that Tanzanian women are less likely to seek help until violence becomes severe and can no longer be endured.

IPV Policies

Although the constitution of Tanzania prohibits discrimination based on nationality, tribe, origin, political affiliation, color, and religion, the country does not have any domestic violence act yet (The Citizen, 2013). Discrimination based on sex, age, and disability is not forbidden in the Tanzanian constitution. There is a section on the Law of Marriage of 1971 which prohibits a spouse from using corporal punishment on his/her spouse. However, this law has little impact, as it does not protect unmarried partners from violence, and it does not define corporal punishment (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2010). Thus, many forms of domestic violence are excluded. The Sexual Offense Act of 1998 criminalizes various forms of gender-based violence such as rape, sexual abuse and harassment, and sex trafficking (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2010). However, this Act has many weaknesses

including the exclusion of marital rape, the failure to describe other forms of sexual harassment, and the lack of resources to verify the requirement of penetration. Even though the penal codes provide for laws against violence and sexual abuse of women, there is no law against domestic violence specifically.

In Tanzanian society, many forms of domestic violence are seen as normal. In society, it is acceptable for a husband to treat his wife as he wishes, and physical abuse against women happens at all level of society. The rate of physical violence in this society is very high, and many women have been killed by their husbands or commit suicide because of violence (Maoulidi, 2009). In many cases, rape of women by their husbands has been tolerated, and around 15 percent of women have reported that their first sexual experiences were unwanted (USAID, 2008).

Despite this tolerance, the Tanzanian police force has carried out reforms to make the police officers more accessible to victims of IPV; for example, the Tanzania Police Female Network was established, and gender desks were created to respond to gender-based violence cases (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2010). However, in many domestic violence cases, the police have not been helpful. Many women who suffered physical and sexual abuse by husbands reported incidents to police, but no men were arrested (Human Rights Watch, 2000). Therefore, some women have not rereported incidents because of failure of the police to intervene. Moreover, in some cases, despite some incidents, hospitalized victims of gender-based violence are threatened by their husbands to not report the incident to the police (Human Rights Watch, 2000). Therefore, because of this fear of retaliation on the part of husbands, many cases have not been reported to the police in Tanzania.

Overall, in Tanzania, police receive only general training for dealing with victims of violence, not training related specifically to intimate partner violence (USAID, 2008). Therefore, women's experiences in help-seeking from police may differ. In police stations, there are safe rooms that can be used for women who have suffered violence, but there is no protocol to guarantee that women have access to these places (USAID, 2008). As a result, the police have not been very helpful for victims of intimate partner violence in Tanzania.

Uganda

Uganda is a landlocked country located in the interior of East Africa. After independence, from 1962 to 1970, Uganda experienced significant economic growth (Ogland, 2011). During those eight years' term, the GDP of Uganda increased five percent per annum. The current population of Uganda is 41.6 million (Countrymeters, 2017). Yet, in the next twenty years, the country experienced civil and military chaos that lasted almost two decades (Fentiman & Warrington, 2011). Because of this turmoil, the quality of basic social services, including education and health care dramatically declined. After political imbalance and economic recession, the country began a process of recovery and improvement in social services. Uganda's poverty rate has decreased significantly in the last twenty years. According to IHS (1992/93) and UNHS (2009/10), the poverty rate declined from 56.4 percent in 1992 to 24.5 percent in 2009. The household poverty rate has reduced in both rural and urban areas: poverty decreased from 60.2 percent to 29.1 percent in rural areas and from 28.8 percent to 9.1 percent in urban

areas in the same time period. In 2015, Uganda has met the target of the first the Millennium Development Goals (MGDs). According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2014), Uganda's annual economic growth was 4.5 percent in 2013. Overall, however, although there have been some positive improvements in the economy, Uganda remains among the poorest countries worldwide, and 85% of Ugandan people have incomes of lower than US$ 1 a day (Jonikaite, 2006).

Women's Status and Gender Relations

Traditionally in Uganda, although women had substantial economic responsibilities, their role were subordinate to their husband's or father's. In modern Uganda, despite the economic growth in the last two decades, agriculture is still one of the primary sectors of employment. More than 80 percent of people in Uganda live in rural areas, and most of the rural population work in the agriculture sector (UBOS, 2014). According to the Uganda National Household Survey (2013), the employment rate was 52.4 percent for women and 47.8 percent for men. Although the employment rate of women is higher than men, most women work in the agriculture sector. In Uganda, 76 percent of women work in agriculture labor compared to 65 percent of men (OECD, 2015), and subsistence farming is the primary source of employment (UNHS, 2013). Agriculture employment is a labor of low skilled work, with low wages (or no pay at all); for example, in Uganda, 35 percent of people who work in agriculture are unpaid family workers (UNHS, 2013). According to UBOS (2006), 4.8 percent of men work in professional, technical, or managerial positions whereas only 3.3 percent of women work in these sectors. Overall, women are often working on the family property, as a result, they are expected to work, but there is no financial payment for their labor (Ogland,

2011). In addition, the husband as head of household takes control over the finances when women earn some form of monetary payment for their work. Women also possess limited access to land, and only one of third of owners of land are women in Uganda (OECD, 2015). Men have better-paying jobs, and they have incomes that are twice that of self-employed women (Wyrod, 2008). Overall, the gender gap between men and women in employment continues to make women financially dependent upon men in Uganda.

The number of girls enrolling in school has increased in Uganda over the past two decades. Enrollment of women at primary education has approximately reached 50 percent in this country (Ahikire & Madanda, 2011). However, literacy rates among women (49%) is lower than men (69%) (OECD, 2015). Among youth also there is a gender gap in literacy; the literacy rates for young men is 89.6 percent whereas it is 85.5 percent for young women (UNICEF, 2013). The rates girls enrolled in secondary schools has also increased in Uganda. At this level of school, according to UNICEF (2013) in 2012, the rate of secondary school participation among girls was 18.7 percent. Even though these important accomplishments have been made, girl's education in Uganda continues to face obstacles which cause girls to drop out of school (Hunt, 2008; UNDP, 2016). According to a survey, adolescent pregnancy (34%), poverty (28%), and early marriage (11%) are three primary reasons that girls drop out of school in Uganda (Ahikire & Madanda, 2011). According to UNICEF (2015), the reasons for dropping out of school among girls are early marriage (35%) and early pregnancy (23%). In Uganda, 34 percent of girls experience early pregnancy in the poorest households, 24 percent of girls experience early pregnancy in rural areas, while these rates are 16 percent in richer households, and 21 percent in urban areas (UNICEF, 2015). Overall, the early marriage

of girls remains common in Uganda, and it is linked to women's lower access to secondary education (OECD, 2015). In the places where girls experience early marriage, women's secondary educational attainment is lower.

Cross-generational sexual relationships in Uganda may be similar to sugar daddy phenomenon found in Western countries. A sugar daddy is the name given to older men having sexual relationships with girls in exchange for money or material goods and favorable treatment including favors in many aspects of life such as education, payment of tuition fees, and financial support (Kuate-Defo, 2004). In Uganda, incidents of cross-generational sex, particularly for transactional aims, is prevalent, because girls are forced into these relationships by older men with expectances of economic support of them or their families (Bantebya et al., 2014). Also, girls accept cross-generational sexual relationships because they see these relationship as the only way out or even because of family pressure (UYDEL, 2011). In other words, poverty, and economic dependence forces girls in Uganda into high risk behaviors, including cross-generational sex and transactional sex in exchange for money or other resources (Bantebya et al., 2014). Overall, Ugandan young girls have sexual relationships with older men as a survival tactic; for example, in order to finance their schooling, Ugandan girls and young women engage in sexual relationships with older men. However, those relationships may be harmful for young girls; for instance, young girls may get pregnant because of cross-generational relationships, and, therefore, they must drop out of school. Additionally, such relationships put young girls at significant risk of HIV/AIDS and other STDs (Bantebya et al, 2014; Kuate-Defo, 2004). Large age differences between girls and older partners mean that girls possess less power to negotiate sexual activity and condom use

with older men. Also, this kind of relationship may lead to rape or to physical violence by older partners if girls are seen as not keeping their side of the bargain (Luke & Kurz, 2002).

Despite the fact that the status of women has improved, most part of Uganda remain a patriarchal society where women are subordinate to men (Ogland, 2011). For example, patriarchal beliefs are prevalent, and women are subject to their fathers when young and to their husbands after the marriage (Mirembe & Davies, 2001). Moreover, women's obedience is accepted and justified by most men and women (Obbo, 1995). For instance, although men and women are free to choose their own partners, marriage must be negotiated with a woman's family, particularly her father (Perlman, 1966; Landy, 2016). By paying a bride price indicative of women as the property of men, men gain more control over women and children within the family (Perlman, 1966; Mirembe &Davis, 2001). Patriarchal gender ideologies also support polygamy's deep roots as a cultural practice, which is particularly widespread among Ugandan Muslims (Landy, 2016).

Another example of the gender power imbalance in Uganda is in the area of land ownership. In this regard, women are owners of only five percent of the land while men keep most of it (UNDP, 2016). There are several socio-cultural practices that prevent and discourage women from owning their own land (Asiimwe, 2014). According to Ugandan men, having their own land may give women power and, therefore, they must not be allowed to obtain land (Asiimwe, 2014). In Uganda, traditionally, the land is usually transmitted from father to son; hence, it is difficult for women to gain land. All these

characteristics enhance the power inequality between men and women, as a result, reduce social status of women in Uganda.

Intimate Partner Violence against Women in Uganda

Although the Domestic Violence Act was passed in 2010 (UN Women, 2017), intimate partner violence against women is still prevalent in Uganda (Karamagi, Tumwine, Tylleskar, & Haggenhougen, 2006). Women in a variety of conditions experience different types of intimate partner violence, but most widespread kinds of violence are physical, emotional/psychological, and sexual violence in this country (Tumwesigye, 2009). In Uganda, 47 percent of married women experienced physical violence, 46 percent experienced psychological violence, 29 percent of women experienced sexual violence while 65 percent of all women experienced at least one of these types of violence in their lifetime (Ogland, Xu, Batkowski, & Ogland, 2014). There are several outcomes of IPV on women including physical injuries, transmission of HIV/AIDS, reproductive complications, psychological trauma, still births, low birth weight, and, death (Tumwesigye, 2009). According to some studies, the main reasons for men's use of violence against women in Uganda are men and women's patriarchal beliefs, women's justification of violence, and poverty (Karamagi, Tumwine, Tylleskar, & Haggenhougen, 2006; Ogland, Xu, Batkowski, & Ogland, 2014). Many women are silent about violence in this country, and public attention emerges only when women demand to end their relationship when violence become most severe or death occurs.

IPV Policies

Uganda enacted a Domestic Violence Law in 2010. The main aims of this law are as follows: (1) to provide for the protection and relief of victims of domestic violence;

(2) to provide for punishment of perpetrators of domestic violence; (3) to develop procedure and guidelines to be followed by the court in relation to the protection and compensation of victims of domestic violence; (4) to prepare the jurisdiction of court; (5) to provide for the enforcement of orders made by the court; and (6) to empower the family and children court to handle cases of domestic violence and linked matters (The Domestic Violence Act, 2010). After the Domestic Violence Act passed in 2010, there has been a consistent increase in the number of reported cases of domestic violence in official statistics of Uganda (CEDOVIP, 2017). For example, the Uganda Police Force (2014) has indicated that reported sex-related crime cases increased from 8,076 in 2012 to 9,589 in 2013. In this period, domestic violence cases rose from 2,793 in 2012 to 3,426 in 2013. Although this increased reporting may be the result of greater willingness to report violence as the result of official policies, it's worth nothing that CEDOVIP (2017) reports that deaths due to domestic violence increased from 137 in 2008 to 315 in 2013, and that was the highest increase in Uganda.

The Ugandan government acknowledges intimate partner violence at the national, community, and household levels as a social, economic, and public health issue and makes efforts to stop it (CEDOVIP, 2017). Moreover, there are many national human rights tools that supply legal remedies for survivors of all forms of violence against women such as intimate partner violence in this country. The Uganda Police Force, as a component of the government, has responsibilities to fulfill the government's commitments in the country. The Uganda Police Force cooperates with the Center for Domestic Violence Prevention (CEDOVIP) to prevent crimes, particularly intimate partner violence (CEDOVIP and UPF, 2007). The Uganda Police Force has made efforts

to bridge the knowledge gap among police officers on issues of intimate partner violence and improve their abilities to respond to violence cases efficiently at the police stations.

Overall, in Uganda, the primary agency responsible for preventing intimate partner violence against women is the Uganda Police Force. The police officers effectively respond to incidents because they have substantial power to prevent and control socially unapproved acts, and they possess the authority to respond rapidly to abusive incidents. Although the Uganda Domestic Violence Act passed in 2010, the Uganda Police Force created a gender desk in 1986 (CEDOVIP and UPF, 2007). The police officers assume many responsibilities in dealing with intimate partner violence cases including talking to the suspect and the victim separately, providing safety for the victim, informing the victim about privacy and disclosure, assisting the victim to think through and consider the options for security for herself and her children, helping the victim is she is still under the risk of violence, giving the victim information about existing resources, and referring the victim for further support (CEDOVIP, 2017; CEDOVIP and UPF, 2007). Also, Ugandan police officers have responsibilities to work with children who are the witnesses of intimate partner violence.

However, some women in Uganda are afraid to report intimate partner violence, not only because of threat from their husbands or hostility from the community but also because they fear they will be treated disdainfully by the police officers, and that no steps will be taken to help them (Amnesty International, 2010). In other words, attitudes of police officers towards women who are victims of violence remain a challenge in Uganda.

Zambia

Zambia is a landlocked country in Southern Africa whose economy is primarily based on mining, agriculture, construction, transport, and communication (Central Statistical Office, 2014). The current population of Zambia is 17.2 million (Countrymeters, 2017). Zambia experienced its worst economic depression over the last decade because of falling copper prices, limits on the government's budget, and shortages of electrical power influencing the real economy (African Development Bank, 2017). According to the African Development Bank Group (2017), because of lack of jobs, 42 percent of the people in 2015 moved from rural areas to towns to look for jobs and opportunities. Before 2015, Zambia had one of the fastest growing economies over the past ten years, with real GDP growth around 6.7% per annum, then growth declined to just over 3% in 2015 (The World Factbook, 2017). This decline in productive output in Zambia was aggravated by low agriculture production and a growing shortage of electrical power.

There is a visible poverty problem in the country, and many programs have been created to reduce the level of poverty among the poor people in society (Kapungwe, 2004). For example, Agriculture Support Programme (ASP) was implemented between 2003-2008, and this program aimed to reduce poverty by improving the livelihoods of small farmers (Farnworth & Munachonga, 2010). Even though the country had strong economic growth through 2015, and it is still considered to be a lower-middle-income country, high rural poverty and high unemployment are still important problems (The World Factbook, 2017).

Women's Status and Gender Relations

In Zambia, the distribution of poverty is gendered but not as sharply as in other Sub-Saharan countries. Compared to other Sub-Saharan countries, Zambia has a high number of female-headed households who experience constraints as producers and mostly are poor small farmers (Fontana, 2004). Zambian poverty levels for female-headed families are higher than households where men are heads, and around 70 percent of the female-headed households live below the national poverty line (Van Klaveran et al., 2009). The employment of women is an important factor in the economic growth of Zambia. The rate of women employment in Zambia is 51.5 percent while more than half of those work in agriculture and most of them are active in subsistence farming (Central Statistical office, 2014). Apart from agriculture, women work in low skilled jobs in the least labor-intensive sectors in the economy of Zambia. In urban Zambia, women participate in large number in informal sector activities (Fontana, 2004). According to Van Klaveran and colleagues (2009), there is a "fall-back scenario," means that urban women reasonably can go back to their families. Who live by agriculture, for young women in urban areas of Zambia; as a result, women face many barriers in urban occupations and, therefore, when they fail in to find jobs they go back to their families and work again in agriculture. As a result, many women in Zambia work in subsistence farming which is informal agriculture, and many of them are unpaid family workers and their activities are not sufficiently productive. Many constraints limit women's economic opportunities including a lack of access to quality inputs, markets, and credit (The World Bank, 2015). Thus, all these constraints make women more likely to be dependent on men in Zambia.

Education is a strong instrument for women's economic independence as well as the nation's economic development in Zambia. However, educational attainment among women is very low. Zambia possesses a three-tier education system that consists of seven-year primary school, followed by a five-year secondary school, and post-secondary school (Central Statistical Office, 2014). Whereas participation and gender equality have increased at the primary education level, keeping girls in school at higher levels is still a challenge in Zambia (The World Bank, 2015). Despite the fact that disparities between men and women has significantly improved in the primary and junior secondary school, the number and percentage of boys are higher than girls at the secondary and post-secondary levels in this country. The dropping out of school among girls is significantly higher than boys; for example, between 2009 and 2012, there were more girls leaving school than boys, and in 2009, 2.7 percent of girls dropped out of school while boys' dropout rate was 1.7 percent (The World Bank, 2015).

Some of the important factors that cause women to drop out of school include limited access to economic opportunities, early marriage, and early pregnancy in Zambia. The rate of child marriage is around 42 percent in Zambia, and the county is among the 20 countries with the highest occurrence of early pregnancy worldwide (UNDP, 2016; UNICEF, 2012). In addition, for girls, limited economic opportunities are one of the primary reasons for dropping out of school in this country. Between the period of 2002 and 2010, many girls who dropped out of school revealed that it was because of a lack of financial support (The World Bank, 2015). Households in Zambia are already struggling with poverty, and therefore, it is difficult for them to afford the high cost of secondary schooling, especially for girls who are not seen as the same type of investment as boys.

Despite the fact women are in the majority, the country is still a male-dominated society (Longwe, 1985). Before its independence, Zambia was a colony of Great Britain. Disparities between men and women in Zambia are rooted mostly in colonial social relations and independence (Rakodi, 2005). Colonialism caused an extreme deterioration in women's economic freedom and political status in the society (Rakodi, 2005). The British colonials demanded women to be housewives who were dependent on their husbands. In the context of economic independence, women lost complete access and authority over land, which made women economically dependent on men (Evans, 2015). Colonialism brought with it the concept of private ownership of land, but women were wholly excluded from this idea. There is no doubt, in Zambia, Britain colonialism had destructive economic influences on Zambian women. In this case, women's labor was exploited, their autonomy declined, and their levels of dependence on men increased.

After its independence from British colonialism, Zambian women still suffer economic dependence on men. Patriarchal ideologies remain prevalent in the country; for example, men still pay a *bride price* to the bride's family for marriage (Mbewe, 2013). Moreover, in Zambia, men and women still hold traditional beliefs; for example, Zambian women still believe that the wife beating under some conditions is tolerable (Klomegah, 2008). In this society, children grow up with these traditions, and they are socialized to accept these beliefs. Moreover, and interestingly, in Zambia, women support wife beating more than men, although they are victims of violence (Klomegah, 2008). The traditional ideologies and perceptions have supported men as superior in the male-dominated society, while women have been subordinated. Accepting violence allows men to have power over women and reflects the lack of progress in the fight against gender

disparities in society (Simona, Muchindu, & Ntalasha, 2015). Thus, these patriarchal ideologies and practices in Zambia have made women weak in society, and, therefore, they have become more likely to experience intimate partner violence.

Prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence in Zambia

Intimate partner violence in Zambia has been strengthened by traditional gender ideologies and values which put women in inferior positions relative to men. In other words, violence against women is a critical problem in Zambia and, most of the incidences happen in the domestic sphere (Bourke-Martignoni, 2002). In Zambia currently, 40.3 percent of women have experienced physical violence and 17.3 percent experienced sexual violence, and 43.2 of those experienced both physical and sexual violence (Simona, Muchindu, & Ntalasha, 2015). Although the Anti-Gender-Based Violence Act was enacted in 2011 (The Anti-Gender-Based Violence Act, 2011) the continuity of traditional gender ideologies and practices that privilege men as the superior authority in the households and society contribute to the high rate of IPV against women in Zambia (Bourke-Martignoni, 2002). Overall, many Zambian women are exposed to violence by their husbands. Many factors that contribute to this are bride price, women's justification of violence, and traditional gender ideologies.

IPV Policies

After over a decade of advocacy for an extensive and efficient piece of legislation by women's organizations, the Anti-Gender Based Violence Act was passed by the Zambian legislature in 2011 (Mwewa & Ngulube, 2013). It is an Act to provide for the protection of victims of gender-based and intimate partner violence. It creates the Anti-Gender-Based Violence Committee; establishes the Anti-Gender-Based Violence Fund;

and provides for matters linked to the preceding (UN Women, 2011; Zambia Anti-Gender-Based Violence Act, 2011). Moreover, the Act provides for the issuance of protection orders and the creation of shelters for adult and child victims of violence. This act is one of the most important steps in the fight against gender-based violence in Zambia.

The Zambian Anti-Gender-Based Violence Law is more far-reaching and extensive than similar laws in other Sub-Saharan countries that have domestic violence acts (GenderLinks, 2011). The Act receives its stimulus from the gender-based violence provisions of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) that calls on state governments to enact and support prohibiting all types of gender-based violence (Gender Links, 2011). Also, SADC calls upon states to discourage patriarchal norms including social, cultural, political, and economic practices, which are patriarchal in nature. SADC encourages public awareness programs, approves integrated approaches, and providespecialized facilities for victims of gender-based violence (SADC, 2017).

Intimate partner violence including sexual abuse crime in Zambia is supported by cultural gender norms, which do not define intimate partner violence against women as a violation of human rights (Mwewa & Ngulube, 2013). For example, wife beating is seen as a measure of discipline of women in the society. Women have demonstrated a high level of justification of such violence in Zambia. This may be explained by the widespread cultural believe that women are subordinate to men, and, thus, traditional gender norms teach women to approve and justify wife beating (Mwewa & Ngulube, 2013). Therefore, intimate partner violence against women continues to be a significant problem in Zambia with reported cases on the increase. For instance, twenty percent of

the women in Zambia have experienced sexual abuse at some point in their lifetime. Also, all forms of intimate partner violence have been reported as high in Zambia. Overall, the Zambian government has responsibilities to fight intimate partner violence and improve the rights of women through the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Justice, and the Zambian Police Department.

The Zambian police have received much criticism from the public for not responding to complaints from people in society. Primarily, when survivors of intimate partner violence report incidents to the police, the police categorize many cases as a family issue and therefore not criminal in nature (Mwewa & Ngulube, 2013). By law, there are many ways that the Zambian police should respond in cases of intimate partner violence; first, the police officers should provide intake to victims at the police station and provide immediate counseling (Mwewa & Ngulube, 2013). Second, they should carry out an initial interview and assess the situation. Third, they should escort the victim to the hospital and ensure that the victim receives immediate medical services. Finally, they should gather evidence from the crime scene and engage in other pre-trial preparations for court proceedings (Mwewa & Ngulube, 2013). To carry out these responsibilities, police officers receive training in how to handle gender-based violence incidents in Zambia. In sum, the police are trained in handling IPV cases, but at least the perception is that they do not do a good job.

In general, in Zambia, it was anticipated that, after the enactment of gender violence laws, women would get more help and gain easier access to legal, medical, and emotional support in cases involving gender violence. According to the Zambia Police Service, the country has recorded an increase of 7.7 percent in reporting of gender-based

violence incidents in the first three months of 2016 (LusakaTimes, 2016). In other words, a total of 4,998 incidents of gender-based violence were reported nationwide throughout the first quarter of 2016 compared to 4,615 cases reported in the first three months of 2015 (LusakaTimes, 2016). Additionally, in the first nine months of 2016 13,092 cases of gender-based violence were reported countrywide. These high numbers of reported cases may be explained by the fact that efforts from the government and its institutions to make women aware of the law have been somewhat effective, and, therefore, reporting of intimate partner violence to police has increased.

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is constitutionally a republic, landlocked, and one of the poorest countries in the world (The Resource Governance Index, 2013). The current population of Zimbabwe is 16.2 million (Countrymeters, 2017). Zimbabwe's economy is based on two important resources: agriculture (including forestry and fishing) and mining. Zimbabwe's deliverance, since its independence in 1980, from economic decline has wavered and the economy continues to face crucial challenges because of external shocks and poor government policy (The World Bank, 2017). After independence, poverty in Zimbabwe was first reduced but from the beginning of the 1990s increased until the 2000s because of droughts, land-hunger, and the spread of HIV/AIDS (Van Klaveren et al., 2010). Economic growth declined considerably from 2009 to 2012, because of important shifts in trade and a series of droughts. One positive development was the reduction of extreme poverty from 2009 to 2014 in Zimbabwe. However, recently, its

economy has faced serious struggles and economic growth in Zimbabwe declined from 3.8 percent in 2014 to approximately 1.5 in 2015 because of weak domestic demand, high public debt, tight liquidity situations, drought, poor infrastructure, institutional weaknesses, and an overestimated exchange rate with negative inflation in 2016 and 2017 (African Development Bank, 2017).

Based on this (lack of) historical economic progress, poverty among Zimbabwean households is very high. In particular, rural households are vulnerable to extreme poverty (Manjengwa, Feresu, & Chimhowu, 2012). Poverty rates across the rural-urban divide are visible; for example, over 90 percent of all rural households in Zimbabwe are classified as "poor" with approximately 70 percent of those classified as "very poor" (Manjengwa, Feresu, & Chimhowu, 2012). Urban households also face poverty, and over 60 percent of urban households are in poverty. Although urban areas are much better off than rural households, around 10 percent of households are classified as "very poor" and those households are under the food poverty line. Overall, more than 85 percent of total households live below the national poverty line, which means that more than 10 million people in Zimbabwe live in desperate poverty (Van Klaveren et al., 2010). As a result, poverty is a serious problem in Zimbabwe: the primary reason for this is the legacy of colonialism (Manjengwa, Feresu, & Chimhowu, 2012; Munzwa & Wellington, 2010).

Women's Status and Gender Relations

In the 2000s, jobs in the formal sector were scarce, wages were not paid, and the cost of living was going up much faster than wages in Zimbabwe. At that time, formal sector employment in Zimbabwe had dramatically reduced, and employment in public services was also severely cut (Van Klaveren et al., 2010). Even though women's share

of the labor force has increased in the last decade, the gender gap in paid employment remains high, meaning men are still earning more than women in Zimbabwe (ZimStat, 2013). According to the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (2013), in 2012, around 31 percent of men were in paid employment while only 14 percent of women were paid.

During the 1990s and beginning of 2000s, in regard to economic development, agriculture was as the key component of economic growth in the country (Chinyemba, Muchena, & Hakutangwi, 2006). Therefore, agriculture development at all levels has been supported by government from subsistence farmers to small-scale and large-scale commercial farmers (Chinyemba, Muchena, & Hakutangwi, 2006).

Women play significant roles in the agricultural sector in Zimbabwean society, and around 54 percent of women work in this sector (ZimStat, 2016). Despite the important role that women play in agriculture, most of these women do not receive payment for their work. Moreover, even though most of the population working in agriculture are women, access to and ownership of agricultural assets by women are still low (ZimStat, 2013). In other words, although there has been land reform in Zimbabwe, there is still a gender gap, and men usually possess more access to agriculture land than women (ZimStat, 2016). In urban areas, women frequently engage in informal economic activities to supply their households, because they encounter discrimination in wage employment that is generally supported by husbands who fear that women with independent resources of income will become uncontrollable (Fidan & Bui, 2016; Mazur & Mhloyi, 1994). For many women, possessing an independent income may give them the option to use their own earnings to pay school fees, endorse parents, and make purchases without their husbands (Francis-Chizororo et al., 1999). Overall, women

constitute a higher percentage of the unemployed population in Zimbabwe. As a consequence, the majority of women are dependent on their husbands/partners or their families.

Education has been an important human right and a fundamental instrument for accomplishing the nation's development that is highlighted in the Constitution of Zimbabwe (ZimStat, 2016). Education may improve the opportunities of women to provide a better life for themselves and the ability to transfer their advantages to the next generation (UNESCO, 2015). However, women face many challenges in getting an education in Zimbabwe; poverty is the main reason why girls drop out school (UNGEI, 2017). In this society, girls have been considered as an income resource because they can be sold for marriage, so families prefer to send their male children to school. In addition, traditional gender norms within the society force families to keep their daughters confined at home. All of these reasons have caused a gender gap in education in Zimbabwean society. According to ZimStat (2016), women who were 15 years and over were more likely to have no primary education than men. However, women who had access to primary education were more likely to have completed primary education than men More men than women have participated in secondary, upper secondary, and have attended higher education. Enrollment in the beginning of secondary education among men and women was approximately same, but many girls drop out of school before they finish their secondary education (ZimStat, 2016). Higher education or universities is dominated by male students in Zimbabwe. Women's low representation in higher education or universities has limited their ability to get jobs in both the public and private sectosr. Overall, there is a gender imbalance in educational attainment between men and

women, particularly in secondary and tertiary education enrollments in Zimbabwe, and this gap affects women severely in society.

The patriarchal nature of Zimbabwean society has inhibited women's capability to function in male-dominated areas of the economy and the government. Women's roles have been seen as mothers and wives, and they have been encouraged to stay at home and have children instead of participating in the workforce (Parpart, 1995). Since independence, there have been a number of legislative efforts proposed for improving the welfare and status of women in Zimbabwe, but gender-based discrimination against women continues (Fidan & Bui, 2016; Hindin 2002). An important obstacle to gender parity in the country is discrimination originating from the dual law system with customary laws, which perpetuate women's disadvantage by reducing and limiting their access to resources (Thabethe, 2009). Women are also discriminated against in terms of economic empowerment, land ownership, labor force participation, and wage equality (World Economic Forum, 2010).

In spite of women's contributions to the economy and a constitutional right to equal land access, women's access to land in the country is weakened by the discriminatory practices of customary law (Fidan & Bui, 2016). In areas where many of the women live in Zimbabwe, women only have secondary use rights to land through their husbands and the number of women who own land is low.

In addition, the traditional Zimbabwean society privileges old age, marriage, and men. In extended families, women may obtain authority and respect with age because older women can exercise patriarchal powers over younger women (Riphenburg, 1997). Marriage has been considered the primary "career" for women, and society applies

pressure on all women to get married and stay married (Riphenburg, 1997). In Zimbabwe, household headship as the result of the death of the husband is respected in the society, but female headship as the result of divorce is seen as a social failure (Fidan & Bui, 2016).

Polygamy is not allowed under civil law, but it is allowed by the Customary Marriages Act that is a customary law (Thabethe, 2009). The polygamous tradition serves as justification for different expectations about men's and women's sexual behavior (Fidan & Bui, 2016). Women are faced with strict sexual controls while men are permitted considerable independence in and outside of marriage (Njovan & Watts, 1996). As a consequence, sexual loyalty is expected for all women, and social norms call for severe punishment when women are suspected of extramarital sexual affairs.

Moreover, it is acceptable that a man has the right to beat his wife as a correctional measure in the same way that husband can discipline a child (Fidan & Bui, 2016). Women are frequently taught that violence is an unavoidable part of marriage and are encouraged to suffer in silence for the sake of the family or their children (Njovana & Watts, 1996). Overall, a review of the literature suggests that in spite of the structural gender disparity in Zimbabwe, women in this country experience different levels of male domination within both families and society. In conclusion, patriarchal ideology and attitudes have badly influenced women's capability to take advantage of opportunities in the independence and post-independence period of Zimbabwe.

Prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence in Zimbabwe

Even though the Domestic Violence Act was passed in Zimbabwe in 2007 to forbid domestic violence, intimate partner violence against women within families

remains an important issue for women in the society (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2015). The Demographic and Health Survey 2015, published by the Zimbabwe National Statistical Agency (2016), reports that 35 percent of women have experienced physical violence, 14 percent experienced sexual violence, and 32 percent experienced psychological violence in Zimbabwe. According to UN Women (2017), in Zimbabwe, 42 percent of women have experienced lifetime physical and/or sexual violence in Zimbabwe, and 27 percent of those have experienced both types of violence in the past 12 months. Overall, intimate partner violence against women is rooted in historically disparate power relations between men and women which result in discrimination against women by men in Zimbabwe (Mutanda, Rukondo, & Matendera, 2016). In addition, women in Zimbabwe are reluctant to report intimate partner violence because of cultural socialization that leads to comprehending the violence as normal, low economic status of women, and perceiving that police officers treat this kind of crime as a family issue in Zimbabwe (Mukanangana et al., 2014).

IPV Policies

The Domestic Violence Act of Zimbabwe was enacted in 2007. The Act was created in response to an increase in incidents of intimate partner violence in the households (IRB, 2015). The Act addresses various forms of intimate partner violence including physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence (Zimbabwe Domestic Violence Act, 2007). The Act also facilitates the relief of victims of intimate partner violence. Moreover, it proposes to protect women by criminalizing intimate partner violence and such acts as violence derived from any cultural or traditional practices that discriminate against women (UN Women, 2017). These practices include virginity

testing, female genital mutilation, pledging of women and girl for purposes of appeasing spirits, abduction, early marriages, forced marriages and forced wife inheritance (UN Women, 2017). The Act is notable for acknowledging the seriousness of violence against women in Zimbabwe. Before this Act, there were no laws in Zimbabwe that precisely addressed intimate partner violence (Chireshe, 2015).

Radical cultural values and traditional patriarchal practices continue to contribute to incidents of intimate partner violence in Zimbabwe (Chuma & Chazovachii, 2012). Intimate partner violence against women by a husband or partner in families is considered a regular part of gender relations in Zimbabwean society. In this society, many women are silent about violence against them by their husbands or partners because of fear of retaliations (Chuma & Chazovachii, 2012). Therefore, women are unwilling to report forms of violence for fear that reporting the violence may bring them shame and damage their own and their families' dignity. Whereas women may comprehend and feel that violence is painful and wrong, they still may not define it as a crime. Moreover, diverse cultural beliefs and practices reproduce prevalent justification of intimate partner violence as a normal facet of gender relations (Chuma & Chazovachii, 2012). In Zimbabwean society, women's economic dependence on their husbands enhances their defenselessness against violent intimate partner relationships (IRB, 2015). Both cultural beliefs and practices and women's economic dependence on men are significant barriers for women in seeking help for violence, particularly from the police.

Zimbabwean women who are victims of intimate partner violence seeking aid for that violence may report the abuse to the police who may arrest the offender or advise the survivor or her representative to apply for a protection order (Chireshe, 2015). Under the

Zimbabwean Act, the protection order is defined as a document that is supposed to protect the victim from severe or substantial harm or discomfort or inconvenience, whether physical, sexual, psychological, or economic (Chireshe, 2015; Nawaz, Nawaz, & Majeed 2008). The Zimbabwe Republic Police possess Victim Friendly Units (VFU), which were established in 1995, where any forms of intimate partner violence against women and children cases can be reported (Judicial Service Commission, 2012). VFUs in Zimbabwe are supposed to be available in every police station, and every police station must have at least one officer on duty with knowledge of intimate partner violence.

The police in VFUs are trained to follow a six-part protocol in cases of intimate partner violence against women (Judicial Service Commission, 2012). First, every report of any form of violence should be treated as the primary crime. Second, if needed, police will ensure that victims receive emergency medical care. Third, a victim may report cases at any police station, and no victim may be turned away. Fourth, all intimate partner violence cases should be investigated by VFU officer, and investigations must not delay for any reason. Fifth, the privacy of victims should be respected, and the police must take all reasonable steps to ensure that the private lives of victims are protected and confidential. Finally, in cases of a child victim or witness, or if an alleged offender has a disability, they must be supported actively in the justice process (Judicial Service Commission, 2012). Overall, VFU officers in Zimbabwe have responsibilities for investigating family violence cases, arresting perpetrators, and requiring the maintenance of a police environment conducive to confidentiality (IRB, 2015).

Overall, although Zimbabwe enacted the Domestic Violence Act in 2007, the rate of intimate partner violence cases remains high in the country (Fidan & Bui, 2016).

Moreover, most of the women are not willing to report violence against them. One of the important reasons for this is that the police officers are not helpful to victims of intimate partner violence. Despite the fact that VFUs officers have many responsibilities, under the Domestic Violence Act, VFUs properly functional. Because many women do not trust the police or the courts because of the negative perception of the justice system in Zimbabwe (IRB, 2015). Additionally, due to fact that some law enforcement agents believe that intimate partner violence is a private matter, thus, they often ignore to listen to victims, investigate cases, or make sure women are aware of the legal remedies (IRB, 2015. There is unwillingness by some police and judicial officers to apply and fulfill legislation on intimate partner violence. Overall, the Act is a useful instrument for the protection of women victims of intimate partner violence. However, in Zimbabwe, the Act currently seems to be have failed to protect women from intimate partner violence, and women continue to be subjected to many forms of violence against them.

Conclusion

There are a number of remarkable characteristics in developing Sub-Saharan countries that may make them different from Western countries (Bowman, 2003). First, despite crucial underreporting, and a visible absence of domestic murder, Sub-Saharan African countries have a large amount of intimate partner violence. Second, there is a persistence of patriarchal norms, which see women as property and related notions of marriage in such a society. Third, there are differing concepts of the public and the private and a more relational sense of the self. Finally, there are background

circumstances of poverty, economic demolition, social transition, and state incapacity to deal with the problem (Bowman, 2003).

In Sub-Saharan Africa, women face human rights violations unparalleled elsewhere in the world. In spite of the region's diversity, most women share experiences of sexual discrimination and violence, intimate violence, political marginalization, and economic deprivation (Wester, 2010). In sub-Saharan African countries, many women do not enroll in higher education which provides access to employment, and women who work are often in the unpaid agricultural sector. In these countries, violations of women's property rights are severe and widespread. Because of their property rights are violated, many African women face impoverishment, struggling to provide their families' essential needs, living in unsafe slums, and vulnerable to intimate partner violence (Human Rights Watch, 2017). Women are excluded from inheriting, prohibited to have their own lands, and forced to engage in dangerous sexual practices to keep their property and meet their basic needs (Human Rights Watch, 2017). At home—devoid of money, property, and information about their rights--most women are dependent on their husbands who strengthen their control through violence in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Patriarchal beliefs pertaining to gender roles in marriage lay the groundwork for intimate partner violence in most countries of Sub-Saharan Africa (McCloskey et al., 2016). Patriarchal beliefs are not the only foundation for IPV but such attitudes continue community acceptance of IPV, reducing the opportunity for a systematic social response. Many men and women in Sub-Saharan Africa support men's privilege to physically discipline their female partners (McCloskey et al., 2017; Koenig et al., 2003). Additionally, more African women than men, under some conditions, justify wife beating

when women neglect the children or argue with their husbands (Fidan, 2012; Uthman, Lawoko, & Moradi, 2009). As a result, patriarchal ideology, which is one of important factors of IPV, is equally shared by men and women in Sub-Saharan Africa.

There is a high incidence of intimate partner violence against women in Sub-Saharan African countries. For example, 56 percent of women in Rwanda, 61 percent in Tanzania, 47 percent in Uganda, 40 percent in Zambia, and 35 percent in Zimbabwe have experienced physical violence. However, most of the cases of intimate partner violence against women are highly underreported, because violence is tolerated (The World Bank, 2016). Fourteen out of the 15 countries with the highest share of women who believe wife-beating is justifiable are found in Sub-Saharan Africa (Cools & Kotsadam, 2017). To prevent abuse against women, some governments of these countries have developed programs (e.g., Domestic Violence Act or Anti-Gender-Based Violence Acts). The main aim of these Acts is to protect women from any form of violence against them. In this region, some countries do not have laws which criminalize intimate partner violence against women while others have the laws but fail to apply them. The police are one of the valuable tools to implement the law in these countries.

After enacting of Acts, in some Sub-Saharan countries such as in Zambia, the country has recorded an increase of reporting gender-based violence. For example, in Zambia, a total of 4,998 incidents of gender-based violence were reported nationwide throughout the first quarter of 2016 compared the 4,615 cases reported in the first three months of 2015 (LusakaTimes, 2016). This increase of reporting cases may be explained by the fact that efforts from government and its institutions make women aware of the law, and, therefore, reporting of intimate partner violence to police increases. On the

other hand, in Uganda, Domestic Violence Law passed in 2010, the deaths due to domestic violence increased from 137 in 2008 to 315 in 2013 and that was the highest increase. Additionally, some countries do not have any Domestic Violence Law such as Tanzania. In this country, even though the penal codes of constitution provide for laws against violence and sexual abuse of women, there is no law against domestic violence specifically. As a result, in many Sub-Saharan African countries, there is a fear of retaliation, failure of marriage, and shame among women, therefore, they do not tend to report their experience to police or other sources.

Overall, cultural values, poverty, lack of education, and the weakened rule of law in the countryside all increase the risk for intimate partner violence originating from social and cultural pressures. Patriarchal beliefs tolerating intimate partner violence against women are widespread. In many countries, both men and women support the use of physical violence against errant or rebellious women. Marriage arrangements such as bride price or forced early marriage continue to consider women as property for ownership and transfer. In Sub-Saharan Africa, whereas polygamy has been reducing, men often exercise their privilege regarding sexual freedom by having more than one partner. Unfaithfulness and more than one sexual partner are linked with expression of intimate partner violence in Sub-Sharan Africa, and they may cause diseases such as HIV/AIDS. On the contrary, women can benefit from polygamy; for example, women can be the head of household and have more economic freedom in Sub-Saharan Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN'S HELP-SEEKING FOR IPV

Help-seeking of IPV victims and survivors is described as an arrangement of actions that include seeking advice and support from friends, family members, obtaining counselling and/or medical care, calling law enforcement such as police, moving to a domestic violence shelter, pursuing an order of protection, or beginning a legal separation or divorce from the batterer partner (Gover, Tomsich, & Richards, 2015). In other words, help-seeking may be defined as the disclosure of victimization to gain some form of assistance (Morrison, Luchok, Richter, & Parra-Medina, 2006). Help-seeking is best characterized as a dynamic process, which responds to the changing context of victimized women (Sabina, Cuevas, & Schally, 2011). This process starts with women's recognizing men's actions as violence and as intolerable, resulting in a decision to challenge the violence (Petersen, Moracco, Goldstein, & Clark, 2004). Help-seeking can be beneficial to victims and survivors of IPV in defining the importance of the issue, by reducing the number of episodes of IPV, and limiting the amount of psychological distress by the women who experienced IPV (Coker et al., 2002; Thompson & Kaslow, 2000). Victimized women rely on both formal and informal resources for help and support. Regardless of victim characteristics, previous studies consistently indicate a preference for informal support providers over formal support providers (Barrett & St. Pierre, 2011; Du Mont et al., 2005; Meyer, 2011).

Informal Help-seeking: Families

Family forms a social network opportunity structure that is essential to women's help-seeking behavior, supplying psychological and material support (Kaukinen, 2004). Women frequently possess greater potential support networks than men and take more time to interact with family (Cahill & Sias, 1997). This interaction may include face-to-face conversations and contact maintained over geographic distances. Women who have more interaction with their families may rely deeply on informal networks in dealing with the consequences of an abusive relationship.

Informal networks of support play a major role in the help-seeking process of women who experience IPV, as they are the most prominent sources chosen for support (Leone, Johnson, & Cohen, 2007). Individuals within the survivor's social network, including family members, play a crucial role in the overall help-seeking process of women who are experiencing IPV (Sabina & Tindle, 2008). Seeking informal help is frequently the first step in the help-seeking process, and the consequence can shape survivor's subsequent help-seeking decisions (Meyer, 2010). Favorable responses of family members have been seen to encourage more women to seek help from law enforcement or counselors (Meyer, 2010; Moe, 2007). Moreover, literature in the West suggests that survivor women are likely to seek help from informal social networks, including family members, rather than seek formal assistance such as from the police (Ansara & Hindin, 2010; Kaukinen, 2004). In other words, informal sources of support such as family are the most comprehensive sources support sought by women who are the victims of the IPV (Ansara & Hindin, 2010).

In the context of relatives, previous researchers have found that reaching out to family members is one of the most popular sources in which women seek help (Gordon, 1997). However, it has also been reported to be the least helpful, as women have too often felt that their revelations were met with judgment and a lack of empathy (Moe, 2007). For example, Goodkind Gillum, Bybee, and Sullivan (2003) suggested that the responses of family members include too many factors: the nature of the woman's relationship with her batterer, the number of times the woman has tried to break with her partner, how many children were involved, and whether family members had also been threatened. Many responses influence women's well-being depending on if responses were unfavorable in nature or when they included offers of tangible support (Goodkind Gillum, Bybee, & Sullivan, 2003). Furthermore, a study conducted by Kocot and Goodman (2003) found that victimized women's leaving mechanisms were worsened and statistically linked with PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) and depression when they obtained advice to remain with their partners from their relatives.

Overall, when women experience intimate partner violence, they may seek help from family members because these members can supply advice and support that reinforces the women's belief in the legitimacy of her position (Bourne, 2004). Family members frequently encourage women to stay in an effort to improve the relationship even though they also might provide advice for active resistance or breaking up the relationship (Klein & Milardo, 2000). Shame, community standards against disclosure of IPV, and lack of a social support resource may discourage women from seeking help from family members (Bourne, 2004; Krishnan, Hilbert, & VanLeeuwen, 2001).

Notably, the natal family members have been found to be a source of protection against of IPV for women (Naved & Persson, 2008) when the family lives near to the couple (Spencer et al., 2014). These family members have also been indicated to be the primary source of help for IPV when battered women seek help (Kishor & Johnson, 2004), however, these family members, have also been considered as risk factors for future victimization of IPV (McKinney et al., 2009). But research on the marital family is very limited in the issue of women's help-seeking behavior for intimate partner violence against women.

The literature suggests that even though informal social support is linked to a lower risk of re-abuse among women experiencing lower risks of violence, it is not protective for women experiencing high levels of violence (Goodman, Dutton, Vankos, & Weinfurt, 2005). With insistent and ascending violence, women are more likely to seek help from formal services and access to more diverse types of services including the criminal justice system and police (Duterte et al., 2008; Goodman et al., 2003). Therefore, women may seek help from formal services when violence is severe, and their lives are at risk, which can be important in the help-seeking process.

Formal Help-seeking: Police

Formal help-seeking includes police, the criminal justice system, legal remedies, social services, and mental health professionals (Leona, Johnson, & Cohan, 2007; Sabina, Cuevas, & Schally, 2011). Formal help-seeking becomes particularly important when trying to end the violence permanently as informal sources can be reduced quickly (Liang

et al., 2005). Whereas family and friends are frequently able to help by listening and supplying substantial short-term support (a place to stay, financial assistance), the supporter's capability to help and their grasp of the complex nature of the situation can be limited (Liang et al., 2005; Meyer, 2011). This process frequently leads to a decision for action, involving safety-seeking, professional help-seeking or leave-taking (Meyer, 2011). Thus, formal sources of support are crucial as a means for stopping the violence, with or without terminating the relationship (Davis, 2002). In this thesis work, I will use help-seeking from police as an important instrument of formal help-seeking.

The criminalization of intimate partner violence against women is a relatively new phenomenon. Historically, violence by a husband orpartner against his wife or partners has been condoned worldwide (Melton, 1999). Thus, historically, intimate partner violence was not something that the police had to deal with. In the twentieth century, the traditional police response to cases of intimate partner violence has been dominated by their goal of extricating themselves from disagreeable duty with as little cost as possible and to commence again with "real" police work (Melton, 1999). Therefore, the typical police response to violence was nothing or to respond with slight action. Moreover, police frequently supplied inadequate documentation of intimate partner violence incidents that resulted in inhibiting any further action by the criminal justice system (Berk, 1980). Negative police attitudes about IPV enabled the typical response to be justified by the police officers. According to Melton (1999), many police regarded intimate partner violence occurrences as private disputes, which should be settled by the parties involved. Therefore, police were more likely to implement a policy that did not criminalize the action. Furthermore, police officers often conceived of

intimate partner violence with normative assumptions about the right of a husband to dominate his wife (Berk, 1980). Also, intimate partner violence incidents were considered by police to be a waste of their time; thus, their response was to try to exit the incident as quickly as possible (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1993). Overall, historically, police have seen their role as one of carrying out the law rather than as assisting the victims (Berk, 1980). Hence, police have had little influence on intimate partner violence incidents since many did not even see these cases as a crime.

Although there are now more laws criminalizing violence today, the literature still suggests that only a small percentage of all violence experienced by people, in developed and developing nations, are reported to police (Akers & Kaukinen, 2009; Baumer, 2002; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988). For instance, in 2000 only 48% of the over 6 million violent crimes revealed in the US National Crime Victimization Survey were reported to the police (Baumer, 2002; Rennison, 2001). The number of victims reporting diminishes when intimate partner violence is considered normal (Wilke & Vinton, 2005). The agreement among researchers and laypersons is that intimate partner violence incidents are hidden from society's view because the majority of incidents are not reported to the police (Felson & Pare, 2005). Surveys of interpersonal violence reveal that the police are less likely to be called when the offender is a partner than when the offender is a stranger; for instance, researchers suggest that women who have experienced intimate partner violence report this abuse to the police fewer than 16% of the time in comparison to stranger crimes (Felson & Pare, 2005).

The literature suggests that police participation makes an unclear impact on women who are seeking help in developed Western societies. For instance, Pegalow

(1981) found that the police were severely criticized for insufficient service delivery to women who experienced violence. On the other hand, Schulman (1979) found that battered women stressed a much great level of satisfaction with police officers. According to Frieze (1980), the police received significantly lower ratings than did other help sources, and the victimized women stated that the police were as likely to make things worse as to help compared to other sources. In another study, which was conducted by Felson and Pare (2005), the reporting of partner and sexual violence increases in the 1980s and 1990s because of changes in the legal treatment of crimes and changes in public attitudes. Women's unfavorable experience of police response, described as the failure of the police to intercede after receiving a call for help, was one of the reasons that caused women to not want seek help from police again (Fugate et al., 2005). Suspicion of the police among some societies may also contribute to women's hesitation to ask for help from police (Weis, 2001). Negative experiences in the prosecution process have been identified as barriers when victim women seek help from police officers: the include the general confusion presented by the system, fear, frustration, loss of control over the process, and feelings of guilt about sending their partner to jail (Fugate et al., 2005; Park, 2009).

Moreover, battered women may call the police because they want their husbands or partners to be removed or they want to "scare" their husbands or partners into decreasing violence through the threat of legal repercussions (Bourne, 2004). In numerous cases, such interventions do effectively forsake continuing violence. Bourne (2004) states that deterrents to seeking police and other legal interventions include fear of her husband's retaliation once the police have left, the threat of re-victimization by the

legal system, and fear of being considered an awkward mother and losing her children, among others.

Barriers to Help-seeking for Abusive Relationships

Even though women who experienced intimate partner violence use various kinds of strategies in order to stay in abusive relationships, they frequently do not seek help from sources, particularly outside sources (Park, 2009). According, to Barnett (2000), there are two significant barriers to leaving abusive relationships: the structure of society (i.e., patriarchy/sexism and economic dependency or lack of support) and the criminal justice system (i.e., problems with police and justice system). In addition, fear for the future of children in the family may be added to these reasons (Dufort, Gumbert, & Stenbacka, 2013; Wolf et al., 2003).

Patriarchy and Sexism

The patriarchal and sexist structure of society makes it difficult for abused women to leave an abusive relationship (Ahmad et al., 2004; O'Neil & Nadeau, 1999). Patriarchy is defined as "a set of ideas and beliefs that justify male domination over women in society" (Ahmad et al., 2004: 262) while sexism is defined as "the social, political, and personal expression of patriarchy" (O'Neil & Nadeau, 1999: 94). There is a significant relationship between patriarchy and intimate partner violence. In the households where men control the family's resources, these men can use violence to solve problems and allow women few options to divorce, so the rate of intimate partner violence against

women is high (Meyer, 1998). In these situations, women believe that violence can be tolerated because they do not have another choice (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 1997).

In many societies, women do not leave relationships, because violence against them is the norm and there is no sanctuary for them anywhere (Barnett, 2000). Violence against women by men is so common, varied, and multidimensional, it is considered a human rights abuse. Some examples of this violence are murder, physical assaults, rape, burning, enslavement, pushing prostitution, torture, acid attacks, abortion, and denial of education (Barnett, 2000; Fields-Meyer & Benet; 1998; Meyer, 1998; Power, 1998). In some cultures, when a woman disobeys, is sexually unfaithful, or try to leave the relationship, the husband may carry out "honor killings" (Adinkrah, 1999). Even when patriarchal practices do not result in deadly consequences, they feed beliefs that impede women's decisions to leave (Barnett, 2000). Therefore, in a society characterized by a patriarchal and sexist structure, it is very difficult for women to leave an abusive husband or partner.

Economic Dependence or Lack of Support

At the macro level, in many countries, the political and legal system continues to allow sexist practices which disrupt women's attempts to become economically independent in areas of income and employment (Barnett, 2000). Many abused women may not leave a dangerous relationship because basic survival is such a struggle. At the micro level, the literature has consistently revealed an association between partner assault and income (Hoffman and colleagues, 1999; Kishor & Johnson, 2004; Yount & Carrera, 2006). For example, a study conducted by Kishor and Johnson (2004) in Egypt demonstrated that

women living in the poorest households were found to have a higher likelihood of experiencing violence than women residing in the wealthiest households. Furthermore, economically dependent abused women, who demand to leave, may face many risks linked with poverty such as crime violence (Byrne et al., 1999), illness and death of children (Belle, 1990), inadequate housing (Fitzpatrick et al., 1993), and prostitution that results in contracting HIV/AIDS (Biello et al., 2010).

Finding safe emergency housing is an important issue for economically dependent women (Barnett, 2000). Without community support, many women must return to their abusers, because housing and childcare are not available (Liang et al., 2005). Women who experienced violence may not be aware of shelters for abused women or cannot find any with space available (Huisman, 1996). Therefore, they decide to stay in an abusive relationship that may be worse for their future in the household.

Because of gender-based pay differentials, even working women may remain economically dependent on their partners or husbands. For example, in the United States, according to Per Economic Justice (2014), women, on average, make approximately $39,621 per year while men make $50,383 at the same time. Business leaders have made little effort toward abolishing wage discrimination, and many subtle tactics are used by employers to keep women from obtaining equal job opportunities (Barnett, 2000). For instance, some health insurance companies have gone so far as to deny coverage and care for abused women (Parker, 1996). Overall, economic dependency of women on men is one of the most important factors that influence women's decision to leave an abusive relationship. Therefore, women’s economic independence and economic equality for women are long-range crime-prevention strategies. In addition, women’s relationship

status, the difficulty of obtaining a divorce, and education level may be considered as obstacles for women to escape from IPV in the structure of society (Bourne, 2011).

Problems with Police or Justice System

Police have historically ignored battered women's demands for protection (Moe, 2007). Even though there has been the common implementation of pro-arrest and mandatory arrest policies in some countries over the past two decades, such efforts have been criticized for their appropriateness in particular situations and their effectiveness at preventing future violence. When an arrest happens, more problems for women may flourish because of high recidivism that may also be influenced by the court and correctional responses to intimate partner violence (Sherman, 1992). Also, some women who call the police feel their problems have been trivialized, and they drop the charges (Hart, 1993). Some victims believe that mandatory arrest, sentencing, and prosecution policies and the requirement of the victim's testimony against the defendant jeopardizes family relationships they want to strengthen (Landau, 2000). In developed countries, many laws have been passed during the past three decades to ensure that women who are beaten are being protected (Achieng, 2017). Nevertheless, several of the previous laws relied on the cooperation of victims who had to raise criminal complaints against their batterers and make statements about their experiences in court. Numerous victims were unwilling to cooperate with police investigations or prosecutorial efforts out of concern for their safety and economic stability, or because they were discouraged by how the justice system had formerly failed to address their victimization (Erez & Belknap, 1998; Moe, 2007). For making these laws more effective, prosecutors have been given the

capability to continue in their efforts with or without victim cooperation. These reforms prohibit women from withdrawing criminal complaints against their abusers and strip them of the ability to control the processing of criminal cases regardless of their individual or financial positions (Schecter, 1982).

One important way that women have could seek legal help aside from criminal prosecution is through a court injunction such as a restraining order or a protective order (Moe, 2007). These orders allow women to begin cost-effective legal actions against their abusers that may be processed more quickly and with lower standards of evidence than criminal proceedings (Chaudhuri & Daly, 1992). There is also an emotional benefit for women who feel a sense of empowerment by starting legal proceedings over which they have control. On the other hand, restraining orders have been criticized due to their ineffectiveness in deterring future violence (Davis & Smith, 1995). Since protective orders are limited in scope regarding the types of situations to which they apply, they also require immediate and total separation between victims and abusers that is hard for women with few economic and social resources. Furthermore, police have been inconsistent in their enforcement of these orders (Erez & Belknap, 1998).

Previous researchers have indicated that police decisions to arrest perpetrators are inconsistent, sometimes illogical, or even in opposition to written policies (Wolf et al., 2003). Police may fail to arrest some of the most violent men, including those who used guns, knives, or who have thrown wives downstairs or over balconies (Bernatt, 2000). Police frequently require higher standards of probable cause for arrest in IPV cases than in stranger cases. Thus, the police often avoid arresting abusers. In addition, women are unwilling to involve the police in IPV cases for several reasons. Most of the previous

research reveals that, for women, police intervention can create or add to the poor dynamics that already exist in the abusive relationship, including unequal power dynamics, male control, and social isolation (Bui, 2003; Menjivar & Salcido, 2002; Wachholz & Miedema, 2000). For example, a study conducted by Wachholz and Miedema (2000) found that respondents did not trust the police to solve their cases seriously or appropriately and feared that contacting the police might cause a higher level of loneliness. The police are recognized as part of a racist ad authoritative criminal justice system that does not always function in the victim's best interests. Furthermore, calling the police might put women and their children at greater risk by angering the batterer, particularly if the police do not take the case seriously or fail to supply adequate protection (McGee, 2000). Thus, abused women may have no choice but stay in abusive relationships.

Fear for the Future of Children

Related to financial resources and life's goals, women may stay in abusive relationships because they have young children − particularly younger than 18 (Morash et al., 2008). Previous research demonstrated that women's shared goals were that children gain a good education and possess a better future and that they have a happy life with an intact family (Morash et al., 2007). Diminished income and absence of the father would threaten the achievement of household's goals. Therefore, leaving a violent relationship is much more difficult for a woman who has children (Dufort, Gumbert, & Stenbacka, 2013). Women may feel unable to support their children on their own, and they may fear for their children's safety and well-being (Wolf et al., 2003). There is also women's guilt

about taking their children from their father or harming family ties by breaking up (Dufort, Gumbert, & Stenbacka, 2013). Additionally, women may choose to stay in abusive relationship to protect their children from abuser husband. Therefore, fear for future of children can be considered as an important reason to not seeking help.

Overall, there are three main obstacles for women to seek help from formal or informal networks. First, the patriarchal structure of society is the biggest problem for women. Women are subordinate to men and, therefore, there is not sufficient support for them to leave a relationship. Second, the criminal justice system and police are not seen helpful by women who demand to leave an abusive relationship, and women may be afraid about harm that might result from police officers. Moreover, keeping the family together is crucial for women and, thus, they mostly do not want to lose their family if their husband arrested. Finally, there is a fear among women to lose their children if they leave their husbands.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Human behavior inevitably is situated in a specific social context, and women's behavior always in part is a product of gender relations (Scott, 1986). Connell (1987) has designed a model of gender structure that consists of three interlocking elements: the division of labor, the system of power of the state and its institutions, and the ideology of heterosexuality. Connell states that the division of labor that is in force in gender-stratified societies provides little opportunities for women, when compared to men, to accrue wealth. Traditionally, women have been charged to do unpaid housework and they have been made financially dependent on men (Bui, 2003). Although women have begun to work in the paid labor market, they frequently work in low-paying jobs and have lower occupational status relative to men. Social power, in particular, has been shaped by states and their various political, religious, and social institutions. These institutions possess the ability to rely on, recompose, and sustain gender ideologies, to reinforce certain types of morality, and to facilitate the formulation and the implementation policies to strengthen and continue the power of men and to subject women accordingly in the process. Furthermore, the culturally established pattern of heterosexual attachment orders social norms and defines behavior appropriate for individuals of different sexes.

Connell's (1987) the gender structure model can engender a general understanding of gender relations, but it is not conducive to understanding women's different experiences of gender relations in different societies. Social researchers have

established that women's experiences are not universal across different societies because their life experiences are shaped not only by their gender but also by their culture and their different locations in the hierarchies of class (Bui, 2003; Harding, 1991; Lamphere, Zaveall, & Gonzales, 1993). For women in patriarchal or traditional societies, both economic and cultural barriers hinder their efforts for seeking help. Many previous studies on women's help seeking for IPV have applied an atheoretical approach, apart from a few studies (Fleming & Resick, 2017). According to Andersen (1968, 1995), help-seeking behavior is related to: (a) predisposing factors such as age and marital status; (b) enabling factors, such as income; and (c) need factors, such as severity of violence. Even though many potential approaches can be useful in the research of help-seeking of victims of IPV, this thesis focuses primarily on the resource perspective (economic dependence), gender/feminist perspectives, and additionally, survivor theory. In the remainder of this chapter, I will present and discuss each of these three approaches.

Resource Perspective

Perhaps the most frequently cited theory of why intimate partner violence against women happens is Goode's (1971) resource theory. His resource theory on intimate partner violence offers an early attempt to supply a theoretical explanation for the committing of violence in family systems. Goode states that the use of violence is much more a practice and social norm of husbands from lower socioeconomic classes. Because men from lower economic classes have insufficient resources such as income, wealth, employment status, and education. Therefore, they are more likely to draw on other

resources including force and violence which are more easily existing in order to use their will in the household. Goode remarks that lower class men are more likely to depend on the use of physical punishment as a tool of control because lower class men have fewer resources than middle or higher class men. Most individuals are unwilling to use violence as a tool of control when they are in middle or higher classes because the cost involved in using violence is very high in any social system, particularly in the family. In other words, middle and higher class men are more likely to use a wide range of resources such as economic resources, higher social prestige, intelligence, and control over the property. Middle and higher class men obtain a greater social prestige by having more control of such significant resources in family or society (Goode, 1971). Hence, when conflict occurs in the family, men can also appeal outside assist in reestablishing his control over the situation and the members of the family, particularly women. Thus, it is not necessary to use violence because other resources serve the same purpose.

In other words, Goode (1971) conceptualizes violence as resources much like material resources. Violence can be used to obtain subjection and compliance in the absence of material resources. Goode states that husbands order more force in households that other members do and that they with the most material sources are least likely to use violence because their material resources guarantee subjection and compliance. Violence serves as an alternative to material sources as a power base (Goode, 1971). Thus, Goode's resource theory leads to the prediction that husbands with lower class status would be more likely than husbands with higher class status to use violence. His theory leads and is supported by many studies (Hoffman, Demo, & Edwards, 1994; Kishor & Johnson, 2004; Ogland et al, 2015).

Regarding help-seeking behavior, Strube and Barbour (1983) emphasizes the importance of economic dependence on violence between intimate couples. According to Strube and Barbour (1983), lack of economic resources has long been suspected of playing a major role in a woman's tolerance of violence, who has experienced intimate partner violence. Many women lack the education, abilities, or motivation to gain employment. Therefore, economic becomes one of the important reasons that prevents women to end the abusive relationship.

Political and legal systems perpetuate to allow sexist practices that prevent women's efforts to become economically independent in areas of employment and income (Barnett, 2000). Traditional status couples favor men as women contribute significantly less to the household income (Kaukinen, 2004). Power inequities experienced by this status group are linked with traditional gender roles (Kaukinen, Meyer, & Akers, 2013). Such inequities may generate higher levels of marital dependency in women and are related to higher levels of marital satisfaction in men (Anderson, 1997). Some researchers suggest that men in traditional status relationships are less likely to use force, emotional abuse, and coercive control against women as they are able to show power through their economic contributions to the family (Anderson, 1997). Others have argued that the power inequities present in traditional status relationships increase the risk of intimate partner violence for women. Even though men may not see the use of violence as necessary and demonstrate authority over women, they may do it because of women's dependency (Kaukinen, Meyer, & Akers, 2013).

As noted from Strube and Barbour (1983) marital dependency (economic dependency) has been determined as an obstacle to seeking help and ending a violent

relationship (Bui, 2003). Lack of economic resources and the support system of the extended family and friends frequently cause women to depend financially and emotionally on their husbands and, therefore, remain in a violent relationship (Bui, 2003). Low levels of education can make women unaware of resources available for them. Factors such as low-level educational status, unemployment, lower wealth have been associated with staying in an abusive relationship, and have seen as barriers to escaping from violence (Barnett, 2000; Dufort, Gumbert, & Stenbacka, 2013).

Empirical Work from Resources Perspective

Perhaps one of the most consistent sociodemographic characteristics linked to the help-seeking behavior of women who experienced IPV is economic dependence. The socio-economic status of victim women including wealth, employment status, and education may be important factors that often shape women decisions to seek help. Previous research suggests that women who earn higher incomes or who are financially independent of their partners are more likely to seek help (Kim & Gray, 2008). Moreover, some studies reported wealth to be the most robust predictor of leaving a violent relationship (Anderson & Sanders, 2003; Gelles, 1976; Henning & Klesges, 2002; Lesser, 1990; Rusbult & Martz, 1995). Women who live in poverty or poor families and have lower income are less likely to seek help (Cattaneo, Heidi, & DeLoveh, 2008; Iovanni & Miller, 2001). For example, West, Kantor, and Jasisnski (1998) found that poverty was negatively associated with women's help-seeking behavior. Moreover, a woman's access to financial resources may influence what types of networks she can access. For instance, Macy, Nurius, and Hold (2005) suggested that battered women who

have higher income and in wealthier families are more likely to use legal services; access to legal services is a barrier for low-income women, who are more likely to turn in public assistance. Overall, research in influence on wealth factor on help-seeking behavior suggests that access to financial resources widens whereas lack of resources to material resources limits women's help-seeking options.

Employment status is another important factor that may affect women's help-seeking behavior. According to Waldrop and Resick (2004), one of the most obvious forms of tangible resources is money. The amount of money a woman possess available to her is relevant to the options that she has in dealing with an abusive relationship. Strube and Barbour (1983) have seen employment status as an important factor that women can gain available money and they found that employment status and employment history, measured as economic dependence, was linked to a woman's decision to remain in or ending the abusive relationship. Previous research found a significant association between women's help-seeking and employment status. A research found that unemployment status of women and husband increases calling the police after violence happened (Kantor & Straus, 1990), while a study did not find any significant relationship between employment status and calling the police (Hutchison & Hirschel, 1998). Another study conducted by Kaukinen, Meyer, and Akers (2013) found that employment increases a woman's likelihood of help-seeking. Their findings indicated that women who were employed, whether their partner was unemployed or employed, were significantly more likely to seek help from and given support source as compared to their unemployed counterparts. Their findings also suggest that employment status increases help from family, while unemployed and when her partner was

employed, women were less likely to report violence to the police. Overall, these findings are consistent with the economic dependency and suggest the importance of employment for women in breaking up abusive relationships.

Women's level of education is also an important factor that can influence women's help-seeking behavior. Previous research suggests that women who are with higher education level rely on seeking more help (Coker et al, 2000; Flicker et al, 2011; Parvin, Sultana, & Naved, 2016), while some others found a contrary finding and higher education was associated with lower likelihood of help-seeking from formal sources such as social services (Dufort, Gumpert, & Stenbacka, 2013). For example, a study conducted by Frias (2013) found that women who have higher years of education are more likely to seek help from informal sources, while the study did not find any significant association between seeking help from formal sources and education. Overall, education has an important influence on women's help-seeking behavior and this may be explained by since higher education leads a better recognition of rights (Cattaneo & DeLoveh, 2008).

Overall, economic dependence is often cited as one of the most important barriers to seeking help or leaving a violent relationship. As stated above, many studies have found that women who stay in a violent relationship are more likely to be in the poorer household, unemployed, and have the low educational level. Most of these women remain in violent relationships because they lack economic resources and comprehend little to no alternative to their distressing situation (Hien & Ruglass, 2009). When victimized women make the decision to oppress charges against their husbands or partners, economic survival will affect whether they complete the process (Bennett, Goodman, & Dutton, 1999). Thus, their low socio-economic status places them at even

higher risk for re-victimization. Therefore, these women are left with little choice but to tolerate their violent relationships.

Gender/Feminist Perspectives of Help-seeking Behavior for IPV

Economic or marital dependence perspective represents a major theoretical step forward for researchers seeking a more extensive explanatory framework to clarify women's help-seeking behavior for IPV. However, that perspective does not fully address the gendered patterns of help-seeking. Furthermore, the notions of patriarchal gender ideologies and gender inequalities have not been adequately developed by the economic or marital dependence perspective. Gender and feminist theories supply alternative and supplementary explanations to fill these essential theoretical gaps, in the context of women's help-seeking behavior for IPV.

Gender Perspective

A gender perspective for clarifying intimate partner violence claims that the dominant gendered patterns in violence against women are mostly established a ground by the dominant male gender roles that define masculinity (Ogland, Xu, Bartkowski, & Ogland, 2014). According to this perspective, men and women are socialized into gender roles at a very early age through social learning and identity development. Men are socialized into forms of masculinity where women are accepted as obedient of men and men are seen as dominant over women. These forms of masculinity conduce to an ideology that causes demeaning of women and violence against women becomes a

tolerable statement of masculinity. Men can frequently possess crises of identity where they face challenges to their status or they may feel their masculinity is threatened because of gendered masculinity is a part of the male identity. Therefore, ma may seek to strengthen their masculinity through abusive behavior toward women (Anderson, 1997; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Ogland, Xu, Bartkowski, & Ogland, 2014).

In gender perspective, men who feel that their masculinity is challenged by their social position or their relation to other men can seek to take precaution to strengthen their masculinity. Controlling behaviors toward their partners, physical violence, sexual, violence, or psychological violence may be included in these actions. According to Johnson (1995), there are two distinct types of violence and suggests that the significant number of families, particularly women, are terrorized by the systematic violence of men enacted in the service of patriarchal control. In this context, Johnson (1995) emphasizes the notion of patriarchal terrorism is likely to represent a gendered pattern of violence in societies with robust gender traditionalism and patriarchal gender ideologies.

In the context of women's help-seeking behavior, in many cultures, dominant forms of masculinity signify a robust the identity of men and patriarchal status. In these male-dominated cultures, specific gender role, which stress the use of power as a method to obtain control over women. Previous studies have not focused sufficiently on the relationship between men's controlling behavior and women's help-seeking behavior. However, Ahmad et al (2004) claim that women who hold to patriarchal social norms are less likely to view intimate partner violence as abuse. Because of the socialization, begins from childhood, that dictates men's domination over women, may causes women's

learning and accepting gender ideologies. Therefore, they may less likely to seek help in the case of intimate partner violence.

Overall, a gender perspective places much of its theoretical explanatory influence on the gender roles of men and women. Researchers of domestic violence have used gender framework as a personal trait that is basically learned from childhood. Therefore, gender becomes something that is practiced by individual actions, which are viewed feminine and masculine. Even though gender perspectives are a highly compelling framework for grasping the mechanisms, which provided a basis women's experience of intimate partner violence, this perspective has a necessity to focus much more on the issue of women's help-seeking. Overall, it seems gender theory does not go far enough to explain women's help-seeking behavior for IPV.

Feminist Perspective

The primary focus of feminist perspective is that gender inequality reflected in the subordination of women and their obedience to male authority and control as the root of all forms of violence against women (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Fidan & Bui, 2015; Kurz, 1993; Yllo 1993). This relationship is comprehended as being institutionalized in the structure of the patriarchal family and supported by economic and political institutions. In this sense, the patriarchy includes both ideological and structural elements, which are causing to intimate partner violence (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). As Dobash and Dobash (1979) explains "The use of physical violence against women in their position as wives is not the only means by which they are controlled and oppressed but it is one of the most

brutal and explicit expressions of patriarchal domination'' (p. ix). The structural elements comprise of a hierarchal organization of social institutions and social relations regarding power and privileges, which place women in an inferior status. For instance, the gender-based division of labor causes women's economic dependency and creates power imbalance in family relationships, therefore more power and important status are given men than their wives. Economic dependency can prevent women from leaving their abusive husbands, thus keeping them in abusive relationships and causing their continuing violent victimization (Fidan & Bui, 2015; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Okun, 1988). Gender inequality is also contributed by the legal system by using double standards in legal treatments of men and women and by disregarding the protection of women from men's violence. For example, former laws openly allowed men to use force against their wives (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). The ideological feature of the patriarchy serves to rationalize gender inequality and strengthen the justification of this gender order (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). For both men and women, the socialization into the acceptance of gender inequality through gender norms that are frequently colored with moral nuances, allows gender inequality to go unquestioned and unchallenged, therefore supplying ideological and moral support for patriarchal families (Schechter, 1982). Overall, in patriarchal societies, men can act in abusive behavior against their wives to express their socially constructed right to control women and to consolidate women's passivity and dependence on male control and authority (Kurz, 1993). According to Johnson (1995), systematic use of violence by men is considered economic subordination, threats, isolation, and other control tactics as patriarchal terrorism.

In the context of women's help-seeking behavior, Barnett (2000) argues that the patriarchal and sexist structure of society makes it difficult, if not impossible, for women who experienced violence to leave the relationship. Many women do not cope because violence against them is the norm in the society and there is no asylum for them anywhere. Women who want to seek-help or leave relationship may have under many serious risks in a society where men's dominance is high. These risks can be that man may resort to honor killings, when their wives disobey, are sexually unfaithful, or want to leave (Adinkrah, 1999; Barnett, 2000).

Feminist scholars state that women may not take a step to leave an abusive relationship due to their dependence on marriage (Straus & Gelles, 1986). Women have been potentially put at a risk of experiencing IPV because of traditional status arrangements within marriage supporting men (Atkinson et al., 2005; Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Women's lack of educational and financial resources, their dependence on marriage, fear of retaliation, level of marginalization from formal sources of support, and their duty and responsibility for children care can limit their capability to end the abusive relationship (Bui, 2003; Gover, Tomsich, & Rihards, 2015; Kaukinen, 2004). The existence of young children in the household may enhance dependency on marriage in that they may obstruct women's opportunities for paid employment (Dufort, Gumbert, & Stenbacka, 2013; Kalmuss & Straus, 1982). Women who have children may believe that they must consider issues linked to school, daycare, and transportation rather than their own desire for employment (Akers & Kaukinen, 2009). There may be more pressure on women to tolerate the violence because of they play an unequal role in caring for children during and after the end of marriage. These areas of inequality with women and men's

status in marriage put women at a higher risk for IPV. In addition, therefore, these inequalities lead women to seek help less often from informal or formal institutions such as police.

Some feminist researchers argue that gender socialization is the root of IPV because it continues external social realities and is internalized by both men and women (Akers &Kaukinen, 2009; Straka & Montminy, 2006). With respect to reporting IPV, the epidemic prevalence of bias and oppression is also found in the actions of members of the public including police officers (Akers & Kaukinen, 2009). These people continue men's power over women by sometimes being unwilling to believe women who report abuse incidents and frequently being irresolute to coerce the existing arrest laws (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988). Police officers' actions may prevent women from reporting IPV and may abstract these victims even further. Therefore, this thought may clarify why women who experienced IPV report their victimization to the police very occasionally (Kaukinen, 2002). These women may believe that their victimization will not be seen as important and their abusers will not be punished for their behaviors against them. Thus, victims of IPV's calling police may be infrequently.

Integration of Gender and Feminist Perspectives

Current theoretical work by Anderson (2005) supplies a revised model, which describes gender as a multidimensional concept in the context of explaining IPV, as well as its causes such as women's help-seeking behavior for IPV. Anderson (2005) states that the concept of gender is the subject of argumentative discussions among, individualist,

interactionalist, and structuralist scholars. According to Anderson (2005), these three conceptions of gender have implications for an understanding of the mechanisms, which clarify issue. For instance, individualistic scholars claim that violence against women is not based on gender (Anderson, 2005). The proponents of this tradition see violence against women as a product of isolated personal act instead of a pattern demonstrated by men. These scholars emphasize that femininity and masculinity are individual characteristics that either the individual is born with or develops through socialization.in spite of the arguments of the individualistic tradition, this perspective fails to capture the true nature of interpersonal or intimate partner violence as a social process (Anderson, 2005; Ogland et al., 2014).

The interactionist researchers look upon gender as a product of life and this approach is a critique of individualist traditions (Anderson, 2005). Individualist approach advances a sense of masculinity throughout their daily experiences instead of a process of biological pre-determination (Anderson, 2005; Butler, 1990). Moreover, according to interactionist scholars, action of violent behavior by men may be influential method to reestablish control over women when they lack other resources. Instead of focusing on masculinity as the cause of violence, interactionist researchers claim that violence is, in fact, a means to strengthen masculine identities.

The structuralist scholars consider gender as a form of social structure and a system of stratification, which put men and women into unequal categories, roles, and occupations in society (Anderson, 2005). This perspective does not account abusive behavior as a product of sex but rather as an outcome of a gendered system, which works on producing different opportunities and rewards to use of abusive behavior. In other

words, this approach conceptualizes gender as a pattern of resource-distribution and social organization instead of as a predictor of personal behavior (Anderson, 2005; Risman, 1998). Anderson's (2005) research extends theoretical work in the gender approach by explaining the conceptualization of gender whereas at the same time supplying area for more feminist argument.

Anderson's (2005) gender work supplies an integrated approach, which exerts notions from gender and feminist theories to fill essential gaps in explaining the gendered patterns of women's help-seeking behavior. Whereas in some cases both approaches correspond to in their theoretical assumptions, both perspectives merge around three critical canons, which are gendered control in relationships, the role of power, and gender traditionalism. Feminist perspective emphasizes the disparities in power between men and women both at the micro and macro levels of the social structure (Ogland et al., 2014). The inequity of power that institutionalized in the social structure produces circumstances for men to behave in dominant ways toward their sexual partners. The dominant behavior of men may not only affect women in domestic life but also in society. Furthermore, one of important expression of power is gendered control between men and women, which men's controlling behavior to strengthen their masculinity. For gender perspective, in societies characterized by gendered dominated norms, women are frequently demoted to an obedient position in the relationship and these gendered norms are learned by men and women. In this case, men learn that they have a right use control over women, and women learn that the men's control over women is tolerable. Therefore, women's help-seeking behavior, in case of violence, may become less.

Overall, the concepts of both gender and feminist approaches propose that societies, which are dominated by power imbalances and dominant forms of masculinity are also promoted by gender traditionalism that signified by patriarchal gender ideologies. These gender ideologies may legitimate power inequalities, which encourage the patriarchal ideologies that perpetuate the social structure in patriarchal societies. In these societies, violence is accounted as tolerable, therefore, women become passive to seek help, in the case of harmful occurrences against them, such as intimate partner violence. Overall, gender and feminist perspectives may become significant approaches to clarifying gendered patterns of women's help-seeking behavior in African societies where patriarchal gender ideologies are common.

Empirical Work from Gender/Feminist Perspectives

In the context of IPV and women's help-seeking behavior, the theoretical work originating from the gender/feminist perspective to clarify women's help-seeking behavior has led to an important body of empirical literature. It is possible to conceptualize a few social factors that come from the feminist perspective that are strong predictors and possible causal mechanisms of help-seeking behavior. First, the number of control issues manifested by women's partner or husband demonstrate an important indicator of patriarchy norms within the relationships. Second, attitudes about the justification of violence against women by women themselves are significant personal and cultural characteristics to explain help-seeking behavior.

Patriarchal Beliefs

Patriarchy is defined as "a set of ideas and beliefs that justify male domination over women in society" (Ahmad et al., 2004:262). The marital relationship between male and female in most societies throughout history has been hierarchical, meaning that men have had status, power, and control over women (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Ogland, 2011). In history, men's right to use physical power to control their female partners has been supported by cultural, legal, political, economic, and religious institutions. Empirical research has demonstrated that women who suffer physical and sexual violence also have their movement outside the household controlled by their male partners (Johnson et al., 2008). Men who use the physical and sexual violence against their female partners also may try to keep them isolated from their family and friends. By keeping their wives/partners at home, men are able to isolate them from advice, information, and support, which might menace the power and control over their wives (Johnson et al., 2008).

Even though the role of patriarchal beliefs of men in intimate partner violence against women is becoming increasingly clear in current studies across countries and cultures (Sakalli, 2001), it is known little about how partner/husband's patriarchal beliefs may influence women's help-seeking behavior. Previous research has established an association between men's patriarchal beliefs and women's acceptance of IPV (Fidan, 2012; Finn, 1986; Marshall & Furr, 2010; Mayerson & Taylor, 1989; Obeid, Chang, & Ginges, 2010; Willis, Halinan, & Melby, 1996) as well as their women's experience of IPV (IVAWS, 2005; Kishor & Johnson, 2004). Current studies report patriarchal beliefs held by Sub-Saharan African men but the relationship between patriarchal beliefs and

women's help-seeking behavior has not been explored. This is salient because if a woman does not comprehend a situation as abusive, she is less likely to seek help or encourage a victim of abuse to seek help (Ahmad et al., 2004).

Historically, patriarchy has been a part of most Sub-Saharan African societies for centuries (Shoola, 2013). A system of patriarchy is one that is dominated and ruled by men. In these societies, the family head is a man and mostly the father, followed by brothers than other male family members. Women are at the bottom of the family structure (Our Africa, 2016), therefore producing high power differences. Patriarchy is thus a leading theoretical explanation of intimate partner violence and of victim's unwillingness or incapability to seek help (Mahapatra & DiNitto, 2013). According to Ahmad and colleagues (2004), women who held to patriarchal social norms are less likely to view spousal abuse as abuse.

Overall, culturally linked values and behaviors such as male-dominated marriages have been associated with an increased risk of IPV against women (West, Kantor, & Jasinski, 1998). These behaviors and values may potentially expose barriers to the help-seeking efforts of women who experienced violence. For instance, the social isolation enforced by a dominant and controlling husband may restrict a woman's mobility, therefore, her opportunity to contact help. The patriarchal system in Sub-Saharan Africa isolates women within their families and gives men control over women and most economic resources. The dominant and controlling behavior of husbands, in these countries, may restrict women to seek help. Because men that engage in patriarchal behaviors try to keep women isolated from their family and friends. Thus, by keeping women at home, women are isolated from information, support, and advice that might

threaten the power and control over women (Johnson, Ollus, & Nevala, 2008). Therefore, patriarchal beliefs may play an important role in help-seeking behavior. As a result, patriarchy beliefs are a contributing factor not only in the existence of violence against women but also an important influence on help-seeking behavior.

Empirical research on the relationship between help-seeking behavior and husband's controlling behavior is scarce. The available scarce research found that husband/partner's controlling behavior was an important factor that linked with women's help-seeking behavior (Parvin, Sultana, & Naved, 2016). Previous research indicated that women who hold patriarchal social norms were less likely to view IPV as violence (Ahmad et al., 2009). Women who see such behavior as violence may be more likely to seek help and those who accept patriarchy may be less likely to seek help. For example, a study conducted by Parvin, Sultana, and Naved (2016) found that women who reported experiencing husband's high controlling behavior were more likely to disclose and to seek help.

Overall, the results from previous research elucidate important factors linked to women's help-seeking behavior for IPV against women. The findings indicate that husband's display of controlling behavior over the women is associated with lower rates of help-seeking behavior of women. This unequal distribution of power and status in domestic relationships is an important indicator of the cultural and social norms dominating in a patriarchal society. Thus, societies that are characterized, particularly Sub-Saharan African cultures where men's controlling behaviors are high, by traditional views on gender-specific roles of men and women are more likely to give greater status and power to men over women and place women in a secondary position.

Women's Attitudes toward IPV

Women's vulnerability to intimate partner violence has been demonstrated to be greatest societies where the use of violence in many situations is a socially justified (Jewkes, 2002). Previous research has revealed that attitude toward IPV is one the most important factors that predict of IPV (Faramarzi, Esmailzadeh, & Mosavi, 2005; Klomegah, 2008; Ogland et al., 2014; Uthman, Lawoko, & Moradi, 2009;). According to Uthman, Lawoko, and Moradi (2009), understanding attitudes toward IPV in a particular setting is important for different reasons. First, unfettered social and cultural acceptance of IPV may not only lead to abetting such practices, may also make main obstacles toward changing such practices. Therefore, understanding the positive attitude toward IPV may be fundamental for designing effective programs to address the issue. Second, acceptance of IPV can be considered as an indicator of the status of women in a specific social and cultural setting. The level of acceptance of IPV can supply insights into the stage of social, cultural, and behavioral transformation of a specific society in its evolution towards a more gender egalitarian society (Uthman, Lawoko, & Moradi, 2009).

To apply the social contract, which places more import on the collective rather than on the individual families may tolerate intimate partner violence against women (Haj-Yahia, 2000; Spencer et al., 2014). In patriarchal or traditional societies, women are expected to obey to social and sexual norms, and the family attempts to protect women's modesty and limit sexual behavior to the marital home (Spencer et al., 2014). Meanwhile, women incline to live with their biological family until they get married and then many live with or near their husbands' families, women are defenseless to violence from any relative (Clark et al, 2010; Spencer et al, 2014).

In the context of help-seeking behavior, personal attitudes toward IPV are influenced by gender norms in society may play a considerable role in help-seeking behavior. It is suggested that women who have more tolerance or justifying attitudes toward violence or wife beating have internalized their submissive status both within the household and the society. More justifying attitudes toward violence suggest that gender roles have been internalized such that women are expected to suffer results if they do not attain their feminine ideal and accomplish their roles (Ogland et al., 2014). For feminist scholars, it is the patriarchal social structure, which encourages this belief system, therefore, responsible for prevalent violence against women. Moreover, feminist scholar states that women who believed that violence against women is acceptable under some conditions may not comprehend themselves as victims and thus may be less likely to seek help when experience violence (Torres, 1991). Moreover, feelings of obligation and women's justification of IPV may prevent women from seeking help in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Empirical research on the help-seeking behavior of women suggests that attitudes toward violence are a significant predictor of help-seeking behavior or leaving an abusive relationship. Research reveals that women's help-seeking tends to be low among women who hold permissive and approving attitudes towards wife beating (Antai & Antai, 2009; Geen, 1998; Pavin, Sultana, & Naved, 2012; Parvin, Sultana, & Naved, 2016). For example, a study conducted by Parvin, Sultana, and Naved (2016), in Dhaka, Bangladesh, indicates that high acceptance of violence and high violence condoning attitudes lead to low help-seeking. Parvin, Sultana, and Naved (2016) state that one of the common reasons for low help-seeking was considering violence as normal or approving violence. Given the strong notions of patriarchy in developing countries, these results suggest that

women who have more traditional attitudes towards their gender roles are less likely to seek help.

The pattern of results in previous research contributes further support to the notion that attitudes are significant predictors of help-seeking behavior. Research findings demonstrate that women who believe that their husband or partner is tolerated in beating them if they do not fulfill their duty or obligation in the family are less likely to seek help or leave abusive relationships. The widespread acceptance of such attitudes among women in Sub-Saharan African countries confirms to the institutionalized notions of patriarchy, which are immensely evident in these societies.

Gondolf and Fisher's Survivor Theory

The survivor theory states that women who have experienced violence respond to violence with help-seeking methods, which are mainly unsuccessful and that women increase their help seeking as the danger to themselves (Gondolf & Fisher, 1988). Therefore, the survivor theory stresses battered women's active help-seeking behavior. Gondolf and Fisher (1988) proposed that abused women increased their help-seeking efforts when their partner increase severity of violence.

Survivor theory suggests that battered women stay in violent relationships, not because they are passive, but because they have tried to breakup to no avail (Gondolf & Fisher, 1988). Gondolf and Fisher's survivor hypothesis contradict the assumptions of the learned helplessness perspective, a theory developed by Walker (1984) that explains battered women's visibly passive and helpless responses, by suggesting that battered

women increase, rather than decrease, their help-seeking in the face of increased violence. Survivor theory also suggests that women continually resist their victimization through help-seeking efforts, which are largeley unsuccessful because of institutional failures. Gondolf and Fisher stated that if women have sufficient resources and social support, they will leave abusers and have free lives. They compounded a number of dimensions to clarify the range of types of help-seeking behavior of women who experienced violence. These dimensions consisted of domestic violence (physical violence, verbal violence, injury), the number of children, economic resources (victim's income), other types of violence in the household (child abuse), and batterers' other behaviors (substance abuse).

Gondolf and Fisher's suvivor theory (1988) consists of four different significant elements. First, a pattern of violent causes victims to employ new coping strategies and to seek help such as flattering the batterer and turning to their families for help. When these sources are ineffective, the victims seek out other sources and look for different strategies to diminish the violence. Second, Gondolf and Fisher assume that when a victim of violence seeks outside help, she is often faced with an inefficient bureaucracy, inadequate help souces, and societal differences. Lack of options and women's lack of financial resources cause that victims will stay in abusive relationships and try to change husband or partner instead of leave the relationship or seek help. Third, Gondolf and Fisher define how women actively seek help from a variety of formal and informal help networks. For example, a close friend can be an informal source, and shelter can be a formal source for help-seeking. However, help obtained from these kind of sources is insufficient and fragmentary. Finally, Gondolf and Fisher argue that the failure of the mentioned help

sources to interfere in a complete manner allows the cycle of violence to sustain unrestrained. Overall, for Gondlof and Fisher whether she did seek help and what happened when she sought help are more important than why she did not leave the abusive relationship.

Gondolf and Fisher (1988) examined their survivor model by a study of over 6,000 battered women from the shelter in Texas suggests that battered women respond to more severe violence with increased help-seeking. They state that help seeking does not appear as a direct response to escalated violence, but rather increases in the context of another batterer behavior. Their model demonstrates that the range of help sources contacted by the women enhances as the batterer's antisocial behavior escalates. This model offers further insight into battered women's help-seeking pattern by revealing that most of the women make extremely assertive efforts to cope the violence. Overall, survivor model suggests that battered women increased their help-seeking efforts when the severity of physical violence increases.

In spite of its contributions, the survivor hypothesis has some limitations. For example, sexual and psychological violence are not included in survivor hypothesis. As an extension of this perspective, it needs to include also sexual and psychological violence. Therefore, I hypothesize that women would not only increase their help-seeking as physical violence became more severe, but also in response to increased experience to different types of violence. Thus, experiencing physical, sexual, and psychological violence would be associated with women's help-seeking behavior.

Feminist Work on Sexual Violence

Despite its effects on women's help-seeking behavior for IPV, survivor theory has some limitations to explain women's help-seeking behavior in the context of intimate partner violence. Because, for instance, survivor theory mostly has focused on and described the relationship between severe of physical abuse and women's help-seeking behavior. On the other hand, survivor theory has not included other parts of IPV, including sexual violence. Mainly sexual assault, from the past to present, has been a crucial social and health problem for women in societies and may play a significant role in women's help-seeking behavior.

Sexual violence has been a major issue for feminist movement (Bumiller, 2008). By the important role of feminist campaign, in the Western countries, particularly in the United States, seeing sexual violence as an important social problem emerged in the early 1970s. In the United States, awareness of the problem of sexual violence was accompanied by a phenomenal development in the crime control apparatus such as enhance prosecutorial power, mandatory sentences, and an unprecedented rise in prison populations (Bumiller, 2008). As well, sexual violence became significant to agenda of the "therapeutic state," a network of professionals, social workers, and government institutions supplying service delivery to the poor and disadvantaged (Bumiller, 2008). The primary objective of the campaign has been the awareness of the harm of the sexual violence and congruent sanctioning of offenders (Bumiller, 2008). A feminist perspective on sexual assault can be understood as a development from liberal to radical (Whistnant, 2009). According to radical feminist proponents, sexual violence emerging in patriarchal

structure of gender and sexuality in the context of extensive systems of men power. This perspective also stresses the harm that sexual assault does to women as a group (Whistnant, 2009). The theory on sexual violence is consistent with radical feminism is a political-economic approach, which explains sexual assault as a function of women's absence of political and economic autonomy (Valentich & Gripton, 1984). In this context, sexual assault is recognized and understood as an important supporter of patriarchy. According to Valentich and Gripton (1984), in this perspective, women's role is to be the producer of children; therefore, gender parity is problematic, and sexual violence is an important weapon to make control over women. Overall, radical feminist scholars view three characteristics on sexual assault (Whistnant, 2009). First, they consider the deprivation of women's human authority, male control over the sexual uses of women's bodies, as a central defining element of patriarchy. Therefore, the proponents of this perspective examine sexual assault as one of the multiple forms of men's sexual violence and exploitation, then their interconnections and how they continue and strengthen women's coercion. Second, radical feminists give more importance to sexual assault than physical abuse. Finally, radical feminist researchers examine the role of sexual violence by itself in producing not only patriarchy but multiple systems of control such as colonialism and racism (Whistnant, 2009).

In addition, some radical feminist scholars have seen sexual violence as one of the most important problems of state and they called state to protects women and men equally and identify the lack of enforcement of sexual crimes against women as a primary barrier to women's freedom in public sphere (Bumiller, 2008). Most of these scholars and activists have seen issue as the failure of the state to recognize and protect women. Denial

of sexual violence against women was characterized as state-sanctioned violence and was viewed as complicit with other forms of patriarchal control that oppressed women. Overall, considering violence as a domestic disturbance strengthened cultural presumptions, which have not taken violence against women seriously (Bumiller, 2008).

The original liberal feminist view on women's oppression is based on Betty Friedan's analysis (Valentich & Gripton, 1984). Friedan's concept about the feminine mystique, a learned definition of womanhood centered in the roles of wife and mother, are based on a theory of gender socialization, which claims that, in society, men learn that masculinity means domination (Friedan, 1997; Valentich & Gripton, 1984). As a result of the process of the socialization, men's roles are competitive and aggressive while women's roles are nurturing and passive. Liberal feminists regard sexual violence as a gender-neutral assault on personal sovereignty and mainly focus on the harm that sexual assault does to individual victims (Whistnant, 2009). The Liberal feminism is more extensive and outspread than the radical feminist ideology. According to the liberal perspective, sexual assault, or violence centers may endorse both direct services and educational activities. By such services as counseling and advocacy, women would be more promoted to challenge the patriarchal basis of society (Valentich & Gripton, 1984); for example, educational activities may focus on recognition of gender role socialization and its outcomes for sex relationships.

Overall, both liberal and radical feminist approaches have given importance to sexual violence against women. These feminist ideologies stress that addressing the issue of sexual assault against women needs complex, comprehensive, and systematic methods, which challenge sexual violence at multiple levels with many active strategies (Jonikaite,

2006; Williams, 2001). These strategies may be arrayed as supporting services to women victims of sexual assault, changing society's attitudes and beliefs about sexual assault or rape, and challenging the state and its institutions. Although they vary in some points, both ideologies give us fundamental ideas to explain reasons and consequences of sexual violence against women.

Empirical Work on Experience of IPV and Help-seeking

Previous research has demonstrated that survivors of violence were more likely to report help-seeking when the violence is severe (Coker et al., 2000; Djikanovic et al., 2011; Ergocmen, Yuksel-Kaptanoglu, and Jansen, 2013; Kantor & Straus, 1990; Meyer, 2010; Lipsky et al., 2006; Naved, Azim, Bhuiva, & Persson, 2006). Few studies have examined the influence of types of violence on the help-seeking efforts of women. First, physical violence is a more widely recognized form of violence against women than verbal violence and causes more visible harm to women. Previous research found a significant association between physical violence and help-seeking behavior. For example, Barrett and St. Pierre (2011), in Canada, found that an increased number of formal supports were significantly and independently predicted by the being physically injured as a result of violence. Another study indicated that experience of physical violence was linked to all types of help seeking among Filipina, but exception domestic violence programs use (shelter and non-shelter programs) among Pakistani and Indian women (Yoshihama, Bybee, Dabby, & Blazevski, 2011). In another previous study, Ergocmen, Yuksel-Kaptanoglu, and Jansen (2013) found that seeking help from formal institutions was highly associated with severity of physical violence. Findings from their

study indicated that the likelihood of seeking help among women who experienced severe physical violence was 10.5 times higher than among women who experienced moderate types of violence. In addition, Flicker and colleagues (2011) found a strong support for Gondolf and Fisher's (1988) survivor theory. In their study, the majority of women, in their sample, sought help from formal and informal help and, women were more likely to seek help when experiencing more severe level of physical violence.

Second, literature on sexual violence against women suggests that help-seeking efforts can be laborious and potentially re-victimization (Campell & Raja, 2005). Previous research reveals that women who experienced sexual violence are often rejected help by the legal and medical institutions, and what help they get frequently leaves them feeling blamed, doubted, and re-victimized (Campell & Raja, 2005; Campell et al., 2001; Kaukinen, 2004; Kilpatrick, Edmunds, & Seymour, 1992; Leung, 2015). In other words, sexually assaulted women by a husband or partner may not report incidents due to fear of being blamed (Kilpatrick, Edmunds, & Seymour, 1992); a fear that may be well-justified (Flicker et al., 2011). Leung (2015) argues that sexual violence survivors often experience negative and long-term psychological distress after the incident. Previous research shows that experience of sexual violence was associated with seeking help from police, but not other help-seeking sources (Yoshihama, Bybee, Dabby, & Blazevski, 2011). In addition, Flicker and colleagues (2011) found that sexual violence predicted lower rates of help-seeking compared to physically abused women who did not experience sexual violence. Another study conducted by Frias (2013) found that women who experienced only sexual violence were less likely to seek help from formal institutions such as police. Flicker and colleagues (2011) suggest that sexual violence

may present many additional barriers to help-seeking, such as shame that prevents women from disclosing to violence, embarrassment over the details of the abuse, or fear of blame from others. Overall, even though sexual violence is also recognized as a form of violence with high potential for physical harm to women, feelings of shame, guilt, and fear associated with experiencing sexual violence within the context of an intimate partnerships have been demonstrated to prevent some women from seeking help (Duterte et al., 2008).

Finally, findings from previous studies regarding the relation of psychological/emotional violence and help-seeking behavior have been varying. Duterte et al (2008) found a significant association between psychological violence and help-seeking behavior among women. In their study, finings indicated that severe psychological violence was related to increased likelihood of formal help-seeking. However, Dutton, Goodman, and Bennett (1999) found that psychological violence was not related to help-seeking behavior among women. In addition, Flicker and colleagues (2011) did not find any significant association between psychological violence and help-seeking behavior among women. Even though greater levels of distress dues to psychological violence may lead to increased help-seeking, the controlling behaviors that constitute psychological violence may render gaining help more difficult (Flicker et al, 2011).

Overall, the empirical work reviewed above seems to corroborate the main propositions set forth by Gondolf and Fisher (1988) in their survivor theory of help-seeking behavior. On the whole, studies suggest that experiencing severe types of violence, such as physical violence, sexual violence, and psychological violence, are

predictors of the help-seeking behavior of women. As described by Gondolf and Fisher (1988), battered women increased their help-seeking efforts when the severity of violence increases.

Hypotheses

By synthesizing several streams of theoretical explanations for women's help-seeking behavior, this dissertation develops a framework to link important theoretical mechanisms to help-seeking behavior in Sub-Saharan Africa. This framework is visually displayed in Figure 4-1 which is used as a roadmap to generate theoretically grounded hypotheses. As demonstrated in the figure, this framework sheds light on limited empirical studies of help-seeking behavior in African societies.

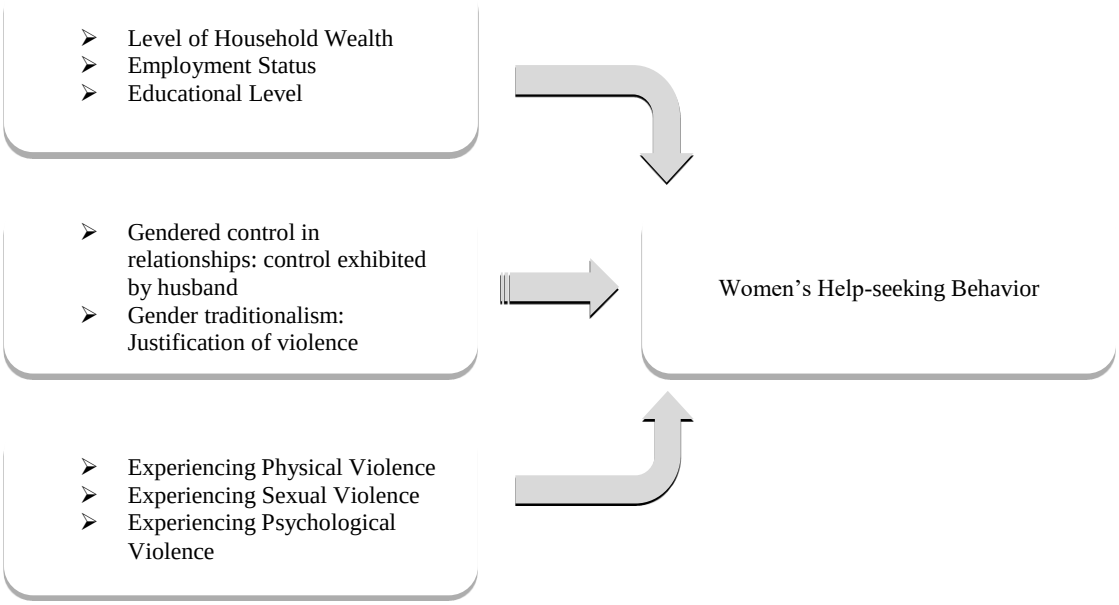

Figure 4-1: Conceptual Model to Explain Women's Help-seeking Behavior

The role of resources as determinants of help-seeking behavior are a theme well established and documented in both theoretical and empirical research. Lack of economic resources has long been identified as playing a main role in battered women's tolerance of violence (Strube & Barbour, 1983). Many women who have experienced intimate partner violence lack the education, skills, or motivation to gain employment. Therefore, they have an economic or marital dependence on their husband or partner. This dependence appears to be a major factor that prevents termination of a violent relationships (Strube & Barbour; Bui, 2003). Therefore, lower wealth, unemployment, and lower education as resources or socioeconomic status (SES), also identified as obstacles to disclosure of violence, may serve as important factors to decrease help-seeking behavior among women (Dufort et al, 2013). Drawing on a resource theory's explanation of help-seeking behavior, it is possible to form these hypotheses.

H1a: Living in wealthier households will increase the odds of help-seeking among women in Sub-Saharan Africa when controlling for age, marital duration, residential location, and having children.

H1b: For women who are currently working the odds of help-seeking will be greater than women who are currently not employed in Sub-Saharan countries, when controlling for age, marital duration, residential location, and having children.

H1c: For women who have secondary and/or higher education the odds of help-seeking from formal and informal sources will be greater than women who have no education in Sub-Saharan countries, controlling for age, marital duration, residential location, and having children.

The gender/feminist theories of help-seeking behavior give primacy to the role of dominant gender roles as determinants of human behavior. Gender perspectives on role socialization hold that men are socialized into forms masculinity, which are hegemonic or dominant in a society. In patriarchal societies, there is a higher premium placed on dominant male gender roles within the household or marital relationship. These perspectives suggest that in patriarchal societies when men's masculinity or status in their community or household is threatened, men will take measures to strengthen their masculinity. Culturally linked values and behaviors such as male-dominated marriages have been associated with an increased risk of IPV against women (West, Kantor, & Jasinski, 1998). These behaviors may potentially expose barriers to the help-seeking efforts of women who experienced violence. For instance, the social isolation enforced by a dominant and controlling husband may restrict a woman's mobility, and her ability to contact help. The patriarchal system in Sub-Saharan Africa isolates women within their families gives men control over women and most economic resources. Dominant and controlling behavior of husbands, in these countries, may restrict women's ability to seek help. Given these considerations, it is possible to put forth a hypothesis concerning the relationship between gendered control and help-seeking behavior (Hypothesis H2a):

H2a: For women whose husbands or partners display more control behaviors (gender ideology), the odds of help-seeking from informal sources will decrease in Sub-Saharan countries, controlling for age, marital duration, residential location, and having children.

In addition to this hypothesis, with respect to reporting IPV, the strong prevalence of bias and oppression can also be found in the actions of members of the general public including police officers (Akers & Kaukinen, 2008). These people facilitate men's power

over women by sometimes being unwilling to believe women who report abuse incidents and frequently being irresolute to coerce the existing arrest laws (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988). Police officers' actions may prevent women from reporting IPV and may reduce their willingness to report even further. This circumstanes may explain why women who so rarely presented IPV report about their victimization to the police (Kaukinen, 2002). These women may believe that their victimization will not be seen as important and their abusers will not be punished for their behaviors against them; thus, victims of IPV are very hesitating to call police. Thus, it is possible to put forth a sub-hypothesis:

H2a1: For women who live in households where husbands display control behaviors, the odds of help-seeking from formal sources will decrease, controlling for age, marital duration, residential location, and having children.

Feminist/Gender theorists also hold that men and women are socialized into their respective roles in conjugal relationships. Based upon this perspective on gender, research on attitudes toward IPV suggests that women who justify wife-beating are less likely to seek help (Torres, 1991). Such findings suggest that women with such attitudes have internalized their feminine role in the marital relationship so as to believe that when they come up short on fulfilling their duties (neglecting the children, obeying their husband, or burning the food) they deserve to be disciplined by the use of violence (Ogland et al, 2015). This interpretation of gender and subsequent empirical work of wife-beating attitudes leads to that hypothesis (Hypothesis H2b):

H2b: For women who justify wife beating the odds of help-seeking from formal and informal sources will be greater than women who do not justify wife-beating in Sub-

Saharan countries, controlling for age, marital duration, residential location, and having children.

The role of experiencing violence as a determinant of help-seeking behavior well established and documented in both theoretical and empirical research. Survivor theory by Gondolf and Fisher (1988) suggested that battered women increase their help-seeking efforts when severity of physical violence increases. Previous research has demonstrated that survivors of violence were more likely to report help seeking when the violence is severe. In spite of its contributions, the survivor theory has some limitations; for example, sexual violence and psychological violence are not included in survivor hypothesis. As an extension of this perspective, based on the literature, it needs to include also sexual and psychological violence. First, Previous research reveals that women who experienced sexual violence are often rejected help by the legal and medical institutions, and what help they get frequently leaves them feeling blamed, doubted, and re-victimized. Second, psychological violence was found to link with help-seeking behavior and indicated that experiencing psychological violence was related to increased likelihood of formal help-seeking. Drawing on a survivor theoretical explanation and its extension literature on help-seeking behavior, it is possible to put forth three hypotheses:

H3a: As the number of different types of physical violence increase, the odds of help-seeking from formal and informal sources will increase in Sub-Saharan countries, controlling for age, marital duration, residential location, and having children.

H3b: For women who has experienced sexual violence, the odds of formal and informal help will be lower than women who have not experienced sexual violence in Sub-Saharan countries, controlling for age, marital duration, residential location, and having children.

H3c: For women who has experienced emotional violence, the odds of help-seeking from formal and informal sources will be greater than women who have not experienced emotional violence in Sub-Saharan countries, controlling for age, marital duration, residential location, and having children.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA AND METHODS

Data Sources and Samples

To examine women's reporting of help-seeking behavior in Sub-Saharan Africa, I utilize data from the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS). The DHS is part of a global initiative to expand knowledge about health and population trends in developing countries with respect to fertility, family planning, maternal and child health, gender, HIV/AIDS, and nutrition. The DHS program was established by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in 1984. It was designed as a follow-up to the World Fertility Survey and the Contraceptive Prevalence Survey projects. The project has been implemented in overlapping five-year phases; DHS-I ran from 1984 to1990; DHS-II from 1988 to1993; and DHS-III from 1992 to1998. In 1997, DHS was folded into the new multi-project MEASURE program as MEASURE DHS+. Since 1984, more than 130 nationally representative household-based surveys have been completed under the DHS project in about 70 countries. Many of the countries have conducted multiple DHS surveys to establish trend data that enable them to gauge progress in their programs. Countries that participate in the DHS program are primarily countries that receive USAID assistance; however, several non-USAID supported countries have participated with funding from other donors such as UNICEF, UNFPA or the World Bank (MEASURE DHS, 2013; The World Bank, 2017).

In my dissertation, I will use data only from the most recent data that are five samples of women in Sub-Saharan African countries who have experienced intimate partner violence: the 2014-2015 Rwanda DHS, the 2015-2016 Tanzania DHS, the 2011 Uganda DHS, the 2013-2014 Zambia DHS, and the 2015 Zimbabwe DHS. National governments have some discretion in which data are collected in their country's DHS. Thus, I chose these five countries because their DHS includes questions on women's reported help-seeking behaviors.

Rwanda DHS

Data for Rwanda were drawn from the 2014-2015 RDHS implemented from November 2014 through April 2015 by the National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda (NISR) with funding provided by the government of Rwanda; USAID; the One United Nations (One UN); the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria; World Vision International; the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC); and Partners in Health (PIH; RDHS Report, 2016). RDHS used a stratified, two-stage cluster design to select a nationally representative sample of nearly 12,700 households. All women from 15-49 years of age and men from 15-59 years of age (i.e., those in their estimated child-bearing years) in these households were eligible for a personal interview. In addition, a sub-sample of one eligible woman, who are aged 15-49, in each household was randomly selected to be asked additional questions about domestic violence. The survey was implemented through face to face interviews, and interviews were recorded by personal digital assistants (PDS). In 2014-2015 Rwanda DHS, there are 13,497 cases for all women. The present dissertation used data gathered from the domestic violence

module (n = 2,679). However, because of the cases with missing values in dependent (n = 1,194), independent, and control variables the numbers of cases will be lower in the study for data analysis. The primary reason of missing values may be explained by that women who never experienced domestic violence have not responded questions from domestic violence module. Therefore, the final sample of my data is lower than original sample (n = 906). In addition, the prevalence of domestic violence for Rwanda is 44% as it is seen in DHS data (1,194/2,679 = 0.44) and these numbers are likely underreported.

Rwanda DHS data was stratified (based on 60 geographic areas and groupings of primary sampling unit), clustered (based on 492 primary sampling units), and weighted.

Tanzania DHS

Data for Tanzania were obtained from the 2015-16 TDHS conducted from August 2015 to September 2016 by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Tanzania Mainland, and Office of the Chief Government Statistician (OCGS), Zanzibar, with the collaboration with the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children (MoHCDGEC), Tanzania Mainland, and the Ministry of Health (MoH), Zanzibar. The survey was funded by Government of Tanzania, USAID, Global Affairs Canada, Irish Aid, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA; TDHS Report, 2016). TDHS used a stratified, two-stage cluster design to select a nationally representative sample of over 12,500 households. All women from 15-49 years of age and men 15-59 years of age in these households were eligible for an individual interview. Furthermore, a sub-sample of one eligible woman, who were aged 15-49, in each household was randomly selected to be asked additional

questions about domestic violence. The survey was conducted through face to face interviews. The 2015-16 Tanzania DHS has 13,266 cases. The current study used data gathered from the domestic violence module (n = 9,322). However, after cases with missing values in self-reported IPV, key independent, and dependent variables (n = 3,910) were eliminated, yielding a final sample size of n = 3,477 for my analysis. Therefore, the final sample of this data is lower than original sample. In addition, the prevalence of domestic violence for Tanzania is 42% as it is seen in DHS data (3,910/9,322 = 0.42) and these numbers are likely underreported.

Tanzania DHS data was stratified (based on 59 geographic areas and groupings of primary sampling unit), clustered (based on 608 primary sampling units), and weighted.

Uganda DHS

Data for Uganda were obtained from 2011 UDHS carried out by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics from May 2011 through December 2011. The funding for the 2011 UDHS was provided by the government of Uganda, USAID, UNFPA, UNICEF, WHO, Irish Aid, and the UK government. ICF International provided technical assistance to the project through the MEASURE DHS project, a USAID-funded project providing support and technical assistance in the implementation of population and health surveys. The 2011 UDHS used a stratified, two-stage cluster design to select a nationally representative sample of more than 10,000 households. All women from 15-49 years of age and men from 15-54 years of age in these households were eligible for an individual interview. In addition, a sub-sample of one eligible woman in each household was randomly selected to be asked additional questions about domestic violence. The survey

was conducted through face to face interviews. The 2011 Uganda DHS has 8,674 cases for women. This dissertation used data collected from the domestic violence module (n = 2,056). However, after cases with missing values in self-reported IPV, key independent variables, and dependent variables (n = 1,295) were eliminated, yielding a final sample of n = 1,074. Therefore, the final sample of this data is lower than original sample. It should be noted that there is a 2014-15 UDHS. However, the newest survey does not include women's help-seeking behavior variables, so I did not use it. In addition, the prevalence of domestic violence for Uganda is 62% as it is seen in DHS data (1,295/2,056 = 0.62) and these numbers are likely underreported.

Uganda DHS data was stratified (based on 10 regions and groupings of primary sampling unit), clustered (based on 712 primary sampling units), and weighted.

Zambia DHS

Data for Zambia was obtained from the 2013-14 ZDHS implemented from August 2013 to April 2014. The 2013-14 Zambia Demographic and Health Survey was carried out by the Central Statistical Office (CSO) in partnership with the Ministry of Health as well as the University Teaching Hospital (UTH)-Virology Laboratory, the Tropical Diseases Research Centre (TDRC), and the Department of Population Studies at the University of Zambia (UNZA) under the overall guidance of the National Steering Committee. The government, through the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Finance, provided funding for the survey. ICF International provided technical assistance as well as funding to the project through The DHS Program, a USAID-funded project providing support and technical assistance in the implementation of population and health survey.

Additional funding for the ZDHS was provided by USAID, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), UNFPA, and UNICEF (ZDHS Report, 2015). ZDHS used a stratified, two-stage cluster design to select a nationally representative sample of around 16,000 households. All women from 15-49 years old and men from 15-59 years old in these households were eligible for an individual interview. In addition, a sub-sample of one eligible woman in each household was randomly selected to be asked additional questions about domestic violence. The survey was conducted through face to face interviews. The 2014-15 Zambia DHS has 16,411 cases for women. My dissertation uses data collected from the domestic violence module (n = 11,778). However, after cases with missing values in self-reported IPV, key independent variables, and dependent variables (n = 5,429) were eliminated, the number of cases will remain lower in the study for data analysis. Therefore, the final sample of this data is lower than original sample (n = 4,649). In addition, the prevalence of domestic violence for Zambia is 46% as it is seen in DHS data (5,429/11,778 = 0.46). These numbers are likely underreported.

Zambia DHS data was stratified (based on 20 geographic areas and groupings of primary sampling unit), clustered (based on 722 primary sampling units), and weighted.

Zimbabwe DHS

Data for Zimbabwe was drawn from the 2015 ZDHS conducted from September 2010 through March 2011 by the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency with the support from the Government of Zimbabwe, USAID, UNFPA, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), UNICEF, the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID), the Royal Danish Embassy, the Australian Agency for

International Development (AusAID), the European Union (EU), the Swedish International Development Cooperation (SIDA), and Irish Aid (ZDHS Report, 2012). ZDHS used a stratified, two-stage cluster design to select a nationally representative sample of more than 11,000 households. All women from 15-49 years old and men from 15-54 years old in these households were eligible for an individual interview. In addition, a sub-sample of one eligible woman in each household was randomly selected to be asked additional questions about domestic violence. The survey was conducted through face to face interviews, and Asus tablets operating on Windows 8.1 software were used during data collection. The 2015 Zimbabwe has 9,171 cases of women. My dissertation uses data collected from the domestic violence module (n = 6,542). However, after cases with missing values in self-reported IPV, key independent variables, and dependent variables (n = 2,829) were eliminated, the number of cases will remain lower in the study for data analysis. Thus, the final sample of this data is lower than original sample (n = 2,434). In addition, the prevalence of domestic violence for Zimbabwe is 42% as it is seen in DHS data (2,829/6,542 = 0.43). These numbers are likely underreported.

Zimbabwe DHS data was stratified (based on 20 geographic areas and groupings of primary sampling unit), clustered (based on 400 primary sampling units), and weighted.

Notes on Data

As indicated in the Table 5-1, I have some missing data. Social science researcher, when faced with large amounts of missing data, often rely on one of two

methods for handling misisng data. The first method is to multiply impute. The second method is to employ a maximum likelihood (ML) estimate. Of these two approaches, multiple imputation (MI) is most common. Unfortunately, all of the popular software for engaging in multiple imputation (including SPSS, used here) uses methods that assume that data are missing at random (MAR), meaning that the missingnes depends onsome of the variables in the analysis, but conditional on those variables, is not related to the value that should have been observed that data point (Hox, 1999). When modeling IPV, it is extremely unlikely that the data would be missing at random. More likely, women who are victims of the most extreme violence are most likely to be missing. According to Allison (2014), "Multiple imputation or ML, when done correctly, can produce approximately unbiased estimates of the regression coefficients when income data are MAR. But so will listwise deletion. And, remarkably, listwise deletion will produce unbiased estimates even if the data are not missing at random." Thus, I simply listwise deleted cases with missing data.

Table 5-1: Samples of Five Sub-Saharan African Countries

	Rwanda (2014-15)	Tanzania (2015-16)	Uganda (2011)	Zambia (2013-14)	Zimbabwe (2015)
DHS Women	13,497	13,266	8.674	16,411	9,171
DV Module	2,679	9,322	2,056	11,778	6,542
Help-seeking	1,194	3,910	1,295	5,429	2,829
Final Sample	906	3,477	1,074	4,649	2,434

Notes: The percent missing is only the difference between those who experienced violence and those who responded to the survey.

A special statistical software package, SPSS for complex sampling design, was used for statistical analysis of all countries. SPSS complex sample is a module that accounts for complex (stratified/clustered) sampling design that makes standard errors better (IBM, 2017).

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables include questions that attempt to gauge different types of help-seeking behavior of women. To capture the help-seeking behavior among women in Sub-Saharan Africa, the analysis includes three dependent variables, which are seeking help from women's own family, husband/partner's family (informal help), and police (formal help).

Help-seeking from own family: The first dependent variable is a dichotomous variable reflecting whether the female respondent has ever sought help from her own family with 1 = yes and 0 = no. In order to obtain that variable, the DHS survey asked a question to respondents who experienced violence: "Have you ever sought help from your own family to stop violence by husband or partner?"

Help-seeking from husband's family: Likewise, the second dependent variable is a dichotomous variable measure of whether or not the female respondent has ever sought help from her husband/partner's family with 1 = yes and 0 = no. To obtain that variable, DHS survey asked a question to respondents who experienced violence: "Have you ever sought help from your husband/partner's family to stop violence by husband or partner?" The first and second DVs reflect informal help-seeking behavior.

Help-seeking from police: The third dependent variable measures whether the female respondent has ever sought help from police with 1 = yes and 0 = no. To obtain that variable, DHS survey asked a question to respondents who experienced violence: “Have you ever sought help from police to stop violence by husband or partner?” This DV displays formal help-seeking.

Independent Variables

Eight independent variables are included in this analysis as factors associated with help-seeking behavior. The first, second, and third independent variables are based on resource theory.

Wealth: The wealth index is a composite measure of a household’s cumulative living standard. The wealth index is calculated using easy-to-collect data on a household’s ownership of selected assets, such as televisions and bicycles; materials used for housing construction’ and types of water access and sanitation facilities. Generated with a statistical procedure known as principal components analysis, the wealth index places individual households on a continuous scale of relative wealth. The wealth index further divided into quintiles to reflect the varying levels of resources had by the household, with the “poorest” representing the lowest level of wealth and the “richest” representing the highest. Because of the ordinal nature of the wealth index, this variable was roughly treated as a continuous variable in the analysis (ranging from 1 = poorest (reference category) to 5 = richest).

Education: Sub-Saharan African countries have achieved gender equality in primary education, but gender gaps in secondary and tertiary education enrollments remain. To reflect this structural inequality, education is coded as a dichotomous variable measuring if a participant had secondary or higher levels of education (0 = No education, 1 = primary education, 2 = secondary education or higher).

Employment status: The third independent variable, employment status, reflect whether or not the female respondent is currently working with 0 = currently is not working (reference category) and 1 = currently is working. In data, it has not been explained whether women are working as paid or unpaid.

The fourth and fifth independent variables are based on gender/feminist perspectives.

Husband's controlling behavior: To operationalize gendered control in the family, the fourth independent variable is indicated by several controlling behaviors exhibited by the husband/partner, containing (a) husband is jealous if she talks with other men, (b) he accuses her of unfaithfulness, (c) he does not allow her to meet her girlfriends, (d) he tries to limit her contact family members, and (e) he insists on knowing where she is. DHS Survey has provided combination of these variables as a scale variable for each country. This variable is range from 0-5.

Attitudes toward IPV: Taking a cue from gender theories, the fifth independent variable measures the female respondent's attitude toward intimate partner violence (wife-beating). This variable is constructed from responses to five questions concerning situations under which the respondent believes that wife-beating is justifiable: if she (a) burns the food, (b) neglects the children, (c) goes out without telling him, (d) argues with

husband, and (e) refuses to have sex with husband. A dummy variable is created to reflect whether the woman accepts wife-beating in at least one of these situations with 1 = accepts any of the five situations and 0 = does not accept (reference category).

The last three independent variables operationalize the women's experience of intimate partner violence. These variables include a series of questions that attempt to measure different types of IPV experienced by female respondents. The analysis includes three independent variables that tap a woman respondent's ever experience of physical, sexual, and psychological (emotional) violence in current marital/partner relationship.

Physical violence: The sixth independent variable, ever-experience of physical violence, is based on whether the female respondent answered yes to any of the following questions: "Did your husband/partner ever do any of the following things to you:

(1) Slap you?

(2) Twist your arm or pull your hair?

(3) Push you, shake you, or throw something at you?

(4) Punch you with his fist or with something that could hurt you?

(5) Kick you, drag you or beat you up?

(6) Try to choke you or burn you on purpose?

(7) Threaten or attack you with a knife, gun, or any other weapon?"

The measure of ever-experiencing physical violence is a counting variable range from 0-7. This variable reflects the accumulation of physical violence.

Psychological violence: Likewise, the seventh independent variable in the analysis captures whether the female respondent has ever experienced any form of psychological/emotional violence. This measure also a dichotomous measure based on

affirmative responses to any of the following three questions: "Did your partner/husband ever:

(1) Say or do something to humiliate her in front of others?

(2) Threaten to hurt or harm you or someone close to you?

(3) Insult her or make her feel bad about herself?"

Thus, the seventh dichotomous variable reflects whether the female respondent ever experienced emotional/psychological abuse in her current marital/partner relationship (0 = no emotional violence (reference category) and 1 = experienced emotional violence).

Sexual violence: The eight independent variable measures whether the female respondent has ever experienced any form of sexual violence. According to DHS, sexual violence is based on whether the respondent's husband/partner: (1) physically forced her to have sexual intercourse with him even when she did not want to, or (2) forced her to perform sexual acts that she did not want to do. Based on responses to either of these two questions, a dichotomous variable reflecting whether the female respondent ever experienced sexual violence in her current marital/partner relationship was created (0 = no sexual violence (reference category) and 1 = experience of sexual violence).

Control Variables

The following four variables are included into analysis models to control for their effects on the dependent variables.

Age: Previous research indicated that older women were more likely than their younger counterparts to seek help from formal sources (Akers & Kaukinen, 2009), while older

women were less likely to seek help from informal sources (Flicker et al, 2011). In the present study, age of women participants is a continuous variable with value ranging from 15-49 years.

Marital duration: Research shows that relationship length affects the likelihood of women's help-seeking behavior, and longer relationships are correlated with lower rates of seeking help (Kaukinen, Meyer, & Akers, 2013). For the present study, marital duration is a dichotomous variable (0 = < 5 years, (reference category) 1 = ≥ 5 years).

Residence location: Prior research suggests that women living in urban areas are more likely than those living in rural areas to seek help (Bamiwuye, Owoeye, &Oyiboka, 2015). This can be true in Sub-Saharan Africa where women living in rural areas have more disadvantages that reducing and limiting their resources and constraining their influence in decision-making power. For the present study, residence location is a dichotomous variable (0 = rural (reference category) and 1 = urban).

Having children less than 5 years old: Researchers demonstrate that having children is associated with the help-seeking behavior of women and women with small children are less likely to seek help for IPV (Akers & Kaukinen, 2009; Djikanovic et al, 2011; Parvin, Sultana, & Naved, 2016). The literature also indicates that women who have small or dependent children living in the household tend to silently suffer IPV and are reluctant to leave a violent relationship for fear of losing child custody (Johnson, 1990; Mahapatra & DiNitto, 2013; Shiu-Thornton, Sentura, & Sullivan, 2005). Therefore, these women may be more likely than others to avoid to seeking help. I created a dichotomous variable measuring whether a respondent had children less than 5 years old (0 = no (reference) and 1 = yes).

Analytical Approach

First, a descriptive statistical analysis was conducted. The means and standard errors of the dependent, independent, and control variables were reported and examined. Second, logistic regression was utilized to test the research hypotheses. Logistic regression was chosen as the preferred statistical technique due to the dichotomous nature of all three dependent variables. Logistic regressions estimate the loglinear relationships between the binary dependent and independent variables. The coefficients (logits) and odds ratios were reported and interpreted. All regressions analyses followed a nested modeling approach to test each of the hypotheses. Model 1 examines the effect of control variables on help-seeking. Model 2 tests the resources perspective (economic dependence), Model 3 tests the gender/feminist approaches, Model 4 tests the survivor theory to assess the effects of economic dependence, patriarchal beliefs, and type of IPV experienced on the odds of help-seeking behavior while demographic characteristics are controlled. The final model (Model 5) included all control and independent variables that may provide some more information.

Sample Characteristics

Table 5-2 summarizes sample characteristics of in Rwanda. For sample characteristics in Rwanda, the higher age group that women had was 25-34 years (41%). More than half of women participants had marital duration longer than five years (60.6%). The majority of the women lived in rural areas (76.5%). Two-thirds of women had children younger than five years (63.6%). More than two-thirds of the women had

Table 5-2: Sample Characteristics in Rwanda (n = 1,194)

	n		Percentage	Missing
15-24 years old	327		27.4%	0
25-34 years old	490		41.0%	
35-44 years old	291		24.4%	
45-49 years old	86		7.2%	
Marital Duration 0-4 years	470		39.4%	0
Marital Duration 5 and over	724		60.6%	
Rural	914		76.5%	0
Urban	280		23.5%	
No children under 5 years	435		36.4%	0
Have children under 5 years	759		63.6%	
No Education	163		13.7%	0
Primary Education	810		67.8%	
Secondary/Higher Education	221		18.5%	
Not Working	182		15.2%	
Currently Working	1,012		84.8%	
Not Justifying Wife-beating	675		57.5%	1.0%
Justifying Wife-beating	498		42.5%	
No Sexual Violence	705		76.2%	22.0%
Experienced Sexual Violence	220		23.8%	
No Emotional Violence	483		52.3%	
Experienced Emotional Violence	441		47.7%	
No Help from Own Family	1,045		87.5%	0
Sought Help from Own Family	149		12.5%	
No Help from Husband's Family	1,100		92.1%	
Sought Help from Husband's Family	94		7.9%	
No Help from Police	1,141		95.6%	
Sought Help from Police	53		4.4%	
	M	**Median**	**SE**	
Wealth	2.87	3.00	.042	0
Husband's Controlling Behavior	1.65	1.00	.052	22%
Physical Violence (Counting)	1.67	1.00	.065	22%

primary education (67.8%). Many of the women (84.8%) currently were employed prior to the interview. The mean of women's wealth was 2.87 on a 5-point scale (SE = 0.04). More than 40 percent of the women agreed that wife beating was justified in certain situations. For gender ideology, the mean of husbands' patriarchal behavior was 1.65 on the 5-point scale (SE = 0.05). Regarding experience of IPV, 47.7% of women experienced emotional violence and 23.8% sexual violence by their husbands/partners. With respect to physical violence, the mean of number of different types of physical violence was 1.67 on the 7-point scale (SE = 0.06). Regarding help-seeking behavior, 12.5% of the women reported seeking help from own family, 7.9% sought help from husband/partner's family, and 4.4% of the women sought help from the police.

Table 5-3 summarizes sample characteristics in Tanzania. More than 36 percent of women were in 25-34 age group and 28% of women were in youngest category (15-24 years). Over two-thirds of women had marital duration longer than five years (73.8%). The majority of women lived in rural areas (70.7%). Around 72.2% of women had children under five years old. Primary education was highest among women (67.1%) and over 80 percent of respondents were currently working. The mean of women's wealth was 3.05 on a 5-point scale (SE = 0.04). More than two-thirds of women believed that wife beating was tolerable in certain conditions (67.1%). The mean of husband's controlling behavior was 2.23 on the 5-point scale (SE = 0.03). Respecting IPV, 58.1% of women experienced emotional violence and 26.5% sexual violence by their husbands or partners. For physical violence, the mean of physical violence was 2.01 on the 7-point scale (SE = 0.03). Regarding help-seeking behavior, 29% of women respondents sought

Table 5-3: Sample Characteristics in Tanzania (n = 3,910)

	n	Percentage		Missing
15-24 years old	1,094	28.0%		0
25-34 years old	1,441	36.9%		
35-44 years old	1,069	27.3%		
45-49 years old	306	7.8%		
Marital Duration 0-4 years	1,026	26.2%		0
Marital Duration 5 and over	2,884	73.8%		
Rural	2,764	70.7%		0
Urban	1,146	29.3%		
No children under 5 years	1,067	27.8%		0
Have children under 5 years	2,843	72.2%		
No Education	671	17.2%		0
Primary Education	2,624	67.1%		
Secondary/Higher Education	615	15.7%		
Not Working	746	19.1%		
Currently Working	3,164	80.9%		
Not Justifying Wife-beating	1,252	32.9%		2.0%
Justifying Wife-beating	2,551	67.1%		
No Sexual Violence	2,610	73.5%		9.1%
Experienced Sexual Violence	941	26.5%		
No Emotional Violence	1,489	41.9%		
Experienced Emotional Violence	2,062	58.1%		
No Help from Own Family	2,775	71.0%		0
Sought Help from Own Family	1,135	29.0%		
No Help from Husband's Family	3,033	77.6%		
Sought Help from Husband's Family	877	22.4%		
No Help from Police	3,747	95.8%		
Sought Help from Police	163	4.2%		
	M	**Median**	**SE**	
Wealth	3.05	3.00	.047	0
Husband's Controlling Behavior	2.23	2.00	.031	9.1%
Physical Violence (Counting)	2.01	2.00	.037	9.1%

help from their own families, 22.4% sought help from husband's family, and 4.2% of those sought help from police as a formal source.

Table 5-4 summarizes sample characteristics in Uganda. The two highest age groups among women were 15-24 years (35.6%) and 25-34 years (36.8%). Over two-thirds of women possessed marital duration longer than 5 and over years (69%). The majority of the women were residing in rural areas of Uganda (73.9%). Around 74.7% of women had children under five years. More than half of women had primary education (57.8%) and many women reported that they were currently working (70%). The mean of wealth was 3.02 on a 5-point scale (SE = 0.06). With respect to the women's attitudes towards intimate partner violence, it is noted that 60.3% of women believed that wife beating was tolerable in some situations. The mean of husband's patriarchal behavior was 2.30 on the 5-point scale (SE = 0.05). Regarding IPV, 55.6% of women experienced psychological/emotional violence, and 41% sexual violence by their husbands or partners. For physical violence, the mean of the number of different types of physical violence was 1.80 on the 7-point scale (SE = .07). Respecting help-seeking behavior, 23.2% of the women sought help from their own family, 12.9% from husband's family, and 4.9% of them sought help from police for IPV.

Table 5-4: Sample Characteristics in Uganda (n = 1,295)

	n	Percentage		Missing
15-24 years old	461	35.6%		0
25-34 years old	476	36.8%		
35-44 years old	271	20.9%		
45-49 years old	87	6.7%		
Marital Duration 0-4 years	401	31.0%		0
Marital Duration 5 and over	894	69.0%		
Rural	957	73.9%		0
Urban	338	26.1%		
No children under 5 years	332	25.6%		0
Have children under 5 years	963	74.4%		
No Education	219	16.9%		0
Primary Education	748	57.8%		
Secondary/Higher Education	328	25.3%		
Not Working	389	30.0%		
Currently Working	906	70.0%		
Not Justifying Wife-beating	495	39.7%		3.0%
Justifying Wife-beating	751	60.3%		
No Sexual Violence	657	59.0%		14.0%
Experienced Sexual Violence	456	41.0%		
No Emotional Violence	507	45.4%		
Experienced Emotional Violence	610	55.6%		
No Help from Own Family	994	76.8%		0
Sought Help from Own Family	301	23.2%		
No Help from Husband's Family	1,128	87.1%		
Sought Help from Husband Family	167	12.9%		
No Help from Police	1,232	95.1%		
Sought Help from Police	63	4.9%		
	M	**Median**	**SE**	
Wealth	3.02	3.00	.063	0
Husband's Controlling Behavior	2.30	2.00	.058	14.0%
Physical Violence (Counting)	1.80	1.00	.074	14.0%

Table 5-5 displays sample characteristics of women in Zambia. The majority of women were in age groups of 15-24 years (28.8%) and 25-34 years (41.1%). Over two-thirds of women had marital duration five or over years (73.2%). More than half of women were living in rural areas (55.1%). Over three-fourths of women had children under five years old (77.3%). More than half of women had primary education (54.1%) and over three-fifths of women were currently working (61.5%). The mean of wealth was 2.96 on a 5-point scale (SE = 0.03). More than half of women were believing that wife beating is justified in some conditions (58%). The mean of husband's controlling behavior was 2.41 on a 5-point scale (SE = 0.02). Regarding IPV, 33.3% of women experienced sexual violence and 41.5% experienced emotional violence by husband or partner. Respecting help-seeking behavior, 30.6% of women sought help from own family, 19.7% sought help from husband's family, and 4.3% sought help from police for intimate partner violence in Zambia.

Table 5-5: Sample Characteristics in Zambia (n = 5,429)

	n	Percentage		Missing
15-24 years old	1,563	28.8%		0
25-34 years old	2,231	41.1%		
35-44 years old	1,288	23.7%		
45-49 years old	347	6.4%		
Marital Duration 0-4 years	1,456	26.8%		0
Marital Duration 5 and over	3,973	73.2%		
Rural	2,989	55.1%		0
Urban	2,440	44.9%		
No children under 5 years	1,234	22.7%		0
Have children under 5 years	4,195	77.3%		
No Education	534	9.8%		0.03%
Primary Education	2,933	54.1%		
Secondary/Higher Education	1,958	36.1%		
Not Working	2,086	38.5%		
Currently Working	3,326	61.5%		
Not Justifying Wife-beating	2,201	42.0%		0
Justifying Wife-beating	3,037	58.0%		
No Sexual Violence	3,221	66.7%		11.0%
Experienced Sexual Violence	1,611	33.3%		
No Emotional Violence	2,825	58.5%		
Experienced Emotional Violence	2,006	41.5%		
No Help from Own Family	3,769	69.4%		0
Sought Help from Own Family	1,660	30.6%		
No Help from Husband's Family	4,359	80.3%		
Sought Help from Husband's Family	1,070	19.7%		
No Help from Police	233	95.7%		
Sought Help from Police	5,196	4.3%		
	M	**Median**	**SE**	
Wealth	2.96	3.00	.031	0
Husband's Controlling Behavior	2.41	2.00	.029	11.0%
Physical Violence	1.78	1.00	.035	11.0%

Table 5-6 summarizes sample characteristics of women in Zimbabwe. The highest age group of women was 25-34 years (40.7%) while the percentage of older women (45-49 years) were low (5.2%). Over two-thirds of women had marital duration 5 and over years (69.8). More than half of women were residing in rural areas (56.6%), and 65.9% of respondents had children under 5 years old. Interestingly, women who had no education were low in Zimbabwe (1.1%) and secondary or higher educational level was highest (71.5%). Over half of women reported they were currently not working (53.9%). The mean of wealth was 3.07 on a 5-point scale (SE = 0.04). With respect to respondents' attitudes toward intimate partner violence, around 41% of women believed that wife-beating is justified in some conditions. Respecting IPV, 52.9% of women experienced emotional violence, and 27.4% sexual violence by their husband or partner. Regarding physical violence, the mean of the number of different types of physical violence was 1.5 on a 7-point scale (SE = .03). Regarding help-seeking behavior, 20.9% of women sought help from own family, 14% from husband's family, and 8.7% from police for IPV in Zimbabwe.

Table 5-6: Sample Characteristics in Zimbabwe (n = 2,829)

	n	Percentage		Missing
15-24 years old	878	31.0%		0
25-34 years old	1,151	40.7%		
35-44 years old	652	23.0%		
45-49 years old	148	5.2%		
Marital Duration 0-4 years	854	30.2%		0
Marital Duration 5 and over	1,975	69.8%		
Rural	1,600	56.6%		0
Urban	1,229	43.4%		
No children under 5 years	966	34.1%		0
Have children under 5 years	1,863	65.9%		
No Education	31	1.1%		0
Primary Education	776	27.4%		
Secondary/Higher Education	2,022	71.5%		
Not Working	1,524	53.9%		
Currently Working	1,305	46.1%		
Not Justifying Wife-beating	1,636	59.1%		2.0%
Justifying Wife-beating	1,132	40.9%		
No Sexual Violence	1,796	72.6%		12.5%
Experienced Sexual Violence	679	27.4%		
No Emotional Violence	1,165	47.1%		
Experienced Emotional Violence	1,310	52.9%		
No Help from Own Family	2,237	79.1%		0
Sought Help from Own Family	592	20.9%		
No Help from Husband's Family	2,434	86.0%		
Sought Help from Husband's Family	395	14.0%		
No Help from Police	2,583	91.3%		
Sought Help from Police	246	8.7%		
	M	**Median**	**SE**	
Wealth	3.07	4.00	.044	0
Husband's Controlling Behavior	2.16	2.00	.035	12.5%
Physical Violence	1.50	1.00	.036	12.5%

CHAPTER SIX

RESULTS: HELP-SEEKING FROM OWN FAMILY

This chapter shows the results from five tables that summarize the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from their own family and whether there are different patterns in findings between the following countries: Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. I developed several hypotheses based on resource theory, gender/feminist perspectives, survivor theory, and sexual and emotional violence:

- Based on resource theory, living in households that have more goods (i.e., are wealthier) will increase women's help-seeking. Additionally, women who live in poorer households will tend to get help from informal sources, including their own family, if help is sought. Furthermore, women who have higher educational attainment and are currently working would seek more help from informal sources, including their own family.
- Based on gender/feminist perspectives, women who justify wife-beating would have lower odds of seeking help from their own family than women who do not justify wife-beating. Additionally, women who live in households where husbands display more controlling behavior would have lower odds of seeking help from their own family.
- The accumulation of physical violence would increase women's help-seeking from informal sources, including their own family. Additionally (and only initially tested to a limited degree in this chapter), women who experienced sexual

violence would be less likely to seek help from formal sources like the police while women who experienced emotional violence would be seek more help from informal sources, such as their own family.

Tables in this chapter shows odds ratios and confidence intervals from logistic regression analysis. Table 6-1 summarizes the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from their own family for intimate partner violence in Rwanda. First, a control variables model (see Model 1) was run and having children under five years of age was negatively associated with seeking help from the respondent's own family. Women who had children under five years had 34% lower odds of seeking help from their own family than women who did not have children under five years ($p < .05$, OR = .667). That finding was an expecting result, and it suggests that women who have children, particularly young children, may not leave their family because of fear of future of children. Model 2 includes tests of resource theory. This model demonstrates that only employment status was significantly associated with women's help-seeking from their own families while educational level and wealth were not significant. Women who are currently working have 110% greater odds of help seeking from their own family than women who are not working in Rwanda ($p < .05$, OR = 2.099). Model 3 tests gender and feminist perspectives and indicates that attitudes toward IPV and husband's controlling behavior were not significantly associated with seeking help from own family. Model 4 tests survivor theory and shows that only the accumulation of physical violence was significantly associated with help-seeking from own family whereas sexual and emotional violence were not significant. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of women help-seeking from their own family increases, on

Table 6-1: Help-seeking from Own Family: Rwanda

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	.67(.37, 1.18)	.61(.34, 1.07)	.66(.30, 1.43)	.65(.30, 1.3)	.69(.30, 1.57)
35-44 years old	1.1(.57, 2.14)	1.03(.52, 2.02)	1.13(.48,2.6)	.95(.40, 2.2)	1.05(.42, 2.62
45-49 years old	.77(.31, 1.88)	.70(.27, 1.78)	.68(.24, 1.87)	.62(.22, 1.6)	.68(.21, 2.10)
Married 5+ years	1.19(.68,2.06)	1.08(.61, 1.89)	1.71(.83,3.5)	1.54(.76, 3.1)	1.59(.73, 3.45)
Urban	.92(.56, 1.4)	.86(.49, 1.49)	.85(.46, 1.57)	.86(.47, 1.5)	.76(.39, 1.45)
Have children <5 years	.67*(.45, .98)	.68*(.46, 1.01)	.62*(.38, .98)	.57*(.35, .91)	.64(.39, 1.03)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		1.13(.97, 1.30)			1.17(.98, 1.38)
Education					
No education		1.27(.56, 2.85)			.74(.26, 2.06)
Primary education		1.47(.83, 2.58)			.95(.42, 2.15)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		2.10*(1.1,3.8)			2.23(.92, 5.38)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			1.33(.85, 2.05)		1.44(.93, 2.22)
Controlling behavior			1.06(.92, 1.21)		.96(.82, 1.11)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.26***(1.1, 1.4)	1.30***(1.14, 1.4)
Sexual violence				1.0(.60, 1.6)	.99(.58, 1.65)
Emotional Violence				.68(.42, 1.1)	.71(.43, 1.13)
n	1,194	1,194	912	919	906
AIC	900.88	897.67	665.27	663.43	648.57

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

average, about 26% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.257). In the full model (Model 5), which examines all variable concurrently, only physical violence remains significantly associated with help-seeking from own family, offering some evidence that survivor theory may be the most useful for explaining own family help seeking in Rwanda, although more research would be needed to state that conclusively.

Regarding help-seeking from their own family, economic dependence hypotheses were partially supported in Model 2, hypotheses from gender perspectives were not supported in Model 3, hypotheses from survivor theory was supported in Model 4 while hypotheses from emotional and sexual violence were not supported by data from Rwanda. In the full model, only survivor theory is supported. Neither economic dependence nor gender perspective variables demonstrated significance, but a comparison of the Akaike information criteria (AIC) across models shows that Model 4 is somewhat superior in fit to Models 2 and 3, providing further evidence that models including variables testing survivor theory have more explanatory power in Rwanda, as Model 4 is the best fitting model.

Table 6-2 summarizes the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from their own family for IPV in Tanzania. First, a baseline control variables model was run (see Model 1) that shows that women who have been married five or more years had greater odds of help-seeking from their own family, compared to women who had been married for fewer than five years. Women who were married for five or more had 56% greater odds of seeking help from their own family than women who were married less than five years ($p < .01$, OR = 1.560). Contrary to the model for Rwanda, and counter to expectation, having children under five years of age was positively

Table 6-2: Help-seeking from Own Family: Tanzania

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	.92(.70, 1.20)	.92(.70, 1.19)	.95(.72, 1.2)	.94(.70, 1.25)	.92(.69, 1.23)
35-44 years old	.95(.71, 1.26)	.95(.71, 1.25)	.95(.70, 1.3)	.93(.68, 1.26)	.93(.67, 1.26)
45-49 years old	1.05(.75, 1.48)	1.05(.74, 1.46)	1.11(.76, 1.61)	1.03(.71, 1.48)	1.05(.71, 1.52)
Married 5+ years	1.56**(1.2,2.0)	1.59**(1.2,2.1)	1.34*(1.01, 1.8)	1.30(.95, 1.73)	1.40*(.99, 1.82)
Urban	1.13(.94, 1.36)	1.14(.90, 1.43)	1.10(.90, 1.33)	1.22*(1.0, 1.5)	1.16(.91, 1.46)
Have children <5 years	1.21*(1.0, 1.5)	1.21*(.99, 1.5)	1.18(.94, 1.46)	1.15(.92, 1.43)	1.16(.92, 1.46)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		.99(.91, 1.07)			.98(.89, 1.06)
Education					
No education		.85(.58, 1.21)			.81(.54, 1.21)
Primary education		.88(.66, 1.14)			.79(.57, 1.09)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		1.07(.84, 1.35)			.97(.75, 1.25)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			.75**(.63, .89)		.78**(.64, .92)
Controlling behavior			1.25***(1.2,1.3)		1.14***(1.1,1.2)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.25***(1.2,1.3)	1.21***(1.1,1.3)
Sexual violence				.96(.78, 1.16)	.89(.72, 1.09)
Emotional Violence				1.32**(1.1, 1.6)	1.27*(1.04,1.54)
n	3,910	3,910	3,477	3,551	3,477
AIC	4700.35	4701.08	4185.58	4163.46	4068.30

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

associated with help-seeking from own family. Women who had children under five years had around 21% greater odds of help-seeking from their own family than women who did not have children under five years ($p < .05$, OR = 1.208). The fact that this finding is different than help-seeking from their own family in Rwanda may be explained by the fact that sometimes IPV committed by the husband or partner is not tolerable for women even though they have younger children. Model 2 shows wealth, educational level, and employment status were not significantly associated with help-seeking from own family. Model 3 indicates that justifying wife beating was negatively and husband's controlling behavior was positively associated with help-seeking from women's own family. Women who believe wife beating is justified had 25% lower odds of help-seeking from their own family than women who do not believe wife beating is justified ($p < .01$, OR = .753). As controlling behavior increases, the odds of help-seeking from their own family increases, on average, 25% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.253). Model 4 shows that the accumulation of physical violence and emotional violence were positively associated with help-seeking from own family. As the number of different types of physical violence increase, the odds of help-seeking from their own family increases, on average, 25% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.250). This finding may be explained by the fact that generally husband's controlling behaviors may directly shape women's empowerment, as his controlling actions limit his wife's opportunities and freedom. However, if women have individual empowerment, this can influence the recognition that IPV is a problem by providing women with the capacity to refuse social norms that dictate unequal division of power and rights between husband and wife. Women who experienced emotional violence had 32% greater odds of help-seeking from their own family than women who did not

experienced emotional violence ($p < .01$, OR = 1.321). Additionally, in Model 4, living in urban areas became significant with the inclusion of all the variables and was positively linked to help-seeking from own family. This finding may be potentially explained by a statistical suppression effect arising from adding types of IPV to the full model. In the full model (Model 5), justifying wife beating, physical violence, and emotional violence remains significantly associated with help-seeking from own family, and husband' controlling behavior is related to help-seeking from own family in the direction opposite of what should be anticipated if gender/feminist perspectives operate the same way in Tanzania as they do in Western societies.

With respect to help-seeking from their own family, hypotheses from the resource perspective were not supported, the justifying wife-beating hypothesis was supported, survivor hypothesis was supported, and types of IPV hypotheses were partially supported by data from Tanzania. Additionally, as with Rwanda, the AIC indicates that Model 4 is somewhat superior in fit to Models 2 and 3, meaning that models including variables testing survivor theory have more explanatory power in Tanzania, just as they did in Rwanda.

Table 6-3 summarizes the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from their own family for intimate partner violence in Uganda. First, the control variable model (Model 1) was run and there were no significant associations between the control variables and help-seeking from own family. Wealth, educational level, and employment status were not significantly associated with help-seeking in Model 2. Neither belief in the justification of wife-beating nor controlling behavior were significant in Model 3. Model 4 displays that only the accumulation of physical violence

Table 6-3: Help-seeking from Own Family: Uganda

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	.80(.52, 1.21)	.83(.53, 1.27)	.81(.50, 1.3)	.87(.54, 1.37)	.87(.53, 1.41)
35-44 years old	1.03(.62, 1.7)	1.13(.66, 1.91)	1.00(.58, 1.7)	1.05(.61, 1.80)	1.05(.59, 1.87)
45-49 years old	1.12(.59, 2.1)	1.24(.63, 2.4)	1.09(.53, 1.2)	1.21(.61, 2.35)	1.13(.53, 2.39)
Married 5+ years	1.33(.85, 2.1)	1.32(.83, 2.1)	1.36(.80, 2.3)	1.18(.69, 2.0)	1.13(.64, 1.96)
Urban	1.03(.70, 1.5)	1.16(.73, 1.85)	1.02(.66, 1.54)	1.09(.71, 1.67)	1.22(.71, 2.09)
Have children <5 years	.91(.64, 1.28)	.89(.63, 1.26)	.92(.62, 1.3)	.99(.67, 1.4)	.91(.60, 1.36)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		.93(.79, 1.09)			.94(.78, 1.12)
Education					
No education		.87(.44, 1.70)			.78(.36, 1.63)
Primary education		.99(.63,1.56)			.95(.55, 1.62)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		.73(.52, 1.01)			.71(.49, 1.02)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			.83(.57, 1.2)		.81(.56, 1.16)
Controlling behavior			1.05(.92, 1.15)		.95(.83, 1.07)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.18***(1.08, 1.3)	1.21***(1.1,1.3)
Sexual violence				1.04(.75, 1.42)	1.06(.76, 1.47)
Emotional Violence				1.01(.67, 1.5)	1.02(.68, 1.52)
n	1,295	1,295	1,080	1,111	1,074
AIC	1414.05	1413.07	1166.61	1188.92	1149.70

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

was significantly associated with help-seeking from own family while sexual and emotional violence were not significant. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of help-seeking from own family increases, on average, 18% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.184). In the full model (Model 5), only physical violence was significantly associated with help-seeking from own family, as expected given the results of the previous models.

Thus, regarding help-seeking from women's own family, hypotheses from the resource perspective were not supported, and hypotheses from the gender perspectives were not supported. However, the hypothesis derived from survivor theory is supported while other types of IPV hypotheses were not supported by data from Uganda.

Table 6-4 summarizes the results of the logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from their own family for IPV in Zambia. Model 1 shows that, among control variables, being in the age group of 45-49 (oldest) and having children under five years of age, compared to being in the youngest age group and having older children, were negatively associated with help-seeking from own family. Women 45-49 years old had around 36% lower odds of help-seeking from their own family than women in the 15-24-year age group ($p < .05$, OR = .642). Women who have children under five years had around 24% lower odds of help-seeking from own family than women who do not have children under five years. Wealth, educational level, and employment status were not significant in Model 2. Model 3 indicates that justifying wife-beating is negatively associated with help-seeking, while controlling behavior is positively related to help-seeking from a woman's own family. Women who believe that wife-beating is justified had around 22% lower odds of help-seeking from their own family than women who do

Table 6-4: Help-seeking from Own Family: Zambia

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	.97(.77, 1.21)	1.02(.80, 1.27)	.97(.74, 1.2)	1.01(.77, 1.31)	1.04(.79, 1.34)
35-44 years old	.95(.73, 1.22)	1.01(.77, 1.32)	.93(.69, 1.2)	.96(.71, 1.27)	.99(.73, 1,3)
45-49 years old	.64*(.44, .92)	.71*(.49, 1.01)	.62*(.41, 90)	.63*(.42, 93)	.69(.46, 1.02)
Married 5+ years	1.20(.96, 1.5)	1.22(.97, 1.52)	1.28*(.99, 1.6)	1.03(.80, 1.32)	1.07(.82, 1.38)
Urban	1.00(.86, 1.16)	1.06(.85, 1.29)	.91(.76, 1.1)	.92(.77, 1.08)	.81(.64, 1.02)
Have children <5 years	.76(.64, .89)	.77**(.65, .90)	.71***(.58, .84)	.72***(.59, .86)	.75**(.61, .90)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		.95(.87, 1.03)			1.01(.92, 1.1)
Education					
No education		.85(.65, 1.12)			.87(.64, 1,16)
Primary education		.86(.72, 1.02)			.89(.72, 1.07)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		.89(.76, 1.04)			.87(.72, 1.04)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			.79**(.67, .91)		.79**(.67, .92)
Controlling behavior			1.18***(1.1,1.23)		1.07**(1.01, 1.13)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.32***(1.25,1.4)	1.33***(1.26, 1.4)
Sexual violence				.75**(.63, .88)	.74***(.62, .87)
Emotional Violence				1.32**(1.1, 1.55)	1.25*(1.04, 1.49)
n	5,429	5,408	4,713	4,789	4,649
AIC	6684.00	6663.98	5733.68	5622.64	5444.87

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

not believe that wife-beating is justified ($p < .01$, OR = .786). As controlling behavior increases, the odds of help-seeking from women's own family increases, on average, about 18% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.178). Model 4 demonstrates that physical and emotional violence were positively, and sexual violence was negatively associated with help-seeking from own family. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of help-seeking from own family increases, on average, about 32% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.318). Women who experienced emotional violence had about 32% greater odds of help-seeking from own family than women who did not experience emotional violence. Women who experienced sexual violence had about 25% lower odds of help-seeking from own family than women who did not experience sexual violence. In the full model (Model 5), among independent variables, justifying wife beating, controlling behaviors, types of physical violence, and sexual and emotional violence remained significant in the full model.

With respect to help-seeking from their own family, the justifying wife-beating hypothesis was supported, the hypothesis from survivor theory was supported, and hypotheses from types of IPV were supported, while hypotheses from resource perspective were not supported by data from Zambia. We see resource factors do not have significance, but also that the AIC statistics indicates that Model 4 is somewhat superior in fit to Models 2 and 3, meaning that models including variables testing survivor theory better fit the Zambian data.

Table 6-5 summarizes the results of the logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from their own family for intimate partner violence in Zimbabwe. Model 1 shows that control variables were not significant. Wealth, educational level, and employment status were not significant in Model 2. Model 3 reveals that controlling behavior was positively associated with help-seeking from own family whereas justifying wife-beating was not significant. As a husband's controlling behavior increases, the odds of help-seeking from the woman's own family increases, on average, 13% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.134). In this model, interestingly, residential location become significant and living in urban areas is negatively associated with help-seeking from own family. Model 4 shows that only the accumulation of physical violence was positively associated with help-seeking from own family while sexual and emotional violence were not significant. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of help-seeking from own family increases, on average, about 20% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.205). In the full model (Model 5), only types of physical violence remain significantly associated with help-seeking from own family. Overall, only the hypothesis from the survivor perspective was supported by data from Zimbabwe. Even though the relationship between gender perspective and help-seeking was significant, the result was contrary to theoretical expectations.

Table 6-5: Help-seeking from Own Family: Zimbabwe

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	.98(.72, 1.33)	.98(.72, 1.32)	1.09(.76, 1.54)	1.10(.78, 1.55)	1.09(.76, 1.56)
35-44 years old	.89(.63, 1.24)	.88(.62, 1.24)	1.01(.67, 1.5)	.98(.66, 1.44)	1.00(.66, 1.49)
45-49 years old	.93(.55, 1.54)	.95(.56, 1.60)	1.09(.63, 1.87)	1.09(.63, 1.86)	1.18(.67, 2.03)
Married 5+ years	.95(.69, 1.29)	.94(.69, 1.27)	.79(.55, 1.13)	.76(.53, 1.08)	.765(.53, 1.10)
Urban	.82(.66, 1.01)	.82(.57, 1.14)	.78*(.63, .96)	.81(.64, 1.01)	.747(.53, 1.04)
Have children <5 years	.93(.73, 1.19)	.94(.73, 1.20)	.93(.71, 1.2)	.92(.70, 1.21)	.919(.69, 1.21)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		.99(.88, 1.1)			1.00(.88, 1.1)
Education					
No education		.68(.23, 1.96)			.47(.14, 1.48)
Primary education		.98(.76, 1.24)			.88(.68, 1.13)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		1.10(.89, 1.35)			1.06(.84, 1.32)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			1.04(83, 1.30)		1.09(.86, 1.37)
Controlling behavior			1.13***(1.1, 1.2)		1.05(.97, 1.12)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.21***(1.1, 1,3)	1.20***(1.1, 1.3)
Sexual violence				.94(.74, 1.19)	.92(.72, 1.17)
Emotional Violence				1.18(.91, 1.51)	1.11(.85, 1.43)
n	2,829	2,829	2,434	2,475	2,434
AIC	2912.65	2919.64	2512.18	2519.61	2478.45

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

In conclusion, results from this chapter indicate that even though it is an important theoretical perspective in issue of intimate partner violence, resource theory did not have effect on women's help-seeking behavior for IPV from own family. Hypotheses from this theory were not supported by data from any of five Sub-Saharan countries. The effect of gender theory also was not like expected. Contrary to expectation, controlling behavior of husband or partner had positive influence of women's help-seeking behavior for IPV from own family. The strong theory that had important effect on women's help-seeking from own family was survivor theory. Particularly the accumulation of physical violence was significantly and positively associated with women's help-seeking behavior in all countries.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESULTS: HELP-SEEKING FROM HUSBAND'S FAMILY

This chapter shows the results from five tables that summarize the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from husband's family whether there are different patterns in findings between the following countries: Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. I developed several hypotheses based on resource theory, gender/feminist perspectives, survivor theory, and types of violence:

- Based on resources theory, living in households that have more goods (i.e., are wealthier) will increase women's help-seeking. Additionally, women who live in poorer households will tend to get help from informal sources, including their husband's family, if help is sought. Furthermore, women who have higher educational attainment and are currently working would have higher odds of help-seeking from informal sources, including their husband's family.
- Based on gender/feminist perspective, women who justify wife-beating would have lower odds of seeking less help from husband's family than women who do not justify wife-beating. Additionally, living in households where husbands display more controlling behavior would have lower odds of seeking help from husband's family.
- The accumulation of physical violence would increase the odds of women's help-seeking from informal sources, including husband's family. Additionally, women who experienced sexual violence would have lower odds of help-seeking from

informal sources while women who experienced emotional violence would have higher odds of help-seeking from informal sources.

Tables in this chapter shows odds ratios and confidence intervals. Table 7-1 summarizes the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from husband's family for intimate partner violence in Rwanda. Model 1 shows that being married five and over years was positively, living in urban areas was negatively related to help-seeking from husband's family. Women who have been married five and more years had 430% greater odds of seeking help from husband's family than women who had been married for fewer than five years ($p < .001$, OR = 4.304). Women who live in urban areas had about 46% lower odds of help-seeking from husband's family than women who live in rural areas ($p < .01$, OR = .537). This finding may be explained by the fact that women and men are married and live in urban areas may be far away from their families. Therefore, it is not easy for married women who live in urban areas to access help from any families. Model 2 shows that wealth, educational level, and employment status were not significant. Model 3 indicates that only husband's controlling behavior was positively associated with seeking help from husband's family. As husband's controlling behavior increases, the odds of help-seeking from husband's family increases, on average, about 18% ($p < .05$, OR = 1.172). Model 4 demonstrates that only the accumulation of physical violence was significantly associated with help-seeking from husband's family. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of help-seeking from husband's family increases, on average, 33% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.333). In the full model (Model 5), only types of physical violence remain significantly associated with seeking help from husband's family.

Table 7-1: Help-seeking from Husband's Family: Rwanda

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	.69(.29, 1.58)	.63(.26, 1.5)	.64(.28, 1.4)	.70(.29, 1.67)	.65(.61, 3.5)
35-44 years old	.92(.38, 2.2)	.84(.34, 2.05)	.91(.37, 2.2)	.86(.34, 2.19)	.75(.23, 1.12)
45-49 years old	1.11(.39, 3.1)	.92(.31, 2.65)	1.17(.41, 3.2)	1.14(.38, 3.43)	.98(.46, 1.24)
Married 5+ years	4.30***(1.9, 9.6)	4.04**(1.7,9.2)	1.79(.81, 3.9)	1.56(.67, 3.61)	1.47(.61, 3.51)
Urban	.54**(.25, 1.12)	.55(.25, 1.17)	.56(.25, 1.2)	.58(.26, 1.27)	.51(.23, 1.11)
Have children <5 years	.78(.48, 1.26)	.78(.48, 1.25)	.79(.49, 1.2)	.72(.43, 1.17)	.76(.46, 1.24)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		1.05(.90, 1.22)			1.13(.96, 1.33)
Education					
No education		1.84(.81, 4.2)			1.25(.50, 3.12)
Primary education		1.31(.61, 2.7)			.88(.37, 2.09)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		1.26(.54, 2.9)			1.08(.42, 2.59)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			.97(.61, 1.5)		.95(.59, 1.51)
Controlling behavior			1.17*(1.0,1.3)		.98(.84, 1.13)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.33***(1.2, 1.5)	1.35***(1.2,1.5)
Sexual violence				.62(.35, 1.1)	.63(.34, 1.13)
Emotional Violence				1.56(.89, 2.73)	1.65(.91, 2.96)
n	1,194	1,194	912	919	906
AIC	631.41	636.38	577.57	559.96	555.95

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

Overall, regarding help-seeking from husband's family, only the hypothesis from survivor theory was supported by data from Rwanda. The AIC stat shows that model 4 is superior, in fit to Models 2 and 3, meaning that models including variables testing survivor theory have more explanatory power in Rwanda.

Table 7-2 summarizes the results of logistic regression model for women's help-seeking from husband's family for IPV in Tanzania. Model 1 shows that being married five and more years was positively associated with help-seeking from husband's family. Women who have been married five or more years had 103% greater odds of seeking help from husband's family than women who married less than five years ($p < .001$, OR = 2.029). Model 2 indicates that wealth was negatively associated with help-seeking from husband's family. As household wealth increases, the odds of help-seeking from husband's family decreases, on average, about 11% ($p < .05$, OR = .893). This finding may be explained by the fact that women who live in poorer families tend to seek help from informal sources like husband's families to fix familial problems. Women who live in household that have economic difficulties first tend to seek help from informal sources to keep their family together. Model 3 shows that husband's controlling behavior was positively associated with help-seeking from husband's family while justifying wife-beating was not significant. As husband's controlling behavior increases, the odds of help-seeking from husband's family increases, on average, 18% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.180). Model 4 reveals that types of physical violence and sexual violence were positively linked to seeking help from husband's family. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of seeking help from husband's family increases, on average, about 26% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.255). Women who experienced emotional violence

Table 7-2: Help-seeking from Husband's Family: Tanzania

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	1.02(.76, 1.36)	1.03(.76, 1,37)	.99(.73, 1,3)	.94(.69, 1.27)	.97(.71, 1.30)
35-44 years old	1.06(.78, 1.42)	1.06(.78, 1.44)	1.03(.75, 1.4)	.97(.71, 1.32)	1.02(.74, 1.39)
45-49 years old	1.05(.71, 1.52)	1.03(.70, 1.50)	1.06(.71, 1.6)	.96(.64, 1.41)	1.00(.67, 1.48)
Married 5+ years	2.03***(1.5, 2.7)	1.97***(1.4,2.7)	1.27(.94, 1.7)	1.23(.91, 1.64)	1.24(.91, 1.69)
Urban	.94(.75, 1.16)	1.15(.89, 1.46)	.97(.77, 1.2)	1.01(.80, 1.25)	1.13(.88, 1.44)
Have children <5 years	1.03(.84, 1.25)	.99(.81, 1.2)	.96(.77, 1.2)	.95(.75, 1.18)	.93(.73, 1.17)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		.89*(.81, .98)			.91(.83, 1.00)
Education					
No education		.79(.53, 11)			.69(.45, 1.06)
Primary education		.98(.73, 1.31)			.84(.60, 1.15)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		1.17(.92, 1.49)			.94(.73, 1.20)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			1.07(.87, 1.30)		1.10(.89, 1.35)
Controlling behavior			1.18***(1.1,1.2)		1.05(.97, 1.12)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.26***(1.1, 1.3)	1,25***(1.1,1.3)
Sexual violence				.87(.69, 1.08)	.85(.67, 1.07)
Emotional Violence				1.59***(1.2, 1.9)	1.52(1.22, 1.88)
n	3,910	3,910	3,477	3,551	3,477
AIC	4101.81	4095.69	3867.30	3798.25	3737.16

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

had 59% greater odds of help-seeking from husband's family than women who did not experience emotional violence ($p < .001$, OR = 1.590). In the full model (Model 5), only the accumulation of physical violence remains significantly associated with help-seeking from husband's family.

Overall, with respect to help-seeking from husband's family, hypotheses from resource theory were partially supported, hypothesis from survivor theory was supported, and hypotheses from types of IPV were partially supported by data from Tanzania. The AIC stat shows that Model 4 is superior, in fit to Model 2 and 3, meaning that models including the variables testing survivor theory have more explanatory power in Tanzania.

Table 7-3 summarizes the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from husband's family for IPV in Uganda. Model 1 shows that, among control variables, being married five or more years was positively, living in urban areas was negatively associated with help-seeking from husband's family. Women who are married five or more years had 216% greater odds of help-seeking from husband's family than women who are married between 0-4 years ($p < .05$, OR = 2.155). Women who live in urban areas had 49% lower of odds of seeking help from husband's family than women who live in rural areas ($p < .05$, OR = .510). Model 2 indicates that wealth was negatively and employment status was positively linked to help-seeking from husband's family. As household wealth increases, the odds of help-seeking from husband's family decreases, on average, about 23% ($p < .01$, OR = .767). Women who are currently working had about 58% greater odds of help-seeking from husband's family than women who are not working ($p < .05$, OR = 1.575). Model 3 demonstrates that justifying wife-beating was negatively related to help-seeking from husband's family. Women who justify wife-

Table 7-3: Help-seeking from Husband's Family: Uganda

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	1.15(.61, 2.13)	1.17(.63, 2.1)	1.01(.55, 1.8)	1.11(.60, 2.01)	1.03(.56, 1.86)
35-44 years old	1.27(.65, 2.46)	1.23(.63, 2.4)	1.01(.52, 1.9)	1.04(.54, 1.98)	.85(.43, 1.67)
45-49 years old	1.45(.53, 3.90)	1.51(.55, 4.1)	1.32(.47, 3.6)	1.22(.41, 3.63)	1.25(.42, 3.70)
Married 5+ years	2.16*(1.06, 4.3)	1.95*(.98, 3.8)	1.43(.72, 2.82)	1.10(.55, 2.17)	1.16(.60, 2.22)
Urban	.51*(.30, .85)	.81(.42, 1.53)	.50*(.29, .86)	.59*(.34, 1.00)	.74(.37, 1.45)
Have children <5 years	1.19(.73, 1.92)	1.05(.66, 1.66)	1.11(.64, 1.9)	1.06(63, 1.78)	1.09(.64, 1.85)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		.77**(.62, .93)			.82(.66, 1.01)
Education					
No education		.82(.38, 1.72)			.53(.23, 1.21)
Primary education		.99(.57, 1.7)			.70(.38, 1.25)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		1.57*(.1.0, 2.4)			1.52(.97, 2.37)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			.65*(.43, .98)		.63*(.41, .95)
Controlling behavior			1.10(.97, 1.23)		.94(.81, 1.07)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.24***(1.13, 1.4)	1.26***(1.1, 1.4)
Sexual violence				.91(.62, 1.33)	.89(.59, 1.32
Emotional Violence				1.70*(1.04, 2.76)	1.98**(1.2, 3.24)
n	1,295	1,295	1,080	1,111	1,074
AIC	981.83	977.47	905.10	896.53	865.81

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

beating had 35% lower odds of help-seeking from husband's family than women who do not justify wife-beating ($p < .05$, OR = .652). Model 4 indicates that physical violence and emotional violence were significantly associated with help-seeking from husband's family. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of help-seeking from husband's family increases, on average, 24% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.241). Women who experienced emotional violence had about 70% greater odds of seeking help from husband's family than women who did not experience emotional violence ($p < .05$, OR = 1.698). In the full model (Model 5), justifying wife-beating, physical violence, and emotional violence remain significantly associated with help-seeking from husband's family.

Overall, regarding help-seeking from husband's family, hypotheses from resource perspective were partially supported, hypotheses from gender perspectives were partially supported, hypothesis from survivor theory was supported, and hypotheses from types of IPV were partially supported by data from Uganda. The AIC stat indicates that model 4 is superior, in fit to Models 2 and 3, meaning that models including variables testing survivor theory have more explanatory power in Uganda.

Table 7-4 summarizes the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from husband's family for IPV in Zambia. Model 1 shows that being married 5 or more years and residential location were significantly associated with help-seeking from husband's family. Women who are married five or more years had 156% greater odds of seeking help from husband's family than those who are married between 0-4 years ($p < .001$, OR = 2.560). Women who live in urban areas had about 23% lower odds of help-seeking from husband's family than those who live in rural areas ($p < .01$, OR =

Table 7-4: Help-seeking from Husband's Family: Zambia

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	1.19(.90, 1.55)	1.26(.96, 1.64)	1.07(.81, 1.4)	1.12(.84, 1.48)	1.17(.88, 1.54)
35-44 years old	1.08(.78, 1.50)	1.15(.82, 1.59)	.96(.68, 1.3)	1.01(.71, 1.41)	1.00(.70, 1.42)
45-49 years old	1.09(.72, 1.63)	1.17(.78, 1.75)	.99(.65, 1.5)	1.07(.68, 1.65)	1.16(.75, 1.78)
Married 5+ years	2.56***(1.8, 3.5)	2.46***(1.7, 3.4)	1.62**(1.1,2.2)	1.33(.95, 1.84)	1.34(96, 1.87)
Urban	.78**(.64, .93)	1.02(.79, 1.31)	.72**(.58, .88)	.71**(.57, .86)	.80(.60, 1.06)
Have children <5 years	.90(.73, 1.09)	.89(.73, 1.08)	.85(.69, 1.0)	.89(.72, 1.1)	.92(.73, 1.14)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		.88**(.80, .96)			.91*(.82, 1.0)
Education					
No education		.97(.68, 1.37)			.94(.65, 1.35)
Primary education		1.00(.81, 1.2)			.99(.80, 1.24)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		1.04(.87, 1.24)			1.03(.84, 1.24)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			.68***(.56,.82)		.64***(.52,.77)
Controlling behavior			1.13***(1.0,1.2)		1.00(.94, 1.07)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.37***(1.3,1.4)	1.39***(1.3,1.4)
Sexual violence				.84*(.69, 1.0)	.84*(.69, 1.0)
Emotional Violence				1.20(.98, 1.46)	1.20(.97, 1.47)
n	5,429	5,408	4,713	4,789	4,649
AIC	5252.04	5222.17	4909.53	4723.98	4557.56

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

.775). Model 2 indicates that wealth was negatively associated with help-seeking from husband's family while educational level and employment status were not significant. As household wealth increases, the odds of seeking help from husband's family decreases, an average, about 12% ($p < .01$, OR = .882). Model 3 reveals that justifying wife-beating was negatively and controlling behavior was positively related to help-seeking from husband's family. Women who justify wife-beating had about 32% lower odds of seeking help from husband's family than those who do not justify wife-beating ($p < .001$, OR = .684). As husband's controlling behavior increase, the odds of seeking help from husband's family increases, and average, about 13% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.126). Model 4 displays that physical violence was positively and sexual violence was negatively linked to help-seeking from husband's family. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of help-seeking from husband's family increases, on average, about 37% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.367). Women who experienced sexual violence had about 17% lower odds of seeking help from husband's family than women who did not experience sexual violence ($p < .05$, OR = 835). In the full model (Model 5), wealth, justifying wife-beating, physical violence, and sexual violence remain significant.

Overall, with respect to help-seeking from husband's family, hypotheses from resource theory were partially supported, hypotheses from gender perspectives were partially supported, hypothesis from survivor theory was supported, and hypotheses from types of violence were partially supported by data from Zambia. We see resource factors were mostly lack in significance, but also in that the AIC stat indicates that model 4 is superior, in fit to Models 2 and 3, meaning that models including variables testing survivor theory have more explanatory power in Zambia.

Table 7-5 displays the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from husband's family for IPV in Zimbabwe. Model 1 shows that being married five or more years and having children under five years of age were positively associated while living in urban areas was negatively associated with help-seeking from husband's family. Women who are married five or more years had 61% greater odds of seeking help from husband's family than those are married between 0-4 years ($p < .05$, OR = 1.608). Respondents who live in urban areas had %50 lower odds of seeking help from husband's family than those who live in rural areas ($p < .001$, OR = .505). Women who have children under 5 years of age had 40% higher odds of seeking help from husband's family than those who do not have children under five years ($p < .05$, OR = 1.400). Model 2 indicates that employment status was positively associated with help-seeking from husband's family. Women who are currently working had 66% greater odds of seeking help from husband's family than those who are not currently employed ($p < .001$, OR = 1.662). Model 3 confirms that justifying wife-beating and controlling behavior were not significant. Model 4 demonstrates that types of physical violence and emotional violence were positively related to help-seeking from husband's family. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of help-seeking from husband's family increases, on average, about 23% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.229). Women who experienced emotional violence had 65% greater odds of seeking help from husband's family than women who did not experience emotional violence ($p < .01$, OR = 1.652). In the full model (Model 5), employment status, physical violence, and emotional violence remain significantly associated with help-seeking from the husband's family. In this

Table 7-5: Help-seeking from Husband's Family: Zimbabwe

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	1.32(.88, 1.96)	1.29(.86, 1.91)	1.27(.85, 1.88)	1.26(.84, 1.87)	1.26(.83, 1.88)
35-44 years old	1.45(.91, 2.28)	1.37(.87, 2.16)	1.34(.83, 2.13)	1.32(.83, 2.09)	1.28(.78, 2.06)
45-49 years old	1.27(.65, 2.47)	1.29(.66, 2.49)	1.11(.55, 2.22)	1.26(.64, 2.46)	1.22(.60, 2.43)
Married 5+ years	1.61*(1.05, 2.44)	1.48(.97, 2.24)	1.04(.68, 1.57)	.99(.65, 1.5)	.95(.61, 1.45)
Urban	.51***(.37, .68)	.48**(.31, .74)	.52***(.37, .71)	.50***(.37, .68)	.44***(.28, .68)
Have children <5 years	1.40*(1.06, 1.83)	1.46**(1.1, 1.9)	1.20(.90, 1.6)	1.24(.93, 1.65)	1.29(96, 1.73)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		.98(.84, 1.14)			1.02(.88, 1.20)
Education					
No education		.58(.17, 1.88)			.54(.15, 1.90)
Primary education		1.07(.81, 1.41)			.99(.74, 1.31)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		1.66***(1.3,2.1)			1.56***(1.2,1.9)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			1.16(.90, 1.47)		1.22(.94, 1.55)
Controlling behavior			1.07(.99, 1.14)		.91*(.83, .98)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.23***(1.1,1.3)	1.27***(1.1,1.4)
Sexual violence				.84(.64, 1.09)	.87(.67, 1.14)
Emotional Violence				1.65**(1.2, 2.2)	1.77***(1.3,2.4)
n	2,829	2,829	2,434	2,475	2,434
AIC	2240.10	2227.24	2119.41	2076.95	2030.12

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

model, controlling behavior also became significant and was negatively associated with help-seeking from husband's family.

Overall, regarding help-seeking from husband's family, hypotheses from resource theory was partially supported, hypotheses from gender factors was partially supported, hypothesis from survivor theory was strongly supported, and hypothesis for emotional violence was supported by data from Zimbabwe. We see gender factors as lack in significance, but also in that the AIC stat shows that Model 4 is superior, in fit to Models 2 and 3, meaning that models including variables testing survivor theory have more explanatory power.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RESULTS: HELP-SEEKING FROM POLICE

This chapter shows the results from five tables that summarize the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from police whether there are different changes in finings between the following countries: Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. I developed several hypotheses based on resource theory, gender/feminist perspectives, survivor theory, and sexual and emotional violence:

- Based on resources perspective, living in households that have are more goods (i.e., are wealthier) will increase women's help-seeking from the police. Additionally, women who have higher educational attainment and are working will have higher odds of help-seeking from the police.
- Based on gender/feminist approach, women who justify wife-beating would have lower odds of seeking help from formal sources than women who do not justify wife-beating. Additionally, women who live in households where husbands display more controlling behavior would have lower odds of seeking help from formal sources like the police.
- Based on survivor theory, the accumulation of physical violence would increase the odds of women's seeking help from formal sources like the police. Additionally, women who experienced sexual violence would have lower odds of seeking help from formal sources while women who experienced emotional violence would have greater odds of help-seeking from formal sources like the police.

Tables in this chapter shows odds ratios and confidence intervals. Table 8-1 summarizes the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from police for IPV in Rwanda. First, control variables model (Model 1) was run and living in urban areas was positively associated with help-seeking from the police. Women who live in urban areas had 128% greater odds of seeking help from the police than respondents who live in rural areas ($p < .05$, OR = 2.283). For Model 2, wealth, educational level, and employment status were not significant. Model 3 shows that husband/partner's controlling behavior was positively related to help-seeking from the police. As husband's controlling behavior increases, the odds of seeking help from the police increases, on average, 46% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.463). Model 4 indicates that the accumulation of physical violence was positively linked to help-seeking from the police while sexual violence and emotional violence were not significant. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of seeking help from the police increases, on average, 33% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.331). In the full model (Model 5), husband's controlling behavior and the accumulation of physical violence remain significant and were positively associated with help-seeking from the police.

Overall, hypotheses from survivor theory was supported in Model 4, while hypotheses from resource theory, gender perspectives, and types of IPV were not supported by data from Rwanda. We see bot resource factors and types of IPV in lack of significance, but also in that the AIC stat demonstrates that Model 3 is somewhat superior, in fit to Model 2 and 4, meaning that models including variables testing gender/feminist perspectives have more explanatory power in Rwanda.

Table 8-1: Help-seeking from Police: Rwanda

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	1.45(.44, 4.7)	1.51(.44, 5.14)	1.59(.27, 9.32)	1.56(.24, 9.8)	1.70(.25, 11.2)
35-44 years old	2.64(.73, 9.4)	2.78(.74, 10.3)	4.18(.60, 28.7)	2.97(.41, 21.5)	3.94(.49, 31.6)
45-49 years old	2.80(.57, 13.6)	2.98(.57, 15.3)	4.67(.55, 39.1)	3.74(.42, 33.1)	5.81(.60, 56.1)
Married 5+ years	1.19(.44, 3.21)	1.19(.42, 3.36)	.90(.20, 3.9)	.94(.19, 4.5)	.83(.15, 4.4)
Urban	2.28*(1.2, 4.4)	1.85(.94. 3.65)	1.74(.76, 3.9)	2.37*(1.1, 5.1)	1.10(.47, 2.5)
Have children <5 years	1.02(.52, 1.96)	1.06(.53, 2.09)	1.26(.59, 2.6)	1.17(.53, 2.5)	1.40(.61, 3.1)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		1.11(.88, 1.39)			1.23(.91, 1.63)
Education					
No education		.73(.20, 2.56)			.34(.08, 1.42)
Primary education		.90(.37, 2.15)			.61(.22, 1.65)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		1.08(.41, 2.83)			.75(.24, 2.29)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			.50(.22, 1.1)		.51(.23, 1.13)
Controlling behavior			1.46***(1.2, 1.7)		1.36**(1.1,1.6)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.33***(1.1,1.5)	1.31**(1.1,1.6)
Sexual violence				1.16(.57, 2.3)	.90(.44, 1.82)
Emotional Violence				1.01(.41, 2.4)	.73(.29, 1.77)
n	1,194	1,194	912	919	906
AIC	434.67	441.85	326.97	338.19	227.03

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

Table 8-2 shows the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from the police for IPV in Tanzania. Model 1 indicates that only living in urban areas was significant among control variables and was positively associated with help-seeking from the police. Women who live in urban areas had 95% greater odds of seeking help from the police than those who live in rural areas ($p < .01$, OR = 1.951). In Model 2, wealth, educational level, and employment status were not significant. Model 3 displays that husband's controlling behavior was positively linked to help-seeking from the police while justifying wife-beating was not significant. As husband's controlling behavior increases, the odds of seeking help from the police increases, on average, 29% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.294). Model 4 reveals that accumulation of physical violence was positively associated with help-seeking from the police while sexual and emotional violence were not significant. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of seeking help from the police increases, on average, about 41% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.409). In the full model (Model 5) controlling behavior and accumulation of physical violence were still positively significant. Additionally, in this model, wealth and sexual violence become significant and, respectively, positively and negatively were associated with help-seeking from police. As household wealth increases, the odds of seeking help from the police increases, on average, 16% ($p < .05$, OR = 1.164). Women who experienced sexual violence had about 40% lower odds of seeking help from the police than respondents who did not experienced sexual violence ($p < .05$, OR = .606).

Regarding help-seeking from the police, hypotheses from resource theory were partially supported, hypotheses from gender perspective were not supported but significant findings were contrary to the expectation, hypothesis from survivor theory

Table 8-2: Help-seeking from Police: Tanzania

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	1.21(.48, 3.03)	1.21(.48, 3.0)	1.07(.41, 2.7)	1.02(.38, 2.69)	.99(.39, 2.50)
35-44 years old	1.80(.65, 4.98)	1.79(.63, 5.0)	1.63(.58, 4.5)	1.50(.50, 4.43)	1.54(.54, 4.36)
45-49 years old	1.37(.41, 4.57)	1.38(.39, 4.7)	1.27(.36, 4.4)	1.19(.34, 4.02)	1.19(.35, 4.0)
Married 5+ years	1.78(.70, 4.46)	2.04(.77, 5.3)	1.80(.68, 4.7)	1.79(.64, 4.94)	2.06(.74, 5.75)
Urban	1.95**(1.3, 2.8)	1.44(.86, 2.4)	1.95**(1.3, 2.9)	2.10***(1.4, 3.1)	1.36(.80, 2.27)
Have children <5 years	.80(.52, 1.19)	.84(.56, 1.26)	.82(.52, 1.2)	.78(.50, 1.22)	.84(.53, 1.31)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		1.14(.95, 1.35)			1.20*(1.0, 1.44)
Education					
No education		.72(.32, 1.61)			.67(.29, 1.52)
Primary education		.73(.41, 1.27)			.61(.33, 1.10)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		.94(.51, 1.71)			.88(.46, 1.68)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			.76(.51, 1.1)		.90(.59, 1.35)
Controlling behavior			1.29***(1.1, 1.4)		1.16*(1.01, 1.3)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.41***(1.2, 1.6)	1.38***(1.2,1.6)
Sexual violence				.70(.45, 1.07)	.61*(.38, .95)
Emotional Violence				.86(.52, 1.39)	.82(.47, 1.40)
n	3,910	3,910	3,477	3,551	3,477
AIC	1338.29	1333.32	1189.45	1206.98	1166.76

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

was supported in Model 4, and hypotheses from types of IPV were partially supported by data from Tanzania. The AIC stat shows that Model 3 is superior, in fit to Models 2 and 4 meaning that models including variables testing gender/feminist perspectives have more explanatory power in Tanzania.

Table 8-3 summarizes the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from the police for IPV in Uganda. Model 1 shows that being married 5 or more years and living in urban areas were positively associated with help-seeking from the police. Women who have been married five or more years had 1390% greater odds of seeking help from the police than women who have been married between 0-4 years ($p < .01$. OR = 14.900). Women who live in urban areas had 113% higher odds of seeking help from the police than those who live in rural areas ($p < .05$, OR = 2.132). Model 2 indicates that employment status was negatively associated with help-seeking from police while wealth and educational level were not significant. Women who are currently working had about 50% lower odds of seeking help from the police than respondent who are currently not working ($p < .05$, OR = .503). This finding may be explained by the fact that even though women work in Uganda most of these workers are unpaid. Therefore, they do not have economic power and information and, thus, not tend to seek help, particularly from formal sources. Model 3 displays that controlling behavior was positively linked to help-seeking from the police while justifying wife-beating was not significant. As the husband's controlling behavior increases, the odds of seeking help from the police increases, on average, 45% ($p < .01$, OR = 1.454). Model 4 shows that only the accumulation of physical violence was significantly associated with help-seeking from police. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of

Table 8-3: Help-seeking from Police: Uganda

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	1.06(.46, 7,57)	1.13(.34, 3.68)	1.04(.33, 3.2)	1.11(.32, 3.77)	1.16(.36, 3.68)
35-44 years old	.92(.26, 3.20)	1.11(.33, 3.72)	.95(.28, 3.2)	.82(.23, 2.89)	1.10(.33, 3.66)
45-49 years old	1.88(.46, 7.57)	2.26(.54, 9.26)	2.72(.72, 10.2)	1.74(.42, 7.19)	2.96(.74, 11.7)
Married 5+ years	14.9**(2.5,86.)	14.7**(2.4,89.)	6.82*(1.2,36.8)	6.72*(1.2, 38.2)	6.02*(1.1, 33.6)
Urban	2.13*(1.1, 4.1)	2.48*(1.1, 5.5)	2.37*(1.1, 4.8)	2.72**(1.3, 5.6)	3.05*(1.27, 7.3)
Have children <5 years	1.15(.55, 2.37)	1.09(.52, 2.28)	1.12(.52, 2.39)	1.27(.59, 2.71)	1.10(.50, 2.39)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		.94(.72, 1.21)			.92(.72, 1.17)
Education					
No education		.83(.27, 2.52)			.58(.17, 1.86)
Primary education		1.25(.52, 2.99)			.90(.37, 2.15)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		.50*(.25, .99)			.53(.26, 1.05)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			1.15(.62, 2.12)		1.10(.59, 2.05)
Controlling behavior			1.45**(1.1,1.8)		1.36*(1.1, 1.72)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.27**(1.1, 1.5)	1.21*(1.02, 1.4)
Sexual violence				.69(.37, 1.24)	.57(.30, 1.03)
Emotional Violence				1.92(.95, 3.87)	1.46(.72, 2.93)
n	1,295	1,295	1,080	1,111	1,074
AIC	475.46	478.64	443.83	455.67	440.37

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

seeking help from the police increases, on average, about 27% ($p < .01$, OR = 1.274). In the full model (Model 5), controlling behavior and the accumulation of physical violence remain significant.

Overall, despite their significance, hypotheses from resource and gender perspectives were not supported, survivor theory was supported, and types of IPV were not supported by data from Uganda. The AIC stat demonstrates that Model 3 is somewhat superior, in fit to Models 2 and 4 meaning that models including variables testing gender/feminist perspectives have more explanatory power in Uganda.

Table 8-4 summarizes the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from the police in Zambia. Model 1 shows that being in age and living in urban areas were positively linked to while having children under five years was negatively associated with help-seeking from the police. Women who are in age group of 25-34 years had about 79 greater odds of seeking help from the police than those who are in age group of 15-24 years ($p < .05$, OR = 1.785). Women who are in age group of 35-44 years had about 109% higher odds of seeking help from the police than respondent who are in age group of 15-24 years ($p < .05$, OR = 2.087). Women who live in Urban areas had 163% greater odds of seeking help from the police than those who live in rural areas ($p < .001$, OR = 2.630). Women who have children under 5 years had about 35% lower odds of seeking help from the police than women who do not have children under 5 years ($p < .05$, .647). Model 2 indicates that wealth, educational level, and employment status were not significant. Model 3 demonstrates that controlling behavior was slightly significant. As husband's controlling behavior increases, the odds of seeking help from the police increases, on average, about 20% ($p < .05$, OR = 1.199). Model 4 indicates that only the

Table 8-4: Help-seeking from Police: Zambia

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	1.79*(1.0, 3.1)	1.71(.94, 3.07)	1.59(.34, 2.3)	1.68(.88, 3.17)	1.61(.81, 3.20)
35-44 years old	2.09*(1.1, 4.0)	2.01*(1.0, 4.0)	1.83(86, 3.8)	1.89(.89, 4.01)	1.79(.80, 4.0)
45-49 years old	1.22(.47, 3.1)	1.20(.45, 3.19)	.90(.34, 2.3)	1.04(.41, 2.59)	1.00(.38, 2.62
Married 5+ years	.91(.50, 1.64)	.95(.52, 1.71)	.95(.47, 1.8)	.63(.32, 1.23)	.70(.35, 1.38)
Urban	2.63***(1.8, 3.7)	2.67***(1.5, 4.4)	2.46***(1.6,3.6)	2.48***(1.7,3.6)	2.17**(1.2, 3.7)
Have children <5 years	.65(.42, .98)	.67*(.44, 1.01)	.58*(.37, .88)	.66(.42, 1.02)	.68(.43, 1.03)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		.96(.80, 1.16)			1.03(.83, 1.26)
Education					
No education		.81(.37, 1.72)			.80(.36, 1.73)
Primary education		.78(.48, 1.23)			.79(.49, 1.27)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		1.23(.84, 1.77)			1.21(.79, 1.83)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			.99(.67, 2.4)		1.01(.68, 1.49)
Controlling behavior			1.20*(1.01, 1.4)		1.01(.85, 1.19)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.42***(1.2,1.5)	1.43***(1.3, 1.6)
Sexual violence				.96(.64, 1.45)	.92(.60, 1.39)
Emotional Violence				1.21(.81, 1.78)	1.16(.78, 1.72)
n	5,429	5,408	4,713	4,789	4,649
AIC	1847.35	1848.80	1597.95	1529.11	1515.52

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

accumulation of physical violence was positively associated with help-seeking from the police. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of seeking help from the police increases, on average, 42% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.421). In the full model (Model 5), only the accumulation of physical violence remains significant.

Regarding help-seeking from the police, hypotheses from resource theory were not supported, hypotheses from gender perspectives were not supported, hypothesis from survivor theory was supported in Model 4, and hypotheses from sexual and emotional violence were not supported by data from Zambia. We see both resource and gender factors partially were significant, but also in that the AIC stat indicates that Model 4 is superior, in fit to Models 2 and 3, meaning that models including variables testing survivor theory have more explanatory power in Zambia.

Table 8-5 summarizes the results of logistic regression models for women's help-seeking from the police in Zimbabwe. Model 1 shows that only older age was positively associated with help-seeking from the police. Women who are in age group of 35-44 years had about 83% greater odds of seeking help from the police than respondents who are in age group of 15-24 years ($p < .05$, OR = 1.825). Model 2 indicates that primary education was significantly associated with help-seeking from the police. Women who have primary education had 48% greater odds of seeking help from the police than respondent who have secondary or higher education ($p < .05$, OR = 1.483). In this model, residential location become significant and living in urban areas was positively associated with seeking help from the police. This may be explained by the fact that suppression effect of resource factors. Model 3 displays that justifying wife beating was negatively

Table 8-5: Help-seeking from Police: Zimbabwe

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age					
15-24 years old	---	---	---	---	---
25-34 years old	1.39(.90, 2.14)	1.36(.89, 2.08)	1.22(.75, 1.96)	1.39(.84, 2.28)	1.26(.75, 2.10)
35-44 years old	1.83*(1.12, 2.9)	1.72*(1.06, 2.7)	1.57(.91, 2.68)	1.76(.99, 3.12)	1.51(.83, 2.72)
45-49 years old	1.76(.80, 3.86)	1.62(.74, 3.55)	1.74(.77, 3.91)	1.94(.83, 4.51)	1.77(.77, 4.04)
Married 5+ years	.87(.58, 1.28)	.81(.54, 1.20)	.74(.47, 1.16)	.68(.42, 1.08)	.66(.40, 1.06)
Urban	1.70(1.26, 2.26)	1.72*(1.0, 2.94)	1.52**(1.1, 2.05)	1.65**(1.2, 2.3)	1.42(.80, 2.49)
Have children <5 years	.84(.59, 1.16)	.86(.61, 1.19)	.79(.55, 1.13	.75(.52, 1.09)	.82(.55, 1.19)
RESOURCE THEORY:					
Wealth		1.03(.85, 1.23)			1.08(.86, 1.33)
Education					
No education		1.91(.62, 5.79)			2.24(.70, 7.12)
Primary education		1.48*(1.05, 2.1)			1.36(.91, 2.01)
Secondary education+		---			---
Currently working		1.33(.95, 1.85)			1.28(.87, 1.87)
GENDER/FEMINIST:					
Justify wife-beating			.62**(.45, .85)		.66*(.47, .93)
Controlling behavior			1.29***(1.1, 1.4)		1.11(.97, 1.27)
SURVIVOR THEORY					
Physical violence (co.)				1.46***(1.3,1.6)	1.39***(1.2,1.6)
Sexual violence				.83(.57, 1.18)	.80(.55, 1.16)
Emotional Violence				1.15(.72, 1.81)	1.06(.66, 1.70)
n	2,829	2,829	2,434	2,475	2,414
AIC	1661.32	1665.35	1423.18	1370.59	1352.20

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: Odds ratios shown (confidence intervals in parentheses). I have directional hypotheses but bi-directional p-values.

and controlling behavior was positively associated with help-seeking from the police. Women who justify wife-beating had 38% lower odds of seeking help from the police than those who do not justify wife-beating ($p < .01$, OR = .624). As husband's controlling behavior increases, the odds of seeking help from the police increases, on average, 29% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.290). In this model, living in urban areas also was significantly associated with help-seeking from police and that may be explained by the suppression effect. Model 4 reveals that the accumulation of physical violence was significantly associated with seeking help from the police. As the number of different types of physical violence increases, the odds of seeking help from the police increases, on average, 46% ($p < .001$, OR = 1.460). In the Model 3 and 4 age becomes insignificant and that may be explained by the instability of models. In the full model (Model 5), justifying wife beating and the accumulation of physical violence remain significant.

Regarding help-seeking from the police, hypotheses from resource theory were not supported, hypotheses from gender perspectives were partially supported, hypothesis from survivor theory was supported, and hypotheses from sexual and emotional violence were not supported by data from Zimbabwe. The AIC stat shows that Model 4 is superior in fit to Models 2 and 3, meaning that models including variables testing survivor theory have more explanatory power in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Current scholarly studies have indicated that intimate partner violence against women is a common social and public health problem throughout Sub-Saharan African countries. Many researchers have started to examine the critical factors of IPV against women in several African countries. However, despite a growing body of literature in developed countries, there has not been a systematic study of women's help-seeking behavior for IPV in Sub-Saharan countries. Additionally, given that most of the available research is mainly descriptive, studies to test available theoretical models to explain women's help-seeking behavior in Sub-Saharan African countries is needed in order to develop effective policies for protecting women at a time when these countries are moving in that direction (at least in terms of law). Rather than relying on a single theoretical approach, my dissertation utilized several theoretical perspectives. Building on resource theory, integration of gender/feminist perspectives, survivor theory, and types of IPV, I examined the role of economic dependence, gender, and types of violence-related factors in women's reporting of both formal and informal help-seeking for IPV in five Sub-Saharan African countries.

My dissertation focuses on two types of help-seeking strategies by women: informal (help-seeking from own family and husband's family) and formal help-seeking (help-seeking from police). Previous researchers suggest that women are more likely to seek help from informal sources than formal sources (Barrett & St. Pierre, 2011; Du Mont et al., 2005; Meyer, 2011). This study found a support for that assertion. In five

Sub-Saharan African countries, women were more likely to seek help from their own families and their husband's families than from the police. In other words, women's help-seeking from police for intimate partner violence was low in Sub-Saharan countries compared to help-seeking from families.

Previous studies on the theoretical explanations for women's help-seeking behavior suggests that household resources are positively associated with women's help-seeking from formal and informal sources for IPV (Anderson & Gelles, 2003; Cattaneo, Heidi, & DeLoyeh, 2008; Henning & Klesges, 2002; Kaukinen, Meyer, & Akers, 2013; Flicker et al., 2011) that is frequently employed to resolve conflicts in the household (Goode, 1971). Some studies on the theoretical explanation of women's help-seeking behavior argues that gender factors play an important role in women's help-seeking strategies (Parvin, Sultana, & Naved, 2016; Rowan, Mumford, & Clark, 2017). Additionally, survivor theory states that the increased severity of physical violence increases women's help-seeking from outside (Gondolf & Fisher, 1988). Furthermore, scholars who support survivor theory also remark that not only physical violence increases women's help-seeking, but also experiences of emotional and sexual violence also related to women's help-seeking behavior (Duterte et al., 2008; Flicker et al., 2011; Yoshihama et al., 2011).

Guided by the resources perspective, first, it was hypothesized that living in wealthier households would increase the odds of women's help-seeking from formal and informal sources. My findings from multivariate logistic analysis indicated that household wealth was negatively associated with help-seeking from husband's families in Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia. It was found that Tanzanian, Ugandan, and Zambian

women with greater wealth had significantly lower odds of help-seeking from husband's family than women in poorer families. This result is not consistent with findings from Western studies demonstrating that women in households with more resources had greater odds ofreporting help-seeking (Anderson & Sanders, 2003; Gelles, 1976; Henning & Klesges, 2002; Lesser, 1990; Rusbult & Martz, 1995). This may suggest that, in wealthier societies, with greater economic opportunities for women, women with more economic resources are unwilling to take on the burden of IPV alone. However, in less wealthy societies, women in wealthier households may be less willing to potentially risk actions that might result in dissolving a (rare) lucrative situation.

I also hypothesized that women who live in households where resources are lower would tend to seek help from informal sources. Findings from Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia may be consistent with this hypothesis. Because women who live in poorer households do not have economic freedom - they do not tend to seek help from outside of the family including formal sources. However, they may tend to seek help from families to solve problem and keep family together. Moreover, it may be explained by the fact that Tanzanian, Ugandan, and Zambian women in households with greater wealth are not faced with structural inequalities and constraints by their husbands. In addition, there was not any significant association between wealth and help-seeking from own family and police.

Previous research has also indicated that employment status of women is predictive of their help-seeking behavior (Waldrop & Resick, 2004). Guided by the economic dependence perspective, second, it was hypothesized that women who are currently working would have greater odds of help-seeking from formal and informal

sources. The analyses that yielded support for this hypothesis were help-seeking from own family and husband's family. The findings revealed that, for women who were currently working, the odds of help-seeking from their own family in Rwanda, and the odds of help-seeking from the husband's family in Uganda and Zambia were greater than women who were not employed in those countries. These findings were consistent with earlier studies (Kaukinen, Meyer, & Akers, 2013). However, in the context of formal help-seeking, a finding from the analysis was contrary to expectation in Uganda. There, the odds of help-seeking from police was lower for women who were currently working. One possible explanations for that unexpected finding is that women who are working in Uganda are mostly employed in agriculture and are unpaid. Therefore, as an unpaid job, agriculture does not provide women significant economic freedom and opportunities. Thus, they do not tend to seek help from formal sources to have more economic issues after reporting their husband's violence.

Another prediction of resource theory was that education is an important factor for women's help-seeking strategies. Earlier studies demonstrated that women who have higher educational attainment were more likely to seek help from informal and formal sources for IPV (Coker et al, 2000; Flicker et al, 2011; Parvin, Sultana, & Naved, 2016). Education provides women greater options in employment, but researchers working in developing countries also assert that women who are educated are more likely to take actions that further their own interests. Informed by resource theory, my hypothesis predicted that women who have secondary or higher education would have higher odds of help-seeking from informal and formal sources. The only analysis where I found a significant link between educational level and help-seeking was in Zimbabwe where a

significant association was found between educational attainment and women's help-seeking from police. However, the direction of findings from this country were contrary to the hypothesis. Women who had primary education had higher odds of help-seeking from police than women who had secondary or higher education in Zimbabwe. However, the effect of education was unexpectedly not significant for both help-seeking from own family and husband's family. In Zimbabwe, intimate partner violence pervades the whole society regardless of educational levels and women experience IPV irrespective of their educational levels (Muvunzi, 2010). However, more educated women may be more aware of the situation in society. Thus, they will be less likely to pursue help-seeking, particularly from formal sources, than lower educated women. Because, help-seeking from police in Zimbabwe, in many cases, may not be helpful or a solution for women because of reluctance of police officers on IPV laws (IRB, 2015) and more educated women may be more likely to aware of this situation than women who have primary education level.

Using an integrated theoretical framework, this dissertation also investigated the role of gender in explaining women's help-seeking behavior in five Sub-Saharan countries. The analysis found significant effects for women's attitudes toward wife-beating on women's help-seeking behavior. The examination of help-seeking from their own family demonstrated that women who believe that wife-beating is justified had lower odds of seeking help from their own family only in Zambia. The examination of help-seeking from the husband's family revealed that for women who believe that wife-beating is justified, the odds of help-seeking from the husband's family was lower than women who do not believe that wife beating is justifiable in Uganda and Zambia. With

respect to help-seeking from police, the only analysis that found a significant relationship between justifying wife-beating and help-seeking from the police was in data from Zimbabwe. In other words, women who justify wife-beating had lower odds of reporting help-seeking from the police in Zimbabwe. These findings lend some support to my hypothesis, which expected that women who justify wife-beating would have lower odds of help-seeking from informal formal sources than women who do not justify wife beating. These results were consistent with previous research (Parvin, Sultana, & Naved, 2016; Rowan, Mumford, & Clark, 2017). Overall, such findings suggest that women who justify of wife-beating are more approving of traditional gender roles and patriarchal norms in Sub-Saharan countries that reflect the fact that women who are socialized within traditional gender norms tend to hold traditional views concerning IPV. In this respect, women who justify wife-beating are likely to believe that it is the right of the husband/partner to discipline a woman when she fails to fulfill their traditionally defined internal commitments. Therefore, these women do not tend seek help from formal or informal source in case of IPV against them. As a result, women should not be blamed because of their gender traditionalism. Conversely, to fight intimate partner violence against women in Sub-Saharan Africa, traditional gender and patriarchal ideologies must be considered.

In Zambia, women's justification for wife-beating and percentage of experience of IPV are very high. In this country, many women have a history of IPV are at greater risk of justifying wife-beating than women without IPV experience (Lawoko, 2006). Growing up in violent environments is likely to impress on during youth an attitude that violence is motivated, and such attitudes are likely to follow them into adulthood. In

Zambia, accepting attitudes toward IPV seem to be evenly distributed across the entire age span (Lawoko, 2006). Therefore, many women learn that wife-beating is tolerable in the household and society. In Zambia, lower level of education, working in agriculture sector, living in urban areas, and women's lower say on household decisions are linked to women's tolerance for IPV against them. Overall, social norms and gender roles in Zambia are learned by individuals and transmitted from generation to generation. Therefore, as a social norm, Zambian women who learn that wife-beating is tolerable do not tend to seek help for IPV against them.

In Uganda, there is a high percentage of women have attitudes supportive of wife beating and women are more likely to justify wife-beating than men (Speizer, 2010). This may represent a cultural context where women approve and anticipate that wife-beating is part of a normal marriage. In this country, women and men who witnessed their father beating their mother were more likely to justify wife-beating (Speizer, 2010). This may mean that there is an intergenerational transmission of IPV and it is a crucial problem in the society. In Uganda, as an intergenerational social norm, women who accept wife-beating are likely to believe that it is a husband's right to discipline his wife when she fails to fulfill to their traditionally defined internal commitments. Overall, by intergenerational transmission of supportive attitudes toward wife-beating among women causes lower level of help-seeking for IPV against them in Uganda

In Zimbabwe, much of the IPV against women is likely to stem from gender roles and social expectations (Hindin, 2003). IPV against women in Zimbabwe is common and women are vulnerable because of violence in marriage is widely approved. Because IPV against women is viewed as a tolerable way to settle conflicts, women are thought to

comprehend that violence against them is justifiable and within the social norms (Watts et al., 1999). Therefore, as giving tolerance to wife-beating, women do not seek help for IPV against them in this country. In this country, being unemployed, having lower level of education, HIV/AIDS, and having lower saying on household decisions are most important factors that push women to accept wife-beating (Hindin, 2003). Overall, wife-beating has been accepted as a social norm in Zimbabwe and it causes lower level of help-seeking for IPV in society, particularly from formal sources.

Regarding husband's controlling behaviors, it was hypothesized that women who live in households where husbands exhibit more controlling behavior would have lower odds of formal and informal help-seeking for IPV. On the contrary, and interestingly, the analysis mostly indicated that women with husbands or partners who displayed controlling issues had greater odds of help-seeking from their own family in Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, from their husband's family in Rwanda, Tanzania, and Zambia, and from the police in Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The only analysis that yielded support for this hypothesis was from Zimbabwe. In the full model of help-seeking from husband's family, husband's controlling behavior became negatively associated with seeking help from husband's family. These results mostly were inconsistent with expectation of this dissertation. However, these results were congruent with a previous study (Rowan, Mumford, & Clark, 2017). One possible explanation for these unexpected findings is that controlling behaviors by the husband/partner may be positively linked to women's help-seeking behavior since the capacity for women to recognize their husband's controlling behaviors as problematic and seek help.

Guided by survivor theory, previous research has also revealed that severity of physical violence increases reporting help-seeking behavior among women (Coker et al, 2000; Djikanovic et al, 2011; Ergocmen, Yuksel-Kaptanoglu, and Jansen, 2013; Kantor & Straus, 1990; Meyer, 2010; Lipsky et al, 2006; Naved, Azim, Bhuiva, & Persson, 2006). Unfortunately, the DHS data do not provide data on the severity of violence, so I created a poor proxy by simply accumulating types of violence. Despite the crudeness of the measure, in the analysis of help-seeking from own family, husband's family, and the police, I found that the accumulation of physical violence among women increases significantly increased the odds of help-seeking. In other words, the accumulation of physical violence increases the odds of help-seeking from own family, from husband's family, and from police in Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. These findings lend strong support to the hypothesis, which anticipated that the accumulation of physical violence would increase women's help-seeking from formal and informal sources. It is noteworthy that the findings reported in this dissertation are consistent with other studies establishing an association between physical violence and women's help-seeking behavior (Barrett & St. Pierre, 2011; Ergocmen, Yuksel-Kaptanoglu, & Jansen, 2013; Fanslow & Robinson, 2009; Rowan, Mumford, & Clark, 2017), and also suggests that women who experience more types of violence may be, in fact, experiencing more severe violence.

In addition to accumulation of physical violence, the experience of sexual violence and emotional violence were included in the analysis of this dissertation. Previous studies, first, have indicated that sexual violence is different than physical and emotional violence and negatively linked to women's help-seeking behavior (Campell &

Raja, 2005; Flicker et al., 2011). Therefore, it was hypothesized that women who experience sexual violence would have lower odds of help-seeking from formal and informal sources in Sub-Saharan countries. This study found a significantly negative association between sexual violence and help-seeking from own family in Zimbabwe, and sexual violence and help-seeking from husband's family in Zambia. Women who experienced sexual violence had lower odds of help-seeking from own family in Zimbabwe and husband's family in Zambia. These findings were coherent with previous research (Campell et al, 2001; Frias, 2013; Kaukinen, 2004; Leung, 2015). Additionally, I did not find any significant link between sexual violence and help-seeking from the police in any countries. Overall, this finding may be explained by the fact that the sexual violence may present many additional obstacles to help-seeking, such as shame that prevents women from disclosing to violence, embarrassment over the details of the violence, or fear of blame from others.

In Zimbabwe, sexual violence is a crucial social and public issue for girls and women; about one-thirds of girls' experience sexual violence before they turn 18 and the first incidence was perpetrated by a male partner (Rumble et al., 2015). However, at least half of teenage victims of sexual violence do not tell anyone and do not seek help. There are some programs, adopted by the Ministry of Health and Child Care, to prevent sexual violence that include dedicated efforts for adolescents coping with unwanted pregnancies, stigma, and rape in Zimbabwe, which are related to broader counseling, treatment, and referral programming for HIV treatment and care (Rumble et al., 2015). Furthermore, Zimbabwe passed the Domestic Violence Act in 2007 to protect women and girls who experienced any type of IPV. This Act also include protection from cultural and

customary practices including forced virginity testing, female genital mutilation, and forced marriages. Before this Act the Sexual Offences Act was passed to criminalize forced sex in marriage. However, in Zimbabwe, the legal system did not deter forced sex in marriage. Therefore, many victims of sexual violence in Zimbabwe do not have a safe place to cope from abusive relationship by help-seeking. Moreover, sexual violence in Zimbabwe contributes to the sexual transmission of HIV enhancing women's vulnerability to HIV by removing their control over sexual partners (Mugweni, Pearson, & Omar, 2012). Thus, Zimbabwe is among countries that have the highest rates of HIV/ADIS. For women who have HIV/AIDS, there is nowhere to go, but prostitution. Therefore, many Zimbabwean women victims of sexual assault do not seek help even from their families and stay in the household where there is an abusive partner or husband.

Sexual violence is a pervasive problem in Zambian society. Sexual assault of girls has been considered to be a crime fueled by misconceptions about virgin cure for HIV/AIDS (Mwaba, 2016). However, in Zambia, certain social norms prevent sexual violence cases from being taken to the police; therefore, the proportion of women victims reporting sexual violence is small. It has been observed that there is a culture of silence regarding sexual violence among Zambian women and marital forced sex is common (Mwaba, 2016). Access to sexual violence facilities women continue to be influenced by common social norms around IPV (Zama et al., 2013). Most of Zambian women who experienced sexual violence do not report because of shame, stigma, fear of beating up by their husbands, and failure of their marriages (Zama et al., 2013). Therefore, women who experienced sexual violence are unwilling to help-seeking.

Finally, as a type of IPV, previous research demonstrated a significantly positive relationship between emotional/psychological violence and women's help-seeking behavior (Duterte et al., 2008). It was hypothesized that women who experienced emotional violence would have greater odds of help-seeking from formal and informal sources than women who did not experience emotional violence in Sub-Saharan countries. The analysis found support for this hypothesis. Women who experienced emotional violence had higher odds of help-seeking from own family in Tanzania and Zambia and from the husband's family in Tanzania, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. These findings were consistent with previous research (Duterte et al., 2008). Furthermore, I did not find any significant link between emotional violence and help-seeking from the police.

Among these countries Tanzania has the highest level of physical and emotional violence while Uganda has the highest level of sexual violence. Except sexual violence, Tanzania was the one of countries that physical and emotional violence were positively associated with women's help-seeking behavior. However, among all five countries, Zambia and Zimbabwe had significant association between physical, sexual, and emotional violence and women's help-seeking behavior. Significant findings from both countries were like expectation and supported study's hypotheses. However, there is no any country that three types of IPV were significantly associated with help-seeking from police. Only physical violence was linked to help-seeking from police by data from all countries. That findings reveal that the accumulation of physical violence has strong effect on women's help-seeking strategies in all countries in this dissertation. These also meaning that countries which had the Domestic Violence Acts or Gender-Based Violence

Acts have success on these Acts and women tend to report their more physical violence to the police.

Among these countries, gross domestic product based on purchasing-power parity per capita, Rwanda can be considered as poorest country (Global Finance, 2017). For this country, my models from help-seeking from own family, husband's family, and the police did not have any significant association between economic dependence factors and women's help-seeking behavior. This may mean that there is not influence of economic dependence factor on women's help-seeking strategies in Rwanda.

This dissertation both adds to the current literature and reinforces existing theoretical perspectives that explain women's help-seeking behavior for intimate partner violence. The weight of findings appears to point to the role of gender factors and types of IPV, particularly the accumulation of physical violence, as the main determinants of women's help seeking from own family, husband's family, and the police. The strong findings related to gender factors are coherent with the gender disparities experienced by women in many Sub-Saharan countries where women's status is frequently considered secondary in their families and societies. In many cases, women are seen as property of men after marriage. In this gendered context, I argue that gender disparities certainly lead up the women's experience of IPV and therefore lower rate of help-seeking that is partially supported by the findings derived from this study in several key ways.

First, this study found that women who justify wife-beating have lower odds of women's help-seeking behavior from informal sources in Zambia and Uganda, and from formal sources Zimbabwe. The fact that women justify wife-beating suggests that Ugandan, Zambian, and Zimbabwean women are likely guided by traditional gender

norms that conduct the appropriate role of women in the family. For these women, wife-beating might have been seen as a habitual response when they fail to accomplish their culturally described gender roles. On the contrary, women who do not accept wife-beating or violence are less likely to see violence as a normative behavior and are possibly less guided by the radical gender ideologies, which inform marital relations in these countries.

Second, the strong findings for husband's controlling behaviors point to the dominant masculine gender roles and controls in Sub-Saharan countries. According to gender perspective, husband's controlling behaviors is a response to the insecurities in their masculine identity. In other words, the dominant patriarchal ideologies place strong stress on masculinity. Husbands who feel insecure in their masculine identities are likely to use control as a means to strengthen their feelings of security as men. Additionally, men who exhibit a great level of controlling behaviors over their wives are also more likely to use violence as a means of control. Furthermore, in a family, husbands' controlling behaviors may directly shape women's empowerment, and husbands' controlling behaviors limit women's opportunities and freedom (Rowan, Mumford, & Clark, 2017). Outside the family, these gender norms, which allow men's controlling actions, ease institutionalization of structural disparities between men and women. As a result, these gender ideologies limit women interaction from outside the household. Therefore, women may not have access and opportunities to interact with others outside the household and seek help when intimate partner violence against them occurs. However, this perspective seems to not work for Sub-Saharan African countries. Surprisingly, the findings of my research were mostly contrary to expectation. In

households where husbands demonstrate more controlling behavior increases the odds of help-seeking from own family in Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, from husband's family in Rwanda, Tanzania, and Zambia, and from police in Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. These surprising findings may be explained by the fact that Rwandan, Tanzanian, Uganda, Zambian, and Zimbabwean women have the capacity to recognize their husband's controlling actions are problematic and not acceptable, therefore, a reason to seek help from informal and formal sources.

Third, the robust findings from the accumulation of physical violence increases the odds of all types of help-seeking among women in all Sub-Saharan African countries included in this research. These findings may be explained by the fact that, although the percentage of justification for wife beating is high in those countries severity of violence is not sufferable for women and they tend to seek help for severe violence. Because when compared to emotional violence, physical violence is a more widely recognized type of violence and may causes more harm to women. Emotional or psychological violence is also another type of violence that increases women's help-seeking from informal sources when violence occurs in some of those countries. One possible explanation for seeking help for emotional violence among Sub-Saharan women may be that emotional violence can cause higher level of distress among women and that may push them to seek help, particularly from their families that have a great level of interaction with women. Emotional violence is also may be seen as less of a big deal, when compared to physical violence.

Finally, sexual violence was found to decrease women's help-seeking from families in Zambia and Zimbabwe. Zambian and Zimbabwean women may reject help by

their families because what help they get often leaves them feeling blamed, doubted, and re-victimized. In other words, those women who are victims of sexual violence may not seek help from their or husband's family due to fear of being blamed and a fear that may be well justified. Therefore, when compared to physical and emotional violence survivor of sexual violence may have lower rates of help-seeking in those countries. Furthermore, for Sub-Saharan African women sexual abuse may present many barriers to help-seeking in traditional societies: shame, embarrassment over the details of the abuse, and fear of blame from others. Furthermore, Zimbabwe and Zambia are more strongly Christian countries (WorldAtlas, 2017). Compared to Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda these two countries do not have major population of Muslims. Female genital mutilation is reportedly not practiced in Zambia. In Zimbabwe, also there is not any report of female genital mutilation but in some ethnic groups it may occur (UK Border Agency, 2008). Compared to Zambia and Zimbabwe, female genital mutilation is still existing among young girls and young mothers in some ethnic groups in Uganda (28TooMany, 2013) in Tanzania (Mwambalaswa, 2006), and in Rwanda (Koster & Price, 2008).

In addition, economic dependence factors surprisingly did not strongly effect women's help-seeking behavior in Sub-Saharan countries. Only employment status was found to positively have influence on help-seeking from husband's family in Uganda and Zambia. However, in Uganda, women's employment status had negative effect on seeking help from police. In Uganda, like many Sub-Saharan African countries, most of women work in agricultural sector and it is an unpaid job. Therefore, although women in agriculture are considered as employed they do not have economic freedom and opportunities to leave an abusive relationship. Furthermore, wealth in Tanzania, Uganda,

and Zambia and educational attainment in Zimbabwe surprisingly had negative effect on women's help-seeking behavior from, respectively, husband's family and police. Tanzanian, Ugandan, and Zambian women who live households that have lower resources may not have economic freedom, thus, they do not tend seek help from outside of family. However, they may seek help from families to solve issue to keep family together.

In the context of education, more work is necessary to grasp if the benefits of education can ease personal and societal barriers that are strong deterrents of women's help-seeking in Zimbabwe. Overall, even though wealth and educational level may be considered as important resources that can improve women's choices, opportunities, and their quality of life, wealthier women may face a higher loss of status, financial problems, and threatening adverse effects as a result of possessing the problem exposed in Sub-Saharan countries. As a result, economic empowerment without the social acceptance of gender parity may cause unintended outcomes in gender relations.

Despite I did not find an important association between economic dependence factors and women's help-seeking behavior, this study suggests that the importance of improving gender equality by increasing women's education and economic opportunities in an effort to fight IPV in Sub-Saharan countries. Because gender traditionalism that puts women in subordinate positions is among the most powerful risk factors of IPV against women (Mann & Takyi, 2009), public education purposed at promoting the ideal of gender parity is significant for eliminating patriarchal beliefs among women and public and improving women's status in families (Fidan & Bui, 2016). Improving women's economic opportunities in Sub-Saharan Africa, such as paid employment, along

with public education on gender equality can increase women's help-seeking as well as reduce IPV against women in the long run. Societies in which women have a significant economic role will not overlook the violent treatment allowed in socities in which women are seen as more expandable (Brown, 1992). Despite the fact, that economic opportunities and education were not found to be the most important factors of women's help-seeking behavior, support for education and new economic opportunities shoud be increased for Sub-Saharan African women to combat IPV.

Overall, one of important contribution of this dissertation was to the literature is determining the extent to which what we know about help-seeking for IPV, which has primarily been developed in Western context, can be generalized to developing countries in sub-Saharan Africa where women's status is extremely low. First, in Western context, women's economic dependence on husband or partner is one important barriers to seek help for IPV. However, in Sub-Saharan African countries economic dependence factors like wealth, education, and employment status were not importantly influential on women's help-seeking strategies. Therefore. This dissertation suggests that more work of economic dependence on women's help-seeking from formal and informal sources needed. Second, gender perspectives from findings of this dissertation may make more contribution than resource theory. As a traditional social norm, women's justification for wife-beating was an important factor that prevent women to seek help. Therefore, in Sub-Saharan countries, attitudes toward wife-beating must be considered and some prevention programs are needed for women to change their attitudes toward wife-beating. Additionally, husband's controlling behavior has been indicated as one of important factor that has most powerful effect on IPV against women. However, in this study Sub-

Saharan women seem not tolerable for husband's strict behaviors and they tend to seek help when their husbands display more controlling behaviors. Therefore, gender perspective from Western countries do not seem completely conceptualized in Sub-Saharan Africa. This is an important contribution to literature must be considered more.

Finally, survivor theory from Western context states that women increase their help-seeking strategies when severity of violence increases. However, the DHS Survey do not provide data on severity of violence, thus I created a poor proxy by simply accumulating types of violence. Findings from data of five countries made strong support for this perspective and the accumulation of physical violence was positively associated with formal and informal help-seeking. Among three Western approach, best perspective was survivor theory that can be applied and generalized to Sub-Sharan African context. In other words, survivor theory is the only explanation that works across the board. I found support for other theories only in Zambia and Tanzania but these countries have much larger sample sizes. Therefore, statistical significance is easier to achieve in both countries. Additionally, findings from types of IPV also make some contributions. For example, sexual violence, contrary to emotional and physical violence, was negatively associated with women's help-seeking behavior. Emotional violence was positively linked to help-seeking behavior in some countries.

Survivor theory suggests that severe violence prompts innovative coping strategies from victims of intimate partner violence and efforts to seek help (Gondolf & Fisher, 1988). Earlier violence and neglect by help sources lead victims to try other help sources lead victims of IPV to reduce the violence. According to this perspective, a victim of IPV is considered as a survivor. The survivor actively seeks help from several

of formal and informal sources when violence become severe. In Sub-Saharan Africa, violence against women may be characterized as patriarchal terrorism, which is defined as “a product of patriarchal traditions of men's right to control "their" women, is a form of terroristic control of wives by their husbands that involves the systematic use of not only violence, but economic subordination, threats, isolation, and other control tactics” (Johnson, 1995: 284). Because, for Sub-Saharan African women, abuse by their husbands or partners reflected expectations of the extremes of patriarchal family arrengements. In these countries, husbands expect that their wives should focus on domestic duties and housework, give birth to children, take care of their parents, and remain obedient to them; therefore, husbands or partners use violence against their wives when they do not fulfill their expectations. This perspective has been supported by the previous research that demonstrated that women whose husband displays more controlling behavior were more likely to experienced IPV in Sub-Saharan countries (Fidan & Bui, 2016; McCloskey et al., 2016; Ogland et al., 2014).

This dissertation found important support for survivor theory although my data does not have a real measure of severe violence, so I used a poor proxy as the accumulation of physical violence. Therefore, DHS survey needs to include a number of questions that include how many times women experience physical violence and its severity such as how many times a day, a week, and a month to measure severe of violence. Sub-Saharan African women tended to seek help from formal and informal sources when the accumulation of physical violence increases. One of the main reasons for this theory operates in Sub-Saharan Africa may be explained by the fact that African women, as survivor, who experienced more accumulation of physical violence

demonstrate their respond to violence and seek help from various help sources such as own family, husband's family, and the police. Additionally, based on this idea, it is possible to state that Sub-Saharan women experience patrirachal terrorism by husband or partner, which is not sufferable; therefore, they use their different strategies to seek help from various help sources. In this case, violence aganst women in Sub-Saharan Africa may be considered as patriarchal terrorism instead of common couple violence that developed by Johnson (1995).

Overall, the obvious conclusion to be drawn from results of this dissertation is that resocialization is vital for really doing anything about intimate partner violence in Sub-Saharan African countries. All people (not just women and not just men) need to be resocialized in how they think about violence. Without this, changes to laws and to policing probably is not going to be very effective.

Limitations

Although the findings from this dissertation highlight the importance of types of IPV and gender as determinants of women's help-seeking behavior in Sub-Saharan African countries, there are several research limitations that must be considered. First, it must be noted that the DHS Survey is a cross-sectional design. Thus, although the analysis points to a number of mechanisms that underscore the women's help-seeking behavior, it is very impossible to determine whether these factors are, in fact, causal mechanisms. The links constituted by the study findings reported could be reciprocal. Second, there were many missing cases in some questions that I wanted to use in analysis

but because of these high number of missing values I did not use them such as question about living with husband or partner. Additionally, in domestic module questions there were also high number of missing values and there is not any explanation about these missing values. Third, using household wealth as an index measure for the resource perspective is possibly less than ideal. Although the household wealth index is a useful measure, it may not capture the full range of resources that reveal a resource-based theoretical approach of women's help-seeking behavior. Fourth, the measure of types of IPV are reported by the respondents, and cannot be validated by their husbands/partners. Fifth, physical violence measure really does not get the theory. Sixth, the measures of women's help-seeking were self-reported and cannot be corroborated by formal and informal sources. Finally, there were many missing cases in the domestic violence module and help-seeking questions.

Future Work

Despite these research limitations, this dissertation provides important contributions to the research on women's help-seeking behavior for IPV in Sub-Saharan Africa. There are many promising venues for future studies on women's help-seeking behavior. First, future research should continue to test theoretical perspectives to explain Sub-Saharan African women's help-seeking behavior for IPV. Most of the existing research has focused on developed countries, there is a crucial need to explore women's help-seeking behavior for IPV in developing countries in general. Second, qualitative research in a feminist model would add additional insight into contemporary

understanding of the Sub-Saharan African women's help-seeking behavior for IPV. Large-scale surveys often rely heavily on standardized measures and do not leave room for detailed nuances and subjectivity about the determinants that contribute to women's help-seeking behavior as well as women's experience of intimate partner violence. As women do not tend to seek help from formal sources and institutions of Sub-Saharan African societies, more research should focus on why women do not seek help from formal sources. More studies should focus on interventions to improve best practices for increasing women's reporting violence and preventing and addressing intimate partner violence in families and communities. There also need to be mixed effects models that combine women's micro level reporting with national structural variables. Sons are very important in the families of Sub-Saharan societies. Therefore, as an important factor, having son can be included in the future research. As a result, intimate partner violence against women is a crucial social and public health problem for Sub-Saharan African women. Social, and political activists would benefit from this dissertation in their valuable efforts to fight this social issue and hopefully eradicate in in the future. Additionally, Table 9-1, Table 9-2, and Table 9-3 demonstrates the support of theories by data for each country.

Table 9-1: Theory Support: Help-seeking from Own Family

Theories	**Rwanda**	**Tanzania**	**Uganda**	**Zambia**	**Zimbabwe**
Resources Theory	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported
Gender/Feminist Perspectives	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported
Survivor Theory	Supported	Supported	Supported	Supported	Supported
Sexual/Emotional Violence	Not supported	Partially supported	Not supported	Supported	Not supported

Table 9-2: Theory Support: Help-seeking from Husband's Family

Theories	**Rwanda**	**Tanzania**	**Uganda**	**Zambia**	**Zimbabwe**
Resources Theory	Not supported	Not supported	Partially supported	Not supported	Partially supported
Gender/Feminist Perspectives	Not supported	Not supported	Partially supported	Partially supported	Not supported
Survivor Theory	Supported	Supported	Supported	Supported	Supported
Sexual/Emotional Violence	Not supported	Partially supported	Partially supported	Partially supported	Partially supported

Table 9-3: Theory Support: Help-seeking from Police

Theories	**Rwanda**	**Tanzania**	**Uganda**	**Zambia**	**Zimbabwe**
Resources Theory	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported
Gender/Feminist Perspectives	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported	Partially supported
Survivor Theory	Supported	Supported	Supported	Supported	Supported
Sexual/Emotional Violence	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported

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